The Reading Identities of Prekindergarten Dual Language Learners

Author: Christopher J. Wagner

Boston College
Lynch School of Education

Department of
Teacher Education, Special Education, and Curriculum and Instruction

Curriculum and Instruction

THE READING IDENTITIES OF PREKINDERGARTEN DUAL LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Dissertation
by

CHRISTOPHER J. WAGNER

submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

August 2016

The Reading Identities of Prekindergarten Dual Language Learners

Christopher J. Wagner

Dissertation Director: C. Patrick Proctor

Abstract

How children understand reading and who they are as readers comprises children's reading identities. Reading identities can have very real effects on the reading outcomes of children, and may support the development of foundational reading skills and the process of learning to read (McCarthey & Moje, 2002). Despite the potential importance of reading identities to early reading, research on young dual language learners (DLLs) comprises only a small portion of the overall research on reading identities (Castro, 2014; Moje & Luke, 2009). This study explored the potential interplay between early reading, reading identities, and bilingualism to describe and understand how DLLs in prekindergarten classrooms understood reading and who they were as readers.

Ten DLLs ages 4-5 participated in this study. Participants came from two prekindergarten classrooms in a public elementary school. The study design foregrounded child-centered methods that accessed children's ways of constructing meaning through talk, activity, art, and play. Data collection processes included reading and drawing-based interviews with children, observations of children, interviews with teachers, a questionnaire for parents, and classroom observations.

Findings from the study show how young children are actively constructing ideas about reading, language, and who they are as readers as they learn to read. Case portraits show the various ways that reading identities were constructed, taken-up, and expressed

by the participants. These portraits show how reading identities emerge early, vary across children, are connected to context, and have varying connections to children's bilingualism. A cross-case analysis identified four dimensions of reading identities: concept of reading, performance, self-awareness, and context. These dimensions are integrated into an emergent conceptual model of reading identities. Together, the data suggest that social, cognitive, and linguistic factors play a combined role in the early emergence of reading identities in young DLLs. The study points to the potential of new theory and child-centered research methods for considering the interrelationship between early literacy, bilingualism, and identity in young children.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Introduction

The number of children growing up in families who speak two or more languages or who speak a language other than English has steadily increased over the past two decades, and represents one of the fastest growing populations in the United States (Basterra, Trumbull, & Solano-Flores, 2010; Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2008). These dual language learners (DLLs) may learn two languages simultaneously from birth or may begin to learn a second language while they continue to develop their first language (Bialystok, 2001). The population of DLLs in the United States is a heterogeneous group, and while all DLLs share a proficiency in two or more languages, including the use of English in school, they are diverse in culture, language, country of origin, immigration experience, and prior educational opportunities (Winsler et al., 2014).

Through early experiences with print and reading, children form early understandings about reading and readers that gain importance when they enter school (Johnston & Rogers, 2002; Kabuto, 2010). For many children, school entry is the first point of formal reading instruction and, for some DLLs, the start of instruction in English. Considerable evidence supports the benefits of using two or more languages, including positive effects on cognition (Barac, Bialystok, Castro, & Sanchez, 2014; Bialystok, 2001) and social-emotional development (Halle et al., 2014). Despite the broad benefits of supporting the bilingualism of DLLs, approximately 87% of DLLs in the United States learn in English-only classrooms where there is limited evidence of strategies that support their success (August & Shanahan, 2006; Castro, 2014). These early experiences with reading may shape the ways DLLs understand reading and who

they are as readers. These understandings comprise children's reading identities, and are the focus of this dissertation.

Conceptual Framework

Attention to the role of identities in the teaching and learning of reading has been described as an "identity turn" (Moje & Luke, 2009, p. 415) in literacy studies. A subset of literacy and identity studies have focused on the specific identity processes of DLLs. Included in this sub-domain are the reading identities of DLL pre-readers. The position of this topic at the intersection of the fields of bilingualism, identity studies, and early reading is shown in Figure 1.1.

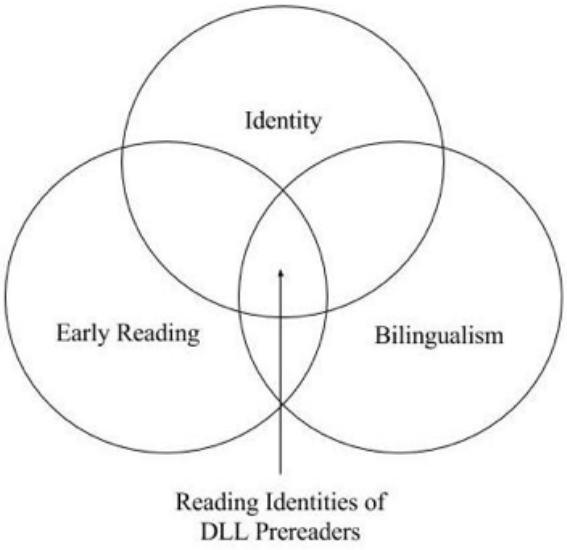

Figure 1.1. Map of the related fields.

Identities provide an approach for holistically considering reading and learning to read during early childhood. Johnston and Rogers (2002) explain that, "becoming literate is not simply learning to read and write in the narrow sense of converting speech to print and back again. In becoming literate, children acquire beliefs, values, and relationships

that are part of their developing identities" (p. 378). *Reading identities* are ways a learner understands reading and who they are as a reader. This construct has been used to include beliefs about what reading is and how it is done, who may read and for what purposes, evaluations of personal ability, the effects of past experiences, and expectations about how one might use reading or who one might become as a reader (Hall, 2010, 2012; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; McRae & Guthrie, 2009; Ruddell & Unrau, 2013).

Consideration of these facets of children's reading development goes beyond concerns for the skills and strategies that comprise the technical ability to read (Johnston & Rogers, 2002). Reading identities give broader consideration to the totality of the child and the child's cognitive, psychological, and social-emotional relationships to and around reading. For DLLs, this includes social and cultural attitudes towards bilingualism and non-English languages in the United States, choices about which languages are used to read and when, variations in reading across languages and cultures, and beliefs about reading and learning to read in more than one language (Day, 2002; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004; Norton, 2013).

Problem Statement

Reading identities can have very real effects on the reading outcomes of children. Reading identities may support the development of foundational reading skills and the process of learning to read (McCarthey & Moje, 2002), including effects on children's decisions to engage or withdraw from reading in and out of school, and the development of self-efficacy beliefs and motivation to read (Hall, 2010; Hall & Nellenbach, 2009). The development of reading identities during the early stages of learning to read may be critical, since many children begin to experience reading difficulties when faced with

growing demands on decoding and comprehension (Ehri & McCormick, 2013; Kuhn & Stahl, 2013). Without the development of positive reading identities during these early stages, it is possible that struggling readers will develop negative views of reading and their own abilities as readers, contributing to potential long-term reading difficulties by perpetuating the "Matthew effect" (Stanovich, 1986).

The documentation of developed reading identities in middle- and secondary-grade youth (Alvermann, 2001; Hall, 2010, 2012) suggests that reading identities must begin forming before most children reach adolescence. Reading identities have been documented in children in the early elementary grades (Compton-Lilly, 2006; Dyson, 1996) and in the years before school entry (Kabuto, 2010), with indications that reading identities at both ages may affect children's preparedness and desire to read. Reading identities likely have a continued impact on reading and learning to read, and may have a tendency to grow progressively more negative over time. A national survey of over 18,000 children in grades 1-6 reported that reading attitudes gradually and steadily become more negative over the elementary years, and that reading attitudes were related to reading ability (McKenna, Kear, & Ellsworth, 1995). These and other findings of slow but negative changes in children's attitudes and identities (Harter 2011, 2012) suggest a need for early attention to the development of reading identities in children.

Despite the potential importance of reading identities to early reading, research on young children comprises only a small portion of the overall research on reading identities, which, like other research on identities defined more broadly, has focused on adolescents (Castro, 2014; Moje & Luke, 2009). Compton-Lilly (2006) and Dyson (1996), among others, have postulated that this trend has occurred because adolescents

are commonly viewed as occupying a transitional period between childhood and adulthood that has become laden with cultural symbolism as a period of identity development. Others, including McCarthey & Moje (2002), have suggested that researchers have focused on adolescents because they are more capable of metacognitive reflection than younger children. The small body of research on the reading identities of young children has been both limited by and limited theorization about identities in early childhood, including consideration of the various ways identities are constructed, valued, and used by children from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. A more detailed discussion of current theory and research on identities can be found in Chapter 2.

A Focus on Dual Language Learners

Reading identities are not unique to DLLs, nor is the study of reading identities limited to the study of DLLs. However, there is currently sufficient evidence to support the belief that DLLs and monolingual learners likely develop or construct reading identities differently. This perspective is grounded in a holistic view of bilingualism, which regards the management and use of two or more languages as a unique cognitive and social context that is not comparable to monolingual language use (Grosjean, 2010; Yip & Matthews, 2007). Through participation in multiple bilingual and monolingual linguistic communities, DLLs experience a range of language practices and literate worlds that contribute to their knowledge about language and literacy, including reading (Gee, 2012; Gort & Bauer, 2012; Hornberger 1989, 2003). These early literacy experiences and language practices can lead to hybrid conceptions of language and language use that reflect the unique experiences and demands of bilingualism (Bakhtin, 1981; Kabuto, 2010).

Martínez-Roldán and Sayer (2006) described the complexity of early bilingual language use in a study of DLLs in Grades K-3. They observed that children did not make clear delineations between their uses of English and Spanish, but blended language practices in a manner that resisted the separation of languages. Rather than operating as monolingual speakers of any language, these DLLs created hybrid language practices within a "linguistic borderlands" (p. 315). Language use drew from and belonged to both languages, but not precisely to either, and could only be accessed through some level of competence in both languages. Children managed their languages within a single, broader structure that supported sharing, transfer, and borrowing. This structure was not comparable to two monolingual language systems, but rather to a single system that functioned to manage and enable uniquely bilingual language practices.

Recent reviews of research on young DLLs have likewise supported the view that dual language use affects the cognitive and linguistic processes of young children. In a review of 102 peer-reviewed articles on preschool-age DLLs between 2000 and 2013, Barac, Bialystok, Castro, and Sanchez (2014) found extensive support for cognitive affects of bilingualism, including different patterns of brain responses to the processing of linguistic stimuli. Barac and her colleagues concluded that, "the experience with two languages changes the cognitive system from very early on" (p. 704). In another review of 182 peer-reviewed articles on preschool-age DLLs between 2000 and 2011, Hammer and colleagues (2014) concluded that DLLs develop two separate language systems early in life, and that their development in key areas of language and literacy differs from that of monolinguals.

These key differences may cause some social, instructional, and home factors to have an outsized effect on the reading identities of DLLs. Research on adolescent DLLs shows that merely being a DLL in the United States can lead to feelings of devaluation and exclusion based on one's language and culture (Hong & Cheong, 2010; Jones, 2004). Studies of reading identities in adolescents consistently show that bilingualism is a risk factor for developing negative reading identities (Alvermann, 2001; Norton, 2013). This is supported by pilot data that suggests that by prekindergarten, DLLs have begun to develop reading identities that are closely tied to their bilingualism. Collectively, these findings point to the potential salience of reading identities for young DLLs. However, there is at present little research on the early development of reading identities in DLLs, and the potential interplay between early reading, reading identities, and bilingualism. Though some research points to a relationship between these factors (Day, 2002; Hawkins, 2005; Kabuto, 2010; Toohey, 2000), too little is currently known to draw conclusions about how early reading, reading identities, and bilingualism interact.

Purpose of the Study

Given the limited understanding of DLLs' reading identities in early childhood, and the potential importance of reading identities to the early and long-term reading success of DLLs, I explored DLLs' reading identities when formal schooling and reading instruction begin in prekindergarten. The following research questions guided the study:

1. What are the reading identities of ten prekindergarten DLLs?
    a. How do these children describe and do reading?
    b. How do these children describe themselves as readers?
2. How do these children connect reading identities and their bilingualism?

To answer these questions, the results of this study include: (1) cogent, detailed portraits of the reading identities of selected prekindergarten DLLs, and (2) an emergent conceptual model of the reading identities of young DLLs informed by patterns and variations across children.

Overview of Methodology

This study employed an exploratory, multiple-case study design to study the reading identities of prekindergarten DLLs (Yin, 2014). This design is well-suited for the study of phenomena about which there is lack of detailed preliminary research as it enables an exploration of how the phenomenon operates and what variables might be at play in a specific population and context (Ogawa & Malen, 1991). The study design is grounded in the premise that young children are capable of supplying valuable information about their own reading identities. As young children continue to develop the cognitive and linguistic abilities that enable them to conceptualize and communicate ideas about identities, much can be learned by carefully eliciting and examining their emerging beliefs and views towards reading and their identities as readers.

This study was conducted at an urban elementary school where two-thirds of the children spoke a first language other than English. Ten prekindergarten DLLs were selected from across one mainstream classroom and one English-Spanish sheltered-English immersion (SEI) classroom. Data sources included: (a) child interviews that included semi-structured, questions, a book reading, and a draw and talk activity; (b) child observations; (c) teacher interviews; (d) classroom observations; and (e) a parent/family questionnaire. The data sources provided a balance of short, descriptive

data, and extended, open-ended responses from the children and other adults who were knowledgeable about the children.

Data collection occurred during the 2015-2016 school year. The data analysis included: (a) two cycles of coding to condense and analyze data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014); (b) within-case analyses to explore the reading identities of each child (Yin, 2014); (c) a cross-case analysis to explore potential commonalities and contrasts across children and classrooms (Ogawa & Malen, 1991); (d) the development of a theory or framework of reading identities through systematic, iterative comparisons of emerging frames with the data (Eisenhardt, 1989, Pfeffer, 1982); and (e) the development of case narratives for selected children that illustrate key aspects of the developing framework. Patterns were triangulated across data sources and data types to corroborate findings and develop converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2014).

Significance of the Study

Research on the reading identities of DLLs in early childhood is needed to understand how reading identities are constructed concurrently with other early reading processes, and how reading identities may support early reading success in DLLs. Findings from this study yield insights into how DLLs form complex reading identities before they are independent readers or decoders and how being bilingual can influence early understandings of reading and the self as a reader. These insights led to two outcomes: (a) case narratives of selected participants; and (b) an emergent conceptual model of reading identities. The case narratives present narratives of selected children that illustrate the complexity of early reading identities for DLLs. The model presents

potential factors and interactions that play a role in reading identities in the context of the study.

This knowledge contributes to better understandings of how early schooling experiences can attend to the development of reading identities in DLLs to encourage early and long-term reading success. A better understanding of reading identities supports educators' understandings of the reading and language experiences of children from diverse backgrounds, and provides more information on how educators can enact culturally and linguistically supportive reading instruction (Wortham, 2006). This research provides insights into when and how children develop relationships with reading, and provides knowledge that may help educators and others who work with DLLs to reduce the number of children who enter late childhood and adolescence already believing that they are not readers. By adding to what is known about the effects bilingualism has on the learning-to-read process, this study contributes to the knowledge-base that informs improvements to practice and reading instruction for DLLs.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study and introduces the potential role of reading identities in the reading processes of DLLs. Chapter 2 reviews the existing theory and literature on reading and identities, focusing on: (a) the major theoretical perspectives that have been used to explain identities; (b) identities in young children; (c) identities in the literacy field; and (d) the reading identities of young bilingual children. Chapter 3 explains the exploratory case study design used in this study, including the participants, data sources, data collection methods, and analytic plan for the study.

Results of the study are presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 presents case profiles of selected children, focusing on the shared and unique ways the children understood reading and themselves as readers. Chapter 5 explores patterns and variations across cases, culminating in an emergent conceptual model of the reading identities of young DLLs. Chapter 6 discusses the results presented in Chapters 4 and 5 in the context of existing research and theory on early reading, identities, and bilingualism. Chapter 7 highlights key findings and conclusions of the study, including implications for teaching and questions for future research.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

In this chapter I explore the theoretical perspectives and research that frame and support the research questions of this dissertation. This includes current understandings and perspectives on the interconnected topics of reading, identity, bilingualism, and young children. I begin with an introduction to identity and a review of the major theoretical perspectives that have been used to address identity. I then engage in an overview of the scholarship on identities in young children and in the literacy field. This includes children who are in grades prekindergarten to second grade, and who are typically ages four to eight. In the final section of this chapter I consider the intersection of these respective topics with bilingualism, and present a discussion of the extant literature on the reading identities of young bilingual children. Much of the current literature on early childhood identities provides a decidedly narrow explanation of identities that leads to the consideration of only a limited range of factors that may affect or be connected to the identities of DLLs during early childhood. In this chapter I aim to provide a sufficiently broad grounding in the theoretical and empirical work on identities so that this exploratory analysis may be approached from a range of perspectives that may be relevant to the collected data.

Defining Identity

The concept of identity has long been present in human thinking and theorizing. Western philosophical discussions of identity and the self have been traced back to Plato, and Eastern traditions go back as far as the *Upanishads* and the *Tao te Ching*. Identity

received particular attention in Western thought during and after the Enlightenment, when questions about the self were explored by Descartes, Locke, Hume, Leibnitz, Berkeley, and Kant, among others. More recently, identity has been studied by scholars in a diverse range of fields including psychology, sociology, philosophy, linguistics, cultural anthropology, education, and other social sciences and humanities fields. Perspectives on identity that emerged in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries currently dominate contemporary thinking on the subject. Though some scholars have debated the existence of the self and its underlying construction, in this review I assume that the self and identity exist. I give attention here to various perspectives that consider the nature and construction of identities.

In the early twentieth century, new directions in theory and research on identity grew largely out of the work of psychologists and sociologists. Though the first detailed discussion of the self in the psychology field appeared in William James's (1890) *The Principles of Psychology*, the dominance of behaviorism in psychological thought and research largely limited consideration of internal processes and entities, including identity. It was instead in sociology where modern thinking on identity emerged. During the early twentieth century, Charles Horton Cooley, George Herbert Mead, Ellsworth Faris, and Herbert Blumer promoted the study of the self in sociology, leading to the development of *symbolic interactionism*, or the notion that the meaning of the self, among other constructs, is derived from interactions with others, including the responses of others and one's interpretation of those interactions.

By the second half of the twentieth century, psychologists and sociologists had increased the attention given to identity in academic research. This was accelerated by the

cognitive revolution in psychology, and by empirical breakthroughs that began to show the importance of some aspects of the self in explaining a broad range of phenomena. Since this growth in research on identity, psychologists, sociologists, and other researchers have not only been unable to agree on how to conceptualize and define identity, but various definitions refer to distinctly different phenomena, and the concepts themselves have been sub-divided so heavily as to produce a confusing array of terminology and concepts. The term *identity* therefore requires substantial attention to clarify and disambiguate its meaning not only in a broader historical context, but also in the context of research on reading, bilingualism, and young children.

The varied perspectives on identity that have been introduced in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries are organized here according to three overarching categories: (a) psychological perspectives; (b) social constructivist perspectives; and (c) poststructural perspectives. Together these three broad categories capture the predominant perspectives on identity that inform contemporary research and theory. Each of these perspectives on identity contribute to a broader understanding of the self, and point to factors and explanations not present in the other perspectives. These three perspectives on identity are introduced here to situate a broader definition of literacy. Aspects of each perspective are salient to the results of the study, and provide a context for the discussion of the study findings. Each of these perspectives and its major contributions to thinking on identity is discussed below.

Psychological Perspectives on Identity

Since the 1970s, the concept of the *self* has been a widely used and explored construct in psychology and the behavioral sciences (Leary & Tangney, 2011). The term

self has been used as a catchall in the psychology field, and the study of identity is generally regarded as falling within the broad umbrella of the *self*. Psychologists have variously used the term *self* to refer to a total person, an individual's personality, beliefs about oneself, or an executive decision maker (Leary & Tangney, 2011). These varied uses of the term have created similar confusion among the general relationship between the *self* and *identity* as psychological constructs. Adding to the general lack of clarity around usage of the term is the high number of related terms have been offered and adopted within the field. These include self-awareness, self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-evaluation, self-perception, and self-concept, among a long list of others. These topics that are connected under the umbrella of the *self* are diffuse and, in many cases, only loosely related. Generally, however, these topics are broadly unified through their reliance on some degree of self-reflection, though this, too, is inconsistent (Leary & Tangney, 2011).

Among the *self* topics in psychology, *self-concept* is both relatively commonplace and often connected or used interchangeably with the term *identity.* Self-concept refers to the totality of a person's cognitive representations of him or herself (Pekrun, 2001). Self-concepts are enduring representations of the self that are steady over time and situation (in contrast to self-perceptions, which may fluctuate over time or context). Emotions and affective evaluations are not traditionally considered as part of a person's self-concept, though they are sometimes connected to studies of self-concept. Self-concepts are often critical or comparative measures of the self, and imply a descriptive or evaluative perspective of all or part of the self. These evaluations or descriptions may include real,

possible, or desired self-attributes, and may include comparisons made between real and ideal versions of the self.

Self-concept is sometimes used to refer to a person's cognitive representations of him or herself that are specific to a domain or set of attributes, such as academic self-concept, which refers to a person's evaluation of the self in academic tasks or contexts. Academic self-concepts may be even more narrowly tailored to focus on a person's perceived ability in a specified academic domain, such as reading. Academic self-concept is correlated with academic performance or achievement, and this correlation has been shown to grow when self-concept and achievement in a specific domain are considered (Pekrun, 2001). The relationship between self-concept and achievement may likewise be an interdependent one. Self-concept and achievement may cyclically influence each other, with self-concepts influencing performance, and prior performance influencing self-concepts. Self-concept may also influence related concepts including self-efficacy beliefs, motivation, and feelings towards a domain.

However, *self-concept* is not fully interchangeable with *identity*, which has often been to describe a concept of self that is broader and less reliant on self-evaluations. Self-concepts are based on one's own perceived competence or ability in a specific domain, or based on comparisons of one's perceived competence or ability relative to others. These evaluations tend to exist along a scale of positive to negative, rather than allowing for nuanced or complex understandings of an aspect of the self. This is especially true for uses of the term academic self-concept, where measurements often ask a person to rate him or herself along a numbered scale (Harter, 2012). Identity can be used as a broader term to consider a person's feelings and affective evaluations towards a domain,

understanding and beliefs about the domain, understanding and beliefs about how the domain connects to other domains or aspects of the self, and other relationships between the domain and the person.

Though other *self* related terms such as self-perception or self-efficacy cover aspects of this expanded concept of identity, the multiplicity of terms and the lack of clear definitions for many of these terms makes researching and understanding the interrelationship between these various aspects of the self difficult, if not at times impossible. Nonetheless, psychological perspectives on the self suggest both the complex and multitudinous nature of related constructs that likely impact the construction and nature of identities across persons.

Social Constructivist Perspectives on Identity

Those taking a social constructivist perspective have generally viewed identity as developing in interactions with others. The roots of a social constructivist perspective on identity can be traced back to Baldwin (1895), Cooley (1902), Mead (1934), and other sociologists in the early twentieth century who coined the term *symbolic interactionism* to explain the central role of social interactions in the development identity and other phenomena. Social constructivists view identity and individuality as part of the social practices of an individual within a community, rather than of the individual alone (Wenger, 1998). This shifts the focus of identity from the individual as the site of identity construction, to the social interactions between the individual and a community as the site of identity construction. Though sometimes critiqued for appearing to deny individual autonomy or agency, social constructivist perspectives do not generally view the

individual as controlled by social forces, but rather as operating within communities and institutions that have rules, practices, and norms that guide or limit behaviors.

These social constructivist perspectives on identity give a central and often exclusive role to language as the medium of identity construction and negotiation (Bakhtin, 1984; Vygotsky, 1978; Wenger, 1998). Social interactions typically refer to linguistic exchanges, and identity is viewed as the product of discursive interactions constructed through the language practices of specific communities (Harter, 1999). The central role of language in social interactions was reinforced by the Russian thinkers Lev Vygotsky and Mikhail Bakhtin. Vygotsky (1978, 1986) showed how people's minds develop in response to and reflect social interactions through the internalization of language. Bakhtin (1984) further explained that language produced by individuals was in fact composed of pieces of language that had been voiced in earlier conversations or texts and internalized by the speaker. In this way, Vygotsky and Bakhtin argued that identity is constructed from language that is borrowed and repurposed from social interactions.

Recent social constructivist perspectives have given increased attention to the communities in which social interactions occur. The community of practice approach considers the role of group structures, norms, and discourse practices on the type and nature of interactions between people (Wenger, 1998). Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest that newcomers move from forms of legitimate peripheral participation to full participation as they are apprenticed into the sociocultural practices of a community. Identity is constructed through the process of becoming a full participant in a community of practice by learning and negotiating membership in the community. However, membership is not guaranteed nor is it equally accessible to all persons. Social relations

and structures within a community of practice play a critical role in the production and reproduction of certain social practices and discourses, and may limit or enable access to certain identities and social practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991). This approach enables social interactions to be considered within the context of broader structural and institutional contexts that shape or affect the interactions between persons participating within a given community.

However, the processes of socialization articulated in the community of practice approach on their own do not explain why or how people who experience similar social and community influences may construct different identities. John Dewey (1927/1998, 1940/1998) addressed this tension much earlier by proposing that different people respond differently to socialization forces depending on their prior experiences and personal characteristics. Dewey (1940/1998) posited that the individual has the potentiality for an indefinite range of powers, capacities, and identities that are not actualized, but may be called out through interactions with other people and objects. A person's individuality, he proposed, is created in the interactions he or she has, and in how he or she responds to the occasions that are presented. Preexisting differences and histories present in each person lead to different identity trajectories, even within the same socialization environments, as the individual and environment influence each other in a recursive manner (Pelligrini, 2002).

Such explanations of identity as a process of socialization are central to social constructivist perspectives. Though social constructivism is now marked by a number of differing approaches to explaining the relationships between individuals and others in various communities, institutions, and social organizations, these approaches remain

linked by their common focus on explaining identity as constructed in the interactions between persons. The consistent explanation of identity as a social and not an internal construction is the key difference between these and psychological perspectives on identity.

Poststructural Perspectives on Identity

Dewey, Bakhtin, and other social constructivists foreshadowed many of the concerns that would later become central to poststructuralists. Poststructuralism emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, and addressed many questions about identity that were not answered by social constructivist perspectives, including the critical roles of context, trajectory, and change in the construction of identities. A poststructuralist perspective, in general terms, questions the categorization of people into roles, many of which are binary (e.g., literate/illiterate) without considering how these labels are socially constructed, affected by power relationships, change across contexts, and may at times be contradictory (Block, 2007, Norton, 2013). Poststructural perspectives allow for a more nuanced consideration of individuals than the social constructivist perspectives that preceded them, including how individuals can exert agency and are affected by institutions and others in identity processes. For these reasons, poststructural perspectives have largely supplanted social constructivist perspectives in contemporary research and theory.

However, like those taking a social constructivist perspective, those adopting a poststructural perspective largely continue to view identities as socially produced through linguistic interactions. Though Gee (2000) and others have explored identities as various "ways of being" in the world, linguistic interactions remain central to most poststructural

identity processes, as even those who articulate more varied ways of constructing identities, including Gee, continue to foreground discursive interactions and language as the primary mechanism for constructing and making sense of the self. This view disadvantages those with language impairments, children who are acquiring language, and persons with limited language proficiency by tying these persons' ability to construct identities with their linguistic ability.

The most significant departure of the poststructural perspective from the social constructivist perspective is the view of identity as dynamic, multiple, and changing across time and contexts (McCarthey, 2002). The idea that people are continuously engaged in the construction and reconstruction of identities, that these identities are situated and embedded in multiple social and historical contexts, and that these multiple identities may intersect or conflict, has problematized the notion that identity can be experienced as coherent and integrated (Gee, 2012; Harter, 1999). In this sense, people are "recognized as a certain 'kind of person'" (Gee, 2000, p. 99) in a given context, and this kind of person may change across time, contexts, and people. This has led to an attention to *identities* rather than a single *identity*, and to the possibility that these identities may be fluid and, at times, contradictory.

This process of recognition has been further elaborated through the idea of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990). Positioning describes the intentional and unintentional processes by which persons are located in relation to other persons through discourse. This includes both how other people may use language to position an individual, and how an individual may use language to position him or herself. Positioning shifts attention from the static and formal concept of identities as "roles" to

the more dynamic aspects of identities as enacted through interactions with others. Identities come to stand not for a static or fixed concept of the self, but the on-going process by which the self is continuously constructed. Positioning is in this way a less stable view of identities than that held by the social constructivists, as identities are constantly shifting based on the positions made available through one's own and others' discourse.

Poststructuralists questioned these interactional processes in ways that were more critical than the social constructivists, and many drew attention to the power relations embedded in these social relations (Kress, 1989; Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1987). Two ideas that have been central to considerations of power in poststructural perspectives are the concepts of field (Foucault, 1972) and habitus (Bourdieu, 1991).

A field consists of the conditions and context in which discourse is produced and on which the meaning of discourse relies (Foucault, 1972). This includes the network of statements and rules within which talk occurs. How a person uses and navigates discourses within a field is interwoven with their use and navigation of power, as these concepts are bound together (Weedon, 1987). Bilingual children move across discourse fields as they move between the school, home, and other contexts that have differing dynamics and practices of language use. For bilingual children in a monolingual society and schools, children's behaviors and speech are likely to reflect the power relations specific to the languages used in various fields (Kabuto, 2010, 2011). In school contexts that regard English as a hegemonic language and academic reading practices as normative, children may recognize that those who use English have more power. As a

result, their relationship to those individuals and their choices of language use may reflect these power dynamics (Norton, 2013).

The concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1991) sheds further light on how structural power may affect the learning and language trajectories of children as they move through institutions and social contexts where language and literacy are learned. According to Bourdieu, habitus consists of acquired dispositions that guide individuals to think, act, and speak in ways that reflect and are bounded by social structures. Habitus guides the behavior and speech of an individual while reinforcing and perpetuating the social structures and history in which it arose (Handsfield & Jiménez, 2009). The concept of habitus suggests both that the patterns and uses of language that are accepted or justified in school and home contexts are historically and socially grounded, and persons may not be consciously aware of their acquisition or perpetuation of these practices and power structures. For bilingual children, this may mean the adoption and use of English and academic language and reading practices as they learn to read within the social and historical contexts of American schools, and the loss of non-English languages that are devalued in these contexts (Henze & Davis, 1999; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990).

These critical perspectives on identity processes consider how various forms of relational and structural power create opportunities and constraints for people's identities, including the identities of minoritized groups (Roskos, & Neuman, 2002). A person may be offered or denied access to certain positions in given a context based on certain traits, capital, or other factors that affect how they negotiate interactions with others and within institutional structures, and these positions may vary across persons (Roskos & Neuman,

2002; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988). In such circumstances, a person may either accept a position that is made available, attempt to refuse it, or attempt to gain access to a position to which he or she was denied (Harré and Van Langenhove 1991; Holland & Leander, 2004). Identities are shaped by these processes of negotiation, by social signals that communicate what identities are valued or devalued, and by the way power is manifested in interactions between individuals and institutions to enable or constrain the construction of various aspects of the self (Hall, 2010; Reed, Schallert, Beth, & Woodruff, 2004).

Poststructural approaches contribute to the increasingly varied ways of considering how identities are affected by context and social structures. These approaches are diverse, and many draw on some, and deemphasize other, topics discussed here. This increasingly broad number of ways of conceptualizing identities is itself a hallmark of the poststructural perspective. Nonetheless, the consistent attention to identities as destabilized, complex, and multiple defines most poststructural perspectives. These characteristics of the poststructural approach to identities lay the groundwork for considering more specific forms of identities, and for considering how these forms of identities may interact with other processes, such as reading and learning. In this way, poststructural approaches have played a critical role in expanding both the scope and depth of identity studies in an increasing number of fields, including education and literacy studies.

Contemporary Perspectives on Identities

At present, poststructural and psychological perspectives are predominate in contemporary research and theorizing on identities. However, these two perspectives are largely siloed, and represent diverging approaches and grammars for the discussion and

study of identities. Social constructivist perspectives on identities continue to play a central role in social science fields including sociology and education, though they are often combined with or subsumed by poststructural perspectives. Divisions between these perspectives may often appear to be rigidly enforced, though some attempts have been made to regard these perspectives as more porous, and to draw across these perspectives to construct more complex models of identities. These perspectives may sometimes draw on the inclusion of new factors that broaden the scope of identities and their attendant processes.

Bussey and Bandura (1999), for example, integrate cognitive, affective, and biological factors, behavior patterns, and environmental events into a single and more complex model of identity development that they describe as a social cognitive approach. Perspectives may likewise be combined or nested. Linehan and McCarthey (2000) explain how positioning can be nested within a communities of practice framework to account for both interpersonal and structural influences on identities. These perspectives, however, are rarer, and at present appear infrequently in the research literature. Nonetheless, they present the possibility of more complex and more integrated models of identities that may ultimately more closely align with the lived experiences of people.

Identities in Young Children

When it comes to young children, the aforementioned perspectives have been used only limitedly to consider how identities may develop in early childhood, or how identities and the process of identity development may differ across the lifespan. Both in popular culture and in the academic literature, a view of identity development as a process of ‘finding oneself’ came to be associated with adolescence and early adulthood

in the twentieth century. As a result, popular theories of identity largely deemphasized or overlooked the potential importance of identity formation in young children. The field has in this respect historically taken an "adult" approach to the topic of identity, focusing primarily on self and identity processes in adolescent and adult subjects and speaking infrequently about issues of development (Harter, 2012). As a result, few researchers or theorists have taken-up identities as a substantive component of early childhood.

From a psychological perspective, views on young children have been heavily influenced by Erik Erikson's psychosocial theory of human development (1980). According to this theory, a child's progression through stages of development is accomplished by the successful resolution of various conflicts. As these conflicts are resolved, the ego builds strengths that provide the adolescent with the foundation to resolve the issue of identity. Importantly, the issue of identity is isolated to the period of adolescence, and is resolved before a person enters adulthood. Just as Erikson proposed limitations on the capabilities of children at each stage, other psychological views on identities in young children have been shaped by assumptions about how the cognitive development of young children, including the development of self-awareness, abstract reasoning, and logical reasoning capacities, may limit children's ability to engage in identity processes. An emphasis on these limitations is one of the primary reasons prevailing psychological models view early childhood, at best, as a place where foundations of later identity development may be laid. It is not, however, commonly viewed as a period of identity development itself.

Views on identities from social constructivist and poststructural perspectives have likewise focused on adults. Though many social constructivist theories assume that

identities are developed by a rational adult actor, the influence of poststructuralism shifted the focus away from the concept of the individual as a rational actor who makes decisions independent from broader social and cultural forces, and toward more complex understandings of the self as socially situated and constructed. Though poststructural theories have done little to alter the view of identities as an adult phenomenon, these theories no longer view identities as exclusively occurring at a single age or developmental stage. Identity development is instead regarded as a less constrained process, with little attention paid to potential cognitive or developmental differences across age groups. By broadening the window of identity construction beyond a merely adolescent phenomenon, poststructural theories have provided opportunities to consider the identity development of young children, even if these theories have not provided explicit tools to do so.

A Developmental Perspective

Despite the historical tendency of those using these major theoretical perspectives to largely ignore identities in childhood, identity processes have been observed at different periods in life, including early childhood (Bussey & Bandura, 1999; Pekrun, 2001). While most theories of identity have been concerned with adolescence or adulthood, a life-course approach treats the process of identity development as spanning the entire life of a person, beginning from birth and continuing throughout adulthood (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Identities are consequently viewed as a continuous process that is interwoven with human development and the human experience, and as connected to other psychological, affective, cognitive, and social aspects of development and learning. A life-course approach can be taken within any of the aforementioned

perspectives, or can draw across multiple of these perspectives to account for a broader range of factors that may affect identities.

Current developmental understandings of identities that support a life-course perspective largely come from the work of Susan Harter (2001, 2006, 2011, 2012), who has developed a stage model of identities across childhood and adolescence. The model is the product of a broad collection of research conducted by Harter and others, primarily in the psychology field. Harter organized this research into seven dimensions that she claims together comprise the self. Harter's model is in this regard a conceptual-organizational map of empirical research on the self conducted within the broader field of psychology. Harter's reliance on psychological research, and her limited reliance on research from other fields, suggests a relatively narrow focus of the model. However, Harter drew across a broader range of social and psychological theory to interpret and describe the broader implications of the model.

Harter argued that the self is a cognitive and social construction, dependent on cognitive-developmental processes and socialization. However, Harter considered the self to be foremost a cognitive construction. Harter concluded that as cognitive processes undergo developmental change, the construction of the self was likewise observed to change. By accounting for these cognitive changes as children develop, Harter described the development of the self across six stages, beginning with very early childhood at age 2 and extending through late adolescence at age 19. Harter concluded that normative or typical developmental changes across these age levels led to broad similarities in self-representations at each stage, and that these could be brought together to characterize the developmental growth of identities across childhood and adolescence.

Harter's model does not provide for individual's ability to span stages, regress, or otherwise move between the strict boundaries of each stage. However, Harter does not preclude variations in the development and nature of identities of children within any given stage, and has emphasized the importance of distinguishing between "normative liabilities and dysfunctional pathology" at each stage (Harter, 2011, p. 710).

Harter (2012) proposed that individual differences within a developmental level depend on variations in the socialization of children. Harter draws on the work of symbolic interactionists (Baldwin, 1895; Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934) to explain how aspects of the self are socially constructed through linguistic exchanges with others that are then internalized as self-evaluations. During childhood this includes imitating other people's behaviors, attitudes, and values; changing behaviors to gain the approval of significant others; and adopting the perceived appraisals that others have of oneself. Though Harter emphasizes the connection between these social processes and other psychological and self processes, Harter's primary contribution is to view identity processes as mediated by changes in cognition as children develop. The following sections describe the developmental characteristics of children in early childhood from before school entry through second grade, and are summarized in Table 2.1.

Very early childhood. Very early childhood spans the years from ages two to four. During this time children may be raised at home, attend various part- or full-day childcare programs, and enter prekindergarten. Children's social and school experiences may vary dramatically during this period depending on whether and what type of early care the child receives. Identity development during very early childhood focuses on the child's understanding of him or herself as a distinct person, and as developing personal

Table 2.1

Developmental Changes in the Self During Early Childhood

Period	Content	Structure	Accuracy	Comparisons	Sensitivity to others
Very early childhood (Ages 2-4)	Concrete characteristics; Focus on abilities, activities, possessions, preferences	Isolated aspects of self; Lack of coherence; All-or-none thinking	Unrealistically positive assessments	No direct comparisons	Anticipates adult reactions; Basic appreciation of meeting others' standards
Early to middle childhood (Ages 5-7)	More elaborated characteristics; Focus on specific competencies	Basic links between aspects of self; All-or-none thinking	Typically positive assessments; Inaccuracies remain	Comparisons with younger self; Comparisons with others for fairness	Awareness of others' evaluations; Other's standards become guides

Note. Adapted from Harter (2012).

understandings of likes or dislikes and preferences that distinguish him or her from others, including his or her caregivers (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009).

During the preschool years, children develop a more concrete sense of the self, and self-describe with physical descriptors and some psychological descriptors, such as "nice" or "big" (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Children may label or describe internal states or emotions, expresses ownership of physical possessions as an extension of the self, express a sense of agency or control over one's actions, and begin to co-construct narratives about the self. Children at this age typically focus on positive skills and attributes, and cannot distinguish a wish to be competent from the reality of their competence (Harter, 2001). They therefore may indicate that they have a competence that has not yet been attained (Harter, 2001). Children are similarly not yet able to realistically

assess their own competence or ability, and tend to take an all-or-none view of competence (Harter, 2001). Though children can evaluate themselves differently in different areas, they have difficulty imagining that they can have opposing characteristics (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009).

Among the key limitations ascribed to children during this period are the still emerging abilities to engage in social and temporal comparisons. As the child engages in self-appraisals at this stage, he or she typically cannot yet engage in comparisons of his or her skill or ability relative to others. The child is similarly unable to take the perspective of others or incorporate the opinions of others into his or her self-evaluations. This largely limits negative comparisons and the adoption of negative views of the self, and contributes to children's tendency to express overwhelmingly positive self-evaluations. The child is likewise limited in his or her ability to make temporal comparisons of the current self to a previous self. Though rudimentary comparisons are made by some children, these tend to support children's positive self-evaluations as children perceive their natural growth in ability and competence as a positive gain. Nonetheless, some children do begin to construct narratives of the self, though these often require the assistance of an adult, and do not often extend into the future.

Early to middle childhood. Early to middle childhood spans the years from ages five to seven. During this time children who have not previously attended school begin their formal schooling experience in prekindergarten or kindergarten. Compared to the period of very early childhood, the accuracy of children's self-assessments improves and children are more likely to describe themselves in terms of their competencies rather than with physical or psychological descriptors (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Children

become able to generalize about their competencies and to provide specific examples of their competence or sub-domains in which they are competent (Harter, 2011). At the same time, children develop a generalized, singular view of their self-worth (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Children take a more active role in constructing narratives that contribute to this view, and are more likely to attend to their own intentions and future plans.

Children's self-processes undergo several developmental changes from ages five to seven that Rochat (2003) has described as metacognitive self-awareness. Children become more aware that they are viewed by others, and improved perspective-taking skills enable children to imagine how others are viewing them (Harter, 2011). However, self-perceptions remain highly positive as children still do not internalize others' evaluations of themselves, and show little interest in self-evaluation (Harter, 2011). Most of the same limitations that lead to positive self-perceptions in very early childhood persist in this substage. As children progress through middle and late childhood, self-evaluations become more nuanced and balanced, and reflect increased attention to social comparisons, the mediation of oppositional attributes, and self-esteem (Harter, 2011).

Domain-Specific Identities

Domain-specific evaluations of the self are observed as young as age two and persist through each succeeding developmental level (Harter, 2001). These refer to evaluative judgements of one's attributes or ability within a specific field or area of practice and are typically described using the term *self-concept* (Harter, 2006). Common domains that have received attention by researchers include scholastic or academic competence, social competence, physical appearance, and physical or athletic ability, and

can also include reading (Harter, 2012). Both the importance and value of a specific domain to a child and the perceived support, approval, or positive recognition of significant others can affect a child's self-concept in a particular domain (Harter, 2001). Although domain-specific evaluations are observed in young children, developmental advances in cognition allow older children to more clearly differentiate and develop self-concepts in varied domains. The development of a more distinct concept of multiple selves may emerge in younger children, but generally gains more salience in adolescence (Harter, 1999).

Limitations of Current Developmental Models

Harter's model of the self is only partial, reflecting its heavy grounding in a psychological perspective of identity, and its emphasis on the cognitive limitations of children at various developmental stages. Harter defines the self as constructed through the cognitively complex processes of self-awareness, reflection and critical self-evaluation, and requires that these reflections and evaluations be verbalized through language (Harter, 2012, p. 22). These requirements place most identity processes out of reach of young children, who are less likely to develop both the cognitive and linguistic skills Harter identifies as central to self processes. Harter's focus on language likewise limits the ability of some language learners or DLLs to participate in identity processes until sufficient language proficiency is attained. As a result, Harter's model largely preserves prevailing views of identities that situate identity processes in adolescence and rely on language as the primary tool of identity construction.

Furthermore, Harter acknowledges that her primary focus is almost exclusively on descriptive evaluations, viewing the self as constructed from positive or negative views

of one's attributes and practices (Harter, 2012). While such self-appraisals may play a significant role in identity processes, Harter largely sets aside other factors, such as the beliefs a child has about a domain and its associated practices, how a child understands the relationship between domain-specific identities and other aspects of the self, and how a child may express emerging understandings of the self through linguistic or non-linguistic communications. Without consideration of these and other factors, Harter's developmental portrait of self-processes in children is necessarily incomplete. At present, neither researchers from a social constructivist or poststructural perspective have taken-up the task of constructing a developmental model of identities. A fuller developmental understanding of identity processes in childhood is likely to require a broader consideration of the social, cognitive, and environmental factors that may differentially influence identity processes across childhood.

Identities in the Literacy Field

Attention to multiple identities in poststructural perspectives and to domain-specific aspects of identities in psychological perspectives have enabled identities associated with specific practices or contexts to be explored and theorized in greater detail (Gee, 2000). For literacy researchers, identity studies of children have encompassed an examination of the relationship between literacy, language practices, and identities (McCarthey & Moje, 2002). Moje and Luke (2009) have described the recent increase in research on this topic as an "identity turn" in literacy studies (p. 415). This approach foregrounds the role of the broader person in literacy practices, and is often presented as a counter to skill-based views of literacy that regard literacy as a set of processes or steps that occur or are applied independent of a person's motivations,

interests, beliefs, and experiences (Butler, 1997; Johnson & Rogers, 2002; Moje & Luke, 2009; Street, 1994). Identities in this sense are regarded as significant to the study of literacy because they are viewed as playing a pivotal role in how a person navigates, uses, and makes sense of language and texts (McCarthey & Moje, 2002).

Despite the increasing number of explorations of the role of identities in literacy processes, the meaning of the term *identity* is often assumed or taken-for-granted (Alvermann, 2001; Brown, 2004; Hall, 2010; Lin, 2008), leading to substantial variations in how the term is constructed and used in the literacy field (Moje & Luke, 2009). Further complicating the field of literacy and identity studies is the general lack of theoretical context provided by researchers. Though the view of literacy and identities as socially constructed is commonplace in literacy and identity studies, researchers often do not acknowledge or locate their work within the broad range of perspectives on identities, including the diverse range of perspective that assume that literacy and identities are socially constructed (Moje & Luke, 2009).

Among those who have grounded their work on identities and their relationship to language and literacy in existing theory, poststructural perspectives on identities predominate. Norton (2013) and others researchers who have explored identities, second language acquisition, and literacy draw heavily from the work of Christine Weedon (1987) and other poststructural feminist writers. Other researchers, including Gee (2000, 2002), adopt some core tenets of the poststructural perspective, including the situated and multiple nature of identities, yet emphasize the social constructivist roots of their thinking. For example, Gee's (2012) concept of socially situated identities emphasizes the construction of identities through social interactions, yet allows for multiple identities

to be formed through different ways of talking that enable a person to recognize and be recognized as inhabiting different identities in different social spaces.

In a review of the field of literacy and identity studies, Moje & Luke (2009) identified five metaphors commonly used to conceptualize identities in the literacy field, including identities as: (a) difference or group membership; (b) a sense of self linked to psychological views on identity; (c) a mind or consciousness through which the self comes into being; (d) a narrative told about or by oneself; and (e) positions that are taken-up, assigned, or negotiated by persons. Each metaphor rests on assumptions that lead to different implications for understanding identities and literacy learning. Yet several features are common to these approaches to identities. These include an attention to: (a) the multiple identities a person may enact across time and within a variety of contexts; (b) the ways multiple identities interact and may contradict or challenge each other; (c) how identities are received, recognized, or negotiated by others; and (d) how identities are constructed and negotiated in linguistic interactions that are influenced by power and capital (Block, 2010; Gee, 2000; Lewis & de Valle, 2009; Moje & Luke, 2009).

Reading Identities

One product of literacy and identity studies and the increased attention to domain-specific identities is the emergence of the concept of *reading identities*. As is the case with the term *identity* more broadly, there is substantial slippage in how the term *reading identities* is used, for which an explicit definition is provided infrequently in the literature on the topic. By drawing from multiple definitions across the literature, the term *reading identities* is used here to refer to the ways a person understands him or herself as a reader. These ways of understanding the self as a reader necessarily entail what a person

understands reading to be, including his or her beliefs about what reading is or is not, what a reader may do when reading, how reading may vary across contexts, and how he or she views him or herself in relation to these beliefs (Hall, 2010, 2012; Hall, Johnson, Juzwik, Wortham, & Mosley, 2010; McRae & Guthrie, 2009; Ruddell & Unrau, 2013).

Reading identities are not constrained to critical evaluations of reading skills, or what a person can or cannot do with a text (O'Brien, Stewart, & Beach, 2009). Rather, they encompass the variety of reading related practices, beliefs, experiences, and expectations of a person as they relate to his or her construction of the self as a reader. This may include the relationships or conflicts between reading identities and other identities, including linguistic, gender, and academic identities. Furthermore, reading identities may vary based on how reading and reading practices are constructed by various traditional and non-traditional readers. The varied, different, and unexpected ways that children may understand reading and what it means to read may contribute to variation in the nature and content of their reading identities. This includes variation in the multiple reading identities that individual may construct as the move between different contexts for reading and language use, and how these reading identities may, at times, intersect or conflict with one another. Reading identities should consequently be regarded as a broad concept that encompasses the various ways that the self might be constructed as a reader across contexts and time.

Reading Identities and Learning to Read

Reading identities are not a substitute for the acquisition of basic readings skills or for reading practice. Yet knowledge and skills related to print, language, and reading habits are only a few of many aspects of reading. Reading identities are a reminder that

reading is not just about skills but about individuals who must develop skills (Cummins, 1996; Lea & Street, 1998). These skills and the learning of them are mediated by children's developing beliefs about language, reading, and the self (Johnson & Rogers, 2002). Successful readers enter and make sense of texts through personal and relational connections made during reading (Rosenblatt, 1994). Reading and learning to read are, in this sense, not just knowing about texts, but ways of being in relation to texts (Lysaker, 2006). Reading identities matter to the study of reading because these identities shape and mediate children's relationships to texts, reading, and the process of learning to read (Lewis & de Valle, 2009; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Norton & Toohey, 2002; Wortham, 2006). A better understanding of reading identities is connected to understanding the complex process of learning to read, and the challenges faced by some children in becoming readers.

Early indications of the role of reading identities on children's reading achievement suggest that how children identify as readers can influence the decisions they make related to and during reading and reading instruction (Moje & Dillon, 2006). Hall (2010), Tatum (2006), and others have observed that children who negatively identify with reading do not necessarily avoid reading because they are uninterested in reading or learning to read, but make decisions not to read because they want to maintain social standing or capital in the classroom, or to avoid what they perceive to be an inevitable failure. Other reasons children may negatively identify with reading can include physical or cognitive conditions that make reading challenging, including poor eyesight or difficulty focusing. Notwithstanding these physical and cognitive conditions, children who positively identify with reading are more likely to attempt to read texts,

including challenging texts, and apply reading instruction when they encounter difficulty (Hall & Nellenbach, 2009; Hall, 2012).

Positive perceptions of reading competence are likewise associated with more powerful intrinsic rather than extrinsic motivators, which are more likely to lead children to practice reading (Eccles & Roeser, 2009; Grum, Lebaric, & Kolenc, 2004; Harter, 1981, 1996, 2012; Lepper, Corpus, & Iyengar, 2005; Marsh & Hau, 2003; Ryan & Deci, 2009). The close association of reading identities with other related factors of reading success, including reading confidence and self-efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1977, 1982; Berliner, 1981; Linnenbrink & Pintrich, 2003), suggests that reading identities may have meaningful effects on children's reading habits. The combined effect of these differences is likely to lead children with positive reading identities to read more, and consequently to continue to develop and outpace peers who struggle to read and who may have negative reading identities (Stanovich, 1986).

The impact of reading identities on learning to read is not limited to children's decision-making about reading. Teacher perceptions of the reading identities of children drive instructional decision-making that ranges from which texts are selected to how much reading is assigned in school (Anyon, 1981; Lin, 2008; Sarris, 1993). Teachers and schools often use labels like "struggling" or "proficient" to mark the progress and achievement of readers (Hall, 1996; Lewis & del Valle, 2009). These labels can have powerful influences on a child's perception of him or herself, and can enable or disable access to various curricula, instruction, texts, and resources (Lin, 2008; Moje & Luke, 2009). These narrow labels of children's reading ability encourage teachers to make general prescriptions about effective reading practices and instruction, and avoid the

complexity of individual student responses to reading and reading instruction (Hall, 2010). Reading identities can alternatively encourage teachers and schools to view learning to read as a complex, individual process that is closely tied to children's developing sense of self.

The Early Development of Reading Identities

Research on young readers has provided insights into how children learn to read, and why some children become good readers while others struggle with developing proficiency in key reading processes, including the decoding, fluent reading, and comprehension of texts (Alexander & Fox, 2013). Though the process of learning to read was once viewed as beginning with formal school-based instruction in the elementary grades, it is now widely accepted that children begin developing foundational reading skills from birth (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 2002). This includes the acquisition of early print and reading concepts through exposure to environmental print (Ferreiro, 2007; Goodman, 1986) and early experiences with printed texts (Ferreiro & Teberosky, 1982; Tolchinsky, 2003). These early skills are part of the development of emergent literacy, or the combined processes of language development and socialization to reading that span from birth to the early stages of formal reading (Clay, 1982; Strickland, 1990).

According to Chall (1983), children proceed from this early literacy through defined stages as they learn to read. These stages are marked by the increased complexity of language and print skills in childhood, leading to the ultimate development of reading for comprehension and critical understandings in later childhood and adolescence. Currently, little is understood about how reading identities develop in relation to these

traditional reading skills, though research shows most children have well-developed reading identities by middle to late childhood.

In one representative study of 8 grade 1 and 2 students, Rogers and Elias (2012) explored how young children construct ideas about the self across home and school domains. The researchers conducted approximately hour long interviews with each child, based on an interview protocol designed for use with adults. Children were given the choice to respond through words, drawing, and role play, though the verbal record was given primary consideration in the analysis. They concluded that all of the children displayed distinct reading identities based on proficiency, an awareness of reading expectations, and purposes or goals for reading. Given the emergence of these reading identities while children are continuing to learn basic reading processes, like phoneme segmentation, letter identification, and decoding, these reading identities are likely constructed concurrently with other early reading processes. Yet there has been little consideration of how the development of reading identities may occur parallel to, in combination with, and support or influence the development of early literacy during these early stages of reading. This is consistent with the limited research on the development of identities in children more broadly.

Though no models have been proposed to explain the development of reading identities in young children, reading identities have been broadly conceived as developing through a process of socialization that closely aligns with the social constructivist and poststructuralist perspectives described earlier. Gee (2002) equates reading identities to “cultural models” (p. 38) that a child learns and acts out through exposure from parents or other persons with whom the child interacts regularly. By

looking at parent-child talk interactions during reading, Gee observed that an identity of competence may be co-constructed with an adult guide prior to the acquisition of the skills associated with reading, and the development of this identity may help to facilitate the acquisition of reading skills.

Similar socialization processes have been observed across cultural contexts. Williams (1991) used naturalistic observations and a story-prompting exercise to observe the language socialization processes of Black middle-class mothers with their young children. She observed that these mothers stimulated the telling of stories that prompted children as young as four and five to identify with reading, writing, and school. These mothers were likewise observed to tell stories in front of their children about their own reading and writing experiences in schools, the church, and other social institutions. These acts of storytelling and story-prompting facilitated children's construction and adoption of reading identities that mirrored those of their mothers.

These explanations of identities through processes of socialization likewise suggest that as a child grows and is socialized with other individuals and communities, he or she may acquire other cultural models of reading, or extend those already acquired. This may lead to the construction of multiple reading identities, or the construction of hybrid reading identities through the rehearsing, adopting, and combining of available identities (Gee, 2002). These multiple or hybrid identity constructions, along with children's beliefs, values, and relationships, may influence how children adopt or respond to socialization processes and lead to variability in children's developing reading identities (Johnston & Rogers, 2002). This variability may be widened by the complex interactions between reading identities and other developing identities, including gender,

racial, and linguistic identities, that may produce contradictions and conflict that may be resolved differently by different persons (Rex et al., 2010). Compton-Lilly (2006) and Nichols (2002) suggest that, even for young children, gender and racial identities may play salient roles in mediating reading identities.

The contexts in which reading and reading instruction occur may likewise play a significant role in how reading identities are presented, negotiated, and adopted by children. Reading identities may differ across spaces, with conflict between school and home reading identities being a common, but not universal, feature of the identities of young children who are exposed to different cultural models of reading (Rogers & Elias, 2012). In the cases where a conflict does exist, school literacies are more likely to be associated with behaviors, rules, and processes, whereas home literacies are more likely to be connected to relationships with family members and positive attitudes toward reading (Rogers & Elias, 2012). Furthermore, texts, and even the notion of reading, are increasingly viewed as subject to transgression and turnover by new texts and technologies, and a range of voices, many of them new or previously suppressed, that question the historical and cultural continuity of traditional definitions of reading (Michael, 1996). For children who are themselves changing as they develop, the instability of such key concepts as *text* and *reading* may make it harder to construct coherent identities as a reader (Jones, 2013; Rogers & Elias, 2012).

At present, there remains a limited research base from which to gauge the accuracy or plausibility of these various hypotheses, and no model has been proposed to attempt to link the potential factors that may influence or comprise early reading identities. Children's construction of reading identities have been understood thus far by

broadly extending processes of socialization onto the reading practices of young children. Though this approach has proved useful in explaining some observed aspects of children's reading identities, it remains an incomplete model of the 'how' and 'what' behind reading identities. The research presented so far has considered theory and knowledge generated from thinking or studies of any children, including both monolinguals and bilinguals. The next section of this chapter considers more fully what is known about young DLLs by exploring the specific research on the reading identities of these children.

Reading Identities in Young Dual Language Learners

Over the past decade and a half, researchers have conducted an increasing, though still small, number of studies based on the assumption that there is a unique relationship between identities and reading for DLLs (Block, 2007). Among these, only a handful have explored this relationship in early to middle childhood (Castro, 2014; Moje & Luke, 2009). This is the result of the confluence of several assumptions or biases in the current research. First, as has been discussed previously, for both theoretical and methodological reasons, young children have not been the focus of identity research. Second, there is limited research on the identities and identity processes of DLLs broadly. When study samples have included monolingual learners and DLLs, results or findings are often not disaggregated for DLLs, making it hard to draw conclusions specific to DLLs. Third, standardized self-concept scales and other identity measures have been shown to be unreliable across cultural and linguistic groups, and have been critiqued for lacking concepts that may be key to some groups, including DLLs (Harter, 2006,).

Though cultural and linguistic differences may contribute to what, and how, children express about identities, research approaches for exploring the multilingual and multicultural influences of DLLs on identity processes are limited. This section reviews the research that has navigated these assumptions to explicitly investigate the reading identities of DLLs in early childhood, spanning the period from before school entry through second-grade.

Entering a Community of Readers

Among this research, social constructivist and poststructural perspectives predominate. In particular, a community of practice perspective (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) has served as a framework to conceptualize how children are socialized into reading communities through the adoption of discourses, practices, and identities that establish them as a 'reader' within various home and school contexts.

Flores-Dueñas (2005) adopted this approach to consider the reading practices of 6- and 7-year old Spanish-English speakers in a first-grade transitional bilingual classroom. Flores-Dueñas broadly described using student writing samples, audio and video recordings of children, field notes, and formal and informal teacher and student interviews, but provided little detail about the nature of these data collection methods. She observed that the construction of an identity as a reader that is specific to a place or social group provides admission to a "literacy club" (Flores-Dueñas, 2005, p. 247) that may reify or reject certain ways of being and behaving in relation to reading. For DLLs who were not already familiar with English or school reading and discourse practices, joining this "literacy club" often required learning a new culture, discourse, and ways of interacting with reading, language, and texts.

DLLs, in essence, had to construct new reading identities when they entered school to fit in among their monolingual peers and participate in classroom reading events. Opportunities to read and learn to read were linked to how successfully students constructed identities that enabled them to enter the classroom "literacy club." Explicit instruction from the classroom teacher about the culture, discourse, and practices of school reading along with support for peer interactions around reading that allowed students to try-on and practice their developing reading identities reinforced that there was a way to be "admitted" into this "literacy club" (Flores-Dueñas, 2005).

Willett (2005) and Hong and Cheong (2010) further explored the concept of identities as membership in a community of practice by illustrating how reading instruction directs and supports the construction of identities that enable entrance into a community of readers. Studying DLLs in grades 1 and 2, respectively, Willet and Hong and Cheong drew on similar research methods that relied primarily on audio recordings of classroom interactions, field notes, student work artifacts, and interviews with the parents and teachers. Willett also used a ranking task that asked children to list who they wanted to have in their classroom the following year, and Hong and Cheong used an unspecified child interview protocol.

Willett (2005) and Hong and Cheong (2010) observed that adult-child transactions during instructional routines provided predictable interactions and discourse patterns about reading that DLLs could use to increase their competence and construct identities as fast learners of English reading. These children conceptualized reading through participation in these reading routines, which were the most prevalent and accessible forms of reading practice. DLLs then mimicked these interactions and

discourse strategies to develop collaborative peer relationships that enabled students to support one another and develop positive identities in the context of reading and reading instruction. Access to these predictable language and discourse patterns provided DLLs with models to help them interact around reading and texts and develop and display identities as competent readers, which facilitated their entrance into the community of practice of school reading.

Acceptance into such a community of practice may not be so direct, nor is it necessarily guaranteed by constructing a suitable identity. Studies by Toohey (2000), Day (2002), and Christian and Bloome (2004) suggest that DLLs' acceptance into a community of readers is negotiated in peer networks in school. Each of these studies drew on audio and video recordings of classroom interactions, field notes, student work artifacts, and interviews with the parents and teachers. During the observed processes of negotiation, children considered not only whether another child had taken-up the discourses, practices, and identities of the classroom reading community, but also the child's social status, or, stated differently, the social or symbolic capital he or she possessed (Bourdieu, 1977). Children's existing social and symbolic capital dictated whether or not they were allowed into the classroom community of readers, with high capital children gaining admission (Day), and low capital children remaining excluded (Christian & Bloome; Toohey). Constructing an identity as a reader was on its own insufficient to gain entrance to the classroom reading community without also constructing a valued social identity. Furthermore, bilingualism was generally associated with a lack of social capital that had to be overcome (Christian & Bloome, Day). However, children negotiated different reading identities in different social networks, and

were able to leverage networks in which they held more social capital to gain access to some reading communities (Day).

Though linking social capital to reading identities offers a compelling explanation of how and whether children are admitted to classroom reading communities, Hawkins (2005) presents two counter-examples that suggest that more robust interpretations of DLLs' classroom experiences may be needed to understand this connection. To develop these examples, Hawkins relied on a combination of traditional and non-traditional research tools. Like other previous researchers, Hawkins first drew on observations, video recordings of classroom events, and samples of student work. To these data sources Hawkins added non-traditional sources that included home visits and home observations, interviews with the children about their understandings of learning and play, parent interviews focused on children's school and home experiences, and sociograms that mapped children's social interactions at school.

Hawkins observed that DLLs' ability to engage successfully in reading activities was distinct from their ability to engage in social interactions, and were not necessarily determined by symbolic capital or social status in the classroom. Hawkins points to the experiences of two kindergarten DLLs, Anton and William, to support this claim. Hawkins observed that Anton used academic language and leveraged his knowledge of texts to interact with high status peers in academic contexts. However, Anton struggled to use language in informal social interactions, and though he was perceived as a good reader by his peers, was not identified as a desirable friend or playmate. Hawkins observed that William presented the opposite profile, and dominated social interactions with peers. But because he often could not hold a dominant position during reading

activities, he avoided interactions with peers around reading. He therefore did not develop strategies to participate successfully in activities that would have allowed him to identify as a reader.

The cases of Anton and William (Hawkins, 2005) present an alternate view of how social capital interacts with reading identities, and suggests that there may not, in fact, be a consistent relationship between the two. It is not clear whether Hawkins observed atypical cases, or whether the relationship between social and symbolic capital and reading identities functions in unpredictable ways that may not have been adequately captured by the other studies. Because of the limited research on this topic, no clear consensus exists on whether social or symbolic capital have a consistent effect on the development of reading identities.

Reading Identities that Include Bilingualism

The research discussed thus far has considered how DLLs negotiate entrance into a community of practice defined by monolingual, school-based, and English reading practices. Even less research has explored how DLLs may negotiate the construction of identities that enable them to access bilingual and biliterate communities of practices that may exist in the school, home, or community, or how they may manage their bilingualism in monolingual reading communities.

In what may be the only study of this topic with young DLLs, Kabuto (2010, 2011) traced the language development of her daughter, Emma, over four years in early childhood. Kabuto and her husband, Jay, supported Emma's interactions with texts even when she was not a fully capable independent reader, and validated her invented readings of the text over accurate readings, even when they crossed or mixed languages. Kabuto

observed that Emma's code-switching allowed her to discover answers to her own questions as she attempted to solve problems she encountered in texts. Jay's responses to Emma's dual language use constructed her bilingualism as an accepted practice for a 'reader,' and she responded by using code-switching to control and manage other aspects of story reading. Jay's affirmative responses to Emma's language use gave her more freedom to use both English and Japanese, and allowed her to develop more permeable boundaries and identities around reading. These responses enabled Emma to view reading as a universal rather than language-specific practice, and consequently to co-construct a reading identity that was inclusive of her cross-language resources.

When Emma entered school, the cross-language practices that enabled her to construct a bilingual reading identity and engage with her parents as an accepted 'reader' were no longer valued (Kabuto, 2011). In the monolingual English context of school, Emma's bilingualism not only wasn't relevant, but was counterproductive to becoming a valued student and reader. Emma's code-switching and cross-language practices were viewed as an obstacle to her construction of an identity as a good monolingual English reader, and consequently, to her entrance to the classroom community of monolingual English readers. To secure entrance to both her home and school reading communities, Emma learned to maintain two identities as a reader: one that valued and drew from both of her languages, and another that accepted dominant ideologies about the primacy of English and limited her to monolingual English language practices. Emma's entrance to school forced her to learn to distinguish between home and school, and private and public contexts, and to construct identities that responded to the demands and allowances of these distinctive settings.

Limitations of Current Research

These studies present a starting place for considering the reading identities of DLLs in early childhood. However, this body of research is admittedly small. Though this work presents early insights into how DLLs are socialized into school reading communities, it does not yet consider how DLLs may more broadly conceptualize reading and themselves as readers. The limited focus on English reading practices and the school reading identities of DLLs does not yet address questions about how children may construct reading identities that enable access to communities of readers in children's first language, or how they may negotiate their bilingualism across various monolingual and bilingual reading communities.

Though Kabuto (2010, 2011) has explored the identity development of her bilingual daughter, her research considers the experience of only a single child, and one who has been supported by well-educated and resourced bilingual parents. How other children, including those who do not have fluent bilingual parents, may learn to navigate multiple contexts that demand differing identities for entrance into a community of readers is unclear. These studies likewise do not consider whether reading identities may be embedded in the context of language rather than the context of literacy, or consider how language proficiency may affect the development of identities. Understandings of other aspects of reading identities, including the possible affects of social and symbolic capital, peer networks, and classroom reading instruction, are in their infancy, with the existing research providing only glimpses of how these concepts might be related. Furthermore, this research has relied overwhelmingly on adult reports of children's identities, with little attention given to child-centered methods of data collection or

analysis. These aspects of data collection and analysis will be discussed further in chapter three.

Summary

This literature review provides an overview of the broad concept of identity, and orients the reader to specific issues concerning identities in relation to reading, young children, and bilingualism. Several perspectives continue to influence current research on identities, and account for cognitive, psychological, and social factors that may influence identity processes. Though identities have not been extensively explored in young children, by age two children do engage in processes of self-representation and identity construction, and these processes continue to mature as children enter school. As identity and literacy studies have become more common in the literacy field, some researchers have begun to explore the development of reading identities in early childhood, including the reading identities of young DLLs. Though limited, this early research suggests that the process of how children are socialized into reading communities and whether bilingualism is valued by others may affect children's reading identities. The theoretical perspectives and research described here will inform the analysis and interpretation of the study data and findings. These findings are presented and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This study explored the reading identities of prekindergarten DLLs through an exploratory, multiple-case study design (Yin, 2014). The following research questions guided the study:

1. What are the reading identities of ten prekindergarten DLLs?
    a. How do these children describe and do reading?
    b. How do these children describe themselves as readers?
2. How do these children connect reading identities and their bilingualism?

In this chapter I detail the methodology of the study. Based on the scholarship discussed in Chapter 2, the study design reflected the need to: (a) explore the construction of reading identities in the context of bilingualism; (b) consider affective, cognitive, linguistic, and social processes connected to identities; and (c) draw on child-centered approaches to the collection and analysis of data. The methodological approach of this study allowed the research questions to be answered through detailed portraits of individual children, and through the identification of patterns and themes that contributed to an emergent conceptual model of reading identities. The following sections describe the methodology of the study, including detailed explanations of the study design, setting and participants, data sources, data collection methods, and the analytic plan.

Researching Children in Early Childhood

The still developing cognitive and linguistic capabilities of young children have led some researchers to view children as possessing insufficient abilities to consider,

reflect upon, and verbalize understandings of their own experiences (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). To work around this perceived problem, researchers studying school and home factors connected to children's early literacy development have generally focused on the collection and analysis of data from adults, especially teachers and mothers (Orellana & Peer, 2012). Children's own beliefs and practices have largely been considered through the reports of adults deemed to be capable of interpreting what children understand and perceive about their experiences. Research on children in early childhood has in this respect undervalued the voice of children as capable and valued constructors of meaning, including the meaning of their own lived experiences (Albon & Rosen, 2013; Orellana & Peer, 2012).

Research on reading identities has mirrored these broader trends in early childhood research. Because children in early childhood have not yet developed adult-like capabilities for many processes considered central to identity development, including abstract thought, self-reflection, and language, children have been assumed to be capable of providing only minimal insights into their own identities (Harter, 2012). Researchers have consequently relied primarily on parent or teacher interviews and researcher observations of young children to study reading identities in early childhood (Toohey, 2000; Day, 2002; Christian and Bloome, 2004).

Some researchers, including Rogers and Elias (2012), have attempted to solicit data directly from children. However, Rogers and Elias relied on interview protocols developed for adults, and analyzed verbal data while minimizing the role of drawings, role play, or other non-traditional and child-centered data sources. With few exceptions, young children have not themselves been viewed as direct or reliable sources of data on

their own reading identities. When they have, little information has often been provided about the nature or design of child interviews or other protocols used with young children (Flores-Dueñas, 2005; Hong & Cheong, 2010). In the only exception to this trend, Hawkins (2005) provided detailed descriptions about a combination of traditional and non-traditional research tools, including home visits and interviews with children about their understandings of learning and play.

In contrast to prior studies that have privileged adult sources of data or provided insufficient explanations and descriptions of child-centered research tools, the study design described in this chapter attempts to both use child-centered research tools and provide robust descriptions of these measures. This study design is grounded in a view of children as meaning-makers, and as a critical source of information for constructing an authentic understanding of the development and nature of reading identities during early childhood.

Accessing the perspective of children in early childhood presents several methodological challenges. Simply collecting artifacts, work products, or verbal records is likely to provide insufficient context and information for the researcher to make meaningful interpretations of young children's thinking and speech (Orellana & Peer, 2012). It is consequently important to adopt developmentally accessible and child-oriented methods of data collection, and to include children in the interpretation of their own work and language. The methods of data collection and analysis described here attempt to mindfully elicit the beliefs and views of young children to construct a representation of identities that bears fidelity to children's own beliefs, self-perceptions, and lived experiences as readers.

Study Design

This study employed an exploratory, multiple case study design. The exploratory case study is an empirical inquiry that extends our understandings of a complex social phenomenon that is otherwise poorly understood, or about which there is a lack of preliminary research (Ogawa & Malen, 1991; Yin, 2014). Given the current state of research on reading identities, this design is well-suited to the study of this phenomena. The exploratory nature of this design allowed for an open-ended search for information, the identification of variables relevant to young DLLs, the observation major patterns in how the phenomenon operates, and the development provisional explanatory constructs specific to young DLLs (Ogawa & Malen, 1991). The data were qualitative in nature, as constructs were not sufficiently developed to enable quantitative measures, nor would such measures necessarily be appropriate to the concepts under study. Data was incorporated from multiple sources to develop and corroborate observations (Ogawa & Malen, 1991; Yin, 2014). Cases in this study consisted of individual children who were regarded as embedded in a specific classroom context. Data on these classrooms was also collected as part of the study design.

The multiple case design has the potential to yield deep understandings of the phenomenon through within-case analyses, and broader understandings of the phenomenon through cross-case analyses. Within-case analyses led to individual case portraits that provide cogent, detailed descriptions of selected cases that preserve the complex, nuanced, and often indeterminate nature of reading identities (Ogawa & Malen, 1991). Cross-case analyses enabled explorations of the patterns and variations in reading identities across children. Cross-case analyses were not comparative, in that cases were

not measured or evaluated against each other. Rather the various cases were used to construct a complex conceptual understanding of reading identities. The conceptual framework developed through this exploratory case study aims for analytic generalizability, or results that corroborate, modify, reject, or advance theory about the phenomenon, including the identification of new factors related to the phenomenon (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2014). The design accordingly supports the identification of propositions and hypotheses about reading identities that will lay the groundwork for future research (Streb, 2010).

Research Setting

This study was conducted at an elementary school in a large, Northeastern city that was part of a multi-year research collaborative with researchers at multiple area universities. The school served a language diverse community with 66% of children speaking a first language other than English. Two of the school's three prekindergarten classrooms were participants in this study. The first was a mainstream, English-only classroom led by a monolingual English-speaking teacher. The second was a sheltered-English immersion (SEI) classroom led by a bilingual English-Spanish speaking teacher. Because no language testing was conducted prior to entry into prekindergarten, instructional placements were made based on the home language reported by the parents or parental preferences. Because of the relatively high number of English-Spanish DLLs and the presence of an English-Spanish teacher in the SEI classroom, English-Spanish prekindergarteners were typically placed in the SEI classroom, while children speaking other non-English languages were typically placed in the mainstream classroom.

The selection of a single site for this study enabled the collection of detailed data about the classroom contexts for reading and learning. Information about the classrooms was collected concurrent with data on the individual cases, and was used to describe the language, literacy, and instructional contexts for the cases.

Sampling

In case study designs, sampling is done for theoretical and not statistical reasons (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Yin, 2014). Accordingly, a sample of DLLs from across the two participating classrooms was selected using theoretical sampling methods. Following this approach, cases were selected according to a set of criteria selected to extend emergent theory and fill specific categories or types identified in the literature as being potentially important (Eisenhardt, 1989). This contrasts with quantitative sampling methods, where the purpose is to select a subset of a population for the purpose of making broader generalizations to the larger population. Theoretical sampling can add confidence that the emerging theory produced from an exploratory multiple case design is generic because the phenomenon can be observed to operate in predictable ways across a set of important criteria (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014).

Based on the reviewed research, sampling criteria included a consideration of: (a) first language; (b) gender; (c) teacher and parent reports of early reading practices; (d) teacher and parent reports of bilingual language practices; and (e) demonstrated or reported interest in reading. The goal of the sampling process was to select children that represented variation across each of these criteria. For example, children were sought who spoke multiple different first languages, as were children who sought out reading

and book interactions and those who did not. This variation extended to each of the sampling criteria.

A two-phase screening procedure was used to select cases (Yin, 2014). This approach included: (a) conducting an initial screening of the available sample based on preliminary and archival data to select candidates; and (b) collecting limited documentation or anecdotal information about the candidate cases to inform the selection of cases for the study. The initial screening identified children reported by the teacher or a family member as having a non-English home language. Having a moderate or severe disabilities was grounds for exclusion from the sample to not confound findings, as a disability may influence a child's views towards reading and learning more broadly. However, no children in either classroom were identified as having a disability. Documentation, anecdotal information from the teacher and family members, and observations related to the sampling criteria were collected about the candidates. This occurred during weekly visits to each classroom early in the school year and through the parent/family questionnaire, which is discussed in more detail below. The classroom visits allowed me to build rapport with the children prior to the start of data collection, made my presence more normative in the classroom space, and enabled the collection of information needed for selecting cases.

This study was part of a larger study through which consent had been obtained from a parent or guardian, in accordance with procedures approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB). Consent forms and procedures were modified to provide information on and consent for all aspects of this study. Participants for this study were selected from among the children for whom consent was obtained. Children were

selected through consultation with the classroom teachers and consideration of data relevant to the sampling criteria. Children were selected to represent variation across the sampling criteria, to the extent possible. The purpose of the study, confidentiality, and the rights of the child to withdraw were explained to each child. Children who agreed to participate were then included in the study sample. A total of ten children were initially selected for participation. One child dropped out of the study, and was replaced with an alternate child mid-way through the study.

Participants

Ten children participated in this study. Information about these children is shown in Table 3.1. All names used to identify children are pseudonyms. The participating children were in prekindergarten and were ages four to five during the study. The term "young children" is used in this study to refer to children of approximately this age. Of the ten total participants, six were selected from the mainstream English-only classroom and four were selected from the English-Spanish SEI classroom. The participants included an even number of males and females. The home languages of the participants included: Spanish, Cape Verdean Creole (Kriolu), Vietnamese, Portuguese, and Haitian Creole. The participants had varying levels of productive and receptive proficiency in English and their home language. Though no language testing had been done to ascertain children's proficiency levels in either language, parent and teacher reports of language use were used to describe children's language use in each language. More detailed descriptions of each child's language use and reading practices is reported in the case portraits in Chapter 4.

Table 3.1

Study Participants

Child	Age	Sex	Home Language	Classroom
Yara	4	Female	Spanish	SEI
Caleb	4	Male	Spanish	SEI
Elizabeth	5	Female	Spanish	SEI
Max	4	Male	Spanish	SEI
Raina	4	Female	Cape Verdean Creole	Mainstream
Ben	4	Male	Cape Verdean Creole	Mainstream
Stanley	4	Male	Haitian Creole	Mainstream
Manuel	4	Male	Portuguese	Mainstream
Jackie	4	Female	Vietnamese	Mainstream
Grace	4	Female	Vietnamese	Mainstream

Data Sources

The study design emphasized the collection of data that draws on the multiple ways of knowing and expression of which young children are capable (Dyson, 1990; Genishi, Stires, & Yung-Chan, 2001). The data sources provided a balance of short, descriptive data, and opportunities for extended, open-ended responses from the children and other adults who were knowledgeable about the children and their reading identities. Data was collected from children in a familiar classroom context, and included activities related to common instructional practices. Audio recordings and transcriptions of researcher-developed interviews with the children, child observations, teacher interviews, classroom observations, and a parent/family questionnaire informed the case portraits of the children's reading identities, and served as the basis of the cross-case analysis.

This study was designed to collect data from multiple participants (i.e., children, teachers, parents/families) and of multiple types (i.e., oral interviews, reading activities, drawings, observations, questionnaires). The use of multiple sources of evidence ensured that a sufficient diversity of data was collected to triangulate findings. Triangulation provides multiple measures of the same phenomenon, and ensures that the study's findings can be corroborated and supported by more than a single source of evidence (Eisenhardt, 1989; Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). For example, a parent report that a child was read to in Spanish and English at home, researcher observations of the child asking questions in Spanish during a book reading in English, and child reports during an interview that he likes to act out English-language books using Spanish all support the idea that the child engages in bilingual language practices around texts. This kind of convergence of multiple sources of evidence strengthens the construct validity of the case study, and is critical to reaching valid analytic generalizations from the data (Yin, 2014). Attention to triangulation and validity in the selection of data sources increases the likelihood that triangulation can be accomplished in the analysis of the data. Triangulation will be discussed further in the analytic plan.

Below I provide specific descriptions of each data source.

Child Interviews

Though this study valued young children's perceptions of reading and themselves as readers, tapping into children's perspectives, "is one of the most challenging aspects of working with this age group" (Orellana & Peer, 2012, pp. 645-646). The experiences, perceptions, and beliefs that a young child can share with others are mediated by the ability of the child to communicate these ideas in ways that are coherent to adults. When

language (and only language) is used as the method of interviewing young children, adult understandings will be more partial and incomplete than when language use is supported in developmentally appropriate ways, and when other modes of expression are allowed into the process (Westcott & Littleton, 2005).

Concerns about children's ability to communicate their ideas to researchers have been partially responsible for a number of creative research methods designed to enable children to participate in more developmentally appropriate ways (Gauntlett, 2007). In advocating for creative and child-centered interview approaches, James (1999), Mielonen and Paterson (2009) and others have argued that "recognizing children as people with abilities and capabilities different from, rather than simply less than, adults" (James, 1999, p. 246) is a more productive stance for generating and carrying-out more developmentally appropriate, and fruitful, interviews with young children. Such developmentally appropriate interview practices can include: providing opportunities for children to be actively, and not passively, involved; creating concrete contexts or situations to frame questions about abstract topics; engaging children in conversations as they play or participate in other hand-on activities; and enabling children to use multiple modes of expression, including drawing, art, and dramatic play (Parkinson, 2001).

These kinds of interview methods may offer children time to process complex or abstract questions and enable them to build a response in stages (Gauntlett, 2007; Harden et al, 2004). This may facilitate responses in children who have not developed strategies for recall or structured thought typically used by adults (Smith et al, 2003). These methods may likewise benefit children who do not have strong verbal communication skills or vocabularies (Hill, 2006), or children whose language ability has not yet

developed to match their cognitive ability (Horstman et al, 2008). This includes DLLs whose cognitive capacity and ability to formulate complex thoughts may exceed their communicative capacity in either or both languages.

The child interviews conducted as part of this study were comprised of three sessions that provided various contexts and modalities for children to express aspects of their reading identities. These included: (a) a semi-structured interview; (b) a book reading; and (c) a draw and talk activity. Each session lasted approximately 15 to 20 minutes, and occurred on separate visits. The interviews were conducted in a hallway space outside of the classroom where children were less likely to be distracted by surrounding activities. Children were encouraged to use non-English languages during each interview session. However, instructions and questions were only provided in English. Children were allowed to choose from a selection of token gifts following each interview session.

All interview sessions were audio recorded. Field notes were made during the interview to record children's affective, nonverbal, and behavioral responses. Analytic memos were drafted immediately following each session to summarize observations and record tentative interpretations and questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). These data collection and analysis procedures are discussed in further detail in later sections of this chapter.

Semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview was a one-on-one interview to gather answers to a common set of questions from all participants. The interview was comprised of four question types: (a) semi-structured questions (adapted from Jiménez, García, and Pearson, 1995); (b) fill-in-the-blank statements (Suárez-

Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, 2008); (c) yes/no questions; and (d) thumbs up, down, or sideways questions (adapted from Mielonen & Paterson, 2009). The questions addressed children's understandings of and feelings toward reading, beliefs about good readers, beliefs about bilingualism, and self-assessments as a reader. The question formats were designed to provide children with multiple verbal and nonverbal modes of response, and to provide multiple different formats for communicating and prompting children's thinking about the interview topics.

Book reading. Reading a book provided a more authentic context for children to engage in reading practices and talk about reading. In this interview the child selected one of three books provided by me (one was a bilingual book in the child's first language) to read in a one-on-one setting. During the reading, I posed questions to the child related to the child's reading behaviors and experiences with reading, and engaged in informal discussions about reading. Active contexts for talk, such as this one, can support young children's abstract thinking and provide language supports that enable richer talk (Parkinson, 2001).

Draw and talk. For many children, the ease and familiarity of drawing exceeds that of written or spoken language as a mode of expression (Fisher, Albers, & Frederick, 2014), and the non-linear and recursive nature of drawing is often better suited to children's developing minds than is the more structured nature of spoken language (Cox, 2005; Soundry & Drucker, 2010). For young children, the process of drawing can facilitate the development of more complex and abstract concepts by allowing the child to work through larger concepts in stages, and to add to, change, or backtrack from aspects of their thinking as they observe their drawing-in-progress (Brooks, 2005). As a

result, young children are often capable of producing drawn responses that exceed their communicative ability in oral or written language (Horstman et al, 2008). This is extenuated when children are asked to respond to complex or abstract concepts, emotions and thoughts, and self-perceptions in relation to specific tasks or contexts, such as reading or school.

Drawing further addresses concerns about the language capacity of young children to respond to abstract questions that may require the use of more complex syntax or less familiar vocabulary. Drawing is well-suited for children who have not yet acquired the verbal communication skills and vocabulary to address what are often treated as "adult" topics. Drawing is also well-suited for children whose language ability has not yet developed to match their cognitive ability. Young children often work out and make visible their thinking through the visual when they have not completely developed the needed tools to use written language, or when verbal language may seem inadequate (Haney, Russell, & Bebell, 2004; Hopperstad, 2010).

Draw and talk methods, which ask a child to first draw and then to explain his or her drawing through talk, combine children's verbal and visual languages to provide children with opportunities to work across multiple semiotic systems to convey their responses to questions on complex topics (Angell, Alexander, & Hunt, 2015). Kendrick and McKay (2004), Fisher, Albers, and Frederick (2014), and Chapman, Greenfield, and Rinaldi (2010) have demonstrated how the use of draw and talk methods can enable children to make sense of and express complex understandings of reading and their own identities, including understandings that were not evident through other research methods.

The draw and talk interview was conducted in small groups of 2 to 3 children. Small groups allow children to talk and support each others' construction of ideas, encourage elaboration, and support sharing of the content of drawings by providing linguistic and social supports that help children to explain their ideas (Kendrick & McKay, 2004; Parkinson, 2001). Concerns about children copying or "stealing" ideas have been largely unfounded with this approach, while multiple benefits have been observed by allowing children to work in groups. The drawing was preceded by a warm-up discussion about what, where, and with whom the children read. Each child was then provided with drawing materials to compose a drawing of him or herself reading. After completing their drawing, each child was then asked to explain their drawing in a one-on-one conversation. Clarifying and explanatory questions were used to prompt each child to interpret his or her drawing, and to co-label key aspects of the drawing (Angell, Alexander, & Hunt, 2015; Kendrick & McKay, 2004).

Child Observations

Observations provide a less structured context to collect information on children's reading-related behaviors and talk, including information that situates children in classroom contexts for reading and learning. For many children, natural classroom contexts that include interactions with the teacher, peers, and other adults provide more authentic and comfortable situations for engaging in reading-related behaviors (Westcott & Littleton, 2005). The observation of children in a range of formal, informal, and play-based contexts can provide insights into young children's viewpoints and experiences with reading across instructional settings and yield data on children's uses of reading and

texts that may not be evident in researcher-child interactions (Mielonen & Paterson, 2009).

Naturalistic observation methods were used to observe each child (Fawcett, 2009; Mukherji & Albon, 2010). These observations provided information on children's participation in observed reading events, including reading instruction, self-selected book readings, imaginative and dramatic play, and other reading-related events. Each child was observed on three occasions for approximately one-half hour on each occassion. Observations occurred during the instructional block set-aside for literacy instruction, and during times set-aside for free-choice activities. Free-choices activities included various reading-related choices, such as reading in individual or small-groups in the classroom library or listening to audiobooks. Each child was observed during at least one teacher-led reading event and one play-based, informal, or peer reading event.

Observation data was recorded using an adapted version of the target child observation method developed by Sylva, Roy, and Painter (1980). Observation records of reading-related activities included: (a) information about the context of the observation; (b) an activity record of what the child did; (c) a language record of what the child said and to whom; and (d) a record of what languages were used. This included documenting whether the child used non-English languages during reading, or interacted with instructional materials or printed texts in non-English languages. Child work samples and classroom artifacts were collected when possible to supplement the observation record. Memos were drafted immediately following each observation to summarize observations and record tentative interpretations and questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2007).

Teacher Interviews

Teacher interviews provided another view of children's reading and language practices in the classroom. Teacher beliefs, practices, and views towards children have frequently been utilized as a source of data in the existing research on early childhood literacy (Orellana & Peer, 2012). This is largely because teachers are an accessible source of data on young children, and often are among the adults who spend the most time with a child in an instructional context. In the classroom, the teacher may be the only adult who can provide another assessment of the child, and may observe patterns of behavior that are not seen during researcher observations. Teacher reports can be reliable sources of obtaining language and reading profiles because of the time spent with the child across a variety of instructional and informal contexts, and because of the trusting relationship often developed between early childhood teachers and children (Gutierrez-Clellen & Kreiter, 2003). On classroom instruction and curriculum, teachers are likewise a key source of information as both the architects and enactors of the instruction and daily routines that define classroom reading practices.

To draw on this teacher knowledge about the children and the instructional context, the classroom teachers were interviewed on both topics over two sessions. The first session included semi-structured questions about how the teacher approached reading in the classroom, and their beliefs about reading and language. The second session included semi-structured questions about each child as a reader and the teacher's observations of the child's reading and language practices in the classroom. This interview was timed to follow parent-teacher conferences to take advantage of the information the teachers had synthesized on each child in preparation for the conferences.

Classroom Observations

Classroom observations provided data on the broader contexts for reading and learning in each classroom. These descriptive observations of the classroom and instructional routines provided information on the instructional context, including the classroom set-up and available texts; opportunities to participate in reading and reading-related instruction; and the reading experiences that can be had in the classroom. These observations were conducted using a classroom observation tool adapted from section four of the *Early Language and Literacy Classroom Observation, Pre-K* (Smith, Brady, & Anastasopoulos, 2008).

Parent/Family Questionnaire

Parent and family questionnaires have been widely used to obtain the language histories of children from culturally and linguistically diverse families. These can be a reliable source of child language and literacy profiles because family respondents have often observed the child's language and literacy practices over long periods of time, typically exceeding the time any single teacher spends with the child (Gutierrez-Clellen & Kreiter, 2003). The parent/family questionnaire used in this study drew from topics and questions that appeared in home literacy questionnaires developed for use with dual language learners and their families (Hammer, 2014; Hammer, Komaroff, Rodriguez, Lopez, Scarpino, & Goldstein, 2012; Hammer, Rodriguez, Lawrence, & Miccio, 2007; Quiroz, Snow, & Zhao, 2010).

The questionnaire consisted of ten short items and two open-ended questions that solicited information on the child's home language exposure and use, the home reading environment, the child's reading practices, and the respondent's view of the child as a

reader. The questionnaire was translated into Spanish by a reputable translator and was made available to families in English and Spanish. All participants had at least one family member who was able to complete the questionnaire in either English or Spanish. It is likely that the home context of each family was dynamic and may have changed over the course of the study, including home reading practices that were reported on the questionnaire. Because the questionnaire was administered only once during the study, it accordingly captured only one moment in the home and family context.

Instrumentation

The instruments for the child interviews were developed over two pilot cycles. Piloting provides an opportunity to gather information about how protocols are working, the quality of data that is collected from the protocols, and the appropriateness of the data for answering the research questions (Yin, 2014). Data collected during the pilots can address both content and methodological issues concerning the data collection procedures. In regards to the former, the pilots provided an opportunity to explore possible factors that may be relevant to the research questions, and directed attention to the potential salience of gender, among other factors, in the children's conceptions of reading and readers. From a methodological standpoint, the pilots provided an opportunity to refine and try-out interview protocols that have had limited published history with young children, including non-traditional question formats and co-reading activities.

The first pilot was conducted in the spring of 2014 with one prekindergarten child in the same school as this study. The interview protocols were adapted from questions used by Jimenéz, García, and Pearson (1995, 1996) and a drawing activity used by

Kendrick and McKay (2004). The participating child, Jaylen, was identified by his teacher as an English-Haitian Creole bilingual who was "talkative." Jaylen's responses while reading a book together suggested that using concrete activities may create a context that facilitates talk about reading. While reading, Jaylen was able to enact reading concepts that he otherwise struggled to verbalize. His responses to my questions about bilingualism showed that he had emerging or ambiguous understandings of reading in more than one language, suggesting that more structured approaches to exploring this topic were needed. These and other lessons were summarized in a pilot report with a list of modifications to be attempted in the next pilot.

The second pilot was conducted in the spring of 2015 with two prekindergarten children at the same school. Revisions to the protocols were made based on the findings from Pilot 1 and additional research in the early childhood literature. Several existing protocols identified in the extant literature guided modifications to the pilot protocols, and served as a source for new interview methods that addressed shortcomings of the initial protocol. Notably, the book reading and draw and talk interviews were expanded, and non-traditional question types were added to the semi-structured interview. The participating children, Esteban and Lan, were English-Spanish and Vietnamese-English bilinguals, respectively. The classroom teacher identified Esteban as extroverted with good English, and Lan as shy with very limited English.

The second pilot primarily yielded minor changes to the protocols. This pilot revealed the variability in child responses to different sections of the interviews. Most sections of the protocols were experienced positively by one of the two children, suggesting a need for duplication of key question and topics throughout the protocols to

ensure adequate coverage of the research questions for each child. Lan spoke little English during the interviews, but expressed consistent interest in participating and provided sufficient data to develop a robust profile of her reading identities. This allayed concerns about whether the protocols would allow for sufficient data collection with children with less English proficiency. Profiles of both Esteban and Lan were developed from the pilot data, suggesting that sufficient information could be collected from the interview protocols to answer the research questions. A pilot report was drafted to summarize the lessons learned about the research design and field procedures, and to direct revisions to the protocols.

The remaining instruments used in this study, including the child observation, classroom observation, teacher interview, and parent/family questionnaire, were modified or adapted from existing protocols and were not piloted.

Data Collection

Data collection occurred over five months during the fall and winter of the 2015-2016 school year. A timeline of the data collection process is shown in Table 3.2. Teacher and child consents, sampling observations, and classroom observations occurred early in the process. Sample selection occurred after sufficient observations had occurred to select children to participate based on the sampling criteria. After the sample was selected, I visited the research site two to four days per week, and spent two to three hours across one or both of the classrooms on each visit. Each participant received approximately equal attention during the data collection process, with the times of interactions varying based on whether they occurred in group or one-on-one settings, and the type of data being collected.

Table 3.2

Data Collection Timeline

Data Collection	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb
Teacher consent	X				
Parent consents and child assents	X				
Sampling observations	X	X			
Sample selection		X			
Child interview--semi-structured interview			X	X	
Child interview--book reading				X	
Child interview--draw and talk				X	X
Child observations			X	X	X
Teacher interview 1		X			
Teacher interview 2					X
Classroom observations	X	X			X
Parent/family questionnaire	X	X			

The data collection period was interrupted by a short winter break. Child interviews were not conducted immediately after the winter break because those children who were immersed in a non-English environment over the break were likely to require a transition period to re-acclimate to English language use in school. I allowed for a ten day transition period before interviews were conducted. During this time, some child observations were continued.

Though the majority of classroom observations were conducted in October and November, an additional classroom observation was conducted in February near the end of data collection process. The purpose of this observation was to: (a) observe if there were major changes in instruction, and (b) provide data on the classroom from the end of

data collection calendar that would capture changes in instruction as the year progressed, new units and topics of study, and teacher adaptations of instruction to students needs. Conducting classroom observations at both the beginning and end of the collection period provided a fuller picture of the instruction that occurred in the classroom over the timeframe of the study.

Data analysis was done concurrent with data collection to inform the on-going collection of data. Data were prepared for analysis as they were collected. This included the transcription of audio data, and the translation of non-English language use, when possible. This included child uses of non-English languages in the interviews, and parent or family uses of non-English languages on the questionnaire. Transcriptions were made using standard conventions for conversation analysis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984), with consideration for differences in the communicative norms of young children and adults that affect the transcribing of child language (Ochs, 1979).

A detailed data accounting log was used to track the collection of data by type and child (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). The data log included a listing of each site visit by date with information about the data collected. A child by data source matrix was used to track the data collected for each child. The data log was used to inform data collection plans for each site visit, and to ensure that all data sources were collected for each child. The data log created an audit trail that comprised a complete accounting of all data by child and date of collection, and all decisions made during the data collection and analysis process (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Ogawa & Malen, 1991). A broader case study database was also maintained that included the data collection protocols, collected data, and researcher reports of the data including field notes and analytic memos (Corbin &

Strauss, 2007; Yin, 2014). These provide an opportunity for the data and data collection procedures to be inspected, verified, refuted, or replicated, which supports the reliability of the study and its findings (Ogawa & Malen, 1991; Yin, 2014).

To protect the rights of participants, parent permission and child consent were obtained from all participants prior to the collection of data. The purpose of the study, confidentiality, permission to record, and the rights of the children to withdraw were explained to each child prior to his or her participation. Consent procedures provided that if a child appeared uncomfortable or expressed discomfort during the data collection process, data collection would be halted, and efforts would be made to reassure and comfort the child, and the child's right to abstain from part or all of the study, temporarily or permanently, would be reiterated. If a child had chosen to halt participation in the study, they would have been allowed to rejoin the study at a later time if they expressed an interest in participating again.

Analytic Plan

The purpose of the data analysis was to explore and develop an emerging understanding of the reading identities of young DLLs. This included the identification of attributes and variations in children's reading identities, the distillation of major themes and patterns in how reading identities operate, the development of provisional explanatory constructs of reading identities, and the refinement of questions or conceptual perspectives that might guide subsequent investigations of reading identities (Ogawa & Malen, 1991). These analytic outcomes were achieved through a process of data analysis that included: (a) the analysis of classroom level data to contextualize the identity processes of the participants; (b) the analysis and condensation of child level data

through coding; (c) within-case analyses that identified themes, patterns, and salient constructs related to each child's reading identities; and (d) cross-case analyses that explored potential commonalities and contrasts across cases.

The analysis consisted of a mixed inductive and deductive approach. This approach allowed the analysis to reflect views of reading identities that are specific to the lived experiences of these children, and potentially absent from existing theory, while also allowing existing theory to be used to shed light on the experiences of the specific children in this study. The inductive process of data analysis included comparing and contrasting data in search of patterns, drawing inferences from cumulative patterns and links in the data, and seeking out data to support or refute emerging frameworks. These inductive coding and analysis procedures comprised the majority of the analytic process.The deductive process of data analysis emphasized the application of existing frames and concepts to the data to question, revise, and apply existing theory. The specific coding and analytic processes that were used are discussed in more detail below.

The analysis of data began during the data collection process. Links, connections, and reflections on the data and theory were recorded through analytic memos and jottings. Analytic memos are written narratives that document researcher reflections and ongoing attempts to synthesize the data and construct analytic meanings about the phenomenon under study (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Jottings are shorter notes or reflections that document emerging connections or commentary during fieldwork. These writings included emergent insights, potential themes, methodological questions, design decisions, and links between themes and theory (Rosman & Rallis, 2012). These

initial forms of analysis were followed by a formal process of data condensation and analysis. This process is described in the following sections.

The qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti was used to support the organization and analysis of the data.

Classroom Analysis

The classroom analysis provided information on the context for reading and learning in each classroom. This included information about: (a) the classroom environment, (b) opportunities to read and participate in reading-related instruction, (c) instruction and instructional routines, (d) available texts, and (e) support for children's languages and cultures. Analyzed data sources included the classroom observations and teacher interviews. Each data source was coded independently with descriptive and in vivo codes (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Descriptive coding involved the labeling of data with short words or phrases that characterized sections or passages of data. In vivo coding was similar to descriptive coding, but used words or short phrases from the participants own language as codes. In vivo coding was limited to the teacher interviews. A complete list of the codes is shown in Appendix A.

Codes were grouped into a smaller number of categories or themes through a process of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Matrix displays were used to support the identification of patterns within each classroom. These included classroom by code and data source by code matrices. Instances of each code were viewed in the data to inform emerging understandings and develop converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2014). Cumulative patterns and links in the data were used to identify major themes about each classroom. Data was sought to support or refute these emerging understandings. The

resulting conclusions were developed into portraits that summarized the contexts for reading and learning in each classroom. Each portrait presented themes for each classroom with examples from the data sources.

Coding of Child Data

Data on the child cases was analyzed and condensed through two cycles of coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Analyzed data sources included the child interviews, child observations, parent/family questionnaire, teacher interview, and collected artifacts. First cycle coding included inductive and deductive codes. Coding began with inductive coding. Starting with inductive coding more readily facilitated the identification of topics or themes that were salient in the data, and was more likely to reveal topics or themes that were not present in the deductive codes or the existing literature. Deductive coding was then used to identify topics that may have been overlooked.

Inductive codes were generated through descriptive and in vivo coding. Descriptive coding involved the labeling of data with short words or phrases that characterized sections or passages of data. In vivo coding was similar to descriptive coding, but used words or short phrases from the participants own language as codes. Inductive codes were developed and applied separately for each data source and child. New codes and operational definitions were recorded and memoed during the coding process. A complete list of inductive codes is shown in Appendix B. Deductive codes included salient features or views of reading identities from the extant literature. These codes were identified prior to the collection of data, and operational definitions for each

code were developed from the literature and refined as needed. A list of deductive codes used in this process in shown in Appendix C.

Because the draw and talk interview included both visual and linguistic data, it required additional coding procedures. The analysis of visual images is generally regarded as a more holistic than systematic process, emphasizing the meaning of the image and its parts rather than the component aspects of its design (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014; Soundy & Drucker, 2010). The draw and talk procedure included the co-labeling of the drawing with the child, which functioned as an initial assigning of descriptive codes to the drawing. The content of the co-labeled drawings was then coded concurrently with the transcription of the child's description of the drawing. This process treated the drawing and the child's description of it as a single artifact, which allowed the analysis to use the child's explanation of the drawing to facilitate an analysis of the image (Kendrick & McKay, 2004). This procedure avoided researcher interpretations of children's intended meanings, which can be difficult to conclude from the drawings alone (Angell, Alexander, & Hunt, 2015; Haney, Russell, & Bebell, 2004).

After the first cycle coding was completed, second cycle coding was conducted with a focus on pattern coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Second cycle codes work with the first cycle codes themselves. Pattern coding involves grouping first cycle codes into a smaller number of categories. Pattern coding serves to condense data into a smaller number of analytic units, helps the researcher develop a schema for understanding the phenomenon, and lays the groundwork for analyses by surfacing common themes. Promising pattern codes were written up in an analytic memo to provide an explanation of the code and the significance of the included first cycle codes. The

pattern codes were summarized in a data summary table the showed the child and data sources in which each code appeared (Rossman & Rallis, 2012).

Within-Case Analysis

The within-case analysis identified major patterns and themes about the reading identities of each child. Children were analyzed individually to develop case portraits specific to each child. Matrix displays were used to support the identification of patterns in the data codes for each child (Miles et al., 2014). These included data source by code and data type by code matrices. Data sources included child interviews, child observations, teacher interviews, and the parent/family questionnaire. Data types included child, teacher, and parent sources of data.

Instances of each code were viewed in the data to develop emerging understandings and develop converging lines of inquiry (Yin, 2014). Cumulative patterns and links in the data were used to identify major themes about each child. Each theme "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). Themes were explained and explored in analytic memos, and data was sought to support and refute each emerging theme. This included triangulating each theme across data sources and data types (Yin, 2014). This was facilitated by the use of matrices that included data source by theme, data type by theme, and theme by research questions matrices. These matrices help the researcher to stay close to the research questions and operationalized definitions in the analysis. Themes were iteratively revised and triangulated across multiple data sources or types, and the resulting themes were developed into case portraits of each child. Each portrait presented major themes for each

child with examples from the data sources. Selected case portraits are presented in Chapter 4.

Cross-Case Analysis

The cross-case analysis explored potential commonalities and contrasts in reading identities across children. Cases and themes were juxtaposed to consider how they differed and resembled one another, including how much variation existed in the participants and what patterns were identifiable across children (Ogawa & Malen, 1991). Patterns and themes were identified across both cases and groups (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Yin, 2014). Groups included sorting children by classroom, home language, and gender. This process was supported by the use of various matrix displays to condense the data and identify broad patterns across the corpus of themes and data (Miles et al., 2014). These included child by theme, group by theme, and group by code matrices.

Tentative cross-case themes were explored through analytic memoing, and data was sought to support and refute each emerging theme. This included triangulating each theme across data sources, data types, and cases (Yin, 2014). Cross-case themes were judged according to Patton's (1990) dual criteria: internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. According to these two criteria: "Data within themes should cohere together meaningfully, while there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes" (cited in Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 91). Themes that did not cohere together meaningfully were revised or eliminated. Themes that did not have clear and identifiable distinctions between them were combined so that such distinctions did exist between factors.

From these cross-case themes, key factors were identified and formulated into an emergent conceptual model of reading identities. Patton's (1990) dual criteria was again used to judge potential factors for the model. The model was revised through systematic, iterative comparisons of the model with the data, including repeated testing against the case portraits for coherence and adherence to the observed cases (Eisenhardt, 1989). Iterating between theory and data continued until there was saturation, or when incremental improvement to the theory was minimal (Eisenhardt, 1989). The goal of this process was to produce a theoretical understanding of reading identities that was parsimonious, testable, logically coherent, and had a close fit with the lived experiences of the young DLLs in this study (Pfeffer, 1982). The cross-case themes and model are presented in Chapter 5.

Reliability and Validity

Reaching quality conclusions depends on maintaining rigorous standards in the collection and analysis of data to maintain the reliability and validity of the study results. In qualitative research, reliability refers to the consistency and replicability of the study processes over time, across researchers, and across methods (Miles, et al., 2014; Yin, 2014). Clear documentation of the procedures and methods used in the collection and analysis of data that could be inspected by an outsider, including the use of the data accounting log and maintenance of the case study database, increase the reliability of the study (Yin, 2014).

Internal validity refers to the credibility or authenticity of conclusions. This is increased by analytic procedures that include the explicit linking of interpretations with data, reaching converging conclusions through triangulation across multiple sources of

evidence, considering alternative explanations of the data, and comparing emergent concepts, theory, or hypotheses with extant literature (Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2014). In research with young children, participants may present differing interpretations of the same events across multiple responses, provide contradictory reasons or explanations, or provide explanations that do not make sense to an adult interpreter. The triangulation of conclusions across multiple child data sources, or the triangulation of conclusions across child and adult data sources, can support the validity of conclusions while honoring the value of a child-centered approach to research (Albon & Rosen, 2013; Orellana & Peer, 2012). Child-centered and accessible methods further contribute to the internal validity of the study by enabling a broader range of relevant data to be considered in the analysis, including data from the subjects who are under investigation in the study.

External validity refers to the transferability or generalizability of the conclusions. In the case of an exploratory case study, conclusions drawn from the cases are generalizable to theory as analytic generalizations and to the extent that the participants are related or similar to other children, but are not directly generalizable to larger populations beyond the participants (Yin, 2014). The procedures described in the previous sections have been designed to maintain rigorous standards in the processes of data collection and analysis to support the reliability and validity of the study results.

Researcher-Child Relationship

The relationship between adult and child in research requires considered attention to social relations of power, reciprocity, and responsibility. This is particularly important when working with young children who may not always understand the purposes of research, or the implications of consent and participation in research (Skeggs, 2002). The

changing attitudes and emotions of young children, who are typically regarded as more vulnerable and less agentive than older children, create a particular contextual field for conducting research. The taking of or adherence to a pre-determined role with children is difficult, if not impossible, given the fluid and often unpredictable nature of young children. Attempting to do so can lead to oversimplifying interpretations of children's responses, which can be unexpected and may not fit into predetermined frames. Attempts to create stability can inhibit, rather than create, the kind of authentic, dialogic interactions with children that are likely to lead to authentic understandings of children's experiences.

Through the data collection methods described above, I attempted to understand children's constructions of reading identities and the values, beliefs, and views of reading they held as they constructed understandings of reading and the world around them. My attempts to engage children in understanding their own worldview required me to embrace the often non-linear, imaginative, and changing nature of child-centered interactions, and thus required an on-going negotiation and re-evaluation of my relationship with the study participants.

Given the fluidity of these researcher-child interactions and relationships, particular attention must be given to the nature of power and responsibility between the researcher and children. Albon and Rosen (2013) note that the researcher has the opportunity, and the obligation, to be answerable to the research participants. Answerability, in this context, means being cognizant of and responsible for the interests of the child, while also maintaining a broader view toward social justice. This is particularly relevant in early childhood spaces, which contain and nurture children, yet

enable the ready surveillance of them. This answerability is negotiated in a complex reality that is embedded in social relations and contexts that are not always easily or clearly navigated. Research with young children therefore requires a constant attention to what Albon and Rosen (2013) describe as an *ethics of answerability*. This ethic requires "continuous and committed attempts to bring meaning to child-participants about their desires, explanations, and experiences" (Albon & Rosen, 2013, p. 99).

In attempting to work toward this ethical goal, my interactions with the study participants aimed to help children make meaning of their reading identities that were under study, including their own experiences, goals, and processes of reading, with the hope not only of yielding understandings for this study, but for supporting their own growth and success as readers. Conversations with the children during data collection not only emphasized the collection and interpretation of data for the purposes of the study, but also emphasized making meaning of these data collection experiences with the participants. In this way, children's participation in the study hopefully facilitated their own understanding and development of a sense of who they were as a reader.

My characteristics as a researcher may have had additional impacts on the nature of the data collected in this study and its interpretation. Though I spoke and understand some oral Spanish and had moderate proficiency with written Spanish, I was not sufficiently proficient in any non-English languages to engage with children in a language other than English. It is possible that children's responses may have been different when expressed in their first language rather than English, and what they may have been able to communicate in English may have differed from what or how they would have communicated in their first language. However, given the language diversity

of the participants, it is unlikely that any researcher (unless he or she is an extremely gifted multilinguist) would have had proficiency in all, or even most, of the languages spoken by the participants. I attempted to provide opportunities for children to use their preferred language by encouraging them to use non-English languages in the data collection process and translating children's non-English talk for analysis, though children only occasionally did so.

Given the linguistic and developmental level of participants, and their potentially emerging ability with the English language, I also recognize that I may not have fully understood what children communicated, including the meaning of their drawings or play. I attempted to account for these concerns, and the design of this study provided space for and privileged the voices of the children who were being studied in the interpretation and explanation of their own actions and identities. This included both linguistic and non-linguistic ways for the children to communicate about their own identities. I negotiated these adult-child interactions with a mindfulness of the power dynamics present in these contexts, and attempted to adhere to a relational ethic of answerability that included a committed engagement to both the research participants and to a broader notion of justice (Albon & Rosen, 2013).

Acknowledging the role of both reflexivity, or the presence of the researcher's preconceptions, values, and theories (Maxwell, 1996), and reactivity, or the response of the researcher and research participants to each other during the research process (Paterson, 1994), I took an on-going reflective stance to identify and examine how my own subjectivity was influencing the data and data collection process. This included an ongoing, critical consideration of my own experiences, influences, and views throughout

the processes of data collection, analysis, and theory development. These reflections were recorded in analytic memos and jottings during the processes of data collection and analysis, and were kept in the case study database.

Summary

This study employed an exploratory, multiple-case study design to study the reading identities of prekindergarten DLLs. Participants were ten children ages 4-5 selected from across two classrooms using theoretical sampling methods. The children spoke home languages that included: Spanish, Cape Verdean Creole (Kriolu), Vietnamese, Portuguese, and Haitian Creole. Data sources were: (a) child interviews, including semi-structured questions, a book reading, and a draw and talk activity; (b) child observations; (c) teacher interviews; (d) classroom observations; and (e) a parent/family questionnaire. The data sources provided a balance of short, descriptive data, and opportunities for extended, open-ended responses from the children and other adults who may be knowledgable about the children.

Data collection occurred over approximately five months during the fall and winter of the 2015-2016 school year. The data collection process was recorded in a data accounting log and a case study database. Data analysis included: (a) the coding and analysis of classroom data to provide information on the context for reading and learning; (b) the coding of child data sources with inductive and deductive codes; (c) within-case analyses that explored the reading identities of each child; (d) cross-case analysis that identified salient themes across children and led to a conceptual framework based on syntheses of these findings. Throughout the research process, the researcher-child

relationship was negotiated as a fluid process with attempts to be answerable to the child participants in the study.

The results of the analysis are presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 presents case portraits of selected participants. The purpose of the case portraits is not to create a typology of readers, but to present portraits of select children that are nuanced and illustrate the complexity of reading identities, early reading, and bilingualism. Chapter 5 presents cross-case themes and an emergent conceptual model of reading identities. The model presents factors and interactions that played a role in reading identities in the context of the study. The results of the within and cross-case analyses are discussed in Chapter 6 and are situated in current research and theory on reading identities. Conclusions of the study and implications for practice and future research are presented in Chapter 7.

Chapter 4

Within-Case Results

In this chapter I present detailed portraits of four participants from the study. These portraits illustrate the various ways that reading identities were constructed, taken-up, and expressed by the participating children. I first explain how the four selected cases were chosen from among the ten participants. I then present portraits of the four children. These portraits are organized by classroom, with each set of portraits preceded by a profile of the reading and learning context of the respective classroom. The portrait of each child begins with an introduction that includes a description of the child's language practices and home reading context. I then present key themes for each child organized by the research questions. Major headings for each portrait reflect the topics of the three research questions of this study: (a) describing and doing reading; (b) describing the self as a reader; and (c) connecting reading identities and bilingualism. Though some themes were identified for more than one child and thus appear more than once, other themes were unique to a single child. All themes and conclusions presented in the case portraits were triangulated across multiple data sources. A detailed explanation of this process is presented in Chapter 3.

Selected Children

The children described in this chapter were selected from among the ten prekindergarten children who participated in the study. All of the participating children were DLLs with some level of proficiency with English and a non-English language. Four children were selected for inclusion in this chapter based on: (a) the availability of

robust data across multiple sources, and (b) cases that represented various emerging aspects of reading identities. Each of the selected children were emblematic of themes, patterns, and salient constructs in the broader set of ten children that participated in the study. A complete list of these themes is shown in Appendix D. Key information about the four children described in this chapter is shown in Table 4.1. Together, these four portraits capture the range of ways that the within-case analysis was able to answer the research questions.

Table 4.1

Selected Children

Child	Age	Sex	Home Language	Classroom
Yara	4	Female	Spanish	SEI
Caleb	4	Male	Spanish	SEI
Raina	4	Female	Cape Verdean Creole	Mainstream
Jackie	4	Female	Vietnamese	Mainstream

Classrooms

These children attended one of the two prekindergarten classrooms that were included in this study. One was a mainstream English-only classroom taught by Ms. Fisk. The other was a sheltered English immersion (SEI) classroom led by Ms. Hernández. Though both classrooms used the same curriculum, implementation of the curriculum and instructional emphases differed across classrooms. A summary of the context of each classroom is shown in Table 4.2. This table highlights key similarities and differences between these two classrooms, including key differences in the focus of reading instruction and the supports provided for language and bilingualism. A detailed portrait

of the reading and learning context of each classroom appears with the portraits of the selected children in the sections that follow.

Table 4.2

Classroom Contexts

Mainstream English-Only Classroom	Sheltered English Immersion Classroom
Access to Print Rotating, curated books Connections to curriculum and child interests	*Letters and Phonics* Rote letter and phonics instruction Decoding as a primary goals
Reading Instruction Focus on learning reading habits and norms De-emphasis of a required phonics program Centrality of book readings	*Reading Instruction* Highly structured lessons Limited book readings Real world applications
Support for Languages Praise of bilingualism	*Support for Languages* Dual language instruction Model and support biliteracy Structured English practice

Ms. Hernández's Classroom

Ms. Hernández taught in an SEI classroom. Though she had worked at the school for several years in the main office, this was only in her second year of teaching. She was an English-Spanish bilingual, and spoke often about the influence her family had on her views about reading. Ms. Hernández's mother was educated through sixth grade, and her father completed high school as a child before attending college when Ms. Hernández was twelve years old. Her family experiences at home led her to value diverse literacy practices, including home literacies that were not academic. This fueled Ms. Hernández's belief that "you don't need words to read" because you "can still engage with texts, look at books, talk about pictures." This was reflected in signs near the library area that told

children that they could read a book if they “read the words,” “read the pictures,” or “retell the story.”

Figure 4.1. A picture of Ms. Hernández’s classroom.

Classroom Context

According to the school district, teachers in SEI classrooms were supposed to deliver instruction primarily in English, with limited use of non-English language clarifications. Children were expected to learn English through its use with academic content rather than through explicit English language instruction. The children assigned to Ms. Hernández’s room were exclusively English-Spanish bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals. Though some children were already fluent English speakers, other children were just starting to learn English. In practice, Ms. Hernández did not strictly follow the SEI model. Her classroom more closely resembled a dual language classroom, with English and Spanish used concurrently by the children and Ms. Hernández for instruction and play. Though talk during instruction occurred in both languages, books and instructional materials were only available in English. In some cases, children also received additional English as a second language (ESL) instruction from a specialist.

The classroom itself (Figure 4.1) was bright and inviting, and the room was neatly divided into different work and play spaces. Children’s work was posted on the walls,

and group and individual products often included writing scribed by the teacher in both English and Spanish. There was a single bookshelf in the classroom, and a small bench next to it that comprised the reading area. Though inviting, the area was often busy. It was placed next to one of two doors in the classroom, and next to a rug that was used as a play area. Far from a quiet or distraction-free area, it was often busy with children playing. The books in the shelf included narrative and nonfiction texts, and they were packed tightly into the shelves. In other parts of the room, audio books and a computer station made some texts available through alternatives to print books.

Reading Instruction

Ms. Hernández adopted a structured approach to reading instruction in the classroom. Instruction focused on letters and phonics or directed reading activities with classroom texts. Book readings often featured a picture walk or a review of main events, which sometimes substituted for a reading of the book. During these instructional activities, children often shouted-out ideas and answers to questions. Though Ms. Hernández asked children to give others "time to think," norms for listening and talking were not consistently enforced. Instructional activities typically included tasks like completing a cause and effect chart about key events (see Figure 4.2), or sequencing main events using words like "First," "Then," and "Next."

Ms. Hernández's views about reading centered around decoding. Ms. Hernández explained that she wanted children to be able to produce letter sounds without visual cues, sound out consonant-vowel-consonant words, and blend sounds. She assessed the number of letters and letter sounds each child knew, and used this as a benchmark for measuring learning. Letter and phonics instruction focused on recitation and

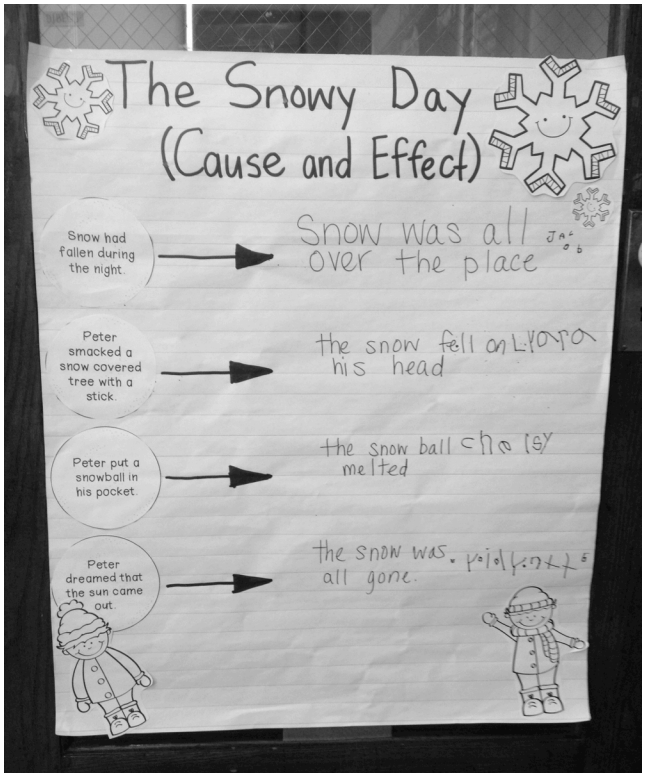

Figure 4.2. Cause and effect chart about the book *The Snowy Day* by Keats (1962).

memorization. A common activity had children repeat a letter with a sample word and the letter sound (e.g., "c, cat, kuh"). Though Ms. Hernández stated that repetition helped children to learn letter-sound correspondences quickly, she also observed that children often struggled to directly connect letters with their sounds without repeating the memorized phrase. Though most phonics instruction was highly structured, some practice activities used games and toys. These included matching upper- and lower-case letters, or using letter tiles to spell children's names or lists of common classroom words. These phonics activities were conducted primarily in English, though they were sometimes negotiated bilingually in English and Spanish.

Other reading instruction connected to content area topics or to real-world uses of literacy. In a letter writing activity for the book *A Letter to Amy* (Keats, 1968), Ms.

Hernández helped the children to write letters and then "mail" them by placing them in a cardboard mailbox. She invited the local postman to collect, and later deliver, the letters the children had "mailed" to each other. The children learned how to address a letter, write and use "To" and "From" lines on an envelope, and apply a stamp. Ms. Hernández also described making an effort to incorporate book readings into crafts and other activities, and into content area instruction. This included having children count items and place them in a red pocket that resembled the pocket of the main character in *The Snowy Day* (Keats, 1962). Letter and reading practice also occurred through computer-based literacy games and audio books that were available during center time.

Support for Children's Languages and Cultures

Ms. Hernández focused on positive aspects of bilingualism, describing bilingualism as children's "superpower." She described how bilingualism can be advantageous to early readers by broadening their knowledge of letter sounds and word parts, expanding content knowledge, and allowing children to accommodate new knowledge through flexible language practices that enable them to draw from both English and Spanish. Ms. Hernández likewise expressed an awareness of some challenges for bilingual children, including that switching between languages can be confusing or overwhelming, and that developing separate vocabularies across languages can lead to frustration when a child can't express an idea in their preferred language.

Ms. Hernández supported and modeled bilingual language practices in the classroom through dual language instruction, support for Spanish language use, and code-switching. Ms. Hernández used both English and Spanish during instruction, repeating instructions first in one language and then in the other. This included directions,

questions about texts, vocabulary words, and explanations. Language flexibility was a common feature of instruction, and children often moved between languages within activities. When scribing child responses, Ms. Hernández typically wrote in the language used by the child, producing both English and Spanish text on class work products. An example of Ms. Hernández's dual language writing is shown in a semantic map on friendship in Figure 4.3 that included responses scribed in both English and Spanish. Ms. Hernández likewise prompted students to translate vocabulary words during book readings, or to translate other children's talk between Spanish and English.

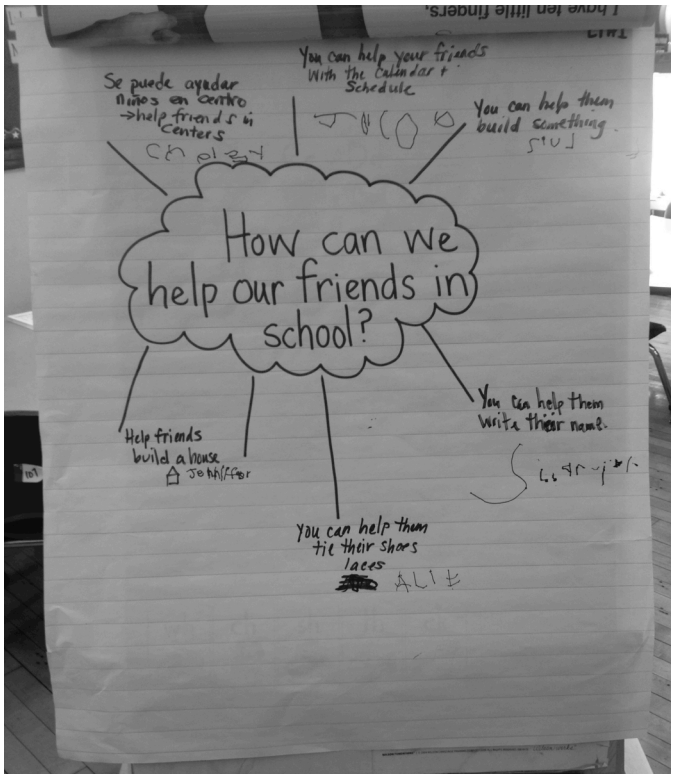

Figure 4.3. An example of dual language writing in Ms. Hernández's classroom.

Some of Ms. Hernández's book selections likewise reflected the linguistic and cultural diversity of her classroom. Multicultural characters were evident in some

classroom texts and in books sent home with children for reading with a parent or family member. These included multiple books by Ezra Jack Keats, ethnically diverse characters in some books and poems, and Latino culture represented in some Spanish language books. Though bilingual books were not read during class, Spanish language books were sent home with children to support family reading practice. Children were also provided with English language readers that used repetitive language and pictures to provide structured English language practice at home.

Yara

Yara spoke Spanish and English. Her mother reported that Spanish was the primary language used to talk to Yara, but reported that English was occasionally used. She reported that Yara also used Spanish to speak with her family. Though Spanish was the primary spoken language in the home, the family only owned children's books for Yara in English. At school Yara moved between English and Spanish, but described a preference for Spanish. Her talk during play and reading events demonstrated an able command of both languages. Ms. Hernández described Yara as among "the most vocal about books and reading" and "one of the only ones in the group that ever talks about books in Spanish."

Five themes were identified for Yara. The first was that she participated in reading events verbally. The second was that she took active control of reading events. The third was that she evaluated her own reading ability positively. The fourth was that she expressed likes and dislikes about reading. The last was that she expressed a desire to read in Spanish. These themes are organized below by research question.

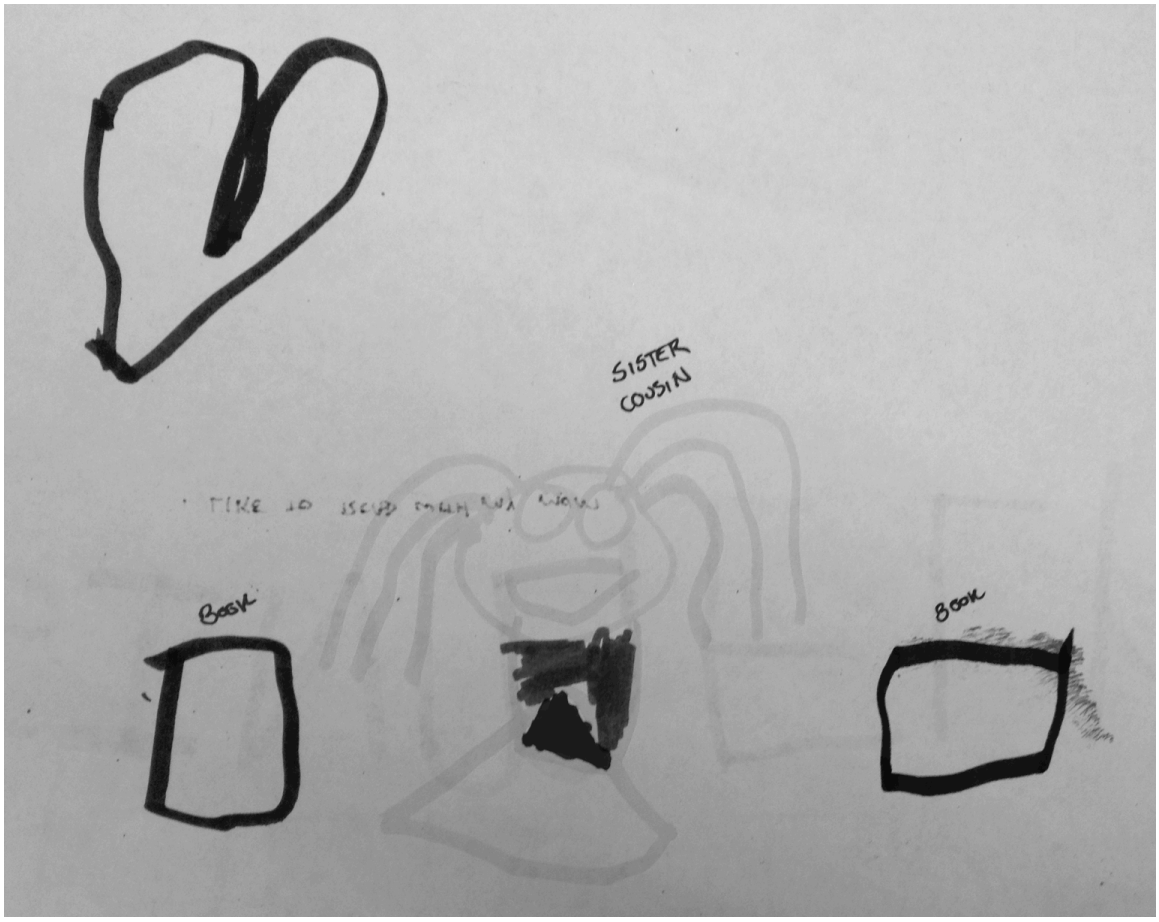

Figure 4.4. A drawing by Yara about reading.

Describing and Doing Reading

Verbal participation. Verbal participation entails the use of oral language to talk about books or other texts. For Yara, this included asking for books to be read aloud, answering questions, talking about events or characters in a book, and sharing personal connections or narratives. During and after book readings, Yara answered questions from the teacher, responded to comments made by peers, identified objects in pictures, and engaged in conversations about the events in books. At home, Yara's mother reported that she talked about books and "asks questions" during readings. Ms. Hernández made similar observations about Yara's participation at school. She described Yara as

"constantly making predictions, answering comprehension questions, and giving thoughtful responses" during book readings.

Yara often used opportunities for talk to make connections between the text and her own lived experiences. For example, when the text mentioned a “green flute,” Yara and I had the following conversation:

CJW: Do you see the green flute?

Y: Which one is it?

CJW: Where is the green flute?

Y: I don’t- I don’t know.

CJW: Is it that one right there? (Points to the green flute.) It’s very small right there. Do you know what a flute is?

Y: No.

CJW: It’s like an instrument you blow into it and it makes music.

Y: O my- my brother had- had one but my mom no me regalo. I- I don’t- I want one of those. I don’t got one.

When it became clear to me that Yara did not know what a flute was, I offered the explanation that "It’s like an instrument you blow into it and it makes music." Yara replied by recalling her own experience with her brother’s flute, and her desire to have one of her own.

Yara similarly drew on her own experiences to construct explanations of events in books. When Yara saw a picture that showed children outside with a blanket and other supplies in hand, she predicted that they were going to have a picnic:

Y: They doing a picnic.

CJW: Yea they're doing a picnic so they made a tent. Do you know what a tent is?

Y: The- the picnic or like that is like you got you got to put um one of those [a blanket] on the floor.

CJW: Yea.

Y: And put a lot of food and and and then you got some ( ) in the park. That means a picnic.

Though the children in the book were in fact going outside to make a tent out of the blanket, Yara's prediction they they were going to have a picnic was based on a clear connection between specific details in the book, including the blanket and other supplies the children had carried outside, and her own knowledge about picnics.

During talk about texts in conversations like these, Yara used both English and Spanish, often moving between the two languages. The teacher reported that Yara would talk about books in both English and Spanish and that she will "switch between the two languages...start[ing] in English and transition[ing] into Spanish as she gets excited." For example, during the reading of a book in English Yara retold part of the story about a policeman with the phrase "Y se llaman la policia." Yara often spoke short phrases or words in Spanish like these as she talked about books.

Active control. Active control is shown through making decisions or taking initiative during reading events. This can include making decisions about when, what, or how to read, or about how to structure or participate in reading events or instruction.

Yara often initiated interactions with adults that led to readings. Yara's mother reported that she "ask[s] to go to the library". The teacher similarly reported that Yara

"often will ask to read an adult a book." Yara likewise read and interacted with books on her own. The teacher reported that "She seems to read books on her own" and "her interest in reading is very self-guided".

When I sat down to read a book with Yara, she tried to turn it into an opportunity to read not one, but two, books:

Y: We're reading two books?

CJW: We're gonna read just one book today.

Y: Why?

CJW: Cause I like to read with you.

Y: And I like I like to read two books.

After we finished reading the book, Yara again asked "Can we read another book?" On later visits to the classroom, Yara often approached me to ask if we could read a book together again.

During reading events, Yara similarly took charge, directing her own participation in choosing when and how she would be involved. When I offered Yara a choice of books to read, Yara flipped through each of the books from cover to cover before selecting one to read. I suggested that she choose a book after she finished looking through the first of the three books, and she responding by telling me that she hadn't looked at the other two books yet. She ultimately selected the English Spanish bilingual book I had brought. When I informed Yara that the book she chosen was in English and Spanish, she replied, "I can help you with Spanish". Rather than view the bilingual text as a problem in the context of my limited Spanish ability, Yara asserted her language ability and ability to manage the reading. When Yara and I began to read the book together, she

took control of turning the pages, chose how long we would look at each illustration, and often asked me to reread sections of the text by pointing with her finger and directing me to “Read this part.”

Describing the Self as a Reader

Positive self-evaluations. Positive self-evaluations are assessments of one’s ability to read that are generally positive and demonstrate a belief that one is capable of reading. Yara repeatedly reported that she was a good reader, and conveyed confidence that she could read. Asked "A good reader is someone who?" Yara simply replied, "Me". When asked how she became a good reader, Yara confidently replied, "I learn to I learn." Yara’s positive self-evaluations of her reading ability were likewise observed by her teacher. Ms. Hernández reported that Yara evaluated her own reading ability highly, and attempted to communicate this to adults by demonstrating, or perhaps showing off, her reading. She explained that, "She often will ask to read an adult a book to show them that she can read the book herself."

Yara’s positive self-evaluations extended to both English and Spanish reading. Asked if she was read to in English, Yara replied, "Yea...And I read in Spanish and English." When Yara heard me read the word “siesta” in Spanish, she asked:

Y: You know Spanish?

CJW: I know some Spanish.

Y: A little bit?

CJW: A little bit yea.

Y: I know a lot.

CJW: O you do?

Y: Yea.

Yara used her questions about my Spanish language ability to speak positively about her own Spanish language ability. Her comment also reflects an indirect comparison of her own Spanish ability with mine. After clarifying that I know only “A little bit,” she adds with some pride that “I know a lot.” Similarly, when a peer reported that, "I can read in English and Spanish," Yara replied, "You can read in Spanish? Yo tambien." The assertion of her own ability was compounded by her use of Spanish, which demonstrated her ability to use the language.

Expresses likes and dislikes. Preferences provide descriptions or examples of what one likes and dislikes. They can serve as an indirect way of expressing abstract ideas and emotions through associations with real world objects, people, and places. Yara often expressed an affinity for reading. Ms. Hernández likewise reported that "Yara LOVES books. She carries books around in her bag. She brings books to school to share with the class". She further elaborated that Yara is "very engaged in reading" and "particularly engaged when they talk about books".

More than a general like of reading, Yara expressed specific preferences about what she liked to read, with whom she liked to read, and her favorite places to read. Yara reported that her favorite places to read were at home and in the library. Yara identified several favorite books, and the teacher added that "She LOVES *Chicka Chicka Boom - Boom*." Yara’s preferences about with whom she liked to read were more complicated, and at times were contradictory. Yara wrote: "I like to read with my mom". She also reported liking to read with her older brother, sister, and cousin. Explaining why she liked to read with her sister, Yara pointed to a drawing she had made of herself and her

sister (Figure 4.4) and explained: "This my sister. I like to read my sister too. She likes the same things." At times, however, Yara made clear that she preferred to read "By myself." Ms. Hernández had observed this as well and reported that, “She seems to read books on her own." Yara’s expression of multiple preferences about with whom she likes to read may reflect unsettled or multiple preferences, and may also show how preferences can change across time and context.

Connecting Reading Identities and Bilingualism

Desire to read in a home language. A desire to read in a home language is an expressed interest in learning to read in a language other than English. For Yara, this was a desire to read in Spanish. Yara chose to read in Spanish when possible, and expressed a desire to use it to read in the future. Spanish was also favored during readings, even when English was used by peers or the teacher. Yara explained that "I like Spanish more better." Yara reported that she was good at reading in Spanish, wanted to learn to read in Spanish, and would read in Spanish in the future.

During our book reading, Yara moved between English and Spanish to respond to questions and make comments about the plot and illustrations. She even attempted to read part of the bilingual text by changing an English section of the book to Spanish:

Y: Can I read it?

CJW: Uhuh.

Y: Um he said that she el um que necesitamos.

When Yara read the page, she began in English before quickly moving into Spanish. On succeeding pages, she stopped me so that she could read the story’s Spanish refrain on

her own, repeating the line: “Algo mas? Si.” These moments demonstrated Yara’s interest in the Spanish language parts of the reading.

Though Yara prefered to read in Spanish, she reported that "I got a lotta books in English. I don't got Spanish." Her preference for reading in Spanish was notable in part because it was not based on what Yara commonly did, which was to read in English. Instead, it was based on what she desired to do. Yara’s views on Spanish were not just determined by what was regular or habitual, but by deeper emotions and ideas about reading and language.

Caleb

Like Yara, Caleb spoke Spanish and English. His mother reported that Spanish was used by both Caleb and his family at home, but that English was sometimes used. Caleb had books in both English and Spanish at home, and his mother reported reading with Caleb in both languages. At school, Caleb used both Spanish and English to talk with peers while playing and to participate in reading events. Both Caleb’s mother and his teacher reported that he “loves reading.”

Five themes were identified for Caleb. The first was that he participated in reading events verbally. The second was that he held a mixed view of reading that included understandings of the roles of both books and words. The third was that he expressed likes and dislikes about reading. The fourth was that he viewed his multiple languages as connected. The last was that he made language-specific self-evaluations of his reading. These themes are organized below by research question.

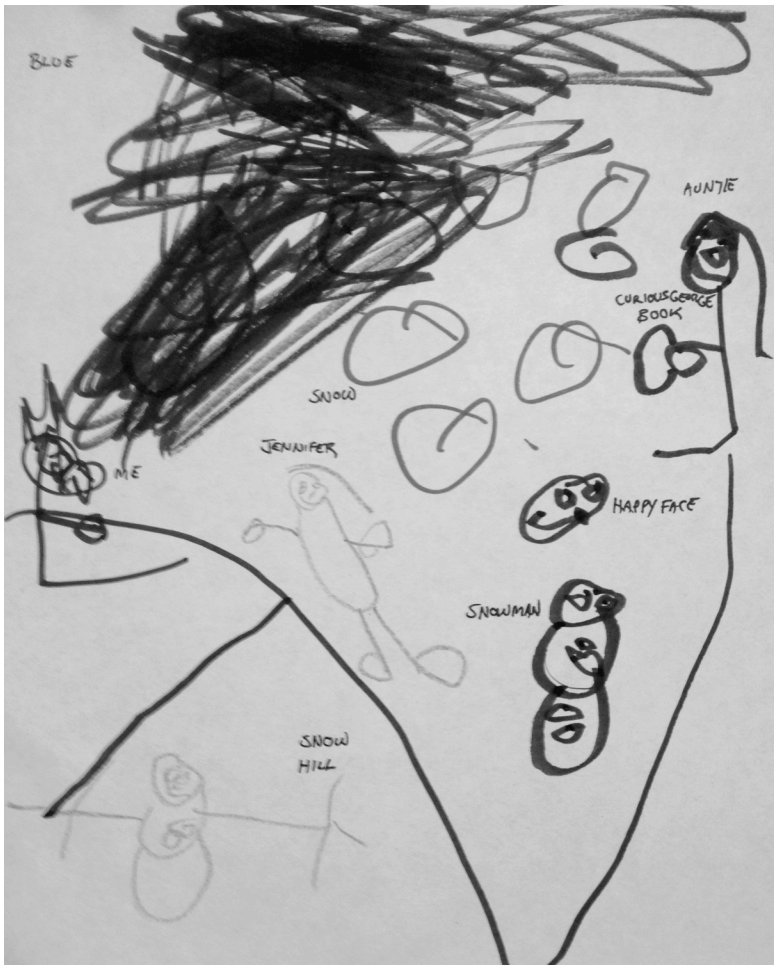

Figure 4.5. A drawing by Caleb about reading.

Describing and Doing Reading

Verbal participation. Verbal participation entails the use of oral language to talk about books or other texts. Caleb often repeated lines of a story, participated in choral responses, answered questions, shouted out personal connections, and retold or explained information or events from a book. During reading events, Caleb participated both when he was nominated by the teacher and when he was not. Ms. Hernández reported that during these reading events he was "constantly making predictions, answering comprehension questions, and giving thoughtful responses." In a testament to his interest

in talking about books, she described Caleb as “definitely more the conversationalist” and explained how “He will talk to you for days about a book."

During my book reading with Caleb, he used oral language to emulate and act out parts of books. These responses allowed Caleb to use language to verbalize what was happening in pictures, repeat words that he found to be fun, and take on an interactive role with the book reading. Caleb responded to the opening pages of the book by describing and acting out the role of the main character:

CJW: ((Reading)) “I love watermelon. Chomp. Chomp. Chomp.” What’s he doing to the watermelon?

C: He gonna eat it!

CJW: Eat it yea.

C: Yea he gonna do like num num num num num num num.

CJW: And he’s doing- what noise is he making?

C: NUM.

CJW: He’s going chomp chomp chomp.

C: Yea like eating the watermelon.

Caleb’s verbal responses reflected both his excitement about reading the book, and his emulation of the character’s eating of the watermelon. Caleb used language to explain what was happening in the text, show what it sounded like to eat, and as an outlet for his own energy during the reading.

Like he did in other readings, Caleb continued to engage in continuous talk about the characters, events, words, and illustrations in the book. This included identifying information in pictures, answering comprehension questions, and making predictions

about the text. These responses often reflected a critical and creative engagement with the text. For example, when the main character in the same book declared that he would never eat watermelon again. Caleb suggested that, “Maybe he can still eat watermelon, only eat this part ((points to the pink part of the watermelon)).” Caleb’s talk during and after reading showed his active, on-going engagement with stories and books through a rich verbal dialogue with the book and those reading with him.

Mixed view of reading. A mixed view of reading regards reading as an activity that is centered around both books and the ability to recognize and read words. Caleb had access to many children’s books at home, including books in both English and Spanish. When Caleb talked about reading, he spoke about these books, and named specific titles that he had read or were favorites, including “one with a lot of stickers,” “a circle one,” and “Curious George.” These books often stood as stand-ins for Caleb to show his understanding of reading. Curious George, in particular, was a favorite response of Caleb’s when he was asked questions about reading. For example, Caleb referenced Curious George to explain what reading is:

CJW: Reading is?

C: Um. Monkey.

CJW: Monkey?

C: Like Curious George.

At other times Caleb referenced Curious George to help explain what types of texts people could read, what languages he read in at home, and what he wanted to read in the future.

However, Caleb also talked about reading at a word level. Though Caleb understood the important role of books in reading, he had begun to also identify the words inside of books as playing a central role in reading. Caleb described reading as "Like like you open the book and and you you say the words." When asked if he was a good reader, Caleb likewise explained:

C: I uh I don't think so I'm not a good reader.

CJW: Why not?

C: Because I confuse the words.

Caleb's response reflects an understanding that reading is about making sense of words, and that there is a correct way of making meaning from words. To Caleb, a good reader, isn't someone who will "confuse the words".

Describing the Self as a Reader

Expresses likes and dislikes. Preferences provide descriptions or examples of what one likes and dislikes. They can serve as an indirect way of expressing abstract ideas and emotions through associations with real world objects, people, and places. Like Yara, Caleb expressed a general affection for reading. On one of his drawings (Figure 4.5) Caleb drew a "smiley face" to explain how reading makes him happy. When asked to explain how it feels to read, Caleb responded:

C: My heart.

CJW: You feel your heart?

C: Yea.

CJW: Does it feel good?

C: Yea.

Caleb's mother likewise reported that, "My son loves to read all books," and Ms. Hernández reported that "Caleb loves to be read to."

Caleb also expressed specific preferences about what he liked to read, with whom he liked to read, and his favorite places to read. Caleb showed particular excitement when he was given an opportunity to select a book himself. His mother explained that Caleb "is always interested in the book that he chooses himself." Caleb not only expressed preferences, but offered explanations about why he liked or disliked books. After Caleb and I read a book together, Caleb reported that he liked the story and the illustrations. Caleb stated what made it a good story, explaining that: "Um sometimes you read like a funny story that makes you laugh a lot so you read like ((giggles)) it's like laughing a lot." Caleb also identified a favorite picture in the book, picking a picture of a character burping up seed. He explained that he liked the sound made by the character, and mimicked a burping sound to show me.

Caleb was not only able to identify books he liked, but he also described books that he disliked:

CJW: Something I don't like to read is?

C:Monster book.

CJW: Monster book?

C: Yea. The ones that say RARR.

CJW: Oh. Is it scary?

C: Yea. ((laughing))

CJW: Yea?

C: It's a little bit scary. It doesn't scare me but a real monster would scare me.

Caleb also expressed preferences about people, locations, and languages. He identified “my house” as his favorite place to read, and his mother and grandfather as his favorite people with whom to read. He did not, however, provide any further elaboration about these preferences when asked. These explanations show how Caleb thought about texts as he considered and identified aspects of books and stories that contributed to his feelings about reading.

Connecting Reading Identities and Bilingualism

Connected view of bilingualism. A connectected view of bilingualism regards the multiple languages a person speaks as having similar features, sharing certain characteristics, or informing each other. For Caleb, this meant viewing his English and Spanish languages as related. Caleb pointed out explicit similarities or links between languages, made connections between English and Spanish, and, though his ideas about language were still developing, he had worked out some ideas about what bilingualism is, what it may mean, and how he felt about it.

Caleb moved between Spanish and English as he talked about books, even when the text was in English only. The teacher identified Caleb as one of two children who will "switch between the two languages as they develop more complex sentences" and described how he would "substitute [a word in Spanish] when he cannot find the one or two words in English to express what he wants to say." During observed reading events, Caleb’s movement between languages was fluid. In one book reading the teacher summarized part of a story and said "But she says, 'I said you look neat.'" Caleb interrupted the teacher to offer the translation "precioso" for "neat."

On another occasion, Caleb identified that the main character in a book was a crocodile, and made connections to the Spanish cognate:

C: I know how to say crocodile in Spanish.

CJW: You know how to say crocodile? How do you say crocodile?

C: Cocodrilo.

CJW: That's very good. Would you like it if this book were in Spanish?

C: Yea.

CJW: Would that be fun to read it in Spanish?

C: Maybe tomorrow we can buy one Spanish.

Caleb offered his knowledge of the Spanish cognate "cocodrilo" without prompting, making connections between the English language text and his knowledge of Spanish. Caleb then made the practical suggestions that "we can buy one in Spanish" so that we could, in fact, read a Spanish book together. These comments show both an ability to make connections across languages through cognates, and an awareness of language difference, expressed through Caleb's recognition that we would need a Spanish language text to read together in Spanish.

Caleb also expressed an awareness that he was moving between languages. Pointing to a bilingual English-Spanish book, Caleb said "I speak like this one a little Spanish and English." At times, his understandings of the connections between English and Spanish blurred the boundaries between languages. For example, Caleb explained that he learned to read in Spanish by reading a book in English:

CJW: And how did you learn how to [read in Spanish]?

C: [I read] Chicka Chicka Boom Boom.

CJW: In Spanish?

C: No in English.

Another time he identified a book written only in English as being written in English and Spanish. When asked if being bilingual could make reading harder, Caleb responded "I don't think so." Caleb explained that knowing two languages could make someone a better reader. He pointed out that "My mom speak English and Spanish" and noted that she was a good reader.

Language-specific self-evaluations. Language-specific self-evaluations are assessments of the self as a reader in multiple languages, including judgments about whether one is “good” or “bad” at reading in specific languages. When Caleb talked about reading in English, he did not identify as a reader, reporting that "I don’t know how to read" and “I’m not a good reader.” When Caleb talked about reading in Spanish, he took a more positive view of his reading ability.

C: I know how to read in Spanish.

CJW: You do know how to read?

C: Spanish but not English.

Here Caleb made an explicit distinction between his ability to read in Spanish and English, and acknowledged his ability in one language but not the other. These self-assessments show an ability to differentially evaluate his reading across languages.

Ms. Fisk’s Classroom

Ms. Fisk taught in a mainstream English-only classroom. She described herself as a lover of reading, a quality she said was passed on to her from her mother. She recalled reading voraciously as a child, and viewed classroom readings as a way to share this love

with the children. For Ms. Fisk, reading had an almost magical quality. She took time to select texts and ask questions that she hoped would get the children to "wonder" about the world. She built up to storytime each morning, telling the children that it was her favorite part of the day and leading them in chants that created a palpable anticipation for reading. Ms. Fisk described the "moments when a child gets excited" about reading as her most valued.

Figure 4.6. A picture of Ms. Fisk's classroom.

Classroom Context

The classroom (Figure 4.6) was colorfully decorated and filled with toys and supplies that were neatly stored in spaces where the children could access them easily. Environmental print was prevalent in the classroom, including child-written and teacher-scribed writing, letter and word charts, and labels on storage containers. The classroom library--a round nook at the that was almost large enough for an adult to lie down inside--was separate from the main classroom. It was carpeted and had seating stacked with pillows and stuffed animals. A bookcase stood at its center, and other bins of books were placed nearby. Though it was a welcoming space, the library was often used by the children for play. At one side of the library was a dollhouse, and children often brought

toys here when the main rug was too crowded. More often than being a quiet retreat for reading, the library was a space where children were loud, active, and dynamic.

Books could be found around the classroom, including science books on a shelf near a work area, and in bins placed on shelves and cubbies near play areas. A science bookshelf in the classroom is shown in Figure 4.7. The shelf contained books on various science topics, including child-written scientific obervations. Most of the books in the classroom were rotated every few weeks, and often connected to curricular topics. Ms. Fisk tried to display a variety of books, including books that the class had read together. Books spanned multiple reading levels and types, including quality trade books, leveled readers, and non-fiction books. Ms. Fisk made an effort to select texts that were "meaningful" to the children by including books that reflected children's cultures and

Figure 4.7. A science bookshelf that includes child-written texts.

personal interests. When children discovered a new interest, she was quick to add a new section to the bookshelf. A section of the library was also set aside for child-written books that some children, after writing a book in the writing center, had elected to place in the library for other children to read.

Reading Instruction

Ms. Fisk's decisions about books and reading in her classroom were motivated by the idea that good readers do more than just read, they think about books and talk about them. Her approach to reading instruction centered the child and the importance of positive, accessible reading experiences. Ms. Fisk tried to make her instruction interactive to build excitement and sustain children's interest. This included creating opportunities for children to participate in readings by acting out words or making noises, telling stories, and using multimedia. Ms. Fisk maintained consistent instructional times for reading, and reading and reading instruction typically took place with the full class on the main rug, with occasional one-on-one or small group activities.

Ms. Fisk expressed a desire to "do things naturally" by letting children set the pace of their own learning. Ms. Fisk believed that the children were not ready for phonics learning, and would benefit more from an emphasis on learning to enjoy reading and appreciate books and stories. For her, developmentally appropriate instruction meant learning through exploration, fun, curiosity, and play, and Ms. Fisk made these core features of her classroom. Learning the habits of a reader was at the center of her learning goals for the children. Ms. Fisk believed that consistent routines and norms helped teach the behaviors that were important for being successful at reading. These not only

included behavioral norms like sitting still and listening quietly, but routines like talking about books after reading, touching books responsibly, and reading every day.

When letter learning did occur, it was typically embedded in authentic contexts. Letter instruction often occurred during the morning meeting, and involved fixing missing letters in a message written to the children. An example of a message used during a morning meeting is shown in Figure 4.8. Typically, Ms. Fisk read the message aloud and sounded out a series of words with missing letters. Once the children correctly identified the missing letter, a child was invited to write it in the message. Other word games, such as asking children to identify the first letter of a child's name, were common ways of practicing letters. Peer support was common, with Ms. Fisk often asking questions like, "She's writing love. What letter does she need?" As the year progressed, children moved from identifying initial word sounds to sounding out entire words.

Figure 4.8. A message used during the morning meeting.

However it was book reading that stood at the center of Ms. Fisk's reading instruction. Books were each read multiple times and left out for children to explore. Ms. Fisk explained that comprehension does not have to occur through decoding, but can occur by looking at pictures or other non-print clues, or listening to a text that is read aloud. Ms. Fisk asked questions to engage children in talk during and after readings. Some questions prompted a child to look for evidence in the text or pictures, or explore the illustrations more closely. Other questions provided opportunities for children to make personal connections to events or characters. Ms. Fisk often asked children where they had encountered a place, object, or idea in their own lives, and took time to discuss children's knowledge. Open ended questions were also asked, creating real spaces for children to talk about big ideas in books, like whether a character made the right choice.

Many of the most common supports Ms. Fisk provided during readings focused on finding a way to model or demonstrate word or text meanings, including acting out words or events using gestures, sounds, or movement; pointing out small details in pictures; and using props to model concepts or ideas. For example, Ms. Fisk showed what it looks like to cradle a baby, or asked the children to "growl" and "whine" along with characters in a book. Hand motions for words like "stop" reinforced word meanings, and provided ways for the children to physically participate in the reading. When asking questions, Ms. Fisk provided wait time before allowing children to answer a question, asked questions to solicit a more elaborated or continued response from a child, asked children to help their peers, and praised children's effort and responses.

Support for Children's Languages and Cultures

The children assigned to Ms. Fisk's classroom had varying levels of English proficiency, and included some children for whom English was a new language. Ms. Fisk had no explicit training on teaching DLLs, and expressed few well-developed views on bilingualism or second language acquisition. Nonetheless, her outlook on DLLs was positive. Ms. Fisk expressed that she was impressed by the children's language awareness and ability to code-switch. She viewed DLLs as having more cultural and linguistic experiences than monolingual children, and described bilingualism as "a gift overall." Ms. Fisk explained that she "tries to celebrate language," and used words like "cool" and "amazing" to praise children's bilingualism. Though Ms. Fisk made attempts to support children's home language use, she could not identify any supports in her instruction that targeted DLLs, and children only rarely used non-English languages in the classroom.

Raina

Raina spoke English and Cape Verdean Creole. Her mother reported using Cape Verdean Creole to speak to Raina, though Raina herself primarily used English. Raina was read to daily, though only English was used for reading at home. At school Raina used English, though on occasion she spoke some words or phrases in Cape Verdean Creole. Raina was an outgoing child who was quick to engage in talk about books. The teacher spoke about Raina as one of her "go to" students that she relied upon to contribute a "unique perspective" and "spice up" reading events.

Five themes were identified for Raina. The first was that she held a complex view of texts that included a range of books and other text-types. The second was that she participated in reading events verbally. The third was that she described herself as a

future reader. The fourth was that she expressed likes and dislikes about reading. The last was that she did not identify boundaries between languages. These themes are organized below by research question.

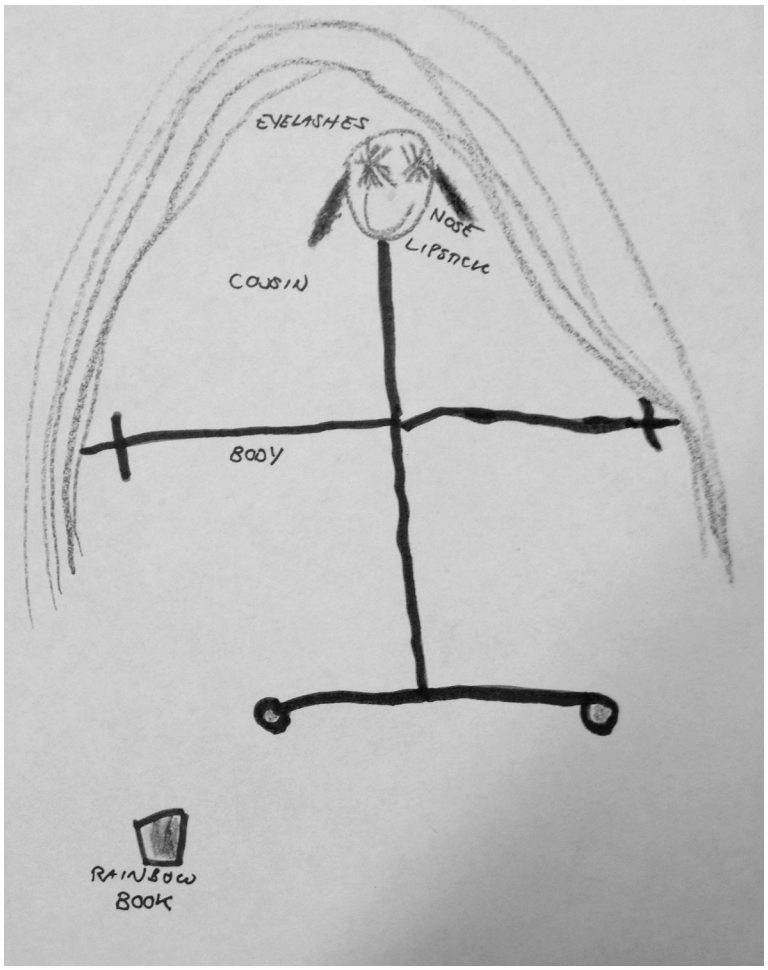

Figure 4.9. A drawing by Raina about reading.

Describing and Doing Reading

Complex view of texts. A complex view of texts is a broad understanding of what can be read, including a range of books and other text-types. Raina differentiated between various types of books, and talked about reading other kinds of texts, including

texts encountered in the community, visual texts, and popular media. When Raina did talk about books, she made distinctions between different types of books. Among the books that she named were “chapter books, books regular books, and and books that are in English”. Talking about the books she has at home, Raina reported "My my my room is just like a library because it has all the (size) books. Dora, Dora the Explorer, chipmunks, all rows different types of books." Raina constructed various categories for her books, including distinctions in size, content, structure, and language.

Raina also observed and read texts encountered in the world around her. Inside the classroom, she noticed and used environmental print. Ms. Fisk observed that Raina “loves to read environmental print in the classroom and copy it at the writing center.” For example, when Raina wanted to save a creation she made at the Play-Doh table, she ran over to the shelf where the toy trains and cars were stored. She located a red “STOP” sign and brought it back to the table with her. Using the sign as a model, she wrote the word “STOP” on an index card and stood it in front of her creation.

Beyond the classroom, Raina was aware of authentic texts and the functional role they played in the real world. Raina told me "I can read uh ((pause)) menus." She then explained:

> Like if you go to a restaurant and you want to order something for dessert and and for lunch you can say you can read the menu and then you can tell them the the waiters what you want and they tell the chef and then they make it.

Raina showed an understanding that an ability to read texts in the world around her yields functional results. Raina also made distinctions about how the function of texts can vary by context. In addition to talking about menus at restaurants, she described the general

“books” that are used for learning in school, and the “church books” that are used for worship.

Raina also made connections across text-types. During our book reading, Raina chose the book *Olivia.* Raina explained that she already knew Olivia because she watched the cartoon show about the same character.

CJW: Why’d you pick that one?

R: Because I like Olivia.

CJW: Have you read this book before?

R: I watch the cartoon of it.

Raina made connections between the book and cartoon and drew on her knowledge of the cartoon to inform her understanding of the book. When the two texts did not align properly, this created a moment of confusion for Raina. Raina pointed out an inconsistency when Olivia did not want to go to bed in the book. Raina recalled from the cartoon: "[When I] watch the cartoons she likes going to bed." Such moments demonstrated the connections she created between various texts.

Verbal participation. Verbal participation entails the use of oral language to talk about books or other texts. Like Yara and Caleb, Raina engaged in talk about books during and after book readings. The teacher reported that, "She is definitely not shy about sharing her opinions" and “loves to raise her hand and add to discussions about texts." Raina was often observed to self-nominate by raising her hand during reading events, and regularly participated in talk with peers about books and book characters. Ms. Fisk likewise praised the content of Raina’s talk. She reported that "I love to discuss texts with Raina because she brings a unique perspective to discussions." She continued by

explaining that “She is able to explain rationally how she thinks a character is feeling, predict what might happen next, or identify her favorite part of a book."

During our book reading, Raina was a constant participant in the reading. Raina asked questions about the text, illustrations and the book itself. These included questions like, "Where's Edwin the cat?", "Who's this?", and "What's over here?" Raina playfully repeated words from the book during the reading, like "Plops" and "Pretty" and showed an enjoyment of words and sounds. Raina answered questions about the characters and events in the book, often using the illustrations as a resource to identify objects, people, and events that were important. For example, when the text said that Olivia was prepared, this exchange followed:

CJW: What is she prepared with?

R: She’s prepared with her ears, she’s prepared with her glasses.

CJW: She has little goggles right?

R: Yea. And she's prepared with a hat. She's prepared with these stuff that=

CJW: =Those help her float, right?=

R: To help her float. And she has her bathing suit and little socks.

Raina worked her way through the illustration to name of all of the items that Olivia had was prepared for her trip. Her methodological approach to naming what was on the page reflected a performance of reading as creating oral language from the information that was on the page.

Raina was also able to talk about illustrations to speculate about the author's intentions, make predictions, and draw inferences about what was happening. For

example, when the text read that Olivia “sometimes has to be firm with her brother” when he will not listen, Raina looked at the illustrations to explain what the text meant:

CJW: How is she being firm?

R: Getting a paper bag and drawing a monster on it then the the baby the baby brother's running away.

CJW: Yea she's scaring him away right?

R: Yea.

Raina was able to interpret “firm” to in fact mean that Raina had to resort to creative measures, like scaring her brother, when he would not listen to her. Raina often made interpretations of the text as she spoke about the illustrations or events in the book, using verbal participation as a way to construct meaning about the book.

Describing the Self as a Reader

Self as future reader. Though a person may not currently identify as a reader, they view themself as a person who will read in the future. For Raina, learning was part of a process of growing-up that leads to becoming a reader. Raina’s current self-evaluations of her reading were tepid. She did not report that she was good at reading in either English or Creole. Raina’s self-evaluations were grounded in a broader view that children can’t yet read. Raina explained that she does not read well because she is still a child:

R: I don’t read well. ((pause)) Kind of.

CJW: Kind of. Why don’t you think you read well?

R: Cause I'm a little kid."

Yet Raina reported that reading "makes you smart and and it makes you gonna get bigger." Indeed, she expressed that she wants to read because "I want get big." Though the causation was not always clear, Raina connected learning to read with growing-up. Raina explained that though she could not read now, she would learn.

CJW: Are you learning how to read?

R: I don't kinda know how to read but when I have when Mom got me an app so I can learn how to read and then my ABCs.

Raina's statements that she was not currently able to read were consistently tempered by statements like these that expressed a future confidence that she would learn or know how to read when she was older. When asked if she would read well in the future, Raina reported that she will read both Creole and English when she's bigger. Indeed, Raina informed me that "I'm gonna pretend that I'm a teenager" and then went on to tell me that she would like to read "chapter books." Her statement that she would read chapter books as an imagined teenager was notable because she had identified these as a challenging text just minutes earlier. Raina took on a view of herself as a reader who was growing, and who will become a "bigger" and "smarter" reader in the future.

Expresses likes and dislikes. Preferences provide descriptions or examples of what one likes and dislikes. They can serve as an indirect way of expressing abstract ideas and emotions through associations with real world objects, people, and places. Raina provided descriptions and examples of what she liked and disliked about reading. Raina reported that she likes to read, and that she feels "happy" when she reads. Raina expressed several preferences related to reading, including that her sister was her favorite person to read with, and that her favorite place to read was the library. Raina went on to

identify preferences about what kinds of books she enjoyed. She reported that her favorite book was "Dora," referring to Dora the Explorer. She reported generally liking books, and selected books based on her prefereed genres, especially “a funny book.”

The teacher also reported that Raina can "identify her favorite part of a book," and Raina repeatedly shared specific likes and dislikes about different pages and illustrations. For example, after we finished reading a book together, Raina began flipping back through the pages and talking about what she did and did not like:

> R: I didn’t really really really ( ) like ((flips through pages)) Not that one. Not that one.
>
> CJW: How come you didn’t like these ones?
>
> R: Not that one. Not that one. Not that one. Not that one. I really really really like ((pause)) Where is it. ((pause)) This one. ((stops on a page with the very large sandcastle))
>
> CJW: You like that one? What do you like about that one?
>
> R: Because it has a (building) all the way up.
>
> CJW: Yea that’s pretty fun isn’t it.
>
> R: Yea. People can’t do this with a sand castle.

Raina identified other pages that she liked and did not like, often provided clear reasons and details about she liked or disliked about a page. Though Raina sometimes expressed these preferences in response to prompts, she often elaborated beyond the prompt, which was often a simple yes or no question (e.g., Do you have a favorite book?). Furthermore, Raina went into details about her preferences, spoke to other preferences (e.g., when asked about a favorite books also spoke about who she liked to read it with), and

expressed multiple preferences or contradictory preferences. However, Raina most often expressed preferences unprompted, in examples like the one above, as part of her engagement in reading and talk about books.

Connecting Reading Identities and Bilingualism

Fluid use of languages. A fluid use of languages reflects an incomplete or partial awareness of the boundaries or differences between languages. Ms. Fisk reported that Raina "is very aware of language and the fact that some people speak Creole. some speak English, some speak Spanish, some speak combinations of several languages." Yet Raina did not always appear to consider her audience when selecting a language, and sometimes moved between languages when reading or talking about books, often appearing to do so by accident. While talking with me in English about a book, Raina unexpectedly switched to Cape Verdean Creole. She paused and explained: "Sorry. I kind of my brain I talk Creole sometimes and English sometimes." On another occasion, she attempted to use Creole during an oral assessment on shapes being given to her by Ms. Fisk.

At other times, Raina showed a clear awareness of different languages, and could discuss what she knew or was able to say in English and Creole. This often translated to an excitement about languages and sharing them with others. The teacher reported that, "She loves to teach me words in Creole and to talk about her relatives in Cabo Verde." However, Raina also repeatedly reported an ability to read in languages that she did not know. Raina reported that she could read Spanish, Creole, English, and Japanese. Though she spoke English and Creole, Raina's mother and teacher reported that she knew only a few words in Spanish and did not know any Japanese. Explaining why she stated that she could read in Spanish, Raina offered that "my mom said I'm allowed to talk Spanish."

Raina suggested that because she had received permission from her mother, she could now use Spanish.

However, at other times her understandings of different languages was clearer. Though not a Spanish speaker, Raina was nonetheless aware that "some [books] are in Spanish." Yet when asked if she could read them, she simply stated “No no I'm not a Spanish person."

Jackie

Jackie spoke English and Vietnamese. Her mother reported that Vietnamese was used to speak to Jackie at home, and that Jackie herself used Vietnamese with limited English. Jackie’s mother reported having only a few children’s books at home, but they included both English and Vietnamese books. These were used to read with Jackie in both languages. At school Jackie was quiet. Though she would sometimes talk openly with peers or adults in one-on-one contexts, she avoided talk during class instruction and reading events. Ms. Fisk described her as “hesitant,” “shy,” and “attentive.”

Four themes were identified for Jackie. The first was that she read with authority. The second was that her participation in reading events varied by setting. The third was that she labeled herself as a reader. The last was that she was aware of differences between languages. These themes are organized below by research question.

Describing and Doing Reading

Authority as a reader. Authority as a reader is a confidence and attitude that a person knows what they are doing as a reader. Jackie often refused to acknowledge errors and rejected corrections that did not align with her own readings of text. For example, Jackie asked me to write her name on her finished drawing. When I wrote her name in all

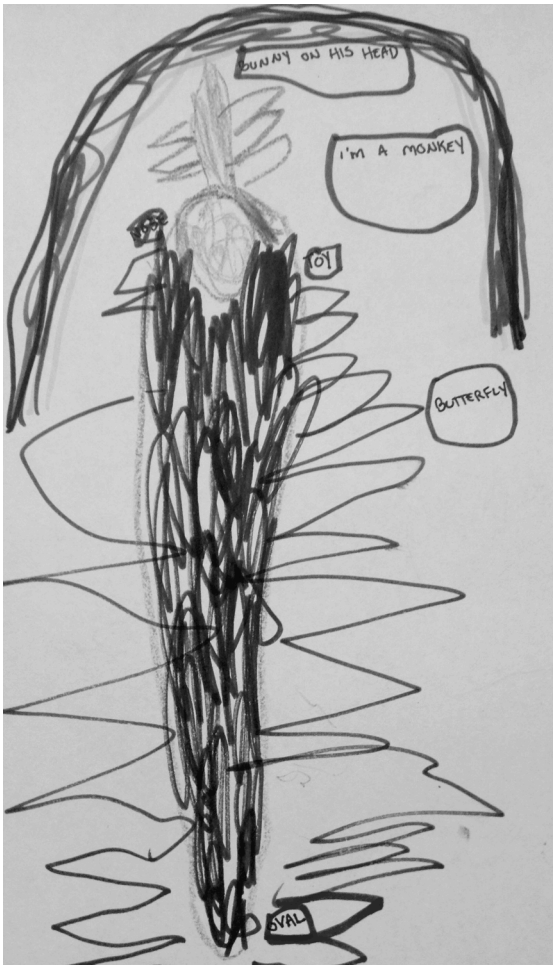

Figure 4.10. A drawing by Jackie about reading.

uppercase letters on the top of the page, Jackie immediately insisted that I had not written her name. When I tried to explain that I had written her name with uppercase instead of lowercase letters, Jackie refused to accept my explanation:

CJW: No that's a J. A J and an A, C, K, I, E. They're just all capital letters

J: ((shakes her head negatively))

CJW: Yea.

J: That's not my name.

CJW: That's your name.

J: No that's not.

CJW: Yea it is.

J: No it’s not.

Jackie believed that she knew what her name looked like, and that I had written it incorrectly. To Jackie, my writing did not correspond to how she expected her name to appear. She made clear that she, and not I, had the final say in whether her name was written correctly.

Jackie’s authority extended to interactions with her peers and family, and to events that related to reading, but did not directly involve texts. At home, Jackie’s mother reported that when she read’s with Jackie’s older brother, Jackie “seat next to her brother or me when we while reading a book and look at the pictures too.” At school, she provided direction to others about how to read or engage in reading related activities, and corrected perceived errors in the reading-related practices of others. When another boy began rocking a stuffed Pete the Cat toy like a baby, Jackie approached the boy and said "He's not a baby he's Pete the Cat." When the boy continued to rock Pete the Cat like a baby, Jackie walked up to him again and commanded, "Give me Pete the Cat." Jackie insisted that Pete the Cat be viewed as his book character, and attempted to require other children to strictly interpret and limit their play with the toy to play that aligned with her understanding of him from the *Pete the Cat* books.

Participation varies by setting. Participation varies by setting is changes in how a person engages in reading based on the context of the reading event, including its physical setting, the type of instruction or activity, and who is present. Jackie engaged in reading events differently as the group size, people involved, and setting changed. During

full class reading events, Jackie was generally quiet and abstained from most verbal participation. When other children responded to questions posed by the teacher, Jackie often looked around, or played with clothing items like her shirt or necklace. Ms. Fisk reported that during these reading events "She is hesitant to raise her hand and contribute, which could be shyness, language or cultural." Jackie did, at times, find nonverbal ways to participate. When listening to a book about a dog who got dirty with colored spots, Jackie held up her fingers to show the number of spots the dog had, adding a finger each time the dog got dirty with a new spot. Though this kind of participation was infrequent, it showed that Jackie at times understood readings, but chose not to participate in ways that required talk.

In contrast, in one-on-one reading events with myself or the teacher, Jacked talked often, initiated conversations, and displayed signs of physical excitement. While reading with Jackie, she engaged in on-going talk about the book. Jackie identified characters, key events, and parts of the pictures, and made inferences and predictions about what might happen next and how characters were feeling. Jackie asked questions while reading to clarify her understanding of the text. For example, "Why why his stomach feel funny?" or "[Why's he eating the little] watermelon?" Jackie also made connections between the text and our immediate environment. After reading, Jackie identified how the watermelon seeds, which she had called "dots," looked similar to the coconuts on a bulletin board near us:

J: Look up there. ((points to a palm tree with coconuts on a bulletin board))

CJW: What's up there?

J: The a the coco a dot.

Ms. Fisk similarly reported that when reading to Jackie individually, she talked frequently and “often retells the story line of a book.” To an observer of Jackie, her personality, engagement, and willingness to engage in social and verbal interactions would appear to be total opposites in group and one-on-one contexts. Though Jackie’s behavior was not uniform across all people or contexts, she was aware of and responsive to the setting in which reading events occurred.

Describing the Self as a Reader

Labels self as a reader. Labeling the self as a reader is an act of naming oneself as a reader or explicitly identifying what one reads. During reading activities, Jackie often asserted that she was a reader. In some cases this was the response to a direct question. For example, when I asked Jackie "Do you think you’re a good reader?” she replied “Yes.” However Jackie also made this claim without prompting, as when she stated in the middle of a conversation, "I read by myself." In many cases, however, Jackie labeled herself as a reader in direct response to an explicit or implicit suggestion that she was not a reader. For example, when I asked "What would you like to read when you’re older?" Jackie replied "Um. I can read by myself." Jackie deferred the question about the future to state that she could read on her own already.

Jackie also explicitly identified what she read. After I helped Jackie to label her drawing, she circled all of the labels I had written on her drawing using a red marker (Figure 4.10). She then proceeded to point to each circled word and said, "I read this. I read this. And I read this. And I read this. And this. And this. And I read this. And read this."

Though Jackie was typically quick to label herself as a reader, neither Ms. Fisk or her mother spoke of her in the same terms. Rather, these adults tended to talk about her as improving, but not as capable or proficient. In other words, they spoke about her as "progressing" toward becoming a reader, but not with the "reader" label she had claimed. On some occasions, Jackie appeared to agree with these assessments. When asked if "Right now I can read well" Jackie put her thumb down and said "Bad." These moments, however, were rarer, but show that Jackie's willingness to label herself as a reader can change, and may be influenced by context, her current feelings, or the statements of adults and caregivers.

Connecting Reading Identities and Bilingualism

Aware of language differences. An awareness of language is the understanding that different people speak different languages, and have different levels of proficiency in the languages that they speak. This awareness enables a person to select the appropriate language in a given context, and to respond to others with speech that is appropriate to the receiver.

Jackie could distinguish between English and Vietnamese texts, and could explain who in her family spoke and read in various languages. Jackie often differentiated between English and non-English books on her own. Without prior discussion of languages, Jackie mentioned the multilingualism of her books at home, and reported that "I got I got two book...I got I got an English book Vietnamese book." Jackie could also identify Vietnamese print when shown books written in Vietnamese and English.

Jackie also detailed who in her family spoke and read English or Vietnamese. Talking about her Vietnamese books, Jackie reported, "My daddy don't know how to

read my book only my mommy and my sister." Jackie made a particular point of making clear that her father could not read Vietnamese. She stated at a later time that “My sister read too not my dad”. Jackie also showed an awareness of her own language ability, and understood that language abilities could change. Jackie reported that she read well in Vietnamese, but gave a more tentative “sideways thumb” to describe her reading in English. When asked about the future, Jackie inverted her assessments, and reported that she will read English well in the future, but will be "bad" at reading Vietnamese.

At times, however, Jackie showed some confusion about languages. Jackie claimed that “I read in in ((pause)) Spanish” after she overhead Raina “pick Spanish.” Jackie later showed some confusion when discussing which languages she can read in:

CJW: Can you read in English?

J: Yes. Uno dos tres.

CJW: That’s Spanish. Can you read in Vietnamese?

J: ((shrugs shoulders))

Though exchanges like these ones were infrequent, they showed how Jackie continued to work toward clear and consistent ideas about language and her own language abilities. However, Jackie’s use of Spanish did reflect an awareness of languages beyond those that she speaks, and suggests that she was aware of languages spoken by others in her classroom or community.

Summary

This chapter presents portraits of the reading identities of four prekindergarten DLLs. These portraits include Yara and Caleb from Ms. Hernández’s English-Spanish SEI classroom, and Raina and Jackie from Ms. Fisk’s mainstream classroom. These four

children spoke languages that included English, Spanish, Cape Verdean Creole, and Vietnamese, and had varied levels of proficiency in their first and second languages. These children represent the varied patterns and themes that were identified within the experiences of the ten participating children in this study.

Together, these portraits show how children describe and enact ideas about reading and reading identities, and how they connect these identities to their bilingualism. Yara shows how children can be assertive and positive in how they act as readers. Caleb shows how children can construct nuanced views of reading and bilingualism that reflect complex identities as readers. Raina shows how children can construct complex ideas about texts and reading, while still working through ideas about who they are as a reader and a bilingual. Jackie shows how children can be confident in their early identities as a reader, and how these identities reflect the contexts in which they read.

The next chapter presents the results of the cross-case analysis of all ten study participants. A discussion of the case portraits presented in this chapter and the cross-case results in Chapter 5 is presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5

Cross-Case Results

The case studies presented in Chapter 4 provided a close look at how identities were constructed and enacted by the participants. In this chapter I present findings from the cross-case analysis. These findings present a broader view of reading identities that includes: (a) cross-case themes; and (b) an emergent conceptual model of reading identities in prekindergarten DLLs. The cross-case themes show patterns that were identified by looking across the cases of the ten child participants in the study. The cross-case themes are organized by the research questions posed for this study. Each theme is explained and illustrated with examples that draw from the portraits presented in Chapter 4 and from the data collected on the remaining children who participated in the study. Differences in the themes across groups are then briefly considered. Lastly, an emergent conceptual model is presented that integrates the cross-case themes into an explanatory framework of reading identities. This model includes four dimensions that are explained with examples.

Cross-Case Themes

This section presents themes identified as part of the cross-case analysis that included all ten of the participating children in the study. These themes are broad patterns that characterize or illustrate aspects of reading identities that were salient in the sample. The cross-case themes are organized by the research questions posed for this study. The first research question, how children describe and do reading, includes the themes of: (a) concept of reading, (b) performance, (c) affective displays, and (d) context. The second

research question, how children describe themselves as readers, includes the themes of: (a) evaluation and (b) identification. The third research question, how children connect their reading identities and bilingualism, includes the themes of: (a) language awareness, (b) language preferences, and (c) metalinguistic awareness. Following a discussion of these themes, differences by groups, including gender, home language, and classroom, are explained.

How Children Describe and Do Reading

Concept of reading. Concept of reading is an understanding of the materials, ideas, and procedures that comprise reading, and how a person connects or makes sense of these varying elements and relates them to a broader idea of reading. All of the children constructed a concept of reading. However, children's concepts of reading varied in their complexity and make-up. This included concepts that were well-developed, and others that children had begun to develop early understandings of, but were not yet fully developed.

For some children, books took on a central role in how they understood reading. This bibliocentric view of reading regarded reading as an activity that primarily involved books. Other texts were mentioned infrequently or not at all. Max, for example, described reading as, "Doing a book." Some children used book titles or characters as an answer for a wide range of questions about reading. Other children added the concept of words to their understanding of reading. Two children viewed reading as an activity that centered both around using books and the ability to recognize and read words. Caleb mentioned books like *Curious George*, but also spoke about reading as, "Like like you open the book and and you you say the words." Ben similarly described reading as, "Something

that you tell someone on the pages." These kinds of responses reflected an understanding of the role of words in reading, but often continued to link these words to books.

One child expressed a much more complex understanding of reading. Elizabeth viewed reading as involving texts, words, letters, and other reading-related concepts. Elizabeth named and isolated letters and letter sounds in words, described how, "my daddy does got glasses to see" the page, and explained the importance of practice, saying that, "we need to practice our books everyday...all the books so we know how to read every book." The concepts of letters, vision, and practice connect reading to letters and the process of decoding, to the physical requirements or challenges of reading, and to the process of learning and improving through repeated efforts. Suggested in these statements are a broad range of ideas about what comprises reading.

Other children heavily weighed the role of other participants, and viewed reading as an activity that is done with other people. For these children, reading included activities like having others read books aloud, or participating in group talk about books. Many of the children, like Caleb, were able to easily name multiple people that they read with. For Caleb, this included his "Auntie and Uncle" at home, his teacher at school, and even myself. Like some other children, Caleb often talked about these adults more than he talked about the books that he read. This emphasis on who he was reading with, rather than what he was reading, showed a particular attention to the social dimension of reading.

Performance. Performance is ways of enacting or interacting with the materials, ideas, and procedures that comprise reading. Performances can be conducted through verbal and nonverbal forms of communication between people, and through interactions

between a person and a material object, such as a book. Performance also includes how a person approaches these interactions, including the level of control or passivity they take-on in reading events.

Most of the children's performances centered around interactions with others during reading events. Of these performances, verbal participation in reading events was the most common way children engaged with others. For the five children who showed consistent verbal participation, reading entailed the use of language to talk about books. Though much of this was conversational talk about stories and books, the children would also repeat lines of a story, participate in choral responses, answer questions asked by the teacher or another adult, share personal connections or narratives, and retell or explain information or events from a book. Central to the children's talk was using their oral language to make connections to, explain, or make meaning of the written language in the text.

For some children, reading not only involved read-alouds and talk, but included nonverbal ways of showing engagement, answering questions, and interacting with texts. For these children, being nonverbal did not signify a lack of comprehension, disinterest, or that one was not "reading." For example, to respond to questions about the book we read together, Max pointed to specific parts of the pictures to answer questions. Other gestures were used by children to count, point, identify parts of a story, or act out events from a story. These behaviors were consistent with Max's idea that reading is "about learning" and not about the specific act of reading aloud or talking about books. For children like Max, nonverbal responses provided a more diverse set of ways for connecting to books.

For four of the children, taking on active control of the reading event was central to their participation. These children took control over reading events or took initiative to seek opportunities to read or perform reading as they chose. This included making decisions about when, what, or how to read, or about how to structure or participate in reading events and instruction. For example, Elizabeth wanted to be in charge during our book reading. She held the book in her lap, turned the pages, and directed me about what and when to read.

Two of the children performed reading by mimicking the act of reading. Though they could not yet decode printed text, these children used various tools and clues to closely approximate reading. Children memorized printed text or individual words, repeated lines of text, or recalled text that another reader had recently produced. These children pretended that they were reading printed text, whether or not they believed that this was "real" reading. These behaviors reflected an emerging understanding of how to "do" reading. For example, Stanley wrote a book in the writing center with the teacher's help, and asked to share it with the class. Stanley sat on a chair in front of the class as the teacher held up the book, and he narrated the events on each page as the teacher turned them. Though his narration did not exactly match the words the teacher has scribed on each page, it did closely approximate them.

Affective displays. Affective displays are emotional responses to reading or reading events. Though children may communicate these affects verbally, they are often concurrently or solely expressed nonverbally.

Most of the children expressed a broad like for reading or reading-related activities and objects. Responses to reading events were generally positive, and children

made general statements that they liked to read. They often showed excitement, pleasure, and welcomed invitations to read with others. Children also attributed various emotional responses to reading, explaining that reading made them feel “good,” “happy,” “great,” “better,” and “my heart.” Nonverbal expressions were often central to how children expressed affects toward reading. For example, the teacher reported that Grace, "definitely seems engaged in reading and seems to enjoy it." Though Grace was often quiet during reading events, the teacher reported that "Her body language, though, indicates that she is engaged in the text and that she enjoys reading." Caleb expressed his general affection for reading by drawing a smiling face that he explained was a "happy face" to show how he felt during readings.

Not all affective responses were similarly positive. Though the children generally expressed that they liked reading, some occasionally expressed that they disliked reading, found it boring or hard, or did not think that it was important. Most negative affects toward reading were expressed by Ben, who was often upset to be called from play activities to participate in reading events. In these cases, Ben often reported that reading made him feel “Grumpy” and he described reading as “Boring.” Manuel’s sister similarly reported that "he prefer to play." Manuel himself reported that he read at bedtime, though he characterized the purpose of these book readings as "reading to get sleepy".

Context. Context is the material, social, and cultural environment in which reading occurs. This includes the people who are present, the nature of the interactions and norms around reading, the physical location of the reading event, and the types of books, texts, or other objects that are part of the reading event. This can include

instructional and curricular materials or activities, and expectations or norms about which languages can be used, or not used.

Aspects of the context affected how and whether children participated in a reading event. For some children, reading was primarily associated with a single context. The home consistently arose as the primary location in which several children, including Max, described reading. This was the place where he had access to books, including books that he had selected himself. When Max and others described reading, they were more often than not describing reading and reading-related events that occurred in the home.

For some children, group size affected how they participated in reading activities. For three children, the public nature of reading events in the classroom discouraged participation. These children avoided talk about books in public or large group contexts. These children showed more willingness to talk in small groups or one-on-one contexts, and in these contexts often demonstrated comprehension of books and other reading skills. The avoidance of talk in larger contexts may have been a product of shyness, low self-confidence, limited language proficiency, or a combination of these factors. For each of these children, parents reported that their child engaged actively in reading events in one-on-one settings in the home. The teacher likewise reported that in certain small group or one-on-one contexts the children would engage other adults and peers in conversations about books.

For other children, different contextual factors were more salient. For example, Ben's level of engagement in reading was determined by his interest in the content of the text. Content that was of high interest to him led to engaged responses to the reading. When the content of texts was of low interest to him, he often disengaged and did not

participate in the reading. The teacher reported that part way through the year, Ben developed a strong passion for sharks. Though Ben generally did not look at books on his own, she reported that, "The only exception has been when we added a large quantity of informational shark texts to the library. He brought many of them over to the writing table for his writing research."

How Children Describe Themselves as Readers

Evaluation. Evaluations are assessments of the self, often in positive or negative terms. Assessments were generally positive and demonstrated the children's belief that they were readers or were capable of reading. For example, when Yara was asked, "A good reader is someone who?" she simply replied "Me." Max similarly reported that, "I can read in English and Spanish." The children rarely referenced past experiences with reading, and abstained from evaluating their past reading ability when asked. On the other hand, children generally evaluated their future ability as a reader positively. However, some children negatively assessed their present or future ability to read, and sometimes evaluated their future ability differently across languages. Caleb did not identify as a reader, reporting that, "I don't know how to read." and "I don't think so I'm not a good reader." When asked to explain why, Caleb reported "Because I confuse the words."

One child assessed her reading ability by comparing herself to other peers. These implicit comparisons were made through remarks or games that compared her own reading ability to others. For example, Elizabeth suggested that she was a better reader than Ademar by asking Ademar to find words on a word chart that she had already identified. For example, she asked "Ademar, where is the pencil?" After Ademar found

the word “pencil” she turned to me and said, "He won't know where is the computer." She continued in this fashion, finding words that she knew, but Ademar did not. These behaviors illustrated evolving ways that children found to evaluate or make comparisons of their ability as a reader.

Identification. Identifications are labels or descriptions that indicate who one is as a reader. Two children identified in explicit ways as a reader. Jackie repeatedly referred to herself as a reader. In some cases this was the response to a direct question. In many cases, however, it was a direct response to an explicit or implicit suggestion that she was not a reader. Asked with whom she read, Jackie replied, "I read by myself." Jackie also identified what she read. In one example, Jackie circled the labels I had written on her drawing using a red marker. She then pointed to each circled word and said: "I read this. I read this. And I read this. And I read this. And this. And this. And I read this. And read this."

Another child described herself as a developing reader who would gain proficiency over time. Raina connected her past, present, and imagined future reading to view herself on a trajectory toward being a proficient reader. This view entailed thinking about herself as a reader who was growing, and who would become a “bigger” and “smarter” reader.

However, for most children, their methods for indicating who they were as a reader were less direct. Seven of the children used explanations of their likes and dislikes to explain who were as a reader. The expression of preferences about reading served as an indirect way of expressing how one identified through associations with real objects,

people, and places. Children expressed preferences about reading that included what books they liked, who they read with, and where they read.

For most children, these preferences emphasized aspects of reading that they liked. Most commonly, these preferences were about books. For example, Caleb identified *Curious George* as his favorite book, and used this title as his response to various questions about reading. The book became a common way for Caleb to express an idea about reading. Caleb later explained what made books like *Curious George* a good story: "Um sometimes you read like a funny story that makes you laugh a lot so you read like ((giggles)) it's like laughing a lot." Other preferences focused on the people and places that children liked. Yara's preferences about with whom she liked to read were complicated, and at times clashed. However, they showed that Yara was capable of holding multiple preferences that changed based on her mood or context. On the one hand, Yara wrote a string of letters and stated that it said, "I like to read with my mom". She also reported liking to read with her older brother, sister, and cousin. However, at another time Yara reported that she likes to read "By myself," and did not like it when other people read to her.

For some children, preferences extended to what children disliked. Caleb was not only able to identify books he liked, but he also described books that he did not like. Caleb reported that he did not like, "Monster book...the ones that say RARR." He explained, "It's a little bit scary. It doesn't scare me but a real monster would scare me."

A few children were able to recognize and consider others' preferences, and to understand that the preferences of others might differ from their own. For example, Yara explained, "This my sister. I like to read my sister too. She likes the same things." Ben,

on the other hand, understood that others could have different preferences than him. Ben drew a picture of him and his sister reading, but stated that, "I make my sister reading her own book...She's reading a different book." He explained that if they both read his book, "I'm gonna make my sister angry cause she didn't like the book." Ben was even able to name a book that his sister did like, reporting that "Her book is Barbie and the lost treasure of the dogs."

How Children Connect Reading Identities and Their Bilingualism

Language awareness. Language awareness is a consciousness that multiple languages exist. It includes an awareness that a single person can know and use multiple languages. Language awareness is not an all or none characteristic. Children can become aware of languages incrementally as they move toward a broader understanding of languages and how they are used, and become better able to differentiate between different languages.

For some children, language awareness was in its nascent stages, and reflected a limited or inconsistent role for language in the child's conception of reading. These children often did not notice or pay attention to which languages were used, or how languages may be similar or different. They sometimes gave inconsistent reports about which languages they spoke or read, and which languages were used at home or in school. For example, Manuel reported that he did not know how to speak Portuguese, but that his parents did. Manuel reported that no one at home, including his parents and siblings, read to him in Portuguese. Later in the same conversation, Manuel reported that he was good at reading in Portuguese. He also reported that his parents read to him in Portuguese at home.

Raina demonstrated a growing cognizance of languages, but her fluid movement between languages, sometimes unintentional, reflected a lack of control and understanding of her language practices. Raina reported that she could read in English, Creole, English, Spanish, and Japanese. Though she could speak both English and Creole, Raina's mother and teacher reported that she knew only a few words in Spanish, and did not speak any Japanese. Raina also appeared to confuse languages during reading events. While talking to me in English about a book, Raina switched quickly to Creole. After a moment she paused, and appearing confused, explained, "Sorry. I kind of my brain I talk Creole sometimes and English sometimes."

Two other children showed a more developed awareness of languages. These children demonstrated specific understandings about how languages were used across contexts and texts, and various family members' proficiency in these languages. For example, Elizabeth expressed an awareness that her language selection varied by context. She explained, "I know at home to speak English in English and Spanish." About her mother she explained, "my mommy don't know how to speak Spanish and English because me and my dad and my brother we just speak English to her". About her dad, Elizabeth said, "He speaks Spanish and English." Elizabeth reported that she often reads in English with her father, but "for when I do my homework I speak in Spanish." These understandings also extended to texts. For example, Jackie differentiated between English and non-English books on her own. Asked if she had books of her own at home, Jackie responded, "I got I got two book...I got I got an English book Vietnamese book." Jackie also detailed who in her family spoke and read English or Vietnamese. She reported, "My daddy don't know how to read my book only my mommy and my sister."

Language preference. Language preferences are a desire to read or learn to read in a specific language. They reflect affective, personal, or practical desires to use a certain language in a given context.

One child articulated a preference to use English for reading. Though Max viewed Spanish positively, he favored English for regular use. Max considered himself to be a better English than Spanish reader, and affirmed that he would read in English in the future, but perhaps not in Spanish. Max also favored English during classroom interactions, even when Spanish was used by his peers or the teacher.

One child, in contrast, expressed a desire to read in a non-English language. Yara preferred to read in Spanish over English when possible, explaining that "I like Spanish more better." When asked if she liked reading books in English, Yara replied, "No...I like in Spanish." Yara reported that she was good at reading in Spanish, wanted to learn to read in Spanish, and would read in Spanish in the future. Yara summed this up as "I know a lot" of Spanish. During a book reading, Yara even tried to shift the language of reading from English to Spanish. Yara interrupted the reading in English to ask "Can I read it?" When she proceeded to read, she continued in Spanish.

Language preferences need not be limited to a single language. In contrast to the previous two children, one child resisted expressing a preference for a single language and instead expressed a desire to be able to read in two or more languages. Caleb reported that he could read in English, and that he wanted to learn to read in Spanish. He stated that would read in both English and Spanish when he was older. When shown a bilingual book, Caleb reported both that he liked the Spanish, and that he especially liked the Spanish and English together in the book.

Metalinguistic awareness. Metalinguistic awareness is a consciousness of the relationships between languages. This includes an understanding of how languages connect or share certain characteristics, and of broader concepts about language systems and language use that underlie different languages or language systems. Metalinguistic awareness differs from language awareness in that children do not only recognize that languages are distinct, but begin to construct a schema or system for understanding how languages are related.

Like language awareness, metalinguistic awareness is not an all or none characteristic. Children can become aware of the relationships between languages incrementally as they move toward a broader understanding of language structures and features. However, few children showed an emerging awareness of how languages could be related. For example, Max, despite speaking both English and Spanish, was not yet able to express how he managed two languages. At times Max was uncertain about what being bilingual meant. Max reported that he didn't know if reading in English and Spanish was the same, what knowing two languages may make someone, or if it was helpful or not. Max's views about bilingualism were contradictory at times, and Max was either unaware of the contradictions or unable to reconcile them. Max was still actively working out ideas about what bilingualism is, what it may mean, and how he felt about it.

Caleb, in contrast, started to make connections between his English and Spanish languages. Caleb expressed an awareness that he was moving between languages in his daily life and in his reading. During a reading activity, Caleb pointed to an English-Spanish bilingual book and said, "I speak like this one a little Spanish and English." Caleb used both languages when reading or talking about books, and pointed out explicit

similarities or links between the two languages. For example, during two book readings Caleb shouted out the translation "precioso" for "neat" and the cognate "cocodrilo" for “crocodile.” Caleb further expressed an awareness of language distinctions by providing language specific self-evaluations. For example, Caleb reported that he knew how to read in “Spanish but not English.”

Differences Across Groups

Cases were grouped and compared by a number of key demographic variables, including home language, gender, and classroom. There were no clear patterns by gender. Groupings by home language largely mirrored grouping by classroom, since all Spanish speakers were in the SEI classroom. Of the children who spoke non-English languages other than Spanish, only two spoke the same language. As a result, few groups were formed by home language. The lack of groupings contributed to the identification of no patterns by home language. However, some patterns were identified when children were compared by classroom.

Children in the mainstream classroom were more likely to be disengaged, distracted, or exhibit shyness during reading events. They were also more likely to be labeled as a non-participant. Distracted behaviors typically included playing with other toys or objects, including clothing, not looking at the book, or appearing to look around the classroom. These children were often observed to not raise their hand or volunteer to participate during reading events, including talk about books and answering questions about a reading posed by the teacher. Children in the mainstream classroom were also often described as shy or reserved by their teacher. These behaviors were recorded infrequently in the SEI classroom.

Children in the SEI classroom were often observed to use a non-English language in school. Spanish language use was observed in the SEI classroom, and was used by both the children and teacher. The teacher described how children switched between languages as they expressed ideas, variously used English and Spanish during instructional activities, and translated talk for peers. These children were likewise observed to switch languages based on which other children were present. In contrast, non-English language use was rarely observed in the mainstream classroom, and was rarely reported to occur by both the children and the teacher. Children in the mainstream classroom did report using non-English languages at home, and generally made positive comments regarding non-English languages.

Children in the SEI classroom were also observed to express more complex ideas about bilingualism. Language preferences and metalinguistic awareness were only observed in children in the SEI classroom. However, not all children in the SEI classroom expressed or demonstrated understandings of these concepts, and it is not clear whether the development of understandings was attributable to these children's experience in a bilingual classroom, or the result of other experiences or factors.

Differences in the classroom language and instructional context did not produce identifiable differences in children's broader attitudes toward bilingualism. Children in both classrooms expressed broadly positive views toward bilingualism. Children in the mainstream classroom had almost universally positive beliefs about their reading ability, regardless of language. Though some negative beliefs about Spanish reading were reported by children in the SEI classroom, positive evaluations consistently outweighed negative evaluations. In no case did a child report consistently negative views about

bilingualism or about one of their languages. Children's broadly positive views about bilingualism were supported by the consistently supportive and celebratory attitude toward bilingualism exhibited by both classroom teachers, and by support for reading in the home language and, in many cases, English, at home.

Conceptual Model

In this section I present an emergent conceptual model that provides an explanatory framework of reading identities. This model includes four dimensions that are derived from the cross-case themes presented above. These four dimensions comprise young children's reading identities. They include: (a) concept of reading; (b) performance; (c) self-awareness; and (d) context. The model is illustrated in Figure 5.1. The organization of the cross-case themes within the four dimensions of the model is shown in Table 5.1. Each dimension of the model is explained in the sections that follow, with specific reference to the cross-case themes that are organized within each dimension. Children's development as readers, and changes within each dimension of the model, are discussed next. The interaction of the dimensions in the model, and the combined role they play in forming reading identities, is then explained.

Table 5.1

Organization of the Cross-Case Themes Within the Dimensions of the Model

Concept of Reading	Performance	Self-Awareness	Context
Concept of reading	Performance	Evaluation	Context
Language awareness		Identification	
Metalinguistic awareness		Affective displays	
		Language preference	

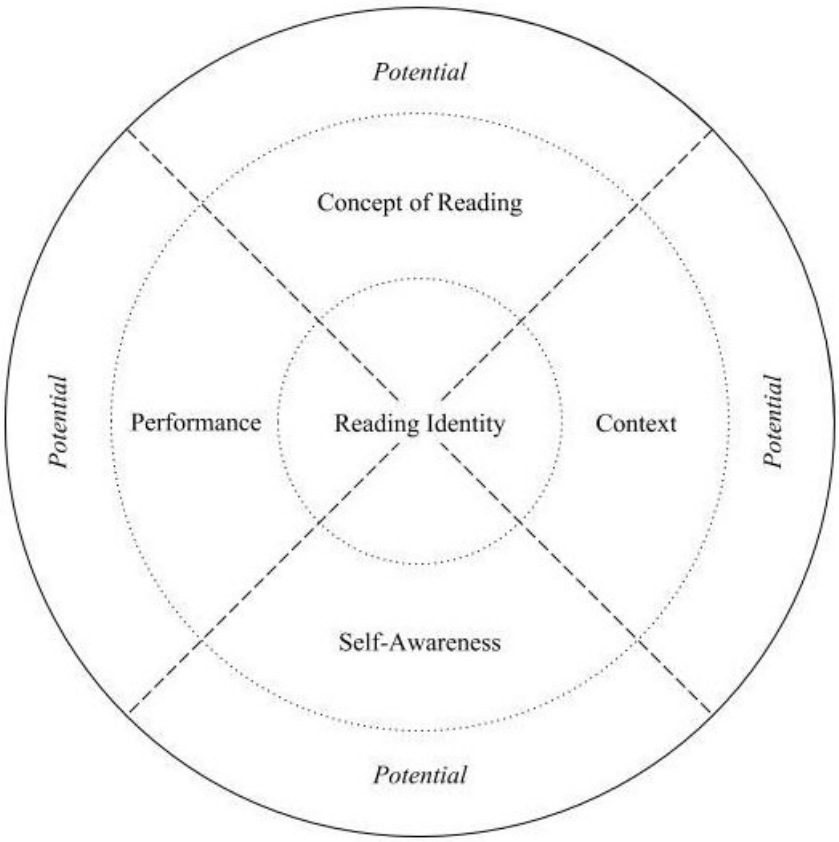

Figure 5.1. Emergent conceptual model of reading identities.

Dimensions of Reading Identities

This section provides a detailed explanation of the four dimensions of the emergent conceptual model. These dimensions are: (a) concept of reading; (b) performance; (c) self-awareness; and (d) context. The rationale for the organization of these themes is explained in the description of each dimension below. Each dimension is represented in the model in Figure 5.1 by one of the four wedges. These wedges are divided by dashed lines that represent the permeable boundaries that allow for interaction between the dimensions. These boundaries and the interplay between the dimensions are

discussed further in the sections that follow. Other elements of the model will be discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

Concept of reading. Concept of reading is an understanding of the materials, ideas, and procedures that comprise reading, and how a person connects or makes sense of these varying elements and relates them to a broader idea of reading. This dimension is consistent with the cross-case theme of the same name discussed earlier, but also includes aspects of children's bilingualism and language.

Bilingualism and language had varying levels of salience for children, and were not important to how all children conceptualized reading. Some children displayed well-developed ideas about how bilingualism and reading intersect, while others had not begun or were just beginning to consider how the two or more languages they were learning intersected with reading, and what implications this might have for their identities as a reader. For those children who had begun to develop ideas about bilingualism and reading, these understandings were part of the ideas and procedures that comprised their concept of reading. For these children, language awareness and metalinguistic awareness, which include an awareness that multiple languages exist and an awareness of the relationships between languages, informed how they understood what reading was and the procedures and knowledge required to read.

This broader concept of reading, which includes children's understandings of bilingualism and reading, served as the foundation for how children situated themselves as readers. How children understood reading, including what they viewed as comprising the materials, ideas, and procedures needed to read, influenced the remaining dimensions of the model.

Performance. Performance is ways of enacting or interacting with the materials, ideas, and procedures that comprise reading. This dimension is consistent with the cross-case theme of the same name discussed earlier. Codes related to performance were among the most frequently identified in the data. Furthermore, children performed reading in ways that reflected an immense diversity in the ways that children spoke about, interacted with, and manipulated books, people, and other objects during reading events. The combination of this diversity and the frequency with which children's performances were observed in the data elevated the importance of this theme. Children's performances were the key way in which children enacted their understanding of reading, and one of the primary ways in which they expanded their concept of reading. Performances thus played not only a critical role in the act of reading, but also in the process of learning to read.

Self-awareness. Self-awareness is an emerging understanding of one's capacities and agency as a reader. This includes an emerging awareness that one is a reader, and has varying capacities or abilities that pertain to reading. This can include an awareness of one's strengths or weaknesses as a reader, one's trajectory as a learning reader, oneself as a reader within a larger community of readers, one's cognitive or affective responses to reading, or one's preferences as a reader. This dimension combines four themes that cohere together. These include: (a) evaluation, (b) identification, (c) affective displays, and (d) language preference.

Evaluation and identification, which encompass assessments and descriptions of the self, are ways of categorizing or signaling one's understandings of who one is as a reader. These are often done through language, and rely on a certain capacity for self-

reflection. Affective displays are ways of communicating internal states. For young children, this can include emotions or ideas for which they do not yet have words or which they struggle to verbalize. These displays of affect serve an important role in enabling children to express ideas about how they feel about reading, and who they are or how they see themselves as readers. Language preferences, like other preferences that are included in this dimension, are a way of identifying who one is through one's likes or dislikes. Language preferences play a role in how children situate themselves as readers when multiple languages are available for reading events, books, or talk about reading.

Context. Context is the material, social, and cultural environment in which reading occurs. This dimension is consistent with the cross-case theme of the same name discussed earlier. Many of the cross-case themes were observed to vary across contexts. For example, parent and teacher reports often presented different pictures of how children engaged in reading at home and at school. Several children were active verbal participants in one-on-one settings, but did not speak during large group activities. The language of talk, and children's willingness to translate or code switch, affected some children who were less comfortable or less proficient using English. In these cases, context served as an explanatory or mediating factor that affected the content of the other dimensions. Changes in physical location, the people present in a space, and other cultural factors, changed how children conceptualized, performed, and understood their own capabilities as a reader.

Children's Development as Readers

In each of the four dimensions of the model, children showed the capacity to grow. The children in this study were observed to possess emerging ideas that reflected

their learning and potential development as readers and people. The understandings and actions that children were able to construct and take often appeared to be mediated by their current and emerging social, emotional, linguistic, and cognitive capabilities. Figure 5.2 shows one dimension from the emergent conceptual model. This dimension will be used here to explain how these aspects of development are represented in the model.

Sections A and B together comprise a child's current capabilities within a dimension. In the example in the figure, this is the ways that a child is capable of performing reading. This is specific to a single child and his or her capabilities, and not to all children broadly. It includes all of a child's capabilities within the dimension. For example, a child need not be able to perform reading in a certain way across all contexts (e.g., at school and at home, in English and in Spanish) for it to be included in this section. Being able to use a certain performance in just one language, or just one context is sufficient for it to be included in this section of the model. In this respect, Section B represents the reservoir of a child's capabilities within the dimension.

Section C comprises a child's potential in respect to the dimension. This potential is comprised of emerging facets of the dimension that have not yet been actualized by the child. In the model, the dotted line that divides Section B from Section C divides the actual and potential aspects of each dimension. This represents the boundary between what a child currently understands or is able to do within a dimension, and the understandings and abilities that the child has the potential to develop. Over time, the movement of aspects of a dimension from Section C to Section B represents a child's development of new understandings, capacities, and skills along each of the dimensions.

The variation observed across the children in each of the cross-case themes reflects how the children varied in their development within each dimension of the model, and how their different experiences led them to understand reading and language differently. Each of the these four dimensions are not all or none characteristics. Children appeared to possess both developed and emerging aspects of each dimension that suggest that they move incrementally toward a broader understanding of who they are as a reader. Recognizing both the actual and potential capacities of children along each dimension is a critical acknowledgement that the observed children were not static readers, but were actively engaged in learning, growing, and changing as readers.

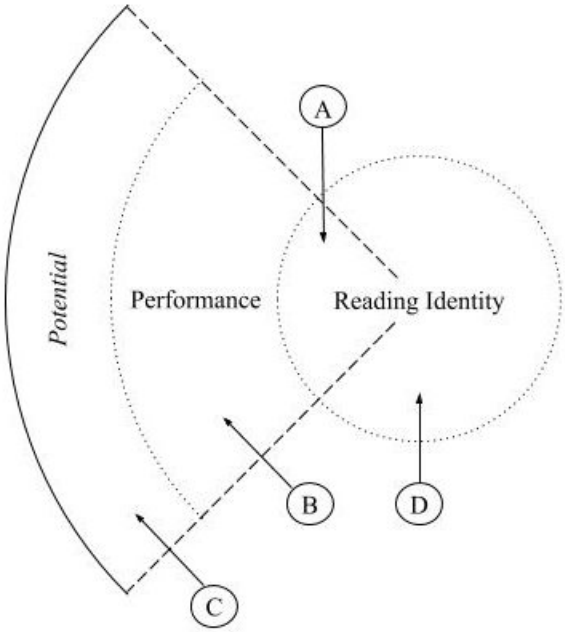

Figure 5.2. One dimension from the emergent conceptual model of reading identities. (A) is the aspects of the dimension that are in active use. (B) is a child's capabilities in respect to the dimension. (C) is a child's potential in respect to the dimension. (D) is the reading identity of the child at a specific moment.

Construction of Reading Identities

Together, these four dimensions play a combined role in the formation of reading identities. Reading identities are the combination of a child's concept of reading, performance, self-awareness, and context at a specific moment in time. Dashed lines are used in the model to divide the dimensions and to represent the possibility for interaction between each dimension. The role of one dimension in the construction of a reading identity is shown in Figure 5.2. This figure shows how the dimension of performance is contributing one part of the child's reading identity, represented by section A. When each of the other dimensions is added, as is shown by the small circle at the center of the model in Figure 5.1, the totality of a child's reading identity in a specific moment is represented.

As is suggested by the porous nature of the dotted lines, this model is dynamic. Reading identities are dependent on some, but not all, of a child's capabilities within each dimension. What is drawn into the inner circle of reading identity can change across reading events. Within each dimension, different knowledge, capacities, skills, and actions are brought to the forefront or recede to the background as the context and demands of the event change. Figure 5.2 is used here to illustrate this process. Section A contains the aspects of the dimension that are in active use by the child to construct their reading identity at a specific moment. This figure shows how only some of the ways that a child can perform reading may be in active use in a reading event. Those that are not in active use, but which the child is nonetheless capable of doing in some contexts, reside in section B. In this way section B serves as a reservoir of capabilities that may be drawn on by the child across different contexts, tasks, and languages.

For example, a child may talk only in English, or may participate only non-verbally, though they may be capable of talking in more than one language, and may do so at other times. Likewise, a child may only draw on certain concepts of reading. They may shift their understanding of words to the center in a word play activity, and background their understanding of books. Children may similarly draw on certain aspects of self-awareness based on the demands of the reading event and the children's forms of performance. In this way, reading identities are capable of shifting and changing across contexts as children draw on various capabilities across these four dimensions.

Summary

This chapter presents findings that look across the cases of the ten child participants in the study. Nine cross-case themes are identified. These themes highlight broad patterns in the data that illustrate how the participating children described and did reading, described themselves as readers, and connected their reading identities and bilingualism. Additionally, some patterns were identified when children were compared by classroom. These include differences in children's engagement, non-English language use, and understanding of bilingualism. No patterns were identified by gender or home language. Last, the cross-case themes are distilled into four dimensions. These dimensions are: concept of reading, performance, self-awareness, and context. These dimensions are integrated into an emergent conceptual model of reading identities. This explanatory framework illustrates an emerging understanding of how the interaction of these dimensions comprises children's reading identities. The next chapter presents a discussion of both results presented here and the case portraits presented in Chapter 4.

Chapter 6

Discussion

In this chapter I discuss the within-case and cross-case findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5. This discussion situates these findings within the broader literature on reading identities presented in the literature review in Chapter 2. This chapter is presented in two sections. In the first section I discuss the findings in the context of previous research on reading identities, focusing on how the findings of this study fit within and expand current understandings of reading identities in young DLLs. This section focuses on a discussion of the case portraits presented in Chapter 4. In the second section I discuss the findings in the context of previous theoretical and conceptual work on identities and reading identities. This section focuses on situating the cross-case themes and emergent conceptual model presented in Chapter 5 within broader trends in theory on identities.

Reading Identities in Prekindergarten DLLs

The portraits of the four children presented in Chapter 4 contribute to an emerging understanding of reading identities in prekindergarten DLLs. This section synthesizes and discusses these four cases in light of the study's research questions and the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. This discussion considers these case portraits in relation to each other, and in the context of the broader literature on early reading, reading identities, and bilingualism. This discussion is organized by four key topics in the findings. These include: (a) early emergence, (b) variability, (c) environment, and (d) management of two languages.

Early Emergence

A key assumption of this study was that reading identities emerge early in young children, and develop concurrent with other early reading skills and concepts. The children in this study vividly supported this claim. How these identities can emerge was illustrated through the four children profiled in Chapter 4. From Yara, we learned how children can be assertive and positive in how they act as readers. Caleb showed how children can construct nuanced views of reading and bilingualism that reflect complex identities as readers. Raina showed how children can construct complex ideas about texts and reading, while still working through ideas about who they are as a reader and a bilingual. From Jackie we learned how children can be confident in their early identities as a reader, and how these identities reflect the contexts in which they read.

Each of these four children constructed ideas about reading and who they were as a reader. These beliefs were linked to the children's reading experiences at school and at home, and, in some cases, reflected close relationship between their bilingualism and early reading. This is consistent with existing studies that have explored reading identities in early childhood. However, this literature has often been on single cases (e.g., Day, 2002; Kabuto, 2010, 2011) or homogeneous groups of children (e.g., Christian & Bloome, 2004; Hong & Cheong, 2010). It was not clear whether a broader range of children experience similar identity processes, or whether researchers had identified exceptional cases of young children who had identities emerge early or robustly. The four cases presented here show the early emergence of reading identities across children in multiple classrooms and instructional contexts, language groups, genders, and home literacy contexts. These cases show that identity as a concept is more relevant in young

children than is currently widely accepted (Erikson, 1980; Harter, 1999, 2001, 2012), and suggest that the early emergence of reading identities is a consistent facet of early reading.

Variability

A common feature of prior research has been to look toward social theories to explain how common social norms and institutional forces move children toward a set of common beliefs and behaviors around reading (Flores-Dueñas, 2005; Hong & Cheong, 2010; Willett, 2005). These studies looked at how children adopt common cultures, discourses, and ways of interacting to gain acceptance as a reader within certain contexts (Flores-Dueñas, 2005). This included how children modeled their behaviors and discourse on predictable patterns observed during instructional activities (Hong & Cheong, 2010; Willett, 2005). Yet this focus on commonalities has glossed over the potential salience of individual differences across children, including how children may respond differently to similar social or institutional forces.

For example, Yara, Caleb, and Raina diverged in their approaches to describing themselves as readers. Yara evaluated herself positively as reader. For example, when asked, "A good reader is someone who?" Yara simply replied "Me". Yara also characterized herself as a reader by expressing simple preferences such as "I like to read with my mom." Caleb expressed similar preferences, but also provided extended explanations of these choices. And while Yara's preferences were limited to what she liked, Caleb expressed ideas about what he both liked and disliked. For example, Caleb reported that he did not like "Monster book...the ones that say RARR." He explained that "It's a little bit scary. It doesn't scare me but a real monster would scare me." Caleb did

not, however, evaluate his ability in positive or negative terms as Yara had. Raina expressed preferences similar to Yara, but unlike either Yara or Caleb, talked about herself as a future reader. Raina connected learning to read with growing-up, and decided to “pretend that I'm a teenager" so that she could read "chapter books."

Other studies have produced inconsistent results that may suggest a similar kind of variability in children, including several investigations of the role of friendship and social status on children’s reading identities (Christian & Bloome, 2004; Day, 2002; Hawkins, 2005; Toohey, 2000). These studies have attempted to observe the effects of social status and friendship on children’s acceptance into a classroom reading community, yet have reported results that directly contradict each other. Hawkins suggests that closer attention to a broader range of factors, including the individuality of the children’s cases, may provide more robust answers than blanket explanations that rely on children having consistent and predictable responses to social forces. Much like the variability in the children observed in this study, the contradictions in these findings suggests that rather than looking for single answers to how children construct and express reading identities, variability and difference in children’s identities may be the norm.

The variability of these children’s cases likewise raises questions about some developmental perspectives that have taken narrow views about how children construct and communicate early identities (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009; Harter, 2011). Stage models like those developed by Harter (2001) ascribe a number of limitations to what and when children can express ideas about reading and the self. These have the effect of narrowing the range of ways children of a given age may express or develop concepts of identity. However, the stages and their accompanying limitations were not consistent

with the observations and profiles of the children in this study. Contradictory examples of many of these limitations were observed in one or more of the children. These cases suggest that narrow stages that tightly ascribe certain capabilities to specific ages are misleading, if not incorrect, models for early identity development. Individuality and variability, rather than common features or shared developmental progressions, appear to be the norm in these cases.

Environment

The four children connected to and interacted with tangible parts of the world around them as ways of making sense of and expressing ideas about who they were as readers. For example, Yara expressed her identities as a reader through likes and dislikes, including preferences for specific books, places to read, and people with whom to read. These preferences reflect links to real places, people, and objects in her immediate environment. Yara had a favorite book, *Chicka Chicka Boom Boom*, and various people with whom she liked to read, including her sister. The other children similarly expressed preferences about where they liked to read, with whom they liked to read, and their preferred books or content as one way of connecting with the environment around them.

These children's attachment to and use of material objects and others to express ideas about who they are as readers is consistent with broader observations about how children construct an understanding of themself as a distinct person in early childhood (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009; Harter, 2006). These preferences are one form of interaction with material objects that can dually enable the child to distinguish themself from others, including parents and teachers, and to represent internal states, emotions, or abstract concepts through association with or ownership of physical objects.

Connections to the environment were often specific to the children's home or school environment, and the children expressed various ideas, practices, and experiences with reading that were specific to these contexts. These context-specific views of identities and literacy have been a consistent focus of identity researchers (Gee, 2000, 2002; 2012; Weedon, 1987). Gee (2012) has shown how multiple identities can be formed through different ways of talking that enable a person to recognize and be recognized as inhabiting different identities in different social spaces. Gee (2002) has likewise shown how parent-child talk interactions can facilitate the co-construction of reading identities grounded in home reading and language practices. Like those children in Gee's examples, the children in this study constructed identities based on their interactions with various adult guides, and communicated the particular importance of home reading practices and family in the construction of their ideas about reading.

Rogers and Elias (2012) have reported that these home literacies are more likely to be connected to relationships with family members and positive attitudes toward reading, and that the reading identities constructed in the home context often conflict with school reading identities. Though reading practices and identities in the home were reported by the children to include family members and generally positive attitudes toward reading, there were not yet notable signs of conflict between the school and home identities of the children.

Other researchers have likewise reported on such a home-school divide. Kabuto (2010, 2011) chronicled the changes in her daughter's reading identities as she transitioned into formal schooling, noting the speed with which she developed two distinct identities as a reader, each specific to the reading and language practices of the

school and home. Though several children reported differences in language and reading practices at school and at home, they did not report conflicting emotions, practices, or beliefs about reading. The limited time the children in this study have spent in school may so far contribute to the lack of an observed divide, or such a divide may not be a universal trait of DLLs.

As has been evident in the studies discussed thus far, attention to context has generally tended to emphasize children's interactions with other people (Christian & Bloome, 2004; Day, 2002; Hawkins, 2005; Toohey, 2000). Studies by Toohey (2000), Day (2002), and Christian and Bloome (2004) considered how children's interactions in various peer networks affected their ability to construct identities as readers in the classroom. Hawkins (2005) considered the specific role of interactions during play and reading events to consider how peer interactions in these different contexts affected children's identities. Other studies have considered the role of child and adult interactions during instructional activities (Hong & Cheong, 2010; Willett, 2005), and parent-child interactions in the home (Kabuto, 2010, 2011).

However, these studies have paid little attention to children's attachment to and use of material objects, including how they carry understandings and ideas gained from these objects across contexts. These interactions with material objects had relevance for how the children in this study expressed ideas about who they were as readers, including through the use of preferences about objects and texts, and the use of objects during reading events to perform or communicate ideas and understandings about reading. However, there is as of now little in the literature with which to contextualize or explain these interactions.

Management of Two Languages

Research on older children suggests that as children continue in school, language and bilingualism become increasingly central to how DLLs conceptualize reading identities (Alvermann, 2001; Kabuto 2010, 2011; Norton, 2013). As children develop a broader awareness of others' opinions, they become more cognizant of broader social attitudes toward bilingualism, which tend to be negative for children whose first language is not English (Grosjean, 2010; Yip & Matthews, 2007). These researchers show how some children may internalize these external views of bilingualism, and some may act on them by by declining to use their first language in favor of English, even when at home (Hong & Cheong, 2010; Jones, 2004). Yet for the children in this study, early understandings of bilingualism and language varied, and bilingualism was central to some, but not all, of the children's views of reading.

For example, Yara expressed a deep-felt desire to read in Spanish, though most of her reading experiences were in English. Though her ability to express understandings about language were less robust, her feelings about bilingualism and language were genuine and deep, and were reflected in her reading identities. Caleb, on the other hand, was supported with Spanish language use at home and in the classroom, and constructed identities that emphasized his cross-linguistic practices. Still different from either Yara or Caleb, Raina did not always appear to recognize language differences, and though she expressed a curiosity and interest in bilingualism, did not construct identities that clearly or consistently accounted for the role of language.

When children did account for bilingualism in their reading identities, it tended to be positive. In young DLLs such as these, a range of factors may keep children from

encountering the conflict between monoglinguslism and bilingualism that has often been observed in older children (Alvermann, 2001; Kabuto 2010, 2011; Norton, 2013). These factors may include the limited time young children have spent in formal school contexts, still nascent understandings of reading and bilingualism, and demands for academic English that aren't yet high enough to lead to conflict (Hong & Cheong, 2010; Jones, 2004; Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006). Yet the findings of Kabuto (2010, 2011) suggest that as DLLs move through school, these experiences with language and bilingualism, when combined with young children's developing social awareness, are likely to have increasingly negative effects on children's reading identities as they encounter prevalent norms of English-centered monolingualism in reading instruction.

Expanding Theoretical and Conceptual Understandings of Reading Identities

The cross-case themes and emergent conceptual model presented in Chapter 5 provide a broader picture of the major facets of reading identities across the children in this study. The model functions as an emergent explanatory framework that includes four dimensions developed from the cross-case themes: concept of reading, performance, self-awareness, and context. This section discusses the cross-case themes and conceptual model in the context of broader trends in theory and research on identities. This discussion is organized by five key topics from the findings. These include: (a) re-conceptualizing identities in early childhood, (b) looking beyond language, (c) context, (d) a broader view of development, and (e) bilingualism.

Re-Conceptualizing Identities in Early Childhood

Theory on identities, including theoretical and conceptual constructions of reading identities, have historically been conceptualized through an "adult" approach, focusing

primarily on self and identity processes in adolescent and adult subjects (Harter, 2012). Few theorists have substantively considered what it might mean for young children to be the subjects of theories on identities. The result has been a predictable absence of theoretical and conceptual models of identity development in early childhood. Yet the emergent conceptual model presented in Chapter 5 illustrates the possibility of generating productive theory and explanatory frameworks about identities in young children, including theory that takes an additive, rather than a substractive or deficit, orientation toward the role of bilingualism in the children's early reading identities. This model suggests how current theory may be informative, but limited, in constructing models of identities that account for early childhood and bilingualism.

The limited ability of any of the common identity metaphors identified by Moje and Luke (2009) to provide more than a partial explanation of children's identities suggests a potential poor fit between theories conceptualized for adult and adolescent actors and the lived identities of young children. Deductive codes for these identity metaphors were not identified during the analysis, nor were they salient in the conceptual model, suggesting that none of the existing metaphors were strong fits for conceptualizing identities in the participants. The children did not often directly address identities and did not exhibit the explicit and reflective talk about identities that would be needed to be able to identify these codes in the collected data. Other factors, such as the intentionality, accurateness, or seriousness of children's responses, require the researcher to make assumptions about children's motives or intended meaning to identify these metaphors in their talk or actions. Such assumptions would exceed what can be

reasonably concluded from the data, and limit the ability to apply these metaphors to young children's identities.

Furthermore, the conceptual model illustrates the limitations of constructing rigid boundaries between theoretical approaches to identities. Rather than adhering to either poststructural, social constructivist, or psychological perspectives on identities, the model draws across these perspectives in its representation of children's identities. Included within the model are aspects of cognition and affective processes, social performances and interaction, and contextual influences, reflecting psychological, social constructivist, and poststructural perspectives, respectively. The resulting model shows how any single theoretical perspective on identities is limited, and that understanding identities as enacted in real-world settings requires the affordances provided by multiple theoretical perspectives on identities. While models that draw across theoretical perspectives are not new, they remain rare within the study of identities (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Aspects of these perspectives on identities are considered in the remaining sections, including ways that the findings both affirm and critique assumptions of identities in each of these perspectives, particularly as they pertain to young children.

Looking Beyond Language

For many of the children, language played a central role in how they learned about reading and performed reading identities. Verbal participation through spoken talk during reading events was among the most frequently observed behaviors across children. These interactions are easily conceptualized through social constructivist and poststructural theories of identities, which give a central and often exclusive role to

language as the medium of identity construction and negotiation, even as they sometimes claim to explore various "ways of being" in the world (Gee, 2000).

Language, though often important to children's performances of reading, was not the only medium through which children interacted, communicated, and performed reading and reading identities. Many of the children's interactions as readers were nonverbal or occurred with material objects, including books and other texts. These interactions were part of children's performances of reading, and though they sometimes occurred in group or social contexts, they also occurred individually, as children read or interacted with texts alone in the classroom or at home. The concept of performance as shown in the model (Figure 5.1) includes both the language-based and social interactions that have been at the center of most social constructivist and poststructural theories of identities (Bakhtin, 1984; Gee, 2000; Harter, 1999), and the nonverbal, private, and material interactions that were important to how many of these children performed and constructed their identities as readers, but have not been well conceptualized by social constructivist and poststructural theorists.

These interactions with material objects, including written texts, do not easily fit within existing constructs of identities and identity development, especially those that have been used to explain reading identities (Moje & Luke, 2009). Many of the children participated in reading activities by starting to "act out" behaviors as they "act like" readers. Many of these behaviors reflect not yet fully developed ideas about reading, but suggest that the children are enacting ideas about reading that are at or beyond their current ability level. For example, Raina and Thamien both pretended to read by selecting books, turning pages, and reciting text from memory or based on the images on each

page. Though neither could decode printed text, both mimicked the process of doing so. In this way, they were taking on or enacting identities and roles as a reader. Though technology, such as e-readers, iPads, or other computing devices, were not a salient part of how these children enacted or performed reading, these new and often changing forms of texts and reading may play a role for other children, particularly those who have increased access to technological resources.

For young children who may at times struggle to express ideas about books and reading with oral language, nonverbal behaviors may be especially important as a way to physically enact their emerging ideas of reading and what it means to be a reader. This reliance on physical action is consistent with other aspects of learning in early childhood, including approaches that rely on play and physical manipulation, and learning through observation, mimicry, trial and error, and imagination (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). Nonverbal behaviors have further implications for DLLs, whose developing language proficiency may affect access to some early reading events and interactions, especially English language instruction and reading in school.

The concept of constructing identities as a reader by engaging in practices that mimic the behaviors and practices of more advanced readers aligns with some aspects of a communities of practice view on identity development (Flores-Dueñas, 2005; Hong & Cheong, 2010; Willett, 2005). Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) suggest that newcomers move from forms of legitimate peripheral participation to full participation as they are apprenticed into the sociocultural practices of a community. Identities are constructed through the process of becoming a full participant in a community of practice by learning and negotiating membership in the community. Though community of

practice perspectives account for the role of group structures and norms on the behaviors of individuals, the primary focus is on the nature of the discourse practices within the community and the interactions between people.

Nonverbal interactions between persons are easy to account for within this framework as one considers how an individual enters into social interactions and a community with other readers. However, interactions between individual persons and material objects, including interactions that occur alone or in private, remain hard to account for in this perspective. Like with other poststructural perspectives on identities, the central role of linguistic interactions presents a poor fit with many of the observed behaviors of the young children. Though a community of practice perspective may provide some affordances in considering how young children's nonverbal behaviors and reading practices contribute to the construction and performance of identities as a reader, this approach is limited in considering interactions with material objects.

Accounting for the diverse ways that the children in this study engaged in the processes of reading and identity construction requires looking to theory, modes interaction, and ways of conceptualizing identities that look beyond the social constructivist and poststructural reliances on person-to-person and linguistic interaction, and toward a broader integration of non-linguistic communication and material objects into identity processes.

Context

Context has been consistently identified in recent research and theory as playing a central role in how identities, including reading identities, are developed and expressed (Flores-Dueñas, 2005; Hong & Cheong, 2010; Willett, 2005). The view of identities as

situated in specific social and physical contexts represents one of the more substantial shifts from social constructivist to poststructural theories (Gee, 2000, 2012; McCarthey, 2002). The findings of this study likewise point to the multiplicity of reading identities children construct as context changes and children adapt to various site-specific social, linguistic, and cultural demands on reading.

Context was observed first in some children's explicit distinctions between school, home, and other reading contexts, and again in differences between the children's responses in the mainstream and SEI classrooms. Children in the mainstream classroom more often identified and discussed context in their talk about reading and language, and drew attention to specific differences in their reading behaviors across these contexts. It is possible that these children paid increased attention to context because the classroom context for reading and language use presented more differences for these children when compared to their homes. Children in this classroom, unlike the children in the SEI classroom, tended to have few to no common language speakers, and had no structured opportunities to use their home languages in the classroom.

Kabuto (2011) reported that pressure to enter into a classroom community of monolingual English readers can lead DLLs to develop two identities as a reader--one that values and draws from both of their languages, and another that accepts dominant ideologies about the primacy of English and limits children to monolingual English language practices. She explored how entrance into a school context that is monolingual and English can lead children to distinguish between home and school, and private and public contexts, and to construct identities that respond to the demands and allowances of these distinctive settings. For children who are exposed to different cultural models of

reading at school and at home, school literacies are more likely to be associated with behaviors, rules, and processes, whereas home literacies are more likely to be connected to relationships with family members and positive attitudes toward reading (Rogers & Elias, 2012). Differences in school and home literacies are also likely to be affected by cultural and class differences that may affect how literacy and language practices are used and leveraged in the home (Compton-Lilly, 2006; Cummins, 1996).

Children in the mainstream English classroom described reading identities that largely reflected classroom norms of language use. The positive framing of reading and book reading practices in school may have influenced children's responses to report reading practices and views of reading that were consistent with the practices that were done and valued in school. However, the children also continued to express emerging understandings of reading and bilingualism that were grounded in their out-of-school and home language and reading practices. This dual identity construction reflects children's awareness of and adaptation to the specific language demands of varying school, home, and possibly other contexts. Though Rogers and Elias (2012), Kabuto (2011), and others have emphasized this home-school divide, other contexts for reading, including the homes of other family members or friends, after school programs, and houses of worship played important roles in some of the children's discussions of reading. An oversimplification of context to home and school can overlook the role of these contexts, and the multiple, rather than dual, reading identities and contexts children negotiate.

For children in the SEI classroom, where English and Spanish language use were part of all instructional activities, the difference between home and school contexts may have appeared less stark. Kabuto (2010) reported that affirmative responses to bilingual

language use enabled her child to view reading as a universal rather than language-specific practice, and consequently to co-construct reading identities that were inclusive of cross-language resources. Children in this study who constructed similarly inclusive reading identities came from the SEI classroom, suggesting that the bilingual supports they received may have played a role in how the children saw reading as connecting with their bilingualism.

However, not all children in the SEI classroom constructed more robust ideas about bilingualism and reading, or had reading identities that were more inclusive of their multiple languages. Similarly, children in the monolingual classroom did not universally construct a divide between school and home. For many of the children, understandings about context were still emerging, including how home and school expectations for language use and reading differed. For some children, there remained little or no perception that reading varied across contexts, or that their identities as readers needed to change as they moved between school, home, and other contexts. At the time of the study, the children had so far spent limited time in school, and the effects of this exposure to classroom instructional and language contexts is likely to change, most likely with negative effects, as children advance through their schooling and the time spent in classrooms increases (Alvermann, 2001; Hall, 2010, 2012).

A Broader View of Development

In their understandings of reading and who they were as readers, the children were dynamic, and not static, actors. Each dimension of the model (Figure 5.1) represents areas along which the children showed the potential for growth as readers, including emerging constructs and behaviors that showed the potential to grow their ability within

each dimension. Though this study was not designed to follow children over time, and cannot speak to the longer-term development of children's reading identities, the children were seen at one snapshot in time that nonetheless yielded much information about how they were developing as readers. The flexible and non-linear representation of development in the model (Figure 5.1) presents a distinct contrast to the stage model proposed by Harter (2001, 2006, 2011, 2012).

Harter (2001, 2006, 2011, 2012) relies on the division of children's development into six sub-stages, beginning with very early childhood at age 2 and extending through late adolescence at age 19, and attempts to characterize normative or typical developmental changes across these age levels. This study instead points to variability in the children's identities as a defining characteristic of their development, rather than broad similarities in developmental growth. There are too few common characteristics for the children to be grouped within a single "stage," and only a limited number of the several common characteristics prescribed by Harter are accurately reflected in the participants. For example, contrary to the stage defined for four year old children, many of the participants did distinguish a wish to be competent from the reality of their competence, were able to realistically assess aspects their own ability, and engaged in social or temporal comparisons. However, the relevance of each of these characteristics and the degree to which it was exercised varied substantially across children.

Though Harter (2001, 2006, 2011, 2012) does not claim to preclude variations across children at any given sub-stage, these variations are constrained in her model by broader expectations for how, and when, children reach specific benchmarks in their development. This kind of linearity was likewise not observed in the children. The

children were not observed to be at consistent benchmarks, or to have acquired skills, competencies, or understandings in a prescribed order. In fact, children appeared to have developed skills, competencies, and understandings in very different orders, suggesting the absence of a consistent hierarchy or path of development. Though Harter delineated between very early childhood (ages 2-4) and early to middle childhood (ages 5-7), individual children demonstrated traits from across these stages, and some from more advanced stages of Harter's model. The children constructed differing paths to reading identities that were neither consistent in their composition or their apparent order of construction. Furthermore, children's ability with regard to a specific trait appeared to shift across different data collection sessions, or in its description by adults at home or school. The children did not fit neatly within single stages, but shifted in their ability based on context and other factors.

Though Harter's (2001, 2006, 2011, 2012) model does capture some broad trends that are applicable to some children in this study, such as increased abilities to elaborate on aspects of the self and make comparisons or projections across time, Harter's model effectively erases or reduces out the spectrum of how children actualized and enacted these characteristics. A focus on narrowly defining children's capabilities and limitations, and a linearization of children's development of these capabilities, does not adequately capture the more variable nature of how these children acquired and expressed ideas, beliefs, and ways of acting out reading. By not defining specific stages of development, or a prescribed sequence in which children are expected to develop predefined skills, competencies, and understandings, the model (Figure 5.1) allows for the variability and differences observed in the children's reading identities.

The children's development instead shares more in common with descriptions of how children are socialized into reading practices and identities (Gee, 2001; Johnston & Rogers, 2002; Williams, 1991). However, on its own, this approach, too, has limitations. Though various family and school actors played a central role in how the children constructed understandings and beliefs about reading, socialization processes on their own provided an incomplete explanation of the children's very different developmental paths. The children in each classroom experienced similar school contexts for learning and reading, and though their home contexts varied, most children reported similar reading practices, including book readings with a parent or other adult, often in two languages. Processes of socialization do not explain why or how children who experienced similar social and community influences developed widely varying views and practices around reading, and consequently constructed vastly different reading identities.

Development as conceptualized in the model (Figure 5.1) instead shares more in common with how Dewey (1927/1998, 1940/1998) described child development. Dewey explained how the many potentialities of the child may be called out through interactions with other people and environments. Children may develop differently, even within the same or similar socialization environments, as they respond to socialization forces based on their prior experiences and personal characteristics (Dewey, 1940/1998; Pelligrini, 2002). How a child develops then becomes a question of which of the potentialities of the child--or their potential ways of being--are actualized by being repeated, reinforced, and nurtured through interactions with other people and objects (Nasir, 2010; Pelligrini, 2002; Roskos & Neuman, 2002). In the case of reading identities, such a view considers each

child's potential ways of being in relation to reading. Along each dimension of reading identities, children develop along different identity trajectories as they respond to socialization forces in ways that reflect their own experiences and characteristics.

This view of development moves away from the structured, linear perspectives of development favored by psychological researchers like Harter (2001, 2006, 2011, 2012), yet allows for the consideration of children's cognitive, affective, and personal characteristics in how they respond to socialization forces and environmental stimuli. This allows for more complexity in children's individual responses to context and environment, including more variation in how cognitive, affective, and linguistic differences may influence children's responses to reading and learning. This more flexible view of development provides a more cohesive explanatory model of the developmental different paths on which children were observed, and avoids many of the problematic characteristics of stage models and socialization theories alone.

Bilingualism: Not a Dichotomous Quality

Though the children were often labeled as "bilingual," bilingualism was, in effect, not a "yes" or "no" characteristic. Children were not strictly bilingual or monolingual, but instead enacted their language practices in varied ways based on context, task, and personal preferences (Grosjean, 2010; Hornberger, 1989, 2003; Yip & Matthews, 2007). Sometimes children struggled to explain their bilingualism, or identify how it connected to reading. At other times, children made nuanced distinctions between reading practices based on language. In effect, bilingualism did not play a consistent role in how the children conceptualized reading, but instead presented multiple opportunities and

possibilities for conceptualizing language and reading in bilingual ways (Gort & Bauer, 2012; Hornberger 1989, 2003).

Being bilingual was a highly individual experience that was constructed through the language, personal history, home life, personality, and preferences of each child. "Bilingual" as a label or identifier did not in itself predict anything about the child's reading or reading identities, nor did it predict specific ways that children engaged with reading. Bilingualism and monolingualism as labels suffer from the same shortcomings as many other binary labels critiqued in poststructural perspectives (Block, 2007, Norton, 2013). These kinds of labels are socially constructed, affected by power relationships, change across contexts, and may at times be contradictory (Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006). Much like other dichotomous distinctions that have been critiqued for failing to represent the spectrum of lived experiences, such as male/female or literate/illiterate, the distinction of bilingual/monolingual oversimplifies the children's language practices and conceptualization of language and reading at this age.

Attention to the nuanced and variable ways that children use languages, including changes in their language practices and preferences across contexts, are more productive descriptors than the terms "bilingual" and "monolingual" alone. These more detailed descriptions of children's language practices and understandings of how language and reading are connected appear to be necessary to begin to understand the role of language and bilingualism in early reading identities.

Summary

This chapter discusses the within-case and cross-case findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5. This chapter synthesizes and discusses these results in light of the

study's research questions, literature review, and conceptual framework. Particular attention is given to exploring how the theoretical and empirical literature on identities, and reading identities specifically, aligns with, diverges from, and deepens the findings. The first section contextualizes the case portraits presented in Chapter 4 in previous research on reading identities, focusing on how the narratives of these children fit within and expand current understandings of reading identities in young DLLs. The second section situates the emergent conceptual model presented in Chapter 5 within broader trends in theory and research on identities, and considers how the model specifically adds to theoretical understandings of identities in young children and DLLs.

The final chapter presents conclusions of this study. This chapter reflects on the study's findings, including the practical and theoretical implications of the study results, and the broader significance of the study's case portraits and emergent conceptual model.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

In this chapter I present conclusions for this study and reflect on the broader significance of the study's findings. First I provide an overview of the study, including the problem and research questions, key aspects of the study design, and major findings. Next I present conclusions and recommendations based on the study findings. These provide a clear statement of the broader significance of the study, including take-aways from the within-case and cross-case findings presented in chapters 4 and 5. I then suggest practical recommendations for educators and others involved in reading curricula and instruction that provides guidance on how these findings can inform the teaching and learning of reading for young DLLs. I then explain some topics that the study could not illuminate, including limitations of the methods used in this study. Last I explore possible topics and questions for closer examination in future research, including why early reading identities deserve broader attention from researchers.

Summary of the Study

Through experiences with reading, children form understandings about texts, reading and readers that gain increasing importance as they move through school (Hong & Cheong, 2010; Kabuto, 2010). These experiences shape the ways that DLLs understand who they are as readers, including how they understand reading in relation to their languages and bilingualism (Alvermann, 2001; Norton, 2013). These understandings comprise children's reading identities. Despite the potential importance of reading identities to early reading, research on young children and DLLs comprises only a small

portion of the overall research on reading identities (Castro, 2014; Moje & Luke, 2009). This study considers identity construction in the context of bilingualism, including possible affective, cognitive, linguistic, and social processes that are connected to reading identities in young children. This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the reading identities of ten prekindergarten DLLs?
    a. How do these children describe and do reading?
    b. How do these children describe themselves as readers?
2. How do these children connect reading identities and their bilingualism?

The study participants were ten children from two prekindergarten classrooms in a single elementary school in a large city in the Northeastern United States. The children were all DLLs, and their home languages included Spanish (4), Vietnamese (2), Cape Verdean Creole (2), Haitian Creole (1), and Portuguese (1). All of the children were four years old. The Spanish-speakers were all in an SEI classroom that used English and Spanish for instruction. All other participating children were in a mainstream English-only classroom. The study design combined traditional research methods, including teacher interviews, parent surveys, and observations, with child-centered interviews that foregrounded children's ability to construct meaning through activity-based talk, drawing, and play (Albon & Rosen, 2013; Orellana & Peer, 2012).

The classrooms were visited 2-3 days per week over a 5 month period. Data analysis included within-case analyses to explore themes, patterns, and salient constructs for each child (Yin, 2014), and a cross-case analysis to explore potential commonalities and contrasts across children (Eisenhardt, 1989; Ogawa & Malen, 1991).

Findings from the study broadly showed how children navigated early reading experiences to construct emerging ideas about reading, language, and who they are as readers. The first set of findings were portraits of selected children from the sample. These portraits showed the various ways that reading identities were constructed, taken-up, and expressed by the participating children. Key aspects of the portraits illustrated how reading identities emerge early, vary across children, are connected to the contexts in which reading occurs, and have varying connections to children's bilingualism. The second set of findings included an emergent conceptual model of reading identities based on cross-case themes identified from across participants. The model identified four key dimensions of reading identities: concept of reading, performance, self-awareness, and context. These findings demonstrate that young DLLs possess ways of making sense of who they are as readers and users of language at a young age.

Conclusions

Evidence from this study suggests that young children are actively constructing ideas about reading and who they are as readers as they begin to learn to read and encounter print. Though children have not yet engaged in reflection, reification, or narration of their experiences in ways that have been used to characterize reading identities in older children (Harter, 2012; Moje & Luke, 2009), children have collected memories, concepts, practices, and ways of talking and doing with texts that together comprise an emerging concept of the self as a reader. Though these identities vary in their depth and complexity, for all children they are already at least partially apparent. These identities likewise show a variability that reflects the range of early experiences children

have had with reading and language in the home, school, and other contexts, and the diverse ways that children have constructed meaning from these experiences.

Together, these findings point to a combined role of social, cognitive, and linguistic factors in children's early reading identities. Social factors include the processes of socialization by which children learn to act and think like a reader through the guidance, observation, or apprenticeship of others (Gee, 2012; Halle et al., 2014; Wenger, 1998). Cognitive factors include the mental functions, processing, memory, and development that is central to how children make internal sense and order of the inputs and experiences they have around reading and language (Barac, et al., 2014; Hammer et al., 2014). Linguistic factors include children's proficiency in individual languages, as well as the ways children learn, use, and connect language systems to expand their communicative reportoire (Bialystok, 2001; Grosjean, 2010; Yip & Matthews, 2007). This view of language reflects an additive, rather than a substractive or deficit, orientation toward the role of bilingualism in the children's early reading identities. Integrative models of identities that draw from across these fields to consider how various internal and external influences affect identities are more realistic models of real-life identity processes (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). The findings of this study point toward such a model, but require more work to more deeply and closely integrate understandings of cognition, language, and socialization in young children.

More broadly, research on how bilingual children learn to read remains limited, especially when considered against the much more robust history of research on monolingual children (August & Shanahan, 2006; Reyes, 2012). Research on language-diverse samples remains even rarer, with most research on bilingual children focusing on

homogenous language groups, and most often English-Spanish bilinguals (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008). The findings of this study showed the sometimes inconsistent role bilingualism played in the early identities of some of the children. Understanding why, what role bilingualism plays for those children for whom it was a salient aspect of their identities, and when and whether it emerges as an important characteristic for other children remain important questions. This research points to what we still do not know about bilingualism, and particularly what we do now know about how young children develop as bilinguals and as readers.

Likewise, current theory is insufficient to support understandings of identity processes in young children, and the relationship between reading identities and bilingualism. The reading identities observed in this study could not be adequately explained by any of the single theoretical approaches to identities identified by Moje and Luke (2009) as common in the literacy field. Though the reasons for the lack of fit between these theoretical views and the observed data varied, each approach generally relied on adult capacities for reflection, social interaction, and language use that are not consistently applicable to young children or DLLs. Furthermore, none of the approaches were able to account for the totality of ways children constructed, took-up, and expressed identities. More theory development is needed that accounts for or integrates the various complex, and sometimes competing, processes that affect identity development.

On a more positive note, the child-centered research methods used here appear well-suited to yield new insights into young children's understandings of identities and early reading. Young children do not show the same capacities as has been reported in older children, such as reflection on past events or projections about the future self, and

often struggle to express abstract and complex ideas verbally. Nonetheless, given opportunities to express themselves in developmentally appropriate ways, including nonverbal, art, play, and with support from concrete aids and activities, children can communicate ideas about reading and how they view themselves as readers. Developmentally appropriate avenues of research give authentic opportunities for children to express and share what they know and think about their own identities. These approaches help to overcome the broader challenges of research on identities, including constructing coherent accounts of identities that account for perspectives of both the individual in question and the outsiders who exist in the context and spaces in which identity development occurs (Nasir, 2010).

Implications

This research suggests that educators might want to learn more about how a focus on reading identities can support early reading growth in young children. The case portraits of Yara, Caleb, Raina, Jackie, and the other children in this study provided the base for examining in depth the reading identities of children as they engaged in reading and play in school. These examples demonstrate that young DLLs possess ways of making sense of who they are as readers and users of language, and that an understanding of children is limited when early reading is viewed only through the lens of skill development. Focusing on readers, and not only on the discrete skills and practices that comprise part of the work of reading, is part of understanding early reading and language development in young children.

As early as prekindergarten, reading curricula and instruction should account for the development of reading identities within broader conversations about early literacy

development. Reading instruction may be more likely to support children's development as readers if it includes attention to the four dimensions of the model in Figure 5.1. This includes promoting children's development of concepts of reading, which may include concepts of bilingualism and language, supporting children as they explore and practice ways of performing and participating in reading events, enabling children's participation in reading across varied contexts, including in the home and school, and nurturing children's awareness of who they are as a reader to support positive views of the self and reading.

Teachers and families may likewise benefit from talking to and engaging with children around reading and language. Talking with children about reading, especially when done in developmentally appropriate ways, can help adults to learn about what children understand about reading, what reading practices they engage in at school and at home, and where children and how their families can be supported to promote early literacy development. These conversation can also be used to assess children's progress in early reading and identify potential areas where children need support. Last, engaging children in explicit conversations about reading and the self can promote early understandings about and engagement with reading by modeling and supporting processes of thinking about how one becomes a reader and a bilingual.

As educators engage in these practices, the examples from this study suggest that it is important that they view children as having multiple pathways to becoming a reader. This includes accepting and nurturing different trajectories among children as they work toward understanding and enacting different ways of performing and conceptualizing the self as a reader. Broadening educators ways of understanding and supporting readers also

requires moving away from an over-reliance on strict benchmarks and standardized measures of reading and early literacy. Educators must instead be given the space, support, and tools to more broadly consider how early reading development is comprised of interwoven cognitive, linguistic, and social processes that cannot always be easily measured.

Limitations of the Study

The small sample of children and reliance on children from a single school and local context limit the generalizability of the current study. It is not certain whether these findings would apply to other children in other contexts, or in what other ways various other factors might affect the identity and reading development of children. Because the selected children represent particular combinations of language proficiency, early reading experiences, home contexts, and interest in reading, the findings are not broadly generalizable to all young DLLs. Nonetheless, these findings may be generalized to other, similar children, and to theory about identities and reading. Furthermore, key contradictions between the development of young children's reading identities in this study and the identity development described in previous researcg, including that of Harter (2012), highlights the critical role that close analyses of single children can play in disrupting singular narratives of a phenomenon. Though work by Harter and others may be generalizable to *some* children, the findings of this study make clear that current findings on identity processes are similarly not generaliable to *all* children, including the young DLLs who were the subject of this study.

Children in the study frequently discussed reading events that occurred in the home, yet data on home reading events was limited. Though the family survey used in

this study provided some useful background information on the home reading context, this information was not sufficient to draw many conclusions about home reading and language practices. Additionally, information on the survey and child reports were often at odds, making it hard to draw conclusions about the home. More information on the home reading context, including the parent's goals, attitudes, beliefs pertaining to language and reading, would enable a broader understanding of the reading events that children often referenced as important to their understandings of reading.

The methods and contexts of this study likewise did not appear well-suited to capturing or exploring some aspects of identities that have been salient in other research. Notably, this included the role of power within reading events and relationships between the participants and other children and adults, which has been extensively explored in the literature on early reading and language development (Christian & Bloome, 2004; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004).

Power may not have emerged as salient in these findings due to realities of both the study context and design. Because both classrooms were comprised entirely or nearly entirely of DLLs, these children did not comprise a minority in the classroom, and as a result may have avoided some of the negative experiences of DLLs in English majority contexts reported in other literature (Christian & Bloome, 2004; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004). The study design may have likewise reduced the likelihood that issues of power were identified in the analysis. Most current studies of power dynamics rely on discourse analysis or microanalysis of specific interactions (Gee, 2012). Neither approach was used here, and data was not collected that would allow the detailed analysis of

verbatim talk and interactions during children's play and instruction. These kinds of data sources have largely supported previous analyses of power in classroom contexts.

It is likely that other possible factors were overlooked by the study design and context. The inability of any single set of research methods to capture all possible factors at play points to the need for a diversity of research approaches to understand fully early reading and identity processes. Topics that should be targeted by future research are discussed next.

Topics for Further Inquiry

The outcomes of the study indicate a need for more thorough understandings of how cognitive, social, and linguistic factors interact to influence the development of reading identities in early childhood. Existing research points to the individual importance of these factors (Castro, 2014; Harter, 2001, 2006, 2011, 2012; Martínez-Roldán & Malavé, 2004), but limited work has been done to explore how they may interact (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). Yet this study suggests that cognitive and language development may mediate identity development and expression, including children's ability to participate in social aspects of reading and language use. With most theories privileging language as the means of identity development, there are likewise fewer theoretical tools for considering the role of other identity processes for young children and DLLs with developing language abilities. Research is needed that explicitly attempts to connect these factors, and considers how their interplay affects the development of reading identities. These questions may be particularly well-addressed by longitudinal research that may provide deeper insights into how identity processes evolve as children develop and change across cognitive, social, and linguistic domains. Such studies that

follow the developing nature of reading identities in the same children over a period of years are likely critical to making substantive advances in our understandings of how reading identities develop and affect reading processes in early childhood.

Further attention is likewise needed to better understand the role of material objects in identity processes (Barad, 2007; 2008; Nasir, 2010, 2011; St. Pierre, 2011). These material objects can include parts of the physical environment, and research on this topic may consider how the environment is organized and how it supports a person's connection to specific reading practices (Nasir & Cooks, 2009). Children in this study were observed to express ideas about the self through preferences that often involved material objects, and they frequently interacted with books and material objects related to reading. Though technology was not a salient feature of how the children in this study engaged in reading practices, digital devices and texts are likely to be among the material objects many children increasingly use to engage in reading. The role of these objects and children's interactions with them is currently poorly theorized and studied. Considerations of material objects have been particularly limited by the pervasive use of some social theories which give limited consideration to how children interact with texts and construct meaning through interactions with material objects. More thorough consideration of how these material objects influence, mediate, or enable the construction of identities, both as part of and outside social interactions with other people, is needed to more comprehensively understand children's early experiences with reading. This will require more work that explicitly accounts for and considers the material environment in which reading occurs, including but not limited to the texts and instructional materials that young children use while learning to read. Such work will require the simultaneous

development of new theories that enable the consideration of how these material objects may impact early reading and identity development.

A fuller understanding of children's reading identities may also require a consideration of reading identities alongside writing identities. Connections or intersections between reading and writing identities have been considered (Jiménez, 2000; McCarthey & Moje, 2002), just as connections between reading and writing have been explored more broadly (Parodi, 2013). The children in this study suggest that an integrated view of reading and writing may be informative, or that writing identities may need to be considered parallel to reading identities to more accurately understand children's early relationships with language and literacy. Children were often observed to be writing or producing texts, and often used letters, play, drawing, or art to draft texts. Literacy often begins with writing for young children, and these forms of early writing often precede early reading. Writing identities may likewise develop earlier than reading identities, any may be supported by early opportunities to practicing writing and narrative storytelling with other peers and adults. How these emerging writing practices and identities intersect with early reading and reading identities could yield deeper insights into children's development as both readers and writers. Though the data required to study both reading and writing identities is broader, it is nonetheless feasible for researchers to study both phemonena simultaneously, and to consider how they may develop both independently and in relation to one another.

Last, it is important for researchers to continue to include language diverse samples in research on early reading and identities. Though homogeneous language groups provide several advantages, including the ability to conduct data collection in

non-English languages with greater ease, research often focuses on common language groups, most notably English-Spanish bilinguals, at the expense of broader and more diverse understandings of bilingualism and reading. A consideration both of multiple language groups and how specific languages may relate to or affect early reading differently should be a continued focus of research on early reading. When samples include both monolingual and bilingual children, disaggregating results by language status can provide opportunities to consider the explicit influence that bilingualism may have on early reading and reading identities.

These lines of inquiry can inform the continued development of models of reading identities like the one presented in Chapter 5. Conceptual models function as important tools to organize and extend understandings of complex phenomenon. These models can serve dual roles as early frameworks for new theory and as usable structures to guide the practice of educators. The emergent model presented in Chapter 5 represents an initial attempt to construct an explanatory framework that integrates the diverse cognitive, social, and linguistic factors that inform reading identities, and to account for the development of identities over time. Succeeding iterations of this model will look to both the findings of this study and to those of future research on this topic, and will attempt to better attend to the roles of time, context, variability in the ecosystem, power, and the complex relationships between reading, language, learning, and identities presented in the children in this study.

Summary

This chapter presents conclusions that reflect the contributions of this study to the broader fields of reading and identity studies. This study provides evidence of the early

emergence of reading identities in young DLLs, including social, cognitive, and linguistic dimensions of these identities. Though theory and research that support understandings of these identities are limited, the child-centered methods used here contributed new insights into children's understandings of identities and early reading. Parents and teachers of prekindergarteners can support the development of these reading identities by considering identity development in early literacy development and supporting children's construction of ideas about who they are as readers. Limitations of the study point to a need to consider broader data sources and approaches to analysis to understand the broader implications and development of identities. These can be addressed through future research that attempts to integrate varied perspectives on identities and early reading, accounts for material objects in identity processes, and considers the relationship between reading and writing identities. This study reflects both the promise of research on reading identities, and the need for more research and theorization about the interrelationships between early literacy, language, and identities in young children.

References

Albon, D., & Rosen, R. (2013). *Negotiating adult-child relationships in early childhood research*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Alexander, P. A., & Fox, E. (2013). A historical perspective on reading research and practice, redux. In D. E. Alvermann, N. J. Unrau, & R. B. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading, 6th ed.* (pp. 3-46). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Alvermann, D. E. (2001). Reading adolescents' reading identities: Looking back to see ahead. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy, 44*(8), 676-690.

Angell, A., Alexander, J., & Hunt, J. A. (2015). 'Draw, write and tell': A literature review and methodological development on the 'draw and write' research method. *Journal of Early Childhood Research, 13*(1), 17-28.

Anyon, J. (1981). Social class and school knowledge. *Curriculum Inquiry, 11*, 1-42.

Atkinson, M., & Heritage, J., Eds. (1984). *Structures of social action.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

August, D. E, & Shanahan, T. E (2006). Introduction and methodology. In D. E. August & T. E. Shanahan (Eds.), *Developing literacy in second-language learners: Report of the National Literacy Panel on Language-Minority Children and Youth* (pp. 1-42). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination*. (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1984). Rabelais and his world. (H. Iswolsky, Trans). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Baldwin, J. M. (1895). *Mental development of the child and the race: Methods and processes.* New York, NY: Macmillan.

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review, 84*(2), 191-215.

Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist, 37*(2), 122-147.

Barac, R., Bialystok, E., Castro, D. C., & Sanchez, M. (2014). The cognitive development of young dual language learners: A critical review. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 29*, 699-714.

Basterra, M. D. R., Trumbull, E., & Solano-Flores, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Cultural validity in assessment: A guide for educators.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Berliner, D. C. (1981). Academic learning time and reading achievement. In J. T. Guthrie (Ed.), *Comprehension and teaching: Research reviews* (pp. 203-226). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Bialystok, E. (2001). Metalinguistic aspects of bilingual processing. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 21*, 169–181.

Block, D. (2007). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *Modern Language Journal, 91*(5), 863-876.

Block, D. (2010). Researching language and identity. In B. Paltridge & A. Phakiti (Eds.), *Research methods in applied linguistics* (pp. 337-349). New York, NY: Continuum.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information, 16*(6), 645-668.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Brooks, M. (2005). Drawing as a unique mental development tool for young children: Interpersonal and intrapersonal dialogues. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood, 6*(1), 80-91.

Brown, B. (2004). Discursive identity: Assimilation into the culture of science and its implications for minority students. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 41*, 810-834.

Bussey, K., & Bandura, A. (1999). Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review, 106*(4), 676-713.

Butler, J. (1997). *The psychic life of power: Theories in subjection.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Castro, D. C. (2014). The development and early care and education of dual language learners: Examining the state of knowledge. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 29*, 693-698.

Chall, J. S. (1983). *The stages of reading development*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Chapman, L., Greenfield, R., & Rinaldi, C. (2010). “Drawing is a frame of mind”: An evaluation of students' perceptions about reading instruction within a response to intervention model. *Literacy Research and Instruction, 49*(2), 113-128.

Christian, B. & Bloome, D. (2004). Learning to read is who you are. *Reading and Writing Quarterly, 20*, 365-284.

Clay, M. (1982). *Observing young readers.* London, UK: Heinemann.

Compton-Lilly, C. (2006). Identity, childhood culture, and literacy learning: A case study. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 6*(1), 57-76.

Cooley, C. H. (1902). *Human nature and the social order*. New York, NY: Schribners.

Copple, C., & Bredekamp, S. (2009). Developmentally appropriate practice in early childhood programs serving children from birth through age 8 (3rd ed.). Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2007). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Cox, S. (2005). Intention and meaning in young children's drawings. *International Journal of Art and Design Education, 24*(2), 115–125.

Cummins, J. (1996). *Negotiating identities: Education for empowerment in a diverse society.* Ontario, CA: CABE.

Davies, B., & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 20*(1), 43-63.

Day, E. M. (2002). *Identity and the young English language learner.* Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Dewey, J. (1927/1998). Search for the public. In L. A. Hickman, & T. M. Alexander (Eds.). *The essential Dewey, volume 1: Pragmatism, education, democracy* (pp. 281-292). Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Dewey, J. (1940/1998). Time and individuality. In L. A. Hickman, & T. M. Alexander (Eds.). *The essential Dewey, volume 1: Pragmatism, education, democracy* (pp. 217-226). Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.

Dyson, A. H. (1990). Symbol makers, symbol weavers: How children link play, pictures, and print. *Young Children, 45*(2), 50-57.

Dyson, A. H. (1996). Cultural constellations and childhood identities: On Greek gods, cartoon heroes, and the social lives of schoolchildren. *Harvard Educational Review, 66*(3), 471-496.

Eccles, J. S., & Roeser, R. W. (2009). Schools, academic motivation, and stage environment fit. In R. M. Lerner & L. Steinberg (Eds.), *The handbook of adolescent psychology: Vol. I. Individual bases of adolescent development.* (3rd ed., pp. 404-434). New York, NY: Wiley.

Ehri, L. C., & McCormick, S. (2013). Phases of word learning: Implications for instruction with delayed and disabled readers. In D. E. Alvermann, N. J. Unrau, & R. B. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading, 6th ed.* (pp. 339-361). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *The Academy of Management Review, 14*(4), 532-550.

Erikson, E. H. (1980). *Identity and the life cycle.* New York, NY: Norton.

Fawcett, M. (2009). *Learning through child observation* (2nd ed.). London, UK: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Ferreiro, E. (2007). Letters and number in early literacy. In Y. Goodman & P. Martens (Eds.), *Critical issues in early literacy: Research and pedagogy* (pp. 59-77). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Ferreiro, E., & Teberosky, A. (1982). *Literacy before schooling*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Fisher, T. R., Albers, P., & Frederick, T. G. (2014). When pictures aren't pretty: Deconstructing punitive literacy practices. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 14*(3), 291-318.

Flores-Dueñas, L. (2005). Lessons from La Maestra Miriam: Developing literate identities through early critical literacy teaching. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 4*(4), 237-251.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge* (A. M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Gauntlett, D. (2007). *Creative explorations*. London, UK: Routledge.

Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education, 25*, 99-125.

Gee, J. P. (2002). A sociocultural perspective on literacy development. In S. B. Neuman & D. K. Dickinson (Eds.), *Handbook of early literacy research, vol. 1* (pp. 30-42). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Gee, J. P. (2012). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Genishi, C., Stires, S. E., & Yung-Chan, D. (2001). Writing in an integrated curriculum: Prekindergarten English language learners as symbol makers. *Elementary School Journal, 101*(4), 399-416.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* New York, NY: Aldine.

Goodman, Y. (1986). Children coming to know literacy. In W. Teale & E. Sulzby (Eds.), *Emergent literacy: Writing and reading* (pp. 1-14). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Gort, M., & Bauer, E. B. (2012). Introduction: Holistic approaches to bilingual/biliteracy development, instruction, and research. In E. B. Bauer & M. Gort (Eds.), *Early biliteracy development: Exploring young learners' use of their linguistic resources* (pp. 1-7). New York, NY: Routledge.

Grosjean, F. (2010). *Bilingual: Life and reality.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grum, D., Lebaric, N., & Kolenc, J. (2004). Relation between self-concept, motivation for education and academic achievement: A Slovenian case. *Studia Psychologica, 46,* 105-126.

Guba, E., & Lincoln, Y. (1981). *Effective evaluation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Gutierrez-Clellen, V. F., & Kreiter, J. (2003). Understanding child bilingual acquisition using parent and teacher reports. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *24*, 267-288.

Hall, L. A. (2010). The negative consequences of becoming a good reader: Identity theory as a lens for understanding struggling readers, teachers, and reading instruction. *Teachers College Record, 112*(7), 1792-1829.

Hall, L. A. (2012). Rewriting identities: Creating spaces for students and teachers to challenge the norms of what it means to be a reader in school. *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, 55*(5), 368-373.

Hall, L. A., Johnson, A. S., Juzwik, M. M., Wortham, E. F. S., & Mosley, M. (2010). Teacher identity in the context of literacy teaching: Three explorations of classroom positioning and interaction in secondary schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 26*(2), 234-243.

Hall, L.A., & Nellenbach, K. (2009). The role of reading identities and reading abilities in students' discussions about texts and comprehension strategies. Paper presented at the National Reading Conference, Albuquerque, NM.

Hall, S. (1996). Who needs "identity"? In S. Hall & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1-19). London, UK: Sage.

Halle, T. G., Whittaker, J. V., Zepeda, M., Rothenberg, L., Anderson, R., Daneri, P., Wessell, J., & Buysse, V. (2014). The social–emotional development of dual language learners: Looking back at existing research and moving forward with purpose. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 29*, 734-749.

Hammer, C. S. (2014). *Characterizing DLLs' experiences: CECER-DLL parent and teacher questionnaires* [Presentation slides]. Chapel Hill, NC: Center for Early Care and Education Research-Dual Language Learners.

Hammer, C. S., Hoff, E., Uchihoshi, Y., Gillanders, C., Castro, D. C., & Sandilos, L. E. (2014). The language and literacy development of young dual language learners: A critical review. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 29*, 715-733.

Hammer, C. S., Komaroff, E., Rodriguez, B. L., Lopez, L. M., Scarpino, S. E., & Goldstein, B. (2012). Predicting Spanish-English bilingual children's language abilities. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research, 55*, 1251-1264.

Hammer, C. S., Rodriguez, B. L., Lawrence, F. R., Miccio, A. W. (2007). Puerto Rican mothers' beliefs and home literacy practices. *Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools, 38*, 216-224.

Handsfield, L. J. & Jiménez, R. T. (2009). Cognition and metacognition: A Bourdieuian analysis of cognitive strategy instruction in a linguistically and culturally diverse classroom. *Journal of Literacy Research, 41,* 151-195.

Haney, W., Russell, M., & Bebell, D. (2004). Drawing on education: Using drawings to document schooling and support change. *Harvard Educational Review, 74*(3), 241-272.

Harden, J., Scott, S., Backett-Mulburn, K., et al. (2000). Can't talk, won't talk. *Sociological Research Online, 5*(2).

Harré, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (1991). Varieties of positioning. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior, 21*(4), 391-407.

Harter, S. (1981). A new self-report scale of intrinsic versus extrinsic orientation in the classroom: Motivational and information components. *Developmental Psychology, 17*, 300-312.

Harter, S. (1996). Developmental changes in self-understanding across the 5 to 7 shift. In A. J. Sameroff & M. M. Haith (Eds.), *The five to seven year shift* (pp. 207-236). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Harter, S. (1999a). *The cognitive and social construction of the developing self*. New York, NY: Guilford.

Harter, S. (1999b). *The construction of the self: A developmental perspective*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Harter, S. (1999c). Symbolic interactionism revisited: Potential liabilities for the self constructed in the crucible of interpersonal relationships. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 45*, 677-703.

Harter, S. (2001). Self-development in childhood. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 13807-13812). Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

Harter, S. (2006). The self. In N. Eisenberg (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology, Vol. 3: Social, emotional, and personality development* (6th ed., pp. 505-570). New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Harter, S. (2011). Emerging self processes during childhood and adolescence. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (2nd ed., pp. 680-715). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Harter, S. (2012). *The construction of the self: Developmental and sociocultural foundations* (2nd ed.). New York: Guilford Press.

Hawkins, M. R. (2005). Becoming a student: Identity work and academic literacies in early schooling. *TESOL Quarterly, 39*(1), 59-82.

Henze, R., & Davis, K. A. (1999). Authenticity and identity: Lessons from indigenous language education. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 30*(1), 3-21.

Hill, M. (2006). Children's voices on ways of having a voice: Children's and young people's perspectives on methods used in research and consultation. *Childhood, 13*, 69-89.

Holland, D., & Leander, K. (2004). Ethnographic studies of positioning and subjectivity: An introduction. *Ethos, 32*(2), 127-139.

Hong, C.E. & Cheong, C. (2010). Literate identities among Korean students learning English in the USA. *English Teaching, 65*(4), 131-154.

Hopperstad, M. H. (2010). Studying meaning in children's drawings. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 10*(4), 430-452.

Hornberger, N. H. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research, 59*(3), 271-296.

Hornberger, N. H. (2003). Continua of biliteracy. In N. H. Hornberger (Ed.), *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings* (pp. 3-34). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Horstman, M., Aldiss, A., Richardson, A., et al (2008). Methodological issues when using the draw and write technique with children aged 6 to 12 years. *Qualitative Health Research, 18*, 1001-1011.

James, A. (1999). Researching children's social competence: Methods and models. In M. Woodhead, D. Faulkner, & K. Littleton (Eds.), *Making sense of social development* (pp. 231-249). London, UK: Routledge.

James, W. (1890). *Principles of psychology.* Chicago, IL: Encyclopedia Britannica.

Jiménez, R. T., García, G. E. & Pearson, P. D. (1995). Three children, two languages, and strategic reading: Case studies in bilingual/monolingual reading. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(1), 67-97.

Jiménez, R. T., García, G. E. & Pearson, P. D. (1996). The reading strategies of bilingual Latina/o students who are successful English readers: Opportunities and obstacles. *Reading Research Quarterly, 31*(1), 90–112.

Johnston, P. H., & Rogers, R. (2002). Early literacy development: The case for "informed assessment." In S. B. Neuman & D. K. Dickinson (Eds.), *Handbook of early literacy research, vol. 1* (pp. 377-389). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Jones, S. (2004). Shaping identities: The reading of young bilinguals. *Literacy, 38*(1), 40-45.

Jones, S. (2013). Critical literacies in the making: Social class and identities in the early reading classroom. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 13*(2), 197-224.

Kabuto, B. (2010). Code-switching during parent-child reading interactions: Taking multiple theoretical perspectives. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 10*(2), 131-157.

Kabuto, B. (2011). *Becoming biliterate: Identity, ideology, and learning to read and write in two languages.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Keats, E. J. (1962). *Snowy day.* New York, NY: Penguin.

Keats, E. J. (1968). *A letter to Amy.* New York, NY: Penguin.

Kendrick, M., & McKay, R. (2004). Drawing as an alternative way of understanding young children's constructions of literacy. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 4*(1), 109-128.

Kress, G. (1989). *Linguistic processes in sociocultural practice.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kuhn, M. R., & Stahl, S. A. (2013). Fluency: Developmental and remedial practices--revisited. In D. E. Alvermann, N. J. Unrau, & R. B. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading, 6th ed.* (pp. 385-411). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Lea, M. R., & Street, B. V. (1998). Student writing in higher education: An academic literacies approach. *Studies in Higher Education, 23*(2), 157-172.

Leary, M. R., & Tangney, J. P. (2011). The self as an organizing construct in the behavioral and social sciences. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (2nd ed., pp. 680-715). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Lepper, M. R., Corpus, J. H., & Iyengar, S. S. (2005). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation in the classroom. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 97*, 184-196.

Lewis, C., & de Valle, A. (2009). Literacy and identity: Implications for research and practice. In L. Christenbury, R. Bomer, & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent literacy research* (pp. 307-322). New York, NY: Guilford.

Lin, A. M. Y. (2008). *Problematizing identity.* New York, NY: Erlbaum/Taylor & Francis.

Linehan, C., & McCarthy, J. (2000). Positioning in practice: Understanding participation in the social world. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 30*(4), 435-453.

Linnenbrink, E. A., & Pintrich, P. R. (2003). The role of self-efficacy beliefs in students engagement and learning in the classroom. *Reading & Writing Quarterly, 19*(2), 119-137.

Lysaker, J.T. (2006). Young children's readings of wordless picture books: What's 'self' got to do with it? *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 6*(1), 33-55.

MacGregor-Mendoza, P. (2000). Aquí no se habla Español: Stories of linguistic repression in southwest schools. *Bilingual Research Journal, 24*(4), 333-345.

Malakoff, M., & Hakuta, K. (1990). History of language minority education in the United States. In A. M. Padilla, H. H. Fairchild, & C. M. Valadez (Eds.), *Bilingual education: Issues and strategies* (pp. 27-43). Newbury Park, CA: Corwin Press.

Marsh, H. W., & Hau, K. (2003). Big-fish-little-pond effect on academic self-concept. *American Psychologist, 58*, 364-376.

Martínez-Roldán, C.M., & Malavé, G. (2004). Language ideologies mediating literacy and identity in bilingual contexts. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 4*(2), 155–180.

Martínez-Roldán, C. M., & Sayer, P. (2006). Reading through linguistic borderlands: Latino students' transactions with narrative texts. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 6*(3), 293-322.

McCarthey, S. J. (2002). *Students' identities and literacy learning*. New York, NY: Routledge.

McCarthey, S. J. & Moje, E. B. (2002). Identity matters. *Reading Research Quarterly, 37*(2), 228-238.

McKenna, M. C., Kear, D. J., & Ellsworth, R. A. (1995). Children's attitudes toward reading: A national survey. *Reading Research Quarterly, 30*(4), 934-956.

McRae, A., & Guthrie, J. T. (2009). Promoting reasons for reading: Teacher practices that impact motivation. In E.H. Hiebert (Ed.), *Reading more, reading better* (pp. 55–78). New York, NY: Guilford.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Michael, M. (1996). *Constructing identities.* London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Mielonen, A.M., & Paterson, W. (2009). Developing literacy through play. *Journal of Inquiry and Action in Education, 3*(1), 15-46.

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Moje, E., & Dillon, D. (2006). Adolescent identities as demanded by science classroom discourse communities. In D. E. Alvermann, K. A. Hinchman, D. W. Moore, S. F. Phelps, & D. R. Waff (Eds.), *Reconceptualizing the literacies in adolescents' lives* (2nd ed., pp. 85–106). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Moje, E. B., & Luke, A. (2009). Literacy and identity: Examining the metaphors in history and contemporary research. *Reading Research Quarterly, 44*(4), 415-437.

Mukherji, P., & Albon, D. (2010). *Research methods in early childhood: An introductory guide*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Nichols, S. (2002). Parents' construction of their children as gendered, literate subjects: A critical discourse analysis. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 2*(2), 123–144.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation* (2nd ed.). Bristol, CT: Multilingual Matters.

Norton, B., & Toohey, K. (2002). Identity and language learning. In R. B. Kaplen (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 115-123). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

O'Brien, D., Stewart, R., & Beach, R. (2009). Proficient reading in school: Traditional paradigms and new textual landscapes. In L. Christenbury, R. Bomer, & P. Smagorinsky (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent literacy research* (pp. 80–97). New York, NY: Guilford.

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. Ochs & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics* (pp. 43-71). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Ogawa, R. T., & Malen, B. (1991). Towards rigor in reviews of multivocal literatures: Applying the exploratory case study method. *Review of Educational Research, 61*(3), 265-286.

Orellana, M. F., & Peer, K. (2012). Methodologies of early childhood research. In J. Larson & J. Marsh (Eds.), *Handbook of Early Childhood Literacy, 2nd ed.* (pp. 633-652). New York, NY: Sage.

Parkinson, D. D. (2001). Securing trustworthy data from an interview situation with young children: Six integrated interview strategies. *Child Study Journal, 31*(3), 137-155.

Parodi, G. (2013). Reading-writing connections: Discourse oriented research. In D. E. Alvermann, N. J. Unrau, & R. B. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical models and processes of reading* (6th ed., pp. 957-977). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pekrun, R. (2001). Self-concepts: Educational aspects. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 13799-13803). Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

Pellegrini, A. D. (2002). Some theoretical and methodological considerations in studying literacy in social context. In S. B. Neuman & D. K. Dickinson (Eds.), *Handbook of early literacy research, vol. 1* (pp. 54-65). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Pfeffer, J. (1982). *Organizations and organization theory.* Marshfield, MA: Pitman.

Quiroz, B. G., Snow, C. E., & Zhao, J. (2010). Vocabulary skills of Spanish–English bilinguals: impact of mother–child language interactions and home language and literacy support. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 14*(4), 379-399.

Reed, J., Schallert, D., Beth, A. D., & Woodruff, A. L. (2004). Motivated reader, engaged writer: The role of motivation in the literate acts of adolescents. In T. L. Jetton & J. A. Dole (Eds.), *Adolescent literacy research and practice* (pp. 251–282). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Rex, L. A., Bunn, M., Davila, B. A., Dickinson, H. A., Ford, A. C., …, Thomson, H. (2010). A review of discourse analysis in literacy research: Equitable access. *Reading Research Quarterly, 45*(1), 94-115.

Rochat, P. (2003). Five levels of self-awareness as they unfold early in life. *Consciousness and Cognition: An International Journal, 12* , 717-731.

Rogers, R. & Elias, M. (2012). Storied selves: A critical discourse analysis of young children's literate identifications. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 12*(3), 259-292.

Rosenblatt, L. R. (1994). *The reader, the text, and the poem.* Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Roskos, K., & Neuman, C. B. (2002). Environment and its influences for early literacy teaching and learning. In S. B. Neuman & D. K. Dickinson (Eds.), *Handbook of early literacy research, vol. 1* (pp. 281-292). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Rossman, G. B., & Rallis, S. F. (2012). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Ruddell, R. B., & Unrau, N. J. (2013). Reading as a motivated meaning-construction process: The reader, the text, and the teacher. In D. E. Alvermann, N. J. Unrau, & R. B. Ruddell (Eds.), *Theoretical Models and Processes of Reading, 6th ed.* (pp. 1022-1024). Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2009). Promoting self-determined self-engagement. In K. R. Wentzel & A. Wigfield (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation at school* (pp. 171-196). New York, NY: Routledge.

Sarris, G. (1993). Keeping Slug Woman alive: The challenge of reading in a reservation classroom. In J. Boyarin (Ed.), *The ethnography of reading* (pp. 257–271). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Skeggs, B. (2002). Techniques for telling the reflexive self. In T. May (Ed.), *Qualitative research in action* (pp. 349-374). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Smith, M. W., Brady, J. P., & Anastasopoulos, L. (2008). *Early language and literacy classroom observation, pre-K tool*. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes Publishing.

Smith, P., Cowie, H., & Blades, M. (2003). *Understanding children's development.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Soundy, C. S., & Drucker, M. F. (2010). Picture partners: A co-creative journey into visual literacy. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 37*, 447-460.

Stanovich, K. E. (1986). Matthew effects in reading: Some consequences of individual differences in the acquisition of literacy. *Reading Research Quarterly, 11*(4), 360-407.

Streb, C. K. (2010). Exploratory case study. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos, & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research* (pp. 373-375). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Street, B. V. (1994). Cross-cultural perspectives on literacy. In J. Maybin (Ed.), *Language and literacy in social practice* (pp. 139-150). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Strickland, D. S. (1990). Emergent literacy: How young children learn to read and write. *Educational Leadership*, 18-23.

Suárez-Orozco, M., & Páez, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Latinos: Remaking America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Sylva, K., Roy, C., & Painter, M. (1980). *Child watching at playground and nursery school*. London, UK: Grant McIntyre.

Tatum, A. (2006). Adolescents' multiple identities and teacher professional development. In D. E. Alvermann, K. A. Hinchman, D. W. Moore, S. F. Phelps, & D. R. Waff (Eds.), *Reconceptualizing the literacies in adolescents' lives* (2nd ed., pp. 65–79). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Tharp, R., & Gallimore, R. (1988). *Rousing minds to life.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tolchinsky, L. (2003). *The cradle of culture and what children know about writing and numbers before being taught*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Toohey, K. (2000). *Learning English at school: Identity, social relations, and classroom practice.* Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Vygotsky, L. S. (1986). *Thought and language* (A. Kozulin, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist practice and poststructuralist theory.* Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Westcott, H. L., & Littleton, K. S. (2005). Exploring meaning in interviews with children. In S. Greene & D. Hogan (Eds.), *Researching children's experience: Approaches and methods* (pp. 141-157). New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Willett, J. (1995). Becoming first graders in an L2: An ethnographic study of L2 socialization. *TESOL Quarterly, 29*, 473-503.

Williams, K. P. (1991). Storytelling as a bridge to literacy: An examination of personal storytelling among Black middle-class mothers and children. *Journal Of Negro Education, 60*(3), 399-410.

Winsler, A., Burchinal, M. R., Tien, H., Peisner-Feinberg, E., Espinosa, L., …, & De Feyter, J. (2014). Early development among dual language learners: The roles of language use at home, maternal immigration, country of origin, and socio-demographic variables. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 29*, 750-764.

Wortham, S. (2006). *Learning identity: The joint emergence of social identification and academic learning.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Yip, V., & Matthews, S. (2007). *The bilingual child: Early development and language contact.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix A

List of Classroom Codes

Code	Definition
ACTIVITIES	Activities that incorporate reading or draw on content from books.
ACTIVITIES_Book-based	Crafts or activities that are based on specific content from a book or text, typically a book that has read with the class.
ACTIVITIES_Computer games	Computer based literacy or reading games.
ACTIVITIES_Letters	Activities that are designed to practice letters through games or play-based activities.
ACTIVITIES_Play	Play that includes or incorporates reading.
ACTIVITIES_Storytelling	The telling of oral narratives.
APPROACH	Principles or values that underly reading instruction.
APPROACH_Authentic	Connected to real-life tasks.
APPROACH_Choice	Multiple texts are made available with the purpose of providing a range of choices to children.
APPROACH_Developmental	Considers the developmental level of the children in desiging reading instruction and curricula.
APPROACH_Do things "naturally"	Takes an approach to teaching that responds to what is happening or the children's interest and adapts or responds based on instinct.
APPROACH_Exciting	Attempt to make reading exciting.
APPROACH_Exploration	Belief that learning to read occurs through exploration, including play.
APPROACH_Exposure	Facilitates an exposure to books through the design of instruction and the location and type of available books in the room.
APPROACH_Independence	Children should be moved toward reading independently.
APPROACH_Interactive	Wants children to respond and participate during activities and instruction.
APPROACH_Lived experiences	Texts or instruction with which children can connect

	through their lived experiences or culture. Or attempts to draw on children's lived experiences or culture to support learning.
APPROACH_Meaningful	A focus on what is meaningful to the children.
APPROACH_Recitation	Learning is done through rote activities or memorization, including the repetition of phrases or learnings.
APPROACH_Structured lessons	Structured lessons that are delivered to children with defined or limited ways of participating, and often with a single correct answer.
APPROACH_Variety	Seeks out different texts, text types, or media.
APPROACH_Wonder	Attempts to create a sense of wonder.
ATTITUDES	Attitudes toward reading or the teaching of reading. May include feelings toward reading, beliefs about who can read, etc.
ATTITUDES_Children are not readers	Belief that children of this age are not readers.
ATTITUDES_Diverse literacies	Diverse kinds of literacies all have value, including various home and non-school literacies.
ATTITUDES_Everyone can read	Everyone can read regardless of the ability to decode by interacting with texts in ways that are meaningful.
ATTITUDES_Good readers	Beliefs about what good readers do.
ATTITUDES_Important	Belief that reading is important.
ATTITUDES_Likes teaching	Expresses liking or gaining enjoyment from teaching reading.
ATTITUDES_Love of reading	Expresses a love of reading.
AVAILABLE TEXTS	Kinds of texts that are available in the classroom
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Audio	Audio books that can be listened to by a single child or a group of child with or without an accompanying written text.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Bilingual	Texts that are bilingual or in a non-English language.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Books	Printed children's books. Not genre specific.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Child written	Texts written by children, often children in the classroom, that are displayed and meant to be read by or shared with other children.

AVAILABLE TEXTS_Environmental print	Print that appears throughout the classroom, including teacher or student written print that is posted on the walls, play areas, as labels, or for other purposes.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Instructional	Texts that are written for a specific instructional activity. Includes the messages used for morning meetings.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Media	Books presented through various media, including video and digital media.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Multicultural	Texts that show or come from various cultures, especially non-Anglo American cultures.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Narrative	Texts that tell a narrative or story. Often non-fiction, but not non-fiction narratives are included.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Non-fiction	Texts that are about real events, things, places, or people.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Poetry	Texts that are poems.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Topics	Texts that focus on current topics from the curriculum.
AVAILABLE TEXTS_Varied levels	Texts selected for various reading levels.
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS	Instructional practices to support the language development and second language acquisition of bilingual children.
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_Correction	Teacher corrects incorrect English language use.
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_Dual language instruction	Teaches in two languages, providing instruction and explanations in both languages.
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_L1 talk	Encourages children or parents to use the child's L1, or uses the L1 with the child.
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_Praise for English use	Children are praised for using English, or for correctly using English
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_Structured English practice	Structured opportunities to practice using English
BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_Translation	Asks children to translate a word or phrase from L1 to English or English to L1, or the teacher translates words for children. Translation is more limited than dual language instruction because only limited words or phrases are repeated in both languages, and the use of translation may not be consistent across a lesson or activity.

BILINGUAL SUPPORTS_“tries to celebrate language”	Comments or practices that celebrate, elevate, or reflect positively on languages other than English.
BILINGUALISM	Attitudes and beliefs about bilingualism or second language acquisition.
BILINGUALISM_Bilingual skills	Belief that bilingual children develop specific or special language skills.
BILINGUALISM_Children don't see language differences	Belief that children do not notice differences between languages or the different languages spoken by children.
BILINGUALISM_Confusion	Belief that being bilingual can cause confusion at times.
BILINGUALISM_Culture	Belief that bilingualism includes cultural experiences.
BILINGUALISM_Dual language instruction	Beliefs about dual language instruction.
BILINGUALISM_English is important	Belief that it is important for children to learn English.
BILINGUALISM_L1 is an asset	Belief that knowng an L1 includes knowing knowledge about content or language that can facilitate reading.
BILINGUALISM_Language barrier	Belief that dual language learners must overcome a language barrier.
BILINGUALISM_Makes a better reader	Belief that being bilingual makes a person a better reader.
BILINGUALISM_“a gift overall”	Belief that bilingualism is “a gift” or is an overall positive attribute for a child.
BOOK READING	Practices and instruction that occur as part of reading a book.
BOOK READING_Child disruptions	A book reading is disrupted by children shouting out answers, interrupting the story, or talking over each other while sharing.
BOOK READING_Emotive	Book read with intonation and emotion to create an engaging reading experience.
BOOK READING_Incomplete	A book is not read in its entirety, either because some parts are skipped or replaced with summary, or the reading is ended early.
BOOK READING_No book	A discussion or review of the book is done, but the book is not present.
BOOK READING_No connection	A book is read or introduced with no connections to the prior instruction, book, or curriculum.

BOOK READING_Picture walk	A picture walk of a book, either to preview a text or in place of a reading or rereading.
BOOK READING_Pictures	Draws attention to the pictures in a book or displays them during a book reading.
BOOK READING_Preview	A breif review or exploration of a book before it is read to excite interest or uncover basic information.
BOOK READING_Repeated reading	Reads a text more than one time.
BOOK READING_Review	Review of the main events of a book after it has been read.
BOOK READING_Talk	Children talk about a book.
INSTRUCTION	Teacher-delivered instruction about reading or language.
INSTRUCTION_Book knowledge	Instruction on books and how to use them.
INSTRUCTION_Comprehension	Instruction that supports the creation of meaning from text.
INSTRUCTION_Concepts of print	Instruction to support understanding that a book contains print that communicates meaning.
INSTRUCTION_Content area	Attempt to include texts, instruction, or work with reading and literacy in the content areas.
INSTRUCTION_Habits	Teaching the dispositions, behaviors, and norms of a reader, particularly as they pertain to classroom reading.
INSTRUCTION_Homework	Books or work that is assigned to do at home, or including materials for reading or language practices at home.
INSTRUCTION_Letters	Learning letters, including the names and sounds of letters. Can include work with letter sounds on their own or within words.
INSTRUCTION_Phonics	Instruction on phonics.
INSTRUCTION_Supplemental	Providing additional reading instruction to support children who do not learn the material from the standard instruction.
INSTRUCTION_Vocabulary	Instruction to support the learning of words and their meanings.
QUESTIONS	Asking questions about a text.
QUESTIONS_Affective	Asking affective questions, or questions about the emotions of a character or the children's emotional response to a text.
QUESTIONS_Comprehension	Asking comprehension questions, or questions that check

	understanding about what a text is about.
QUESTIONS_Evidence	Asks for or encouages the use of evidence from the book when responding to a question.
QUESTIONS_Inferential	Asking questions that prompt children to make an inference be drawing on information or evidence from a text.
QUESTIONS_Open-ended	Asking questions that have no right or wrong answer.
QUESTIONS_Personal connections	Asking questions to make connections between the text and the children's lived experiences.
QUESTIONS_Pictures	Asking questions about the pictures in a text.
QUESTIONS_Prediction	Asking questions that prompt children to make a prediction about a text.
QUESTIONS_Prompting	Asking questions to prompt further elaboration or additional responses from children.
READING	Statements about what reading is or what students should be able to do as readers, including foundational skills or competencies that are needed for reading success.
READING_Comprehension	The process of making meaning from a text.
READING_Concepts of print	Understanding that a book contains print that communicates meaning.
READING_Decoding	Connecting letter sounds (phonemes) with printed letters (graphemes) to read words.
READING_Habits	The dispositions, behaviors, and norms of a reader, particularly as they pertain to classroom reading.
READING_Letters	The names and sounds of letters.
READING_Modes	Reading can occur in different modes, including written text, audio, video etc.
READING_Sight words	Learning or reading a word by memorization rather than decoding.
READING_Storytelling	Belief that oral storytelling is a kind of reading or foundational to reading.
SPACES	Physical spaces or times in the day set aside for reading.
SPACES_Available	Spaces intended or designed for reading are accessed or used by children for reading.
SPACES_Library	A space that contains books and is set aside for reading.

SPACES_Times	Times in the day for reading instruction or practice.
SPACES_Unavailable	Spaces intended or designed for reading are used for other activities or not available to be used for reading.
STRUCTURES	The grouping or format of reading activities and instruction.
STRUCTURES_Choral reading	A reading where the children participate in reading or repeating parts of the text as a group.
STRUCTURES_Full class	A reading or reading instruction presented to the entire class.
STRUCTURES_Independent reading	A child or children read or look at a book without the assistance of an adult.Merged comment from BOOK READING_Independent on 2/23/16, 1:22 PMA child reads or intitates reading by him or heself.
STRUCTURES_One-on-one	A reading or reading instruction presented to a single child.
STRUCTURES_Small group	A reading or reading instruction presented to a sub-set of children in the class.
SUPPORTS	Tools, strategies, materials, or teacher actions that assist or scaffold students as the learn to read or practice reading.
SUPPORTS_Acts out	Models or demonstrates a word or concept by using gestures, sounds, or movement.
SUPPORTS_Clarification	Clarifies or explains the meaning of a word.
SUPPORTS_Examples	Provides an example of an idea or word.
SUPPORTS_Idiomatic expressions	Explains idiomatic expressions.
SUPPORTS_Letter chart	Displayed chart of the alphabet, sometimes with sample pictures and words.
SUPPORTS_Maps/charts	Maps, charts, or other visual diagrams of ideas.
SUPPORTS_Peers	Asks a peer to help a child.
SUPPORTS_Pictures	Shows pictures from a book or another source to provide more information.
SUPPORTS_Praise	Gives positive feedback or compliements a student.
SUPPORTS_Prompts	Asks questions to solicit a more elaborated or continued response from a child.
SUPPORTS_Props	The use of physical objects to demonstrate or support reading or reading instruction.

SUPPORTS_Re-reads	Stops and reads a passage or page again.
SUPPORTS_Repetition	A sound, word, or question is repeated.
SUPPORTS_Summarizing	Summarizing or condensing key events or information to support comprehension.
SUPPORTS_Synonyms	Provides another word with a similar meaning.
SUPPORTS_Vocabulary wall	A place where vocabulary words are posted for reference.
SUPPORTS_Wait time	Providing time for all children to think before allowing children to answer a question.
SUPPORTS_Word play	Uses language in fun, creative, or playful ways to promote interest and engagement in language.
WRITING	Instruction or activities on writing.
WRITING_Books	Writing of books.
WRITING_Center	A station or area designated for writing activities or instruction.
WRITING_Dictated	Writing produced by student dictation that is written by a teacher or adult.
WRITING_Drawing	Writing that is accomplished by drawing a picture.
WRITING_Letters	Writing of individual letters.
WRITING_Names	Writing the names of oneself or other children.
WRITING_Play	Writing done as part of play.
WRITING_Revision	The process of revising or changing writing to improve it.
WRITING_Word lists	Word lists are provided to support student writing.

Appendix B

List of Inductive Child Codes

Code	Definition
AFFECT	Feelings towards reading or books.
AFFECT_Boring	View that reading is boring.
AFFECT_Dislikes	Dislikes reading.
AFFECT_Hard	Thinks that reading is hard.
AFFECT_Important	Reading is important or has personal significance to the child.
AFFECT_Likes	Likes or enjoys books or reading.
AFFECT_Not important	Child indicates that reading is not important.
BEHAVIOR	Charactersizations of a child's behavior during reading or a reading activity. These can be broadly observed, but they often require some degree of assumption, and tend to be hard to measure.For example, it is hard to know if a child is listening. He/she may appear distracted when not looking at the book, but may in fact still be listening to the story and be engaged.
BEHAVIOR_Disengaged	Not interested in reading, or acting in a way that is dejected, disinterested, or down that he/she is being asked to read.
BEHAVIOR_Distracted	Child gets distracted during reading or does something other than read/pay attention. This may be talking to another child, playing with a toy or clothing, or other similar behavior.
BEHAVIOR_Engaged	Appears interested in reading. May express interest in books, seek out books or opportunities to read, show self-motivation toward books or reading, or be highly participatory during readings.
BEHAVIOR_Listens	Shows that he/she is listening to a book or text that is read aloud. This may include sitting quietly, looking at the reader or book, etc.
BEHAVIOR_Shy	Child is hesitant to participate because he/she is shy. This may include talking so quietly that he/she is hard to hear, or declining to talk in front of groups.
BILINGUAL	Views about the relationship between bilingualism and reading.

BILINGUAL_Aware	Child is aware of multiple languages and/or that people may speak multiple languages.
BILINGUAL_Difference	View that there is a difference in reading in English and other languages,
BILINGUAL_Hard	View that bilingualism can make reading hard or hinder reading or comprehension.
BILINGUAL_Negative	View that bilingualism has a negative affect on reading.
BILINGUAL_No difference	View that there is no difference in reading in English and other languages.
BILINGUAL_Positive	View that bilingualism has a positive affect on reading.
BILINGUAL_Unsure	Unsure of the affects of bilingualism on reading.
BOOK	Child's access to books.
BOOK_Bilingual	Access to bilingual books.
BOOK_Home	Access to books at home.
BOOK_Library	Accesses the library or a bookstore to obtain books.
BOOK_None	No children's books at home.
BOOK_Other	Obtains books from or access books at other sources or locations, or access texts other than books.
BOOK_School	Accesses books at school.
CHOICE	Decisions made by a child when he/she is given a choice of reading or non-reading activities, or when they have independent choice of activities.
CHOICE_Non-reading	Selects activities other than reading when presented with a choice.
CHOICE_Reading	Child chooses to read, when reading is not required or non-reading choices are available to the child.
CONTEXT	Aspect of the context of reading or reading activities that a child says that he/she engages in.
CONTEXT_Alone	The child states that he/she reads alone.
CONTEXT_Authentic	The child states that he/she reads texts that appear in the world, rather than classroom texts or books.
CONTEXT_Home	The child identifies home as a place where he/she reads or is read to.

CONTEXT_Other	The child identifies another location as a place where he/she reads or is read to.
CONTEXT_School	The child identifies school as a place where he/she reads or is read to.
CONTEXT_With others	The child states that he/she reads with or is read to by others.
EVAL	Evaluation of a child's reading or language ability by a parent, teacher, or another adult.
EVAL_Advanced reader	Child is ahead of his/her grade level at reading.
EVAL_Comprehension	Evaluation of a child's ability to comprehend texts.
EVAL_Confidence	Evaluation of a child's confidence as a reader.
EVAL_Good reader	Child is good at reading, or is at his/her grade level.
EVAL_Improving English	Child shows positive growth in his/her English language ability.
EVAL_Improving reader	Child shows positive growth as a reader.
EVAL_Not a reader	Child is not a reader.
EVAL_Poor English	Child has poor English skills or his/her reading is hindered by poor English.
EVAL_Skills	Evaluation of a child's reading skills, including phonemic awareness.
EVAL_Struggles	Child has difficulty with some aspect of reading.
EVAL_Vocabulary	Evaluation of child's vocabulary level.
FUTURE	Projection of the child's ability as a reader or how reading will be used in the future.
FUTURE_Change topic	Changed topic when asked about the future
FUTURE_General	Child makes a general projection about the future.
FUTURE_Negative	Negative projection of the child's future ability as a reader.
FUTURE_Positive	Positive projection of the child's future ability as a reader.
FUTURE_Unsure	Child is unsure about his/her future ability as a reader or how he/she will use reading in the future.
LANGUAGE	Information about the languages a child uses, and the languages that are used by his/her family.
LANGUAGE_English	Use of English for speaking, reading, or writing by the child

	or his/her family.
LANGUAGE_Non-English	Use of a non-English language for speaking, reading, or writing by the child or his/her family.
LANGUAGE_Unsure	Child is unsure about what language is used by a person or for a specific task or context.
OTHER	Child expressions an identity other than reading or language.
OTHER_Race	Child expresses a racial identity, or an awareness of race.
OTHER_Vocation	Child expresses who they are in relation to a vocation (current or future).
OUTCOME	Beliefs about why people read or what happens when people read.
OUTCOME_Bigger	Belief that reading makes you bigger.
OUTCOME_Fun	Beleif that reading leads to fun, or that people read because it will be fun.
OUTCOME_Smarter	Belief that reading makes you smarter or helps you to learn.
PARTICIPATE	Ways a child participatew in reading or reading activities, either in a group or alone.
PARTICIPATE_Asks to read	Child asks to read or to be read to.
PARTICIPATE_Book character	Identifies or references a character from a book.
PARTICIPATE_Cannot read	Child cannot read text, or is asked what text says but responds that he/she does not know.
PARTICIPATE_Claims to read	Claims to have read text or provides oral language that is presented as the text.
PARTICIPATE_Connection	Child makes connections between a text or characters in a text and her own life.
PARTICIPATE_Define	Defines a word in a text.
PARTICIPATE_Identifies	Identifies persons, events, or things that appear in a text.
PARTICIPATE_Identifies print	Identifies printed text and points it out, as separate from images or other pictures on the page, or as having specific characteristics.
PARTICIPATE_Incorrect reading	Reads text incorrectly.

PARTICIPATE_Inference	Makes an inference based on information in the text. An inference is not an idea does not appear directly in the text, but is based on evidence from the text.
PARTICIPATE_Knowledge	Offers additional knowledge or information on a topic in the text, beyond what is provided in the text.
PARTICIPATE_Letters	Identifies specific letters in a text or spells words as part of learning or practicing letters.
PARTICIPATE_Looks at books	The child looks at the pages of a book.
PARTICIPATE_Narrates pictures	The child narrates or tells a story based on pictures in a book. The story does not have to align with the text of the book.
PARTICIPATE_No answer	The child has no answer for a question.
PARTICIPATE_Nonparticipant	Child refrains from participating.
PARTICIPATE_Nonverbal	Child participates in reading nonverbally, through gestures, movement, or other nonverbal means.
PARTICIPATE_Play	Child uses texts or reading as part of play.
PARTICIPATE_Play reads	Pretends to read using a book or other object.
PARTICIPATE_Questions	Asks a question about a text.
PARTICIPATE_Raises hand	Raises hand to answer a question.
PARTICIPATE_Reads	Reads independently.
PARTICIPATE_Reads along	Reads along with another person.
PARTICIPATE_Rejects corrections	A correct reading of a text is refuted or rejected by the child.
PARTICIPATE_Repeats	Child participates in reading verbally by repeating words, speaking a repeated line, or participating in choral responses.
PARTICIPATE_Retells	Child recounts the narrative or main ideas of a book.
PARTICIPATE_Talk about books	Conversation about a book.
PARTICIPATE_Translate	Translates or helps others with language.
PARTICIPATE_Turns pages	Child turns manages the turning of pages during a book reading.
PAST	References to past reading experiences or reading at a younger age.

PAST_Experiences	References to past reading experiences
PAST_Thoughts	References to thoughts or feelings about reading at a younger age.
PREFER	Child expresses preferences about reading.
PREFER_Book	Child expresses preference about what kinds of books he/she likes to read, or a favorite book.
PREFER_Language	Child expresses a preference about what language he/she likes to speak or read in.
PREFER_Location	Child expresses preference about where he/she likes to read.
PREFER_None	Child expresses no preference.
PREFER_Other	Child expresses another preference related to reading.
PREFER_People	Child expresses preference about with whom he/she likes to read.
READ	Beliefs about what reading is, who may read, and for what purposes.
READ_Behavior	View that reading requires specific behaviors.
READ_Book	Identifies books or a specific book or character when asked about reading, or when asked to draw themself reading.
READ_Learn	View that reading is about learning.
READ_Not sure	Expresses uncertainty about what reading is, or provides an overly broad or general response about reading.
READ_Other	View that reading involves some other activity or object.
READ_Practice	View that reading requires practice.
READ_Story	View that reading involves a story.
READ_Tells	View that reading involves telling or speaking.
READ_Words	Identifies reading as having to do with words or letters.
SELF-EVAL	Child evaluates his/her current ability as a reader.
SELF-EVAL_Negative	Child evaluates his/her current ability as a reader negatively.
SELF-EVAL_Positive	Child evaluates his/her current ability as a reader positively.
SELF-EVAL_Unsure	Child is not sure of his/her current ability as a reader or declines to evaluate his/her ability as a reader.

Appendix C

List of Deductive Child Codes

Code	Definition
Self-awareness traits (from Harter, 2011)	
Self-description	Describes the self, including attributes and behaviors
Labeling	Labels internal states, including emotions
Ownership	Expresses ownership of possessions as an extension of the self
Agency	A sense of control over one's actions
Continuity	Physical permanence over time, including the co-construction of narratives about the self
Social awareness	A realization that one is perceived by others
Self-appraisal traits (from Harter, 2011)	
Social comparison	Evaluates the self relative to other persons
Temporal comparison	Engages in comparisons across time that allow one to notice improving skills and abilities
Actual self	Distinguishes between actual and ideal self-attributes
Perspective-taking	Understands and incorporates the opinions of significant others have of them
Balance	Acknowledge that one can possess positive and negative self-attributes
Positivity	Is unrealistically positive in their self-appraisals
Identity metaphors (from Moje & Luke, 2009)	
Difference	Distinction through group membership
Sense of self	How the self comes to be (e.g., development, social formation)
Mind or consciousness	Development of the mind and cognition
Narrative	Construction of stories about the self
Position	Taking up, resisting, or placement in specific roles

Appendix D

List of Within-Case Themes

1a. How do these children describe and do reading?

- Centrality of the home
- Avoids talk and public participation
- Participation varies by setting
- Engagement depends on content
- Engages in private contexts
- Bibliocentric view of reading
- Reading as receptive
- Social view of reading
- Mixed view of reading
- Complex view of reading
- Complex view of texts
- Nonverbal participation
- Verbal participation
- Reads with authority
- Active control
- Reads
- Responds positively to reading
- Not engaged in reading

1b. How do these children describe themselves as readers?

- Positive self-evaluations
- Social comparisons
- Labels self as a reader
- Expresses likes and dislikes
- Chronological sense of self as reader

2. How do these children connect reading identities and their bilingualism?

- Limited awareness of languages
- Aware of language differences and abilities
- Fluid use of languages
- Positive view of bilingualism/biliteracy
- English is favored
- Desire to read in Spanish
- Connected view of bilingualism
- Fragmented view of bilingualism
- Language-specific self-evaluations