Connecting Kids to Texts: Connections, Positioning, and Participation in an ESL Book Group with Refugee and Immigrant Youth

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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2020

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Abstract

This qualitative research study examined the connections made by refugee and immigrant youth to a teacher proposed mirror text at an elementary ESL book group. Mirror texts, or books in which youth with marginalized identities can see themselves reflected, have been argued to promote text connections and reading comprehension for minoritized youth. Drawing on this commonly held assumption, the purpose of this study was to explore the content of the connections students made to a mirror text and the language students used to make these connections. To collect qualitative data over the course of the six-month book group, I used ethnographic methods including participant observation recorded in fieldnotes, video and audio recording of classroom discourse, and informal interviews with participants. Using discourse analytic methods, I analyzed the content of two focal students' connections and the language they used to make these connections through talk and interaction during book group meetings. In my analyses, I also examined how the teacher shaped the connections students made through the various practices she employed to elicit and respond to student talk during book group meetings.

Findings indicate the connections focal students made to the mirror text were co-constructed in the moment-to-moment talk and unfolding interaction with their teacher and peers during book group meetings. Findings also illustrate how focal students used particular linguistic and discursive strategies to make connections to the mirror text that

contributed to the co-construction of observable interactional patterns. Furthermore, findings suggest that how the teacher responded to students' connections also shaped students' participation in connection making events, including how they explained, elaborated, or defended their proposed text connections. In taking an interactional perspective to researching connection making, this study contributes to the small but growing body of work that looks at making connections and making meaning with mirror texts as socially and contextually situated in interaction. Additionally, findings from this study provide a portrait of the complex ways connection making played out in situ, and advocate for a more nuanced perspective in research and practice regarding the use of mirror texts in linguistically and culturally complex classrooms.

Dedication

To my loving husband, my three sweet peas, and my amazing parents. Your encouragement carried me through this program and paper. Thank you.

To my former students and colleagues in Akron Public Schools. You are the real deal, the people who matter, the ones in the arena ‘daring greatly.’ This dissertation and all my work as an educator is dedicated to you.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I offer my deepest thanks to “Mrs. Thomas” and each student in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group. The two school years I spent with you at “North Riverside” have changed me for the better. I especially thank Mrs. Thomas, whose kindness, sense of humor, and dedication to teaching I have come to greatly admire. This project would not have been possible without her generous invitation to share her classroom with me.

I am deeply indebted to my advisor, Dr. Leslie Moore, who patiently mentored me through every step of this academic journey. Her unwavering support anchored me when I felt adrift, and her constant encouragement moved me forward when I felt stuck. I consider it a great privilege to have spent the last four years working with and learning from her. She will always be my example of what makes a professor truly great. I say with certainty and humility that any success I enjoyed as a graduate student and any scholarly accomplishments I achieve moving forward can be traced back to her influence on my life.

I am also sincerely grateful for my dissertation committee. Dr. Laurie Katz, who took me under her wing during my first semester, pushed my scholarship forward in innumerable ways. My passion for early childhood education and family engagement was inspired and nurtured by her throughout this program. I owe a debt of thanks that I can

never repay to Dr. Michiko Hikida, who lovingly reminded me time and time again (over a cup of coffee) that I could and I would finish this dissertation. Her approach to understanding classroom interaction, her tireless advocacy for students who have been marginalized, and her ability to exude belonging as an educator are forever imprinted on my heart. Dr. Peter Sayer, who provided wisdom and feedback on the early stages of this project, sharpened my focus as a language researcher in multilingual classrooms. His guidance and especially his thoughtful reading recommendations were invaluable in making this dissertation possible.

To the friends I made at Ohio State, I am so grateful for the laughter and knowledge we shared these past several years. My heartfelt thanks goes to Somin Kim, Nicole King, Tamara Roose, and Steven Wisnor, whose companionship I relied on in FSMLE courses; to Sarah Jackson, Hillary Libnoch, Debbie Morbitt, Jenell Igeleke Penn, and Lindsey Rowe, who made Arps Hall brighter with their presence; and to Brandon Aigner and Bailey Braaten, who welcomed me as an honorary STEMer. I am also grateful for Faythe Beauchemin, Megan Brown, Danene Fast, and Brian Seilstad, who graduated before me and provided friendship and wisdom during our shared time at Ohio State. It has been an honor to be in one another's corners.

Last but certainly not least, I offer my deepest thanks to my family. I cannot thank my parents enough for the ways they have tangibly loved and supported me these past several years as I have completed this program. To my dad, who was my editor (and encourager) in chief, and to my mom, who modeled for me hard work and determination, I am forever grateful for their patience and resolute confidence in me. I am also deeply

thankful for my sweet grandparents and extended family who cheered me on from afar; they say it takes a village, and I am so thankful these people are in mine. Finally, I owe this degree in no small part to my family. To my husband, Chas, who dreamed about me obtaining a Ph.D. before I did, and to my daughters, my sweet peas, who are my heart outside of my chest. My appreciation for my family goes beyond words. To them I say thank you, thank you, and thank you again.

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King, N. & Ridley, J. (2019). A Bakhtinian take on languaging in a dual language immersion classroom. *System 80*, 14-26.

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Fields of Study

Major Field: Education, Teaching and Learning

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Study Background

Linguistically and culturally diverse students are becoming the 'new mainstream' in U.S. classrooms and schools (Enright, 2011). The 2016 American Community Survey reported over 1/5 of the 12 million children in the United States spoke a language other than English at home (Batalova & Alperin, 2018). Within this demographic, refugee and immigrant English learners, or students who are learning English as an additional language, occupy the fastest growing share of U.S. school-age children (Child Trends, 2018). They also represent one of the student populations that typically experience challenges in school: Refugee and immigrant English learners are more likely to read below grade level, be retained, and not graduate high school than their peers who are not English learners (López et al., 2018; Umansky et al., 2018). Because English language learning is central to the school success of these students, there has been a plethora of empirical work aimed at improving the English learning experiences of refugee and immigrant youth in the last 30 years.

In scholarship on the learning experiences of refugee and immigrant youth, multilingual classroom settings are gaining more and more attention. Research in these settings has focused on the benefits of bilingual education models for young English learners in U.S. schools (Baker, 2006; Crawford, 2004; García, 2009). Bilingual

education research has mostly focused on Spanish-English models in states with large numbers of Spanish-speaking immigrants, such as California, Florida, New York and Texas (e.g. Collier & Thomas, 2004; Umansky & Reardon, 2014). Such scholarship has helped build the foundation of our current understanding of best practices for English language development for multilingual children in U.S. schools. However, in classrooms where more than one home language is spoken by students, bilingual models for education cannot support the diversity of languages present, and teachers in these settings rely primarily on English as the language of instruction (McNamara, 2016; Park et al., 2018). Thus there is a need for research on how to support English language development in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms (Ball, 2009) where multiple languages are present and bilingual approaches are not feasible.

In an effort to address the English language and literacy learning of refugee and immigrant youth, education scholarship has become increasingly interested in the use of mirror texts in multilingual and multicultural classrooms (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Campbell, 2010). Mirror texts, or books in which youth with marginalized identities can see themselves reflected in the characters and the experiences depicted (c.f. Sims Bishop, 1990), have been argued to promote text-to-self connections and comprehension for minoritized youth (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Garth-McCullough, 2008; McCullough, 2013; Sims Bishop, 1990; Zabrucky et al., 2015). It is generally accepted that making connections helps children comprehend texts and grow as readers (cf. Harvey & Goudvis, 2000, 2017; Keene & Zimmermann, 1997). Because of their potential benefit for supporting connection making and thus reading comprehension and interest in reading,

mirror texts have been suggested to be an important part of in-school literacy learning for minoritized youth.

Statement of the Problem

As a former English as a Second Language (ESL) elementary school teacher, and now a teacher-educator tasked with preparing educators to work in similar settings, I have seen first-hand the need for a perspective on making connections to mirror texts that considers the complexities of children's lives. Despite enthusiasm for the use of mirror texts and connection making in linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms, the current literature is limited in its ability to provide an empirical basis for supporting this instructional strategy. First, most research on reading mirror texts has been conducted in monolingual English teaching and learning settings. When English learners participated in these studies, analyses tended to not examine the particularities of these students' experiences as multilingual and multicultural learners, and did not differentiate between English learners and non-English learners in their results. Because much of this work did not take a bi/multilingual perspective, these studies are limited in their ability to inform instruction in the early elementary grades ESL classroom. Therefore, there is a need for research that brings together connection making and reading mirror texts for elementary aged English learners.

Within the limited studies on connection making for students from diverse backgrounds, connection making has been presented as, more or less, a straightforward practice: While this may be the case, studies that begin with this assumption run the risk of overlooking the complex ways students connect and do not connect to texts. Just

because a text is intended (by the author or the teacher) to be a mirror for particular readers does not mean it will be interpreted as such. This is all the more true for minoritized students, for whom connection making can be an especially fraught process when well-intentioned teachers assume these students can and will make connections to particular cultural content (e.g., Duff, 2002; Harklau, 1999). Few studies have explored what happens when students share connections that are not expected or appreciated by the teacher, or when students do not connect to texts and thus share connections that seem 'meaningless' or arbitrary (cf. Jones, 2007). Visibility, or seeing a character in a text who looks like the reader (Brooks, 2006), may not be enough to make a text meaningful or relevant to students' lives (see also Sciurba, 2015). Therefore, there is a need for research that approaches connection making as nuanced literacy practice, rather than assuming that reflections in text equals connections to texts.

Furthermore, the limited number of studies on mirror texts and connection making for English learners have pursued two main lines of inquiry. A great deal of research has focused on the ways connection making and mirror texts support reading comprehension for English learners (e.g., Cho & Christ, 2019; Jiménez, 1997; Keis, 2006; Lohfink & Loya, 2010; McCullough, 2013). Research to date has also reported on students' affective responses to texts, or how mirror texts and making connections encouraged positive emotional responses from readers (e.g., Lohfink & Loya, 2010; McNair, 2013, 2014; Schrodt et al., 2015; K. L. Thomas, 2019). However, at present, research has yet to explore how reading a mirror text and asking students to make text connections shapes English learners' participation in text-centered literacy activities. As language use and

language development are interconnected, research that focuses analytically on English learners' participation in connection making activities has the potential to illuminate not only how mirror texts and making connections impacts students' reading comprehension, but their English language use and language learning as well.

Finally, most research on connection making has focused on readers' interactions with texts, and how readers make connections between their lives and text content. While this work has provided insight into the different ways readers connect to texts and how these connections support reading comprehension, studies on this subject often portray connection making as a practice that only involves the reader and the text. Bloome and colleagues (2005) contend "classroom literacy practices cannot be understood in isolation but rather need to be located within the context of the events in which they occur" (p. 83). When students are making connections to text during class discussions with their teacher and their peers, analysis of their connection making practices needs to be located with this particular context, and account for how connections are made through talk and interaction. Because teachers are the primary authority in classrooms based on their cultural-institutional positioning (Candela, 1999; Erickson, 1986), attention to how teachers shape students' connection making practices is especially important. Therefore, there is a need for research that explores making text connections as it occurs in the moment in and through classroom talk.

Study Objectives and Research Questions

My dissertation study addresses these gaps in the current literature by analyzing the connections made by refugee and immigrant youth in the context of a mirror text-

centered activity, namely, a book group at an elementary ESL afterschool program. The purpose of this study is to explore what connections students made to the text and how students used language to make these connections during book group readings of *Outcasts United: The Story of a Refugee Soccer Team That Changed a Town* (St. John, 2012), a teacher-proposed mirror text. Using ethnographic and discourse analytic methods, I analyzed the content of students' connections (*what*) and the language they used to make these connections (*how*) through interaction during book group meetings. Though the content of a connection and the language used to make a connection are two different aspects of connection making, they co-occur in utterances. Throughout this paper, I use the shorthand "*what* and *how* students made connections," where *what* refers to the content of students' connections, and *how* refers to the language (verbal and non-verbal) that students used to make these connections. While this phrase is not syntactically correct, I use "*what* and *how*" to highlight two different aspects of making text connections that are often lumped together or not distinguished in the literature on connection making.

I also examined how the teacher shaped the connections students made to the text through various practices she employed to elicit and respond to students' connections throughout the book group. Through the lens of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990), the aim of these analyses was to examine how making connections to texts was situated and co-constructed between individual students, their peers, and the teacher. This way of trying to understand making connections to texts is grounded in a sociocultural theoretical perspective on language and literacy. Within this perspective, language is

considered inherently social and is always contextualized in interaction among people (Bakhtin, 1981; Erickson, 2004; Vygotsky, 1978). Teaching and learning languages are thus both interactive processes that occur in social interaction (Donato, 2000; Lantolf, 2000; Rogoff, 2003). A sociocultural framework for studying language learning centers the ways children learn language through social interactions in particular contexts, with attention to both what they do and say, and what they observe. Students are seen as agentive and active "in the creation of what occurs in classrooms and, thus, affect classroom events as much as they are affected by them" (K. E. Johnson, 1995, p. 33). Within this perspective, classroom interaction is understood as jointly produced by and between teachers and students (Bloome & Green, 2015; Erickson, 1996).

In this dissertation study, I draw on a sociocultural understanding to identify the robust practices the teacher used that shaped the connections students made, and to explore how these practices were taken up in connection making events. By practices, I am referring to the tacit and routine expectations in classrooms that children learn through participation, and then participate in as part of their learning (Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff et al., 2014). Said differently, though often invisible, classroom practices organize how children participate in classroom events. Studying language use in classroom events focuses on how teachers and students act and react to each other in the unfolding moment of the interaction (Bloome et al., 2005; Volosinov, 1973). By identifying and analyzing the participation patterns for individuals and for the book group as a whole, this dissertation demonstrates how text connections were made in and through interaction

during book group meetings, and details the practices that shaped *what* and *how* connections were made. The following research questions guided this inquiry:

(1) *What* connections did refugee and immigrant youth make to the proposed mirror text *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012)?

(2) *How* did students make these connections in and through language during book group meetings?

(3) How did the teacher shape students' connection making practices?

Study Significance

This dissertation study holds significance for language and literacy research, theory, and teaching. First, in focusing on *what* and *how* students made connections to the text during book group meetings, this study takes a different approach than the majority of connection making research: Most studies begin with the text as a reference point and examine how readers cognitively make connections to particular content, often through the lens of text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world (cf. Zimmerman & Keene, 1997). Alternatively, I begin with the connections students share as the reference point, and examine the content (*what*) and the language used (*how*) to make these connections. While the content of students' shared connections has received some attention in the literature, how multilingual and multicultural students use various linguistic resources to make and share their connections during text-centered activities has yet to be studied. By exploring *what* and *how* students made connections by using student talk as the unit of analysis, this study provides an example of how this line of inquiry can be pursued in education research.

Second, my analysis demonstrates that making connections to texts is not strictly a personal or individual practice. In this dissertation, I report empirical findings on how the teacher and students co-constructed text connections, highlighting how connections were made through talk and interaction. Furthermore, the data suggests that how the teacher responded to students' connections also shaped students' participation in connection making events, including how they explained, elaborated, or defended their proposed connections. In sum, connection making has largely been described as an individual practice, one between the reader and the text where the role of the teacher is a facilitator, helping students see the connections they already have. The relationship between students' participation in text centered activities (such as book groups) and *what* and *how* they make connections to texts has yet to be explored in education research. My study fills this gap by offering an interactional perspective where connection making is viewed as a co-constructed practice and understood at the interpersonal level as well as the individual.

Finally, findings from this study propose a more nuanced perspective on using multicultural literature and mirror texts in schools, especially for refugee and immigrant background youth: Because texts play an important role in identity construction (McCarthey, 2001; Sims Bishop, 1990), teachers can either open up or (unintentionally) circumscribe the positions available to students with the books they present as mirrors. This is often the case for refugee and immigrant students when teachers present and promote texts as mirrors that perpetuate narratives of helplessness (Ludwig, 2016) or 'single story' (Adichie, 2009) like caricatures of migration experiences. Too often, texts

intended to be mirrors turn out more like funhouse mirrors (Gultekin & May, 2020), conveying distorted and fictitious portrayals of the population they claim to represent. In order for reading to be a process of self-affirmation as Sims Bishop (1990) described, texts that function as positive mirrors for diverse students are crucial. This study demonstrates the need for more careful consideration of the content of the texts that we present as mirrors to students and what we propose as possible sources of connection. These findings are pertinent for pre- and in-service teachers who hope to use mirror texts as instructional resources in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms (Ball, 2009), as well as education theorists and researchers who study these settings**.**

Definitions of Key Terms

In the remainder of this chapter, I give my working definitions for a few of the key terms I use throughout this dissertation. For each term, I provide a brief overview of how this term has been developed in the literature historically and theoretically. I then explain how I use the term in this study, and provide a rationale for the definition I have chosen.

Mirror Text

A mirror text is a book in which youth with marginalized identities can see themselves reflected in the characters and the experiences depicted (Sims Bishop, 1990). Mirror texts have been argued to be especially important for minoritized youth because seeing oneself reflected in texts can help readers develop a positive sense of self (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Sims Bishop, 1990). Additionally, as I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, mirror texts have also been lauded as an important tool in literacy

instruction for students from diverse backgrounds because of their ability to facilitate text connections, and text connections have been argued to support reading comprehension (R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Keene & Zimmermann, 1997).

While the term mirror text describes a relationship between the reader and the text – how the reader experiences the text as a mirror of their lives – in the literature on this subject, the label of mirror text is often assigned by someone other than the reader – a teacher, researcher, or the text author. For instance, in the data collected for this study, findings suggest that while the teacher thought *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) reflected students' lived experiences, there were more aspects of the texts that students voiced disconnections with (Jones & Clark, 2007; Jones, 2009) than parts that mirrored their lives. Therefore, drawing on the foundational work of Sims Bishop (1990), I use the term mirror texts in this study to highlight how assuming a text is a mirror for a particular child or group of children can inadvertently push students to make 'meaningless connections' (Jones, 2009) in order to participate or perform during literacy instruction.

Making Connections to Texts

Making connections to texts is a reading comprehension strategy that was developed from the conclusions of the 'good reader' research of the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Pearson et al., 1992). In their studies on the habits of 'good readers,' Pearson and colleagues found that good readers activated their "*schemata*, or knowledge already stored in memory" (R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984, p. 255 emphasis original) to understand new information presented in texts. Pearson (1992) characterized this "schema-theoretic account of reading comprehension" as

having a dual emphasis on "prior knowledge (as a resource) and inference (as a process) in directing the construction of meaning" (p. 1075). Based on understandings of reading comprehension from schema theory, making connections became conceptualized as a way readers could activate their existing knowledge (or schemata) in order to comprehend texts (Jones & Clark, 2007).

In the last few decades, the importance of making connections to texts in support of reading comprehension has become widely accepted and popularized in reading practice and research. Keene and Zimmerman (1997) named making connections between new information in texts and known information in one's schemata as one of seven comprehension strategies used by "good readers." They further concluded that readers can better comprehend what they read by making three main types of text connections: Text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world. In their practitioner-oriented text on strategies for supporting reading comprehension, Harvey and Goudvis (2000) contend, "when children understand how to connect the texts they read to their lives, they begin to make connections between what they read and the larger world" (p. 60). Drawing on this body of work, I take up the idea of making connections to describe incidences when students drew on prior knowledge, or knowledge not explicitly found in the text, to answer the teachers' questions about the text. Though I use this term to describe a literacy practice I observed in my data, one of my aims in this dissertation study is to question the underlying assumption that connection making should always be encouraged as part of literacy instruction. In the following chapter, I discuss some of the

literature that has called for further reflection on connection making as a literacy practice that supports meaning-making for all students.

Refugee and Immigrant Background Youth

In this study, I use the phrase "refugee and immigrant background youth" to generally describe the group of students who participated in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group. The separate labels of *refugee* and *immigrant* are contextually defined designations in the U.S. that carry different implications for peoples' relationship with the state (Ludwig, 2016). Refugees, per the definition of United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), are "persons who are outside their country of origin for reasons of feared persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or other circumstances [...] as a result, require international protection" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2018). Persons in the U.S. who are labeled immigrants, despite often having experienced arguably similar circumstances as refugees, do not have the same legal or humanitarian protection. Though all definitions are politically and ideologically charged, I prefer the Migration Policy Institute's description of immigrants as anyone "living in a country other than their birth country" (Bolter, 2019).

In this study, I use the phrase "refugee and immigrant youth" to generally describe the students who participated in this study. I did not ask nor did I feel compelled to ask students about their migration history or documentation status. However, in writing this dissertation study, I have found this characterization important because the students' status as refugees and immigrants was the main content of the text connections that the teacher proposed to students. Additionally, I purposefully use this designation to position

myself and this dissertation within the larger body of scholarship that aims to bring attention to the English language and literacy learning experiences of refugee and immigrant children in U.S. schools.

English Learner

Students who are learning English as an additional language have historically been given the title of "English learner" in education research and policies. In the state of Ohio, the context of this dissertation study, the Department of Education defines English learners as "students whose primary or home language is other than English who need special language assistance in order to effectively participate in school instructional programs" (Ohio Department of Education, 2019). The term English learner has been criticized as a deficit-based label for students who are learning and using English as an additional language, as opposed to more asset-based labels, such as emergent bilingual or dual language learner (e.g., Bernstein, 2018; Reyes, 2006). However, I use the term English learner because this is the label all of the student participants in this study received in school. In taking up the term English learner, I aim to highlight the deficit framing of the student participants in my study at the cultural-institutional level, and to challenge this reductive label, not to reinforce it.

Positioning

Davies and Harré's (1990) conceptualized positioning as an interactional, discursive process in which a person is given the designation of a particular kind of person (e.g., a good student, a refugee) in a specific social context (e.g., a book group, a classroom). Drawing on the work of Harré and colleagues (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré

& van Lagenhove, 1991, 1999), Deppermann (2013) described positioning as the process by which "people commit themselves practically, emotionally and epistemically to identity-categories and discursive practices associated with them" (p. 4). In this study, I draw on positioning theory to describe how study participants are temporarily recognized as particular kinds of people – e.g., as knowledgeable, or as a cultural outsider – through talk and interaction as students made connections during book group meetings. Though there are several ways interactional identities have been described and theorized in the literature, recently in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) scholarship, positioning theory has taken up to examine how different labels (different positions) have different affordances and constraints for multilingual students' participation in classroom discourse (e.g., K. T. Anderson, 2009; Bernstein, 2018; De Costa, 2011; Kayi-Aydar, 2014; Martin-Beltrán, 2010). From a sociocultural perspective, language use and development are interrelated processes. Therefore, opportunities to participate in classroom interactions are especially important for English learners, not only because of the content of their contributions, but because these opportunities provide students feedback from the teacher and peers on their language use.

Overview of Chapters

In this introductory chapter, I explore the commonly held ideas in education research, theory, and practice about mirror texts and making connections as a literacy practice. In particular, I focus on how these ideas have been taken up in support of the English language and literacy learning of multilingual refugee and immigrant youth. In doing so, I highlight the need for more nuanced understandings of connection making for

minoritized students, and introduce this dissertation study as one such example of how we might go about this type of work in the academy.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the theoretical and empirical work that I draw upon in framing this study conceptually. In the review of related literature, I give a brief history of how making connections and mirror texts, two concepts central to this study, have gained prominence in literacy research and teaching. In providing an overview of making connections and mirror texts, I begin with the foundational literature and scholars that have defined these concepts, and then discuss the empirical work conducted on both these topics. My review of this literature indicates there is a gap at the intersection of mirror text research, studies on connection making, and research on linguistically and culturally diverse students, a gap that this dissertation study aims to address. In the second half of Chapter 2, I provide an overview of positioning theory (cf. Davies & Harré, 1990) and several of the ways positioning has been taken up in research on classroom interaction. I conclude with a summary of how these different bodies of work contribute to how I frame this study theoretically, and how this framework sets up my study to make a new contribution to the current research on connection making and mirror texts.

In Chapter 3, I situate my study methodologically within two paradigms for qualitative research, ethnography (J. Green & Bloome, 2004; Heath & Street, 2008) and discourse analysis (Bloome et al., 2005). I describe how I used an ethnographic approach to understand and describe what occurred at my research site, and I employed discourse analysis to describe how events occurred in and through interaction. I then detail my study design and make explicit how the methodological choices I made enabled me to

collect the data needed to answer my research questions. I also describe the empirical research site of this study, an ESL afterschool program at a public, urban elementary school in a midsized Midwestern city, and provide brief profiles of study focal students. Before outlining my methods and phases of data collection, I explain my researcher positionality that shaped how I collected, analyzed, and interpreted data for this study. I conclude this chapter with my approach to and my procedure for analyzing data.

In Chapter 4 of this dissertation, I present findings from the study on specific teacher practices that shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text during book group meetings. Specifically, I detail the different ways the teacher prompted the students to make connections to the text, and how she allocated student turns of talk in fielding responses to these questions. Additionally, I analyze how the teacher laid the foundation for connection making as a literacy practice on the first day of the book group. Through the findings I present in this chapter, I provide an orientation to the teacher practices that shaped connection making events, which are the focus of the following chapter, Chapter 5.

In the fifth chapter, I shift my focus analytically from findings related to connection making practices, to findings related to connection making events. I detail how two focal students made connections to the text using specific linguistic and discursive moves as part of larger, sequential patterns of interaction. For each student, I describe *what*, or the content of their connections, and *how* they made connections in and through language during book group meetings. I focus my analysis in this chapter on how the students and the teacher positioned (Harré & van Lagenhove, 1999) themselves and

one another in the moment-to-moment talk of connection making events. Additionally, throughout this chapter, I underscore how making connections to texts, as indicated by the data, was a socially and contextually situated in book group meetings.

In Chapter 6, the final chapter, I consider the implications of this study and what findings from this dissertation suggest about connection making as a literacy practice, particularly in linguistically and culturally complex classrooms. I argue that findings from this study trouble our current uptake of Sims Bishop's (1990) theorization of mirror text, and I advocate for more research on making disconnections (cf. Jones & Clarke, 2007) as well as connections as part of literacy instruction. I also discuss implications for teaching and teacher education, including the need to support pre- and in-service teachers' development of instructional practices that encourage English learners' frequent and extended participation in classroom discourse.

Chapter 2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framing

In this chapter, I review the theories and concepts that anchor this dissertation study. First, I trace the development of the educational concepts that inform my understanding of making connections to text, examining how connection making was first theorized and has since been taken up in empirical research and in literacy pedagogy. Next, I discuss the theoretical and foundational literature associated with mirror texts research and theory, and discuss findings from the empirical studies on mirror texts in English L1 and in multilingual settings. Last, I review positioning theory and empirical work, and describe how I take up the concept of positioning to analyze the connections made by participants in the context of this study. I conclude this chapter by explaining how I draw upon these different bodies of literature to theoretically frame this study.

Making Connections to Texts

A reader makes connection to a text when they realize "that newly learned concepts fit with and extend existing background knowledge, and make sense in relation to what is already known; [connections] affirm our existing knowledge" (Keene, 2008, p. 237). As I previewed in my definitions of key terms in Chapter 1, making connections to texts is a reading comprehension strategy that is often used in U.S. reading classrooms. Making connections gained prominence in reading research after literacy scholars in the

1980s and 1990s published findings on the habits "good readers"[1] used to understand texts (i.e. R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Keene & Zimmermann, 1997; Pearson et al., 1992). In what has become a hallmark study of this period, Pearson and colleagues (1992) reported that one of the strategies "good readers" consistently used to make sense of texts was activating prior knowledge, or their schemata. As conceptualized by Pearson, Anderson, and their colleagues, reading is an active process by which readers make sense of new ideas presented in texts by drawing on their prior knowledge, which requires readers to make connections to the text (R. C. Anderson, 1994). The National Reading Panel (2000) underscored the conclusions from the good reader research when it reported comprehension was enhanced when readers made connections between the text and their prior knowledge. Through these bodies of work, connection making was established as an important text comprehension strategy.

Following its introduction to literacy scholarship, making connections has since been popularized as a reading comprehension strategy in practitioner oriented journals such as *The Reading Teacher* (e.g. Bluestein, 2002; Ketch, 2005; Morrison & Wlodarczyk, 2009; Pardo, 2004; Schrodt et al., 2015) and teacher-education textbooks (e.g., Harvey & Goudvis, 2000; Keene & Zimmermann, 1997; Miller, 2013). Presently in education research and pedagogy, it is commonly accepted and promoted that making connections supports reading comprehension, which in turn supports children's

[1] Throughout this literature review, I put quotation marks around words or phrases that were used by the author of the study or studies I discuss. For example, in this paragraph, the term "good reader" is in quotation marks because it is the term used by Pearson and colleagues.

development into “good” or “proficient readers:” In a chapter dedicated to connection making, Harvey and Goudvis (2017) explain that “our prior experience and background knowledge fuel the connections we make,” and “making connections to personal experience facilitates understanding” (p. 106). By way of introduction to connection making as the first of seven ‘comprehension processes of proficient readers’ and without citing any particular studies, Buehl (2013) claimed, “researchers argue that prior knowledge—what a person already knows—may be the most important variable for reading comprehension” (pp. 4-5). An article from *The Reading Teacher* boldly titled “What every teacher needs to know about comprehension” reports the most important ‘characteristic’ that a reader brings to texts is their “world knowledge [...]The more background knowledge a reader has that connects with the text being read, the more likely the reader will be able to make sense of what is being read” (Pardo, 2004, p. 273) These quotes are just a sampling of many I found in publications for teachers that stressed connection making as a fundamental (if not the most important) part of reading comprehension.

Perhaps the most popular strategy born from the connection making literature was first described by Keene and Zimmerman (1997). The authors argued that readers better comprehended texts when they made three different kinds of connections: text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world. Text-to-self connections are “highly personal” links the reader makes between the text and something in their own lives. Text-to-text connections are associations the reader makes between what they are currently reading and a text they have read before. Text-to-world connections are the “larger connections” the reader

makes to the text based on their knowledge and understanding of what is or has happened in the world. These three different designations have become so popularized at this point that Keene and Zimmerman (1997) are often not cited in connection making literature that endorses their approach, as in Miller (2003): "Active readers make connections between reading and their lives, between and across texts, and from their reading to the world" (p. 76). Over the last several decades, making connections has thus become a popularized strategy for helping readers activate prior knowledge in order to comprehend what they are reading. The widespread acceptance of connection making as a part of reading comprehension instruction is evident in the literature reviewed in this section.

Making Connections Literature

Although the vast majority of literature I found on connection making was conceptual pieces, in this section, I limit my review to empirical studies. All of the studies here except two (Fogarty et al., 2017; Garth-McCullough, 2008) used qualitative, non-experimental research methods and collected data in naturally occurring settings, such as classrooms. In reviewing literature on connection making, I only included studies conducted in k-12 learning contexts, though a few interesting studies on making connections have been conducted in post-secondary settings, such as in teacher education (e.g., Correia & Bleicher, 2008; Dorfman et al., 2020). Additionally, because this dissertation study took place in a context where literacy learning was the focus, I only looked at studies that occurred in similar teaching/learning contexts, such as reading or English Language Arts blocks; I did not include studies on making connections within and between content areas subjects, such as math and science. Because I am interested in

making text connections as conceptualized by Pearson and colleagues (R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Pearson et al., 1992) and as expanded upon by Keene and Zimmerman (1997), I only reviewed literature that referenced either of these bodies of work. I begin my review with studies conducted in primarily English L1 settings and then describe studies in linguistically and culturally diverse settings.

One theme I found in the literature on connection making in literacy classrooms was a focus on the various ways teachers fostered students' connection making practices. In a year-long ethnographic study of fourth graders and their teacher, Coakley-Fields (2019) explored how the teacher used less formal parts of the day – such as morning meeting and recess – to share with students the connections she saw between their lives and realistic fiction texts they were reading in class. As the school year went on, the author found that students followed the teacher's lead and made similar text-to-self connections for themselves. Wiseman (2012) reported from a case study of one African American male student whose teacher helped him draw on prior knowledge to make personal connections to the text. These connections not only supported meaning making for the student, but also facilitated his participation in classroom discussions; through making and sharing personal connections, "his interests were also supported and extended by the teacher's responses," which typically took the form of her paraphrasing his connections during whole group discussions, "which validated his perspective and knowledge" (p. 257). Wiseman (2012) concluded interactive read alouds are an important part of reading instruction for young readers because, when appropriately scaffolded by

teachers, these spaces have the potential to influence children's development of comprehension strategies as well as their self-confidence as readers.

Waller and Barrentine (2015) studied teachers' encouragement of students place-based connection making practices, which they defined as a variation of text-to-self connections "through which readers engage their personal surroundings and lives in the community with text" (p. 2). The authors found that students' tendency to make place-based, text-to-self connections was shaped by how different teachers modeled these kinds of connections themselves during whole class text-centered discussions. Waller and Barrentine concluded that when teachers guide students to make text connections, "Reading, then, becomes a vehicle for students to better understand themselves as rural readers and as empowered members of their rural community" (Waller & Barrentine, 2015, p. 11). Flint (2010) studied one teacher's use of buddy reading as a participation structure for encouraging first graders to engage in making text connections. By analyzing students' talk and interaction with their reading buddies, Flint found not only did buddy reading facilitate connection making, but also enabled students "to connect with their partner and with the authors and their words in order to create shared meaning and improve their understandings of the text(s)" (p. 293). Findings from this study highlight how connections can be constructed through talk and interaction when teachers intentionally design and purpose classroom spaces for children to do so.

A second theme I identified in the literature was studies that described making text connections as a process of self-affirmation. In their study of a multilingual and multicultural class of 9 and 10-year-olds in Australia, Mantei and Kervin (2014) explored

how student made text-to-self connections through creating artwork. The authors also found that having students create artwork not only gave the teacher insight into their text connections, but into their family funds of knowledge (cf. Moll et al., 1992) as well: "These students shared [funds of knowledge] related to personal interests and practices that indicated not only what they liked to do, but that positioned them as successful participants in those practices" (Mantei & Kervin, 2014, p. 87). These findings are echoed by Wiseman (2012), who contended that making text-to-self connections during interactive read alouds influenced not only reading comprehension, but the student's "self-perceptions and identities as [a] reader" (p. 273). In these studies, connection making fostered opportunities for students to position themselves as successful readers and as an authority on the topic of their connection because of their personal experience with the topic.

Research on connection making has also described the importance of letting students choose what parts of the text they connect with, or the parts of the text that they found personally important. In their analyses of the connections fifth and sixth grade students made when teachers used a "connection making approach" to support reading development, Mantei and Fahy (2018) found that students often made text-to-world connections that surprised them, or connections the teachers and researchers had not considered themselves. Based on their findings, Mantei and Fahy encouraged teachers to consider the frameworks they use to choose texts, because what teachers believe to be significant or important may not be so for their students. They conclude that students need the "opportunity to decide the pertinent issues and to have opportunities for truly

unique transactions with text" (Mantei & Fahy, 2018, p. 48). In their analysis of the connections ninth grade students made to a novel about the Kiowa, an indigenous people group from the U.S. Great Plains, Glazier and Seo (2005) found that minoritized students in the class made text-to-self connections, while white students mainly made text-to-text connections. Additionally, when minoritized students shared their personal narratives in connection to the text, "these were the turns that were longer than others and appeared to invite more dialogic involvement with other students" (Glazier & Seo, 2005, p. 695). Findings from these studies demonstrate the importance of letting students choose the content of their connections, and how when students are able to do so, their participation in talk around texts is more robust.

In my review, I found two studies that used experimental research methods and, coincidentally, had similar study purposes and findings. In their exploratory study with eighth graders, Fogarty and colleagues (2017) explored the relationship between personal connections to narrative stories and students' ability to recall these stories. Students in both the control and treatment groups had the same texts, pre-reading directions, and post-reading comprehension assessments, while the treatment group was also given a 'relevance prompt' to make personal connections to the text. Although all students in the treatment group performed higher on the reading comprehension and recall assessment, the authors found the relevance prompt was more significant to the performances of 'struggling' readers. Based on this finding, Fogarty and colleagues (2017) concluded that "connecting texts to students' lives may be a simple way to enhance comprehension" for all readers, but especially for "struggling' readers" (p. 64).

In a study including over one hundred African American participants in eighth grade, Garth-McCullough (2008) explored the relationship between 'culturally bound prior knowledge' and reading comprehension. The author chose six books with three different "cultural orientations" – African American, Chinese American, and European American – and used a pre-reading inventory to determine readers' prior knowledge regarding each cultural orientation represented in the texts. Results from a post-reading multiple choice assessment indicated that students performed highest on reading comprehension assessments for text that reflected their culturally bound prior knowledge. Similar to Fogarty and colleagues (2017), Garth-McCullough (2008) determined the more interesting aspect of their results was students who were typically 'struggling' readers outperformed "high-achieving" peers when they had culturally bound prior knowledge related to the text in question.

In their explorations of middle school girls' connection making practices, Jones and Clarke (2007) found students made meaning not only by making connections to texts, but also – with the prompting of the researchers – by making *disconnections*:

> When I used strategies of making connections in the girls' second-grade classroom, students seemed to focus most on finding similarities between the text and themselves and their worlds. However, through broadening this practice to include a spectrum of connection-making including disconnections, the girls were able to work through some of the assumptions and stereotypes present in this text and challenge their existence. (p. 109)

Based on findings from this study, Jones and Clarke caution that texts are never neutral, but rather all texts have an underlying ideological perspective that positions the characters in and the readers of the text as particular people. Therefore, encouraging students to make connections without encouraging them to interrogate the ideology

underlying a text may position students to "believe in the authority of texts instead of acknowledging, questioning, challenging, and critiquing them" (Jones & Clarke, 2007, p. 100). The authors conclude that teachers should encourage students to think about and express ways they disconnect with texts, or ways the text is dissimilar or does not reflect their lives, rather than encouraging students to make connections carte blanche. Based on this work, Jones (2009) also argues teaching students to make disconnections between texts and their own experiences may indeed support the same type of thoughtful engagement teachers are trying to elicit from their students when they encourage connection making. To my knowledge, this assertion has yet to be explored by empirical research.

From the literature reviewed in this section, prior research has demonstrated how teachers shaped the connections students made through (1) what texts and parts of text they propose students connect with, (2) how they model and guide students connection making practices, and (3) how they respond to student connections during text-centered conversations. My dissertation study adds to this small but growing body of work by analyzing how the teacher shaped *what* connections students made to the text and *how* students made these connections through talk and interaction during classroom discussion. Additionally, this study contributes a new perspective by exploring how students made connections through talk and interaction in a context that is currently underrepresented in the research – a linguistically and culturally complex, ESL classroom setting.

I found a few studies in the literature on connection making that also take up Sims Bishop's (1990) notion of mirror texts. Johnson and colleagues (2018) draw on connection making theory to describe the "emotional connections" readers need to move through what Sims Bishop described as a "sliding glass door." Sliding glass doors, they argue, are books that "are somewhat akin to a window experience but with a key difference: The reader is changed by the book" (N. J. Johnson et al., 2018, p. 572). The authors argue that teachers play an important role in fostering the emotional connections students need to go through sliding glass doors and be changed by texts. In a study that looked at texts as mirrors for adolescent Black boys, Sciurba (2015) focused on both visibility – being able to see oneself reflected in the text – and text relevance in students' connection making practices. While the focal students reported being able to see themselves in all the texts the teacher presented as mirrors, they identified only a few texts as personally relevant to them at present. Based on findings from this study, Sciurba (2015) encourages teachers to involve students in text selection to better ensure text relevance, thus facilitating students' reflection as well as connections.

In reviewing the literature on making text connections, identifying studies that took up this line of inquiry with English learners proved challenging. This is due in part to the many ways "making connections" has been taken up to describe different instructional strategies and language and literacy practices that support multilingual language learning, most of which do not concern making *text* connections. For example, scholarship in SLA and in bilingualism/biliteracy notes the importance of making connections between and/or across students' languages to support second or dual

language development (e.g., Butvilofsky et al., 2017; D. C. Martinez et al., 2017; Pacheco & Miller, 2016; Reyes et al., 2007; Sayer, 2008; Souto-Manning, 2016). Research from these paradigms has also emphasized the benefits of making connections between school and home (e.g., DaSilva Iddings & Katz, 2007; Katz & DaSilva Iddings, 2009), and in particular, connections to students culture to support language and content learning (e.g., DaSilva Iddings, 2009; DaSilva Iddings & Reyes, 2017; Delgado-Gaitan, 1996; Dudley-Marling, 2009; Reyes et al., 2016; Walker-Dalhouse & Dalhouse, 2008). Connections and making connections have thus been conceptualized in many different ways in empirical research with multilingual children. Even still, I identified a handful of studies that studied making connections to texts with multilingual children.

In their study on home-school literacy journals, Rowe & Fain (2013) found that when teachers sent home dual language texts, children and families moved "beyond literal retellings" in their response journals and wrote personal, or text-to-self, connections. The authors contend this finding underscores the importance of culturally and linguistically relevant texts in encouraging family literacy practices. Similarly, and perhaps not surprisingly, Cho and Christ (2019) found second grade English learners shared more text-to-self connections about texts that they considered to be culturally relevant than about texts that felt did not reflect their lives. Furthermore, most of the student connections Cho and Christ documented in their study referenced specific countries or cultural elements, such as specific food or customs for celebrating weddings. These two studies are the extent of the literature that I found that described making connections as conceptualized by Pearson and colleagues (1992) and Keene &

Zimmerman (1997), while also talking about mirror texts. While I am almost certain there is other literature that describes making cultural connections in a way that is similar to text-to-self connections (e.g., Nathenson-Mejía & Escamilla, 2003; Schrodt et al., 2015), because these studies did not explicitly examine making connections as defined by the literature reviewed thus far, I did not include them in this review.

Gaps in the Literature on Making Connections

In my review of connection making scholarship, most of the published work I found is practitioner-oriented publications that advocate for teaching students to make connections to texts with little to no empirical data to support their claims. For example, in a Teaching Tip published in *The Reading Teacher*, the authors named making text connections as the final step in their five-step strategy for supporting beginning readers' understanding of informational texts (McKee & Carr, 2016). To support their claims on the benefits of making connections for reading comprehension, the authors cite a previous *Reading Teacher* article (Dymock & Nicholson, 2010) that also offers a five-step process for supporting reading comprehension of expository texts. In looking through the references in both these pieces, I could not identify any empirical work used to support their claims on the benefits of making connections.

These two pieces are representative of a general pattern I found in the literature; conceptual pieces on connection making are citing previously published connection making conceptual pieces, pieces that also cited conceptual or theoretical work. It seems the benefits of making connections for reading comprehension are so widely accepted that one does not need to cite empirical data when endorsing this strategy. However, this

pattern begs the question – are we overly relying on Keene and Zimmerman (1997) and the conclusions of the good reader research conducted almost thirty years ago? Furthermore, in focusing on the presumed benefits for text comprehension, what have we missed or overlooked regarding other benefits or outcomes of connection making as a literacy practice? In this dissertation study, rather than looking at connection making in relation to reading comprehension, I explore this practice as a co-constructed, socially situated phenomenon that occurs in real time with real people, in and through interaction.

Additionally, I bring connection making scholarship into conversation with the literature on mirror texts. Although these bodies of work have significant overlap in theory and implication, they are rarely draw upon in the same study. In the next section, I review the current literature on mirror texts, and conclude with an explanation of how bringing mirror texts and connection making literature together can provide a new analytical lens for exploring the literacy practices of minoritized youth.

Mirror Texts

In conceptualizing this study, I draw upon Sims Bishop's (1990) notion of mirror texts, and how this idea has been taken up in education research and pedagogy. Sims Bishop (1990) used the idea of mirror texts to promote reading as a means for developing a positive self-concept for youth from minoritized backgrounds. According to Sims Bishop (1990), a book serves as a mirror when the reader can see themselves positively reflected in the characters and the experiences depicted: "Literature transforms human experience and reflects it back to us, and in that reflection, we can see our own lives and experiences as part of the larger human experience" (p. ix). When readers can see their

lives and experiences reflected in text, reading can become a means of self-affirmation (Bishop, 1990; See also Alim & Paris, 2017; De León, 2002; Harste & Vasquez, 2018). Sims Bishop (1990) argued mirror texts are particularly important for children with marginalized identities because these children rarely see themselves reflected positively – if at all – in the books they read. Sims Bishop's work was originally aimed at the promotion and creation of literature for African American children. Since then, her metaphor has been taken up in literacy scholarship and education research to speak to the importance of having mirror texts for children who have other marginalized identities, including refugee and immigrant youth.

From Sim Bishop's (1990) landmark article to the present, literacy scholars have continued to argue that all students, including refugee and immigrant children, need to read and share stories in order to make sense of their own experiences and the experiences of others (Bucher & Hinton, 2014; Dyson & Genishi, 1994; Evans, 2017; Harste & Vasquez, 2018; M. Martinez et al., 2016; Sciurba, 2015). To situate findings from the current empirical literature on mirror texts, I first present a brief overview of recent content analyses on diversity and representation issues in children's and young adult literature.

Diversity in Children's Literature: Findings from Content Analyses

In spite of the encouragement from Sims Bishops (1990) and other scholars in multicultural literature for the production of more diverse texts, the majority of children's books in circulation in the United States continue to mirror readers from the dominant social group (Campbell, 2010; Christ & Sharma, 2018; Gangi, 2008; Jones, 2009; M.

Martinez et al., 2016; McNair, 2014). In their content analysis of 455 picture books published in 2012 in the United States, Koss (2015) found 75% of human main characters in texts were white. In addition, children who picked up a picture book published in 2015 were significantly more likely to encounter an animal, inanimate object or fictitious creature than a non-white human (Cooperative Children's Book Center, 2015). Although it has been three decades since Sims Bishop published her foundational work on mirror texts, children's and young adult literature in the United States still overwhelmingly reflects whiteness and white characters. Mirror texts for refugee and immigrant youth are all the more scarce: Books about migration stories have largely featured families only from Latin America and Asia, and focused on one-time events, such as border crossing or arriving to the United States, rather than the day-to-day lives of children and families (Cornell, 2010; Levy, 1999; Liang et al., 2009; Ward & Warren, 2020). Based on findings from text content analyses, it seems the limited amount of research on mirror texts for refugee and immigrant youth can be partially attributed to the small amount of published potential mirror texts for this population.

Despite the limited mirror texts for refugee and immigrant children, reading and education scholarship remains interested in the creation and in-school use of more mirror texts for English Learners (Dávila, 2015; Ebe, 2010; Honigsfeld et al., 2011; Koss & Daniel, 2018; Stewart et al., 2017). In the remainder of this section I review the current literature on this topic. I begin with mirror text research conducted in primarily English L1 contexts and perspectives, and conclude with the literature on English learners.

Findings from Empirical Research on Mirror Texts

In my review of the literature on mirror texts, I also include several empirical studies that do not use the term mirror text in name but rather in concept. Many of these studies use the description "culturally relevant texts" or "books with cultural relevance to the reader," drawing on definitions of cultural relevance that focus on the reader's ability to connect with the text (Freeman et al., 2003; c.f. Freeman & Freeman, 2004) and to draw on background knowledge and prior experiences to make sense of the text (J. Goodman, 1996; Y. M. Goodman, 1982; Smith, 2006). Other studies included in this review referred to texts as "culturally relevant" without giving a definition of the term, but essentially described these texts as mirror texts. I place empirical research that studies the use of culturally relevant texts with children with minoritized identities in the same category as mirror text research because while these studies may use different terminology, they describe the purpose or role of the text in question similarly – to facilitate reader-text connections and to facilitate students' use of prior knowledge as a reading comprehension strategy. While I include studies that use both terms, I prefer and use 'mirror text' in this dissertation study because I am not looking at the use of

culturally relevant pedagogy in classrooms, but rather the use of texts that are meant to connect with children from marginalized backgrounds.[2]

Research in L1 Contexts. In the literature on mirror texts, the majority of empirical research has attempted to study the role mirror texts play in supporting reading comprehension in English L1 contexts. Studies along these lines have generally found that for young readers with marginalized identities, reading texts that mirrored their lives and experiences positively impacted their text comprehension. In English L1 learning contexts, work on mirror texts for African American children found comprehension increased when they read picture books and fictional stories with African American characters: in their experimental research study, Bell and Clark (1998) found African American elementary school children scored higher on reading comprehension assessments for texts that featured African American characters and cultural themes. The authors considered these findings support for the claim that "African American children process information more efficiently when it is consistent with their sociocultural experiences" (p. 471).

In a case study of African American middle schoolers, Brooks (2006) studied students reading "culturally conscious" texts. Using theories from reader response

2 While I include in this literature review some studies that use the term 'culturally relevant' to describe texts, almost all of the articles reviewed here used the term culturally relevant devoid of any other considerations of culturally relevant pedagogy (c.f. Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014) such as developing cultural competence or socio-political criticality in children who are marginalized. I am wary of using the term 'culturally relevant' in a way that is divorced from the ideology it was birthed from, and affirm the need to question for whom a text is culturally relevant, and who gets to decide. In this literature review, I included studies that used the term 'culturally relevant' because the authors of these studies conceptualized culturally relevant texts as mirrors for readers rather than through the lens of culturally relevant or culturally sustaining teaching.

criticism, Brooks analyzed how study participants responded to the African American text features. Findings indicated students identified particular themes in the text that reflected their lives – e.g., confronting and overcoming racism, city living, and AAVE – and used these features to make sense of and to connect with what they were reading. Both of these studies (Bell & Clark, 1998; Brooks, 2006) are examples of research that shows how children drew upon their understanding of African American culture when responding to texts.

Research also reported that using mirror texts with African American boys in particular fostered more discussions around text and more enthusiasm in general for in-school reading than other texts. Groenke and colleagues (2015) studied the text choices of three adolescent African American boys at a summer reading program. Through open-ended interviews with participants, the authors found each boy chose different texts with African American characters for different reasons, even though the students were of the same age with similar experiences and backgrounds; one wanted to see himself reflected because he felt he knew who he was, while the second student searched for a mirror text until he found one, and the third enjoyed reading success stories of African American athletes. The authors concluded that "textual relevance – and thus motivation to read – has many faces" (p. 80). Similarly, in an earlier study of African American eighth graders, Dressman and colleagues (2005) identified the use of text and other materials that reflected students' lives – i.e., "books about the lives and experiences of urban youth" (p. 35) – as an instructional and curricular practice that encouraged students' reading

lives. Findings from these studies underscore Sims Bishop's (1990) original assertion that mirror texts can encourage the reading lives of African American youth.

In addition to the benefits of mirror texts for African American children, research in L1 contexts has also explored some of the challenges teachers and students encounter when reading potential mirror texts in schools. Several of the studies reviewed in this section so far also noted that African American boys in particular did not always see themselves reflected in texts that supposedly depicted their lives: Seeing a Black character in the pictures or reading a text depicting African American culture was not enough to necessarily make a text relevant or meaningful to students' lives (Brooks, 2006; Sciurba, 2015). Along similar lines, scholars found that too often textual portrayals of Black children and families reinforced stereotypes, and thus were rejected by young Black readers (Dressman et al., 2005; Wood & Jocius, 2013). These findings have been echoed in conceptual and pedagogical pieces that argue for a more nuanced understanding of the reading lives of Black boys (e.g., Kirkland, 2013; Noguera, 2003; Tatum, 2005, 2008; K. L. Thomas, 2019). As with the literature on connection making, the literature on mirror texts demonstrates that seeing oneself in a text – that connecting personally to texts – is not always a straight-forward process.

Research in Linguistically Diverse Contexts. Studies on mirror texts with students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds echo findings of studies in English L1 settings. When readers felt a particular text was a mirror or culturally relevant, they engaged in a variety of reading behaviors that are generally considered desirable, such as participating in discussions about the book with greater frequency and

with more authority. Herrero (2006) studied how teachers used culturally relevant texts as part of their literacy instruction with bilingual middle school students from the Dominican Republic in order to support students' English literacy learning. Based on interactional data collected using ethnographic methods, the author found "students tapped a greater variety of cognitive resources when discussing cultural oral narratives than when they discussed fables" from other cultures (p. 236). In addition to increased participation in discussions, Herrero (2006) also found that the use of culturally relevant texts prompted critical thinking and other discussion skills that benefited students when they read other texts that were not as culturally relevant. These findings are echoed by Cho and Christ (2019) and Jiménez (1997), who determined English learners participated more often in small group discussions and shared more text connections when reading culturally relevant texts.

Other studies on mirror texts with English learners found reading a mirror text resulted in not only greater text comprehension, but greater accuracy in retelling. For example, Ebe (2012) studied the relationship between text cultural relevance, and student's miscues while reading the story and their retellings after reading the story. In analyzing the results for four, seventh grade Latinx English learners, all students exhibited greater story recall for the texts they deemed culturally relevant (See also Ebe, 2010). These findings are similar to those from a larger, mixed-methods study conducted by Kelley and colleagues (2015) with forty-three Latinx seventh grade students. Comparing students recall and comprehension as measured by post-reading questionnaires, the authors found not only did students exhibit greater recall and

comprehension on culturally relevant texts, but students also exhibited more positive beliefs about themselves as readers when they answered questions about culturally relevant texts.

Research on mirror texts with English learners has reported the ways students made connections to the text, including drawing on relevant background knowledge while reading the story and demonstrating knowledge of vocabulary or concepts in the texts that were specific to their culture: In a study of "struggling" Latinx readers in seventh grade, Jiménez (1997) found students' not only appreciated reading texts with Spanish words and cultural elements, but also these texts facilitated their learning and use of other reading strategies, such as resolving the meanings of unknown vocabulary items, asking questions, and making inferences. Jiménez (1997) also specifically mentioned students' use of their bilingualism to search for possible cognates and to learn new English vocabulary words (see also Cho & Christ, 2019). Generally speaking, studies on mirror texts and multilingual and multicultural youth supports the assumption that mirror texts generally facilitate comprehension and text recall.

Echoing findings from L1 contexts, several studies found English learners expressed more interest in reading fiction and non-fiction texts that reflected their lives: In reflecting on her switch from using grammar text books to culturally relevant texts with English learners, Feger (2006) reported this decision "transformed the level of engagement" for the English learners in her classroom (p. 19). In their work with bilingual Spanish speaking third grade students, Lohfink and Loya (2010) found students' verbal and written responses to picture books largely reflected the culturally relevant

content of the texts. In operationalizing engagement as making personal connections to texts, the authors also described how culturally relevant text elements seemed to promote higher engagement as they prompted students to share "lived-through (background) personal connections to the stories" (p. 360).

A few studies on mirror texts and English learners studied refugees and immigrants specifically. In a case study of one Burmese high school student, Stewart (2017) found culturally relevant texts gave the student "access points" to the texts "through her cultural identities facilitated her reading to become meaningful" (p. 251). In a separate study, Stewart and colleagues (2017) studied the effects of teachers' implementation of a "pedagogy of care" with their ESL classes made up predominately of refugees, which involved using culturally relevant texts. The authors reported that when teachers used culturally relevant texts and corresponding media, students "demonstrated heightened engagement through their reading, writing, and discussions during lessons" focused on these genres (p. 11). Stewart and colleagues (2017) concluded that teachers can demonstrate they care for their refugee students by using culturally relevant literature. In their study of ten- and eleven-year-old recent immigrants, Martínez-Roldán and Newcomer (2011) found reading the graphic novel *The Arrival* (Tan, 2006) generated in-class discussion among English learners about their own immigration experiences. Specifically, the authors contend "Tan's wordless text gave them the opportunity to enjoy making meaning from text without struggling with the words they were still learning" (p. 196). Findings from these three studies are echoed in conceptual pieces that encourage the use of culturally relevant texts in classrooms with refugees and

immigrants in order to not only support their language and literacy development, but their sense of self-worth as well (Ebe, 2010; e.g. Kelly, 2012; Koss & Daniel, 2018; Sharma & Christ, 2017).

Research in Out of School Contexts. Outside the school walls, research indicates mirror texts can influence family reading practices. When African American parents were introduced to African American children's literature, McNair (2013, 2014) reported parents read more often with their children and had more conversations about texts than they would have otherwise. Similar findings were reported in the Family Backpack Project (Rowe & Fain, 2013), a home-school literacy initiative where teachers read potential mirror texts to their kindergarteners and then sent these books home for children to read with their families. African American families as well as Latinx, Spanish-speaking families reported more meaningful conversations, greater comprehension, and increased connections to texts that were relevant to them than with texts that were not (Rowe & Fain, 2013; see also Schrodt et al., 2015). Finally, in all the studies I reviewed involving family literacy practices, families from marginalized backgrounds reported reading texts written with language or elements that reflected their culture made them feel valued and validated, and increased their overall interest in reading at home (Keis, 2006; Lohfink & Loya, 2010; McNair, 2014; Rowe & Fain, 2013; Schrodt et al., 2015). Findings from research conducted in homes is in sync with research conducted in schools; mirror texts promoted text comprehension, interest in reading, and an increase in reading behaviors considered desirable by teachers and researchers.

Limitations of Current Mirror Text Research

As previously detailed, one of the assumed benefits of mirror texts is their ability to facilitate connections between the reader and the text because they reflect the reader's life. Building off of Sims Bishop's (1990) work, mirror texts advocates have argued these texts are a necessary part of reading instruction because mirror texts can facilitate text connections and thus greater reading comprehension for minoritized youth (Campbell, 2010; Glazier & Seo, 2005; N. J. Johnson et al., 2018; M. Martinez et al., 2016; Sciurba, 2015). In one particularly emphatic cry for more mirror texts for non-white readers, the author claimed, "it is in 'mirror' books where proficient reading begins: Readers who can make text-to-self connections move more quickly along the road to proficient reading" (Gangi, 2008, p. 30). While the benefits of making text connections are well documented, less attention has been paid to what happens when teachers propose texts as mirrors in which students do not see themselves reflected. This question is significant because texts that are designed to be mirror texts for particular readers may not be interpreted as such. Reading a book with a character who shares a racial, linguistic, or other cultural affiliation with the reader may not be enough to make that text meaningful (Cho & Christ, 2019; Fleming et al., 2016; Paris & Alim, 2014; Sciurba, 2015). Even refugees who share similar language, culture and resettlement experiences can differ in how they identify with or reject popular media and text portrayals of refugees (Ludwig, 2015, 2016). The significance of a text is always negotiated in context with specific people, not a priori (Bakhtin, 1986), and may include contested meanings not shared by everyone present (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993). When we have a one size fits all

understanding of mirror texts, we may indeed be missing the bigger – and more complex – picture of students' connection making practices.

Additionally, the research reviewed in this section on students' interactions with mirror texts focused largely on readers' affective responses to texts, or the ways culturally relevant texts supported reading comprehension. Studies that explore English learners' comprehension and personal evaluation of mirror texts provide insight into these students' personal experiences while reading mirror texts. However, this line of inquiry has mostly overlooked how students make sense of mirror texts through talk and interaction with their teacher and peers in classrooms. A cornerstone of mirror text scholarship is the insistence on teachers' inclusion of these texts in their classrooms (e.g., Dávila, 2015; Koss & Daniel, 2018). Therefore, a perspective on reading mirror texts that accounts for how meaning is made through talk and interaction in classrooms has the potential to support teachers who want to use mirror texts as part of their reading instruction for linguistically and culturally diverse youth.

Finally, my dissertation study makes a new contribution to our current understandings of mirror texts by exploring how a teacher and students together co-constructed connections to a mirror text during an ESL afterschool book group through talk and interaction. In addition to identifying *what,* or the content, of the connections students made, I also describe *how* students used language to make these connections through talk and interaction during book group meetings. Additionally, in this study, I bring together research on mirror texts and research on text connections to study literacy practices and events in this setting. To explore *what* and *how* students made connections

to the text during book group meetings, I take up positioning (cf. Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Lagenhove, 1999) as a theoretical lens for analyzing data. In the following section, I review positioning theory and research, and conclude by explaining how my dissertation study makes a new contribution to existing positioning scholarship.

Positioning

As previewed in the key terms section of Chapter 1, Harré and his colleagues (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999; Harré et al., 2009; Harré & van Lagenhove, 1999; Moghaddam & Harré, 2010) proposed positioning as a discourse analytic approach to understanding how identities are socially constructed in and through interaction. Said differently, positioning theory offers a way to describe "how people use words (and discourse of all types) to locate themselves and others" (Moghaddam & Harré, 2010, p. 2). In this perspective, identity is regarded as discursively located in positioning acts and activities rather than as a fixed or unitary entity. Through positioning acts, people are temporarily recognized as being a particular type of person in a particular field of practice, such as the good student in a first grade class (Davies & Harré, 1990). Within this understanding, positions may be proposed and taken up by speakers, or a speaker can impose positions upon others. In research that focuses analytically on classroom talk, this perspective offers a lens for understanding how the positions students take up for themselves and how students are positioned by others impacts their participation in classroom interaction, and by consequence, their learning. In the following section, I overview the empirical work on positioning theory, beginning with work conducted in

English L1 classrooms, and then describing the work conducted in multilingual and language learning settings.

Empirical Research on Positioning

Positioning theory has been taken up in education research to analyze classroom interaction in elementary and secondary schools in English L1 learning contexts. One theme in this line of inquiry is the exploration of how different positions in classrooms are co-constructed in and through discourse. In an ethnographic study on silencing practices in an urban elementary school, Leander (2002) examined how "silenced" and "powerful" positions were jointly produced through classroom interaction. Through an in depth analysis of a conversation on women's rights in which one female student is silenced by her male classmates, Leander (2002) concluded that silencing in classroom interaction "involves not simply expelling speakers or coercively closing down discourses, but producing, dividing, and articulating multiple social spaces so as to produce silenced positions" (p. 232).

In an analysis of small group interactions in a fifth grade class, Anderson (2009) demonstrated how "positioning led to ruptures between [one student's] practices and his emerging public identity" (p. 9). Despite his academic performance, the group repeatedly positioned one student as not competent, which marginalized him from the group, and denied him opportunities to participate in group activities. Anderson (2009) and Leander (2002) are examples of how positioning theory has been used in classroom research to explore the joint production and maintenance of particular notions of classroom experiences, such as "silenced" or being "not competent."

Another theme in the research on positioning is a focus on the ways particular positions are created and reinforced through repetition over time. For example, Hikida and Lee (2018) examined how students' positions as "struggling readers" were constructed and deconstructed in one-on-one literacy conferences between two fifth grade readers of color and their teacher. In their analysis, the authors demonstrate how students' positioning as readers were co-constructed in and through language during reading conferences, and how positioning in reading conferences were carried over into whole group interactions in which these students participated as readers. Though the authors do not draw explicitly on Harré's theorization of positioning, Hikida and Lee conclude that their analyses adds to positioning theories "by highlighting that *how* something is said (the key) can be as important as *what* is said (the content)" (p. 12, emphasis original). As exemplified in this study and others like it (see also Hikida, 2018; Wortham, 2004; Wortham & Reyes, 2015), positioning theory has thus been taken up in classroom research to explore the ways positions are constructed in interaction, and how those interactions can shape students' learning experiences, for better or for worse.

Positioning theory was brought into second language research by McKay and Wong (1996). Though they did not cite Davies and Harré (1990), McKay and Wong used positioning to explore how four Chinese speaking immigrant students positioned themselves and one another in multiple, interacting discourses. In this study, McKay and Wong demonstrated how students' discursive positionings impacted their language learning opportunities and outcomes. Based on their analysis, McKay and Wong (1996) called for more second language research that examines how learners are positioned and

resist positions within power relations, "especially [in] the ESL classroom, as a discursive site" (p. 604). Their appeal has been taken up in second language acquisition and in TESOL research in K-12 and postsecondary settings.

In second language research, studies on positioning in language learning classrooms have looked at how contrasting positions such as "good" and "bad" student (or language learner) influenced students' language learning opportunities and outcomes. For example, Harklau (2000) and Pomeratnz (2008) both studied how participants positioned themselves and were positioned by others as particular types of language learners, and the impacts of these positions in the short and long term. Harklau (2000) reported how students who were positioned as "promising" ESL learners in high school were positioned in community college as ill-prepared, lazy, and uncooperative. Because locally held ideologies prevented them from occupying favorable positions in classrooms, these students were positioned by others and ultimately themselves as failures, and ended up dropping out of community college (Harklau, 2000). Pomeratnz (2008) described how the "good language learner" (GLL) identity became a site of struggle for students in an advanced Spanish conversation course. In analyzing interactions from the class where students bid for and were denied the position of GLL, Pomerantz demonstrated how constructs such as GLL are ideological, but can be a "valuable tool for understanding and enacting peoples' identities in the classroom" (p. 267). Though neither of these studies explicitly name Harré and colleagues, they used the concept of positions/positioning to analyze the social construction of identity in and through talk, and how different positions have different outcomes for language learning.

Similar to positioning work in L1 settings, second language studies from a positioning perspective have contributed to an understanding of how positioning in classrooms impacts the language development and use of language minority students. In her mixed methods study in a multilingual Head Start classroom, Bernstein (2018), explored how students' positioning as central or peripheral to classroom interaction led to more or less opportunities for language use and development. In her analysis, Bernstein identified affordances and constraints for the participation and English language learning of two students who, at different points across time, were positioned in contrasting roles in the classroom. Though she cautions her findings should not be generalized, using positioning as an analytical frame, Bernstein (2018) offered a new perspective on the potential benefits to language learning for peripheral participation, and suggests "researchers and teachers might expand what counts as 'participation'" (p. 40).

Using two descriptive case studies in an ESL classroom, Kayi-Aydar (2014) explored the how social positioning and language learning related for two "talkative" English learners. Drawing on qualitative sources of data, the author found that despite their similar English language abilities, students' different social positioning as inside or outside of the group affected their opportunities to participate in class discussions. Kayi-Aydar concluded this study by proposing positioning as a helpful lens for not only researchers, but ESL teachers who are interested in ensuring equitable participation in their classrooms. De Costa (2011) reported similar findings in his study, but this time regarding how one 16-year-old immigrant from China was positioned by the teacher (instead of her peers) in ESL classes. Using microethnographic discourse analysis to

explore how language ideologies and positioning impacted English language learning, De Costa determined the student's successful use of English was a result of both her ideologies about language learning and her social positioning as a "star pupil." Bernstein (2018), Kayi-Aydar (2014) and De Costa (2011) are three examples of studies that have explored the impact of positioning on students' access to opportunities to learn and use language with their classmates and teachers.

Positioning work in language learning classrooms has also looked at the ways students are evaluated as competent language users and thus (full) members of their classroom community. In her ethnographic study of fifth grade language minority students in a dual-immersion program, Martin-Beltrán (2010) used positioning to explore how notions of proficiency were situated and dependent on how students were positioned in a particular context. Through analyzing patterns of positioning that occurred in and through interactions, she found students' positioning as 'newcomers' or 'nonparticipants' was based on their perceived (versus observable) English abilities, which in turn impacted their access to social circles where English was spoken. However, Martin-Beltrán noted positioning could shift quickly in different situations and activities as students resisted or repositioned themselves as more proficient speakers through language use. Being positioned as proficient in the moment and over time had consequences for student's opportunities to speak and use language. Similarly, Kayi-Aydar (2013) analyzed classroom interaction to present how one student in an adult ESL classroom positioned himself and others in terms of their English language abilities. In positioning himself as a stronger language speaker than his peers "reduced other students'

opportunities to participate or limited their access to classroom conversations" (p. 148). The student shaped classroom talk in a way that circumscribed English speaking and learning opportunities for himself and for others.

Pinnow and Chval (2015) examined the interplay of positioning and language learning for one Spanish-speaking English learner over the course of three years in school. By mapping the student's positioning experiences over time, the authors found his language development was intertwined with his positioning in the classroom: Moving from being positioned as a student who needed help to a competent member of the classroom allowed him to demonstrate his "expanding interactional competencies by harnessing suitable multimodal resources to meet the complexities of difficult encounters" (Pinnow & Chval, 2015, p. 8). Findings from these three studies (Kayi-Aydar, 2013; Martin-Beltrán, 2010; Pinnow & Chval, 2015) echo findings from positioning research in L1 contexts: Different positions available in classrooms deny or permit what the students who occupy those positions are able to do or say (Davies & Hunt, 1994). Even though positions are ideological constructs, how learners position themselves and one another has material consequences for their participation in social interaction, which in turn impacts second language development (Lantolf, 2000).

A New Contribution to Positioning Research

A central goal of positioning theory is "to highlight practices that inhibit certain groups of individuals from saying certain things or performing certain sorts of acts or actions in discursive practices" (Kayi-Aydar, 2019, p. 2). Positioning theory aims to achieve this goal through studying the positions created through talk and interaction, and

the social consequences of different positions being proposed, taken up, rejected, or resisted (Kayi-Aydar, 2019; Moghaddam & Harré, 2010). In this dissertation study, I use take up positioning theory to explore the *what* and *how* students make connections to *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). In doing so, I contribute to positioning research a study that highlights how positioning can be used to explore linguistically and culturally diverse students' participation in text-centered conversations. Additionally, this study adds to the growing number of positioning studies that focus on multilingual students in English language teaching and learning settings.

Bringing it All Together: Theoretical Framework

For this dissertation study, I bring together the literature on making connections, mirror texts, and positioning to examine *what* and *how* students made connections to a teacher-proposed mirror text at an ESL afterschool book group. A main theme in connection making literature is the importance of supporting students' reading comprehension by helping students draw on their prior knowledge – or to make connections – to make sense of what they are reading (R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Keene & Zimmermann, 1997). This focus on connecting to personal experiences is reflected in mirror text research, which promotes the use of mirror texts to support the reading comprehension of students from minoritized language and cultural backgrounds (Botelho & Rudman, 2009; Sims Bishop, 1990). Despite the overlap in these two bodies of work, these two paradigms are rarely brought into conversation in empirical studies. In this dissertation study, I draw on both these bodies of literature to explore the connections students made to a teacher proposed mirror text. In bringing connection making and

mirror text literature together in this dissertation, I interrogate some of the underlying assumptions of both these paradigms, namely, that seeing oneself reflected in text facilitates text connections for minoritized youth, and that personal connections to texts supports students' interest in reading.

While I draw on connection making and mirror text literature to explore *what* connections students made to the text, I also draw on positioning as a framework for analyzing *how* students made text connections through language during book group meetings. Much of the prior research on connection making and mirror texts has focused on either the content of students' connections, or the parts of texts that reflected readers' lives. While these lines of inquiry can help us understand what parts of texts kids connect to, they fall short in helping us understand how students make connections to texts through talk and interaction in classroom settings. In my study, I use positioning to explore the interactional aspect of making connections during class dissuasions. Specifically, I use positioning to identify how the students and the teacher positioned themselves and one another during connection making events, and to describe how these different positions had affordances and constraints for students' connection making practices. In using positioning as a theoretical lens and an analytical approach, my study offers an interactional perspective to connection making and mirror text literature, two bodies of work that have tended to simplify the role of the teacher in empirical studies.

Chapter 3. Study Methodology

An understanding of connection making as a co-constructed practice during book group meetings required a methodological approach that focused on language-in-use in classroom interactions. In this chapter, I overview the research methodology and methods I used in this dissertation study. First, I overview the methodological approaches I used to design this study. Next, I describe the empirical research site, my researcher positionality, and the methods of data collection I employed. I conclude by describing my approach and process for data analysis.

Study Design: A Focus on Classroom Discourse

My approach to understanding students' connection making practices in this dissertation is centered on an understanding of positioning in classrooms as socially constructed through language and interaction (Davies & Harré, 1990; Kayi-Aydar, 2019). Additionally, I understand language as a socially, culturally, and historically embedded practice that cannot be understood devoid of context (Blommaert & Jie, 2010; Bloome & Green, 2015). Therefore, I situate this dissertation study within a body of research that looks at classroom discourse, or, as Lin (1994) termed it, the language of the classroom: "Studies of the language of the classroom focus on the ways classroom life is socially constructed by teachers and students in and through their everyday interactions" (p. 371). In research on classroom discourse, individual student participation can best be

understood as a "socially constructed act," and "social interaction in the classroom may not be equally accessible and beneficial to each student" (Kayi-Aydar, 2019, p. 118). To examine classroom discourse in this qualitative research study (Merriam, 2009), I drew on methods from both ethnography (J. Green & Bloome, 2004; Heath & Street, 2008) and discourse analysis (Bloome et al., 2005).

Ethnography

Using an ethnographic approach, researchers strive to build theoretical understandings of the practices of a particular social group through systematic observations, recordings, and analysis (Heath & Street, 2008). In ethnography, these theoretical understandings are generated from specific methods of data collection that are aimed at providing a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the culture and community being studied. Built into the ethnographic perspective is a view of language as "essentially social and situated in the interactions among people; that is, as more so a set of contextualized social practices and social events than a thing in-and-of-itself" (Bloome & Green, 2015, p. 20). In this dissertation study, I used what Bloome and Green (2004) described as an ethnographic perspective, or "a more focused approach (i.e., do less than a comprehensive ethnography) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices of a social group" (p. 183). I consider this study a more 'focused approach' but not a 'comprehensive ethnography' because my goal was to understand a 'particular aspect' of the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group – namely – what and how students made connections to the text through talk and interaction during book group meetings.

Microethnography

While an ethnographic approach allows me as the researcher to focus on *what* is happening, a microethnographic perspective (Bloome et al., 2005; Philips, 1983) allows me to describe *how* it is happening. In studies of talk and interaction in classrooms, a microethnographic approach "combines attention to how people use language and other systems of communication in constructing language and literacy events in classrooms with attention to social, cultural, and political processes" (p. 1). A microethnographic approach to analyzing discourse thus looks across themes in the data and pays special attention to language as a social tool for creating and negotiating everyday life (Bloome et al., 2005). Additionally, microethnographic research in classroom settings helps "identify how routine processes of interaction are organized, in contrast to describing what interactions occur" (Erickson, 1992, p. 204). Because I am interested in how students made connections during book group meetings, I used a microethnographic lens in this study to examine the face-to-face interactions of participants to explore how connections were made in and through ongoing talk surrounding a teacher-proposed mirror text.

Empirical Research Site

The empirical research site for this study was the North Riverside ESL afterschool program, a grant-funded afterschool program in a public elementary school in an urban district. The North Riverside program was unique from other afterschool programs in that it exclusively enrolled refugee and immigrant background students in second through fifth grade. Over a dozen different languages were spoken by the forty-eight students and

eight staff on site, with the primary languages being Spanish, Nepali, Arabic, and English. 100% of students who attended the program qualified for free or reduced school lunches, and all the students enrolled also received ESL services during the school day.

The North Riverside program was funded by a 21st Century grant, and one of the goals of the program per the grant was to support students' English language and literacy skills. Priority enrollment was given to students who performed below grade level on state mandated tests in English Language Arts and math. The program purposed to help students grow in their English Language Arts skills with the dual aim of improving their overall success in schools and their tests scores.

This dissertation study focused on "Teacher Time," a part of the North Riverside programing that was designed to provide targeted English reading and writing intervention. In particular, I examine the bi-weekly meetings of Group 4, a group of twelve students and their Teacher Time teacher, Mrs. Thomas. Mrs. Thomas decided to read the book *Outcasts United: The Story of a Refugee Soccer Team That Changed a Town* (St. John, 2012) with this particular group of students in the fall of 2017. In talking to Mrs. Thomas during an informal interview after the first day of the book group, she mentioned she chose this text because it included stories about refugees and soccer, two topics she expected the students would connect with. She also polled the students in the beginning of the year and most of them reported liking non-fiction books more than fiction books. During this dissertation study, Mrs. Thomas ran Group 4 like a book group. While the learning objectives and instructional activities included in Teacher Time lessons tended to look a bit different day-to-day, in general, each session included time

for the students to read and to reflect on what they read through group conversation or writing. For the sake of clarity, in the remainder of this paper, I refer to Group 4 Teacher Time as the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group, or simply, "the book group."

Study Participants

The book group teacher, Mrs. Thomas, identified as a white, monolingual English speaker who had five years of teaching experience in various K-12 contexts at the time of this study. Mrs. Thomas received her TESOL certificate through an alternative licensure program while working as an art teacher at a 'newcomer' school, or a school for students who had been in the U.S. for less than one year and had scored at a beginner level on the district's ESL placement test. After completing her TESOL certificate, Mrs. Thomas was hired as the English language and literacy intervention teacher for Teacher Time at North Riverside. In this role, she was responsible for planning and delivering targeted literacy intervention to small groups of students who were divided by reading level. Teacher Time was designed to replicate an in-school English Language Arts or sheltered ESL class. When data collection for this dissertation study began, Mrs. Thomas reported that she was a novice ESL teacher, despite her two and a half years at North Riverside and her additional experience teaching art at the newcomer school.

The twelve students in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group were described by Mrs. Thomas and the program director as the highest and most proficient English readers in the program; this assessment was based on performance on state and district mandated testing, as well as Mrs. Thomas and the other tutors' interactions with

the students over the course of the program. Details about individual student participants are included below in Table 1.

Table 1 Student Research Participants in *Outcasts United* Book Group

Student Selected Pseudonyms	Gender*	Gr.	Languages Spoken*	Country of Origin*
Lion King	F	5	Somali, English	Somalia
Jessica	F	5	Somali, English	Somalia/Kenya
Captain Bad Hair Cut	M	5	Swahili, Kirundi, English, Kinyarwanda, some French	Burundi
Emma	F	4	Arabic, English	Syria/Iraq
CR7	M	5	Nepali, Hindi, English	Nepal
Leopard Lady	F	5	Nepali, English, some Hindi	Nepal/Bhutan
Brittany	F	5	Nepali, Hindi, English	Nepal
Monster Alex	M	4	Nepali, English	Nepal
Star Boy	M	5	English, Haitian Creole, some French	Haiti
Wolfy	M	5	Spanish, English	Mexico
Chris	M	5	Spanish, English	Mexico
Mister Pants	M	4	Spanish, English	Mexico

Note: Responses were self-reported; languages are listed in the order students shared

Focal Participants

Two of the twelve students who attended the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group were focal students in this study. I chose these two students as focal students because (1) they attended every book group meeting, which enabled me to collect a plethora of interactional data in which they participated, and (2) they represented different patterns of interaction during connection making events. In this section, I report

additional information about each focal student that I gathered over the eighteen months I observed and collected data at the North Riverside ESL Afterschool Program.

Lion King, a fifth grade student from Somalia, began attending the North Riverside ESL Afterschool Program when it opened in September 2014, or a little over two years prior to the beginning of the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group. Over the eighteen months I spent collecting data at the North Riverside program, I often sat at Lion King's table during Power Hour, a part of daily programming during which students sat with a small group of their grade-level peers to complete their homework. I observed Lion King to be outgoing and talkative in different group settings at North Riverside afterschool, including Power Hour, free play on the playground, and at mealtimes. She would often complete her weekly homework packets on Monday, and she would spend Power Hour during the rest of the week chatting with friends, drawing pictures in her journal, and occasionally reading books of her choice. In more than one instance, I observed Lion King's refusal to relent on a particular opinion or viewpoint, regardless of whether or not the topic of conversation dealt with (arguably) subjective or objective matters. I recorded a particularly heated exchange between Leopard Lady and Lion King on which snack was better, Hot Takis or Hot Cheetos, that resulted in the two best friends refusing to talk to one another for the remainder of the day's program (Fieldnotes, October 10, 2017). I was therefore not surprised when a similar pattern of interaction emerged when I analyzed data from *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group meetings. This pattern is discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

The second focal student in this study, Leopard Lady, was a fifth grade student from Bhutan and had participated in the North Riverside ESL Afterschool Program since it opened in September 2014. From an ethnographic research perspective, Leopard Lady was my first informant (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) at the North Riverside program; as a 'cultural insider' to the program, she willingly and eagerly provided me with solicited and unsolicited insights into the events that occurred at Afterschool. Leopard Lady's father was also employed as a tutor at North Riverside, and had assisted me in translating the parent consent forms for this study into Nepali. As a volunteer and later as a researcher, I enjoyed spending time with Leopard Lady; our conversations and interactions felt easy, and I regularly looked forward to talking to her during recess and mealtimes. Leopard Lady was also one of the students who seemed to have the hardest time ignoring me (or, making a show of ignoring me) during *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2016) book group meetings when I attempted to be more of an observer than a participant. The beginning and end of most of my video or audio recordings of book group meetings feature Leopard Lady loudly greeting me with "Hi, Miss Jackie!" or, "See ya at dinner, Miss Jackie!" Leopard Lady's comfort with me was perhaps most evident when she greeted me in September 2017 after summer break by saying "Miss Jackie, it's sooo good to see you! And... you're not as fat as you were last year" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2017). These moments demonstrated to me the casual nature of our relationship, and how Leopard Lady often treated me as the 'least adult' in the room (Mandell, 1988) during Afterschool activities.

Researcher Positionality

As previously stated, the data I used for this dissertation study was collected as part of a larger ethnographic study of the language and literacy practices of the students at the North Riverside ESL afterschool program. Over the course of this larger study, I played a variety of roles at North Riverside. I started working at the afterschool program in October 2016 as a volunteer tutor, a role I continued in as I began conducting research and collecting data in March 2017 after I was granted IRB approval. As a volunteer, my responsibilities ranged from homework help to snack monitor to playground duty. This position both circumscribed and enhanced my research at North Riverside during the 2016-2107 school year: I was limited in my ability to act as a participant observer, but was afforded insights into my focal students and the program in general that I would not have gained otherwise. Overall, my multiple roles at North Riverside and my long-term involvement at this site enriched my understanding of the students and informed the analysis I present in this paper.

Having established myself as a continual, reliable presence at North Riverside, I transitioned in November 2018 from a volunteer, catch-all position, to a participant observer during *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group meetings. While I had not observed or participated in Group 4 Teacher Time before I began this study, I had established relationships with all of the students in the book group during the previous program year. When I began collecting data during the book group, my student participants treated me with familiarity. Even after I explained I was assuming a more observational role in the book group, they regularly turned to me for help ("Miss Jackie, how do you spell *remind*?"), for affirmation ("Miss Jackie, tell him I'm right!"), or to

simply chat ("Miss Jackie, did you get a haircut? It looks super cute"). These moments reminded me that my presence as a researcher shaped the data I collected (Emerson et al., 2011).

Data collection for this study was also the first opportunity I had to get to know Mrs. Thomas. Mrs. Thomas spent most of her time teaching in a classroom away from the cafeteria where general programming took place, so we only had a few interactions prior to me joining the book group. I got to know Mrs. Thomas over the course of this study, and I came to view her as a teacher who cared about her students, and I respected the intentionality with which she approached planning discussions and activities for book group meetings. We established a friendly rapport and we stayed in touch socially after data collection for this study concluded. Additionally, the similarities in our physical presentation and the shared privilege we enjoyed as white, English dominant women are not lost on me. Taking all this into consideration, in this dissertation study, I maintain a teacher solidarity lens (Philip et al., 2016) by representing Mrs. Thomas respectfully and not attributing the challenges I observed in the book group solely to her actions or inactions. I have pride and admiration for all the participants in this study, and I am committed to being a worthy witness (Winn & Ubiles, 2011) on their behalf.

Finally, I am not a neutral observer (Emerson et al., 2011; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I bring my position as a former elementary ESL teacher to this dissertation study. North Riverside elementary reminds me of the school I taught at before beginning my doctoral studies – an urban elementary school that is linguistically and culturally diverse and under-resourced in terms of state funding. I also worked as an

ESL afterschool teacher with a classroom set-up very similar to Mrs. Thomas. Everything about North Riverside, from the snacks provided by federal funding to the under-maintained playground equipment, felt familiar and comfortable. I fell in love with teaching and with teaching ESL specifically at a school like North Riverside, so there is a nostalgic element of this dissertation project that is likely manifest in this paper.

While my past as a teacher and my participation at my research site for close to two school years contributed to this feeling that I was an insider with an emic perspective (Heath & Street, 2008), I knew then and now that my status as insider or outsider was not necessarily clear cut. My researcher positionality was shaped by my previous life experiences as well as my participation in the unfolding moments in the data I collected (K. Green, 2014). The concept of reflexivity in research accounts for the way our perspectives as researchers are shaped by our own histories, values and interests (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Therefore, rather than deny or suppress my different positions, as I analyzed data for this dissertation study, I used these positionings 'as a way of learning' (Acevedo et al., 2015; Orellana, 2016) and consider how I as the researcher shaped the data I constructed for this study.

Broader Research Context

Because the study analyzes refugee and immigrant children as they read a teacher proposed mirror text about refugees, consideration of the broader socio-cultural setting and the discourses about refugees and immigrants in this setting is paramount. At the time of this study, the number of refugee and immigrant children was increasing across the U.S., and Ohio was no exception. In 2017, the Migration Policy Institute reported

12% of Ohio children aged eight and under had at least one parent at home who spoke a language other than English (Park et al., 2017). According to the USA Diversity Index (2013), roughly one fourth of the residents within the North Riverside elementary school's zip code in 2013 identified as white, and there was a 57% chance that two people chosen randomly would belong to different races or ethnic groups. At the time of this study, schools and communities like North Riverside that were previously dominated by white anglophones were encountering families with language and cultural backgrounds that are largely unfamiliar to the Ohioans tasked to care for and to educate them.

Reactions to the diversification of Ohio and much of the Midwest have been exacerbated by a commonly accepted but false link between migration and the impact of globalization on local economies (Edsall, 2015; Hopkins, 2010; Keating & Karklis, 2016). In examining the hostile reactions of communities that have undergone immigration influxes, Hopkins (2010) concluded: "When faced with a sudden, destabilizing change in local demographics, and when salient national rhetoric politicizes that demographic change, people's views turn anti-immigrant" (p. 56). These deep-seeded cultural tropes that portray immigrants as those who take 'our' resources not only challenges efforts at immigration reform, but the acceptance of immigrants and refugees who are already settled in the U.S. (Baran et al., 2014) As I seek to make sense of the connections refugee and immigrant children made with a text that supposedly reflected their lives and experience, I take an ecological perspective of talk (Erickson, 2004) to account for the larger context as well as the local context of this study.

Data Collection with Rationale

I employed the following ethnographic data collection methods in this study: field notes recorded during participant observation, audio and video recordings of classroom interactions, transcripts of recordings, artifacts of student work products and teaching materials, and informal interviews with participants (Blommaert & Jie, 2010; Emerson et al., 2011). The table in Appendix A details the plan I followed in collecting data for this study.

Participant Observation

As defined by Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (2011) participant observation occurs when "the ethnographer participates in the daily routines of this setting, and develops on-going relations with the people in it, and observes all the while what is going on" (p. 1). My time as a participant observer helped me create a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the sociocultural and interactional patterns during the book group. My observations and experiences in the field were regularly documented in fieldnotes. While fieldnotes are always selective and interpretive (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), in my contemporaneous collection of field notes, I attempted to capture what I observed happening, as well as how I understood what was happening (in the moment).

Notes taken in the field were then used as the basis of typed field notes, which served as a more detailed and searchable record of my observations in the field. These typed fieldnotes are divided into two columns: The first column serves as a chronological, cumulative written record of my observations and understandings from that day, with events that I found particularly compelling described in greater detail. The

second column represents my preliminary interpretations or evaluations of these events, labeled and divided into personal notes, methodological notes, and theoretical notes. While I held these initial evaluations loosely as I read, re-read, and analyzed my data, these notes often served as starting points for my preliminary data analysis, which I captured in conceptual memos (Heath & Street, 2008).

Video and Audio Recordings

Because I was interested in *what* and *how* students made connections through talk and interaction, video and audio recordings of the discourse that occurred during book group were the main sources of data for this study. These recordings are crucial in capturing participant talk and interactions as verbatim and as accurately as possible. Since non-verbal communication, including gestures and body language, also plays a role in interaction, video recording of discourse proved especially important in this study. When I took video and audio recordings of book group, I was strategic in where I placed my recording devices. Whenever possible during data collection, I used multiple recording devices, one that focused on students and one that focused on the teacher. Throughout data analysis, I primarily relied on video data I collected using PhotoBooth, an Apple application for recording videos on MacBooks. I found that when I placed my MacBook on the back wall, in my recordings, I could see and hear the teacher and all the students except for the one or two immediately to the camera's right or left. Even though I was not able to capture all of the students on camera, my two focal students, Lion King and Leopard Lady, tended to sit toward the front and were thus always in view. Whenever necessary, I also used my secondary video or audio recording to aid in audio

transcriptions. I describe how I approached transcription in the following section on data analysis.

Artifact Collection

When Thomas asked students in the book group to respond in writing to a particular prompt, I collected copies of student work. To obtain these copies, I asked permission from students and then would take a picture of the work on my phone. For instance, on the first week that the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group met, Mrs. Thomas asked the students to write down any initial connections they had with the book (November 28, 2017). Students wrote these connections on sticky notes, which they then added to a piece of poster paper. I also followed the same approach when I wanted to take a picture of a poster or other teaching materials Mrs. Thomas created that were relevant to my research questions. For example, Figure 1 in Chapter 5 is a picture I took during an activity in which students were making connections to their own experiences with different cultures (March 22, 2018). The artifacts I collected thus became part of the larger data corpus that I used as I constantly compared data across sources as part of my analysis (Heath and Street, 2008).

Informal Interviews

Outside of the 30 minute, bi-weekly book group meetings of Group 4, I conducted several informal interviews with participants during which I asked them questions about what I had observed. Mrs. Thomas and I talked daily after book group meetings, reflecting on the immediately preceding lesson and discussing her plans for the next book group meeting. In interviewing students, I occasionally shared small snippets of video or

audio data to stimulate recall and to glean their insights into the event in question (Erickson & Shultz, 1982). Interviews were indexed and logged, and parts relevant to the research questions were marked in part or whole for transcription. Appendix B includes an inventory of recordings and artifacts collected over the course of the project.

Though I intended to collect participant interviews often, I found the logistics of day-to-day programing at my research site and the reality of working with young students made this challenging. Because the goal of the afterschool program was to support students' English language and literacy learning, I chose not to pull the students aside for interviews during homework help or other times dedicated to tutoring. This often left snack time or free play – two times of day that I was reluctant to ask, and students were reluctant to agree to. With the teacher, most of our shared time at the research site was while she was setting up the room before the book group began. Mrs. Thomas often came to programming just before the book group and left immediately after, which allowed us limited time for focused or long interviews. Additionally, I shifted my analytical focus after I finished collecting data, and I have found most of the student and teacher informal interviews that I conducted were not helpful for understanding my research questions. I describe more about why and how my analytical focus shifted in the following section.

Approach to Data Analysis

In this final section, I describe my approach to data analysis. I begin by sharing my initial guiding research questions, and how these shaped my initial data analysis. I then detail how through the initial phases of a constant comparative method of analysis (Thomas, 2011), I found the questions I originally asked were not answerable with the

data I collected, and how I settled on the questions I answer in this dissertation. I next describe the analytical process through which I arrived at the themes that are the basis of the findings I present in this paper.

Initial Research Questions

When I began to collect data during *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group meetings, I aimed to answer the following questions:

(1) *What* connections did refugee and immigrant youth make to the proposed mirror text *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012)?

(2) *How* did students make these connections in and through language during book group meetings?

(3) How did student participation in the book group change over time with respect to how they used language to make connections during book group meetings?

These questions guided the initial data analysis for this dissertation study, which began shortly after I started collecting data. To analyze data for this study, I employed a constant comparative method (Thomas, 2011). Thomas describes the constant comparative method as "the basic method of interpretative inquiry" that will "always be defined as the simple principle of going through data again and again (this is the *constant* bit), comparing each element – phrase, sentence or paragraph – with all the other elements (this is the *comparative* bit)" (p. 204 emphasis original). In ethnographic research, Heath and Street (2008) describe constant comparison as a recursive process that also involves comparing the researcher's hunches and curiosity to the data collected in the field, and by theory and concepts from the related literature. "Because much of the

ethnographer's pursuit is driven by curiosity about aspects of human behavior," Heath and Street reason, "building an intellectual framework that defines and legitimizes the topic or area of attraction for the individual research is essential" (p. 33). While I followed Thomas (2011) general process for analyzing data, I find Heath and Street's (2008) explanation helpful in describing how I ended up shifting my research focus as I used a constant comparative approach.

At the outset of this dissertation study, I was 'driven by curiosity' about how this group of students would respond to *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012), because the text arguably reflected many of their life experiences as refugees and immigrants – e.g., living in a refugee camp, relocating to the United States, being a minority language speaker in U.S. schools, etc. I was curious how reading a text that they could relate to – that they could connect with personally – would shape their participation in the book group. I had a hunch that reading a text that connected to their lives might generate more interaction during book group, and that students would display more interest in reading *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) than the texts they read during the school day that they often complained about. However, based on my ethnographic understanding of the study participants based on the data I collected prior to the book group, I also had a hunch that connection making would not be a straight-forward process; I had observed multiple occasions where students did not self-identify as a 'refugee' or an 'immigrant.' I also had a hunch that the broader socio-political context that I described earlier could influence students' decisions to voice connections about being a refugee or immigrant during book group meetings. Finally, in reflecting on what 'drove' my pursuit of these questions, this

initial line inquiry was not solely generated from my empirical research site, but also reflected my layered positionality as a former classroom ESL teacher and presently as a teacher educator. I hoped that in pursuing these questions that I might have an empirical basis for encouraging current and future educators to use mirror texts with their refugee and immigrant students. Said differently, I was invested in these particular questions on a personal level, too.

Phase 1: Data Collection and Preliminary Data Analysis

I began my preliminary data analysis as I collected data. Thomas' (2011) description of the first phase of a constant comparative approach to analyzing data captures my process during this time: "Examine all of your data – read the interview transcripts, diaries, notes from unstructured observations and so on, look at videos and listen to audio recordings." As part of this phase of data collection and analysis, I regularly read and reviewed my growing data corpus with attention to my research questions. I also reviewed my fieldnotes and video/audio data with a focus on *what* and *how* connections were made by students. I manually transcribed video and audio recordings of book group meetings in part or in whole depending on the topic or activity captured in the recording. For example, I tended to transcribe almost all of book groups when the majority of the meeting was spent reading and discussing the text. Knowing that a "transcript is never a 'verbatim' rendering of discourse, because it represents an analytic interpretation and selection" (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 9), I made an effort to capture participants' talk as close to 'verbatim' as possible in my written transcripts. To aid the transcription process, I used the software InqScribe, which facilitated my manual

transcription of events by allowing me to playback video, to add time stamps and speaker denotations, and to transcribe in the same window. A transcription key is included in Appendix C.

As I read over the data I was collecting, I noted any rich points (Agar, 2013), or points of tension I experienced in the field that could indicate the norms and local practices at my site. For example, when Lion King talked about Somali food she liked in connection to a passage in the book about a Middle Eastern market, I highlighted this sequence of talk and marked it as a "personal connection." When I identified multiple examples with similar markings, I wrote conceptual memos (Heath & Street, 2008) to try tie together these emerging themes across data sources and different events in the field. These markings became my initial codes, or "temporary constructs" (Thomas, 2011). Data collection for this study ended abruptly when the North Riverside ESL Afterschool program lost its funding in May 2018. When my research site closed, I finished transcribing video and audio data, and then concluded my initial round of descriptive coding, which included the identification and creation of my growing list of temporary constructs (Thomas, 2011). These temporary constructs became the basis of the coding scheme that I used during the second phase of analysis.

Phase 2: Initial Coding and Refining the Research Questions

After establishing temporary constructs, Thomas (2011) recommends reading through data a second time to see how these temporary constructs hold up when checked against the data again. To facilitate this second round of reading and analysis, I entered my data into the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti. I also entered the temporary

constructs into Atlas.ti as codes. As I read and re-read my data in Atlas.ti, I coded evidence of the temporary constructs I identified. As part of this round of coding, I sought to "get rid of any temporary constructs that did not seem to have been reinforced with the rest of the data" (Thomas, 2011, p. 205). Through this process, I found I did not have evidence in the data to answer my third research question, which was: How did student participation in the book group change over time with respect to how they used language to make connections during book group meetings? Based on my repeated readings of data, it seemed that over time, the teacher became more submissive to the students' divergence from the topic of conversation that she proposed during book group discussions. I also found a trend in the kinds of connection sequences the teacher initiated; overtime, the teacher seemed to initiate more open-ended than narrow question sequences (I describe how I conceptualized narrow and open connections sequences in Chapter 4. Appendix D contains a table that visually represents this trend). However, both of these findings seemed to reflect how the teacher changed over time – not the students. At this point, I began to consider eliminating my third research question.

To help me make a decision, I went back to the literature to see data presented as evidence in other studies that explored students' change in participation over time. Heath and Street (2008) emphasized the need for repeated literature reviews as part of ethnographic research, emphasizing "the need to read across topics and disciples as central research questions get redefined" over the course of a study (p. 50). I looked again at the literature that took a sociocultural approach to English language development and explored student participation over time. For example, I looked at how Bernstein (2017)

traced the use of specific vocabulary words to demonstrate oral language development, and how DaSilva Iddings and Jang (2008) documented one English learner as he transitioned from silent to speaking over the course of the school year. In reviewing the data these authors used to support their assertions, I concluded I did not have evidence in my data to support a claim about a change over time in student participation, and I eliminated my third research question.

In addition to eliminating one of my research questions, through coding my data using the temporary constructs I identified in the first phase of data analysis, I began to see the teacher as a prominent player in students' connection making practices. I found it impossible to answer my first two questions, which asked *what* and *how* students were making connections to the text, without considering how these connections were shaped by the teacher. Therefore, I added a new research question: How did the teacher shape students' connection making practices? After this process of refinement, I settled on the following research questions – two that originally guided this study, and one that emerged later through data analysis:

(1) *What* connections did refugee and immigrant youth make to the proposed mirror text *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012)?

(2) *How* did students make these connections in and through language during book group meetings?

(3) How did the teacher shape students' connection making practices?

As I revised and settled on my research questions, I relied on my theoretical framing; because I was interested in how participants positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990)

themselves and others as they made connections to the text, I used concepts from positioning theory in coding my data. Specifically, I used Harré and van Langenhove (1999) categories of self-positioning, which occurs when a speaker proposes and takes up a position for themselves, and (2) other positioning, when the speaker imposes a position on another person. For instance, when Leopard Lady responded angrily to a passage in the text depicting discrimination against refuges with "I'm a refugee, too, you know!" I marked this as "self-positioning: refugee." At the end of this phase of analysis, I determined my second-order constructs, or my list of descriptive codes that seemed to be a "good fit" for my data (Thomas, 2011). These second-order constructs were the basis of my coding in the next phase of analysis.

Phase 3: Final Coding and Determining Themes

In this third and final phase, I re-read through my data again, "refining these second order constructs as maker posts for the final organization of your data" (Thomas, 2011, p. 206). As part of this process, I collapsed constructs that I found were redundant or not helpful as separate categories for answering my research questions. For example, I had coded separately for instances when the teacher prompted the students to connect with the text by asking them for their thoughts ("Connection P: Thoughts") and their feelings ("Connection P: Feelings"). However, through iterative reading of my data, I found these questions had the same impact on the unfolding sequence of talk that followed. I collapsed these two constructs into one that I felt more accurately captured the shared impact these kinds of prompts had on how students made connections in the unfolding interaction that followed ("Connection P: Open"). The second-order constructs

that endured this second round of coding became themes, and these themes became the "essential building blocks" of my analysis (Thomas, 2011, p. 207).

Having established themes for *what* and *how* the focal students made connections, and how the teacher shaped these students' connection making practices, I divided my data into two collections, one for each focal students. Within the collections for each focal student, I repeatedly read over the data I collected through the lens of positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990), examining how focal students positioned themselves and others during connection making events. Bloome and colleagues (2005) define an event as "a bounded series of actions and reactions that people make in response to each other at the level of face-to-face interaction" (p.5). In this study, I bounded the events I studied by the teacher's initiation of a sequence in which she prompted students to make a connection, and by her indication that there was a change of context (Erickson & Schultz, 1981), which she typically communicated by explicitly telling the class they were "moving on," or starting a new activity. In total, I found eighty such events in the data, events that I have termed connection making events.

In my analysis of connection making events, transcripts served as "records of the turn-taking machinery (Sacks et al. 1974) that formed the sequential moment-by-moment discursive actions of the interactive participants involved" (Edwards-groves, 2017, p. 191). For each connection making event, I examined the transcript line-by-line and analyzed the contextualization cues (Bloome et al., 2005; Strauss & Feiz, 2014) speakers employed as they positioned themselves and one another moment-to-moment in the unfolding interactions. In looking across the transcripts of connection making events in

which each focal student made connections, I identified patterns for how focal students positioned themselves and were positioned by others through *what* and *how* they made connections to the text. In the first part of this line-by-line analysis and identification of patterns, I made notes on how I saw the interaction unfolding, focusing on how each turn of talk by the teacher seemed to shape the focal student's next utterance, and vice versa. These notes tended to be labels that I used to describe the discursive role each turn of talk seemed to play in the interaction, such as "feedback" when the teacher offered feedback or an evaluation of the student's utterance, or "resignation" when the student responded to the teacher's prompt for additional information with "I don't know" or "I just guessed." I also broadly categorized each interaction in terms of *what* connections the student made (i.e., cultural and/or religious content), *how* the student seemed to use language as they made these connections (i.e., by repeatedly calling out to protest the connections made by others students), and how the teacher seemed to respond to *what* and *how* the student made connections (i.e., giving the student permission to speak for extended turns of talk). Through this process of labeling, I began to see patterns in how connection sequences unfolded in terms of the what discursive moves were present and how these discursive moves functioned in interaction.

Next, I created graphic representations for the different interactional patterns I saw in the data, mapping how the back-and-forth turns of talk between the teacher and focal students seemed to follow an identifiable path. As I looked across transcripts in which the focal students participated, I used these graphic representations as road maps to determine if the connection making events in question seemed to fit the patterns I

identified. In this phase of analysis, I also refined my understanding of each pattern, focusing on both the content of speakers' utterances and the linguistic and paralinguistic cues they employed in each turn of talk in a connection making event. Through this microethnographic process, I determined two different patterns of positioning and connection making each of the two focal student. These four patterns are described in Chapter 5 on connection making events.

Limitations

Because this qualitative research study examined one classroom with one teacher and twelve students over the course of six months, one of the limitations is generalizability. Although qualitative studies are not designed to be generalizable – and Erickson (1986) argues that we learn in studying a single case can be transferable to similar settings – the lack of generalizable findings is a limitation of this study to those hoping to gain insight into explicitly repeatable measures. Additionally, with respect to my data set, I only collected data on this group of students while they were reading *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). I did not observe them interacting over different texts prior to the book group, and thus cannot make claims as to how students participated and were positioned by themselves and others while reading a non-mirror text. While I cannot provide a comparison, because I attended and collected data at every book group meeting, I am able to offer a 'thick description' (cf. Geertz, 1973) of this particular setting, and my phenomenon of interest in this setting.

Finally, the task of dissertation writing has its own embedded limitations. The genre of dissertation writing – albeit 'fuzzy' (Belcher & Hirvela, 2005) – limited me to

presenting data collected that answered my research questions. However, there were many moments that happened outside of the bi-weekly, 30-minute book group meetings that colored how I analyzed and presented the findings for this study (Heath & Street, 2008). For example, I observed multiple instances when Mrs. Thomas would bring books she had checked out of the library for specific students because they had asked for her help; she picked up Manga for Leopard Lady and space operas for Lion King. When Captain Bad Hair Cut finished a few Diary of a Wimpy Kid books, she helped him find his next series. In limiting myself to interactional data from the book group, my portrayal of Mrs. Thomas as a reading teacher was limited as well. Additionally, because the program ended abruptly in May 2018, I was unable to use member checking (Merriam, 2009), and thus I do not have confirmation from my participants as to whether or not my interpretations resonate with them. I have sought to stick to descriptions rather than judgments throughout this paper, but in condensing my broad ethnographic interpretations in order to focus on specific interactions related to my research questions, some of the complexities that were at play in students' connection making practices and student-teacher relationships were inevitably left out.

Chapter 4. Connection Making Practices

This chapter explores how the teacher shaped the connections students made during book group meetings through various practices. Specifically, I examine how Mrs. Thomas shaped *what* connections students made and *how* students made these connections to the text through 1) how Mrs. Thomas presented connection making as literacy practice at the outset of the book group and indicated what connections to the text she thought students would make; 2) how she prompted students to make connections to the text in ways that had different sequential consequences for students' participation in connection making events; and 3) how she allocated turns of talk during sequences in which she asked students to make connections to the text. In this chapter, I describe in detail the teacher practices that were central to connection making events in order to contextualize findings on *what* and *how* individual students made connections to the text, and how they *positioned* themselves and others through talk and interaction during connection making events.

In highlighting the teacher practices that shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text, I contribute a new perspective to the current connection making scholarship: much of the previous literature I reviewed on connection making has focused primarily on the reader and the text, and how the reader made connections based on text content. In these studies, analyses of how teachers shaped the connections students made

is largely absent. However, as I examined the connection making events that occurred in this book group, it seemed the connections students made were shaped not only by the text content, but by the teacher as well. I found I could not talk about *what* and *how* students made connections to the text without also paying attention to how Mrs. Thomas as the teacher shaped students' connection making practices in and through interaction during book group meetings. Therefore, I contend connection making was a co-constructed practice for the students and the teacher in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group. In exploring how connection making practices and events were co-constructed, I contribute a new layer to our current understanding of making text connections.

Chapter Organization

In this chapter, I discuss three different ways Mrs. Thomas' shaped students' connection making practices: First, I describe an event in which Mrs. Thomas laid the foundation for connection making practices from the outset of the book group. Then, I describe two practices Mrs. Thomas used repeatedly throughout the book group during connection making events. In this chapter, I use the term "literacy practices" to describe "what people do with literacy" (Barton & Hamilton, 2000, p. 7), and consider literacy practices to be realized in literacy events, which are "any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the participants' interactions and the interpretive process" (Heath, 1982, p. 50).

The event I spotlight in this chapter occurred the first day the book group met. Mrs. Thomas introduced connection making as a literacy practice that the students would

participate in as they read *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). She explained why readers make connections to texts, how readers cognitively make connections to texts by drawing on prior knowledge, and modeled connection making by sharing a connection she had with *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). In this introduction and especially through the connection she modeled for the students, Mrs. Thomas proposed a potential source of connection in the text for the students in the book group: The book was about refugees and people from other countries, and the students in the room were refugees (or had parents who were refugees) and were from other countries. As I describe in greater detail in the rest of this chapter, this first book group meeting and Mrs. Thomas' introduction to making text connections shaped *what* and *how* students made connections over the course of the book group.

Second, I describe how Mrs. Thomas shaped students' connection making practices through the different ways she prompted students to connect to the text. When Mrs. Thomas prompted the students to connect to the themes of being a refugee or being from an "other" country as they read and discussed *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) in the book group, her prompting led to either 1) more narrow connection sequences where Mrs. Thomas seemed to be looking for particular definition or explanation for an idea presented in the text; or 2) more open-ended connection sequences where she asked for their thoughts or feelings about a topic or theme from the text. For both categories, I give examples of these different connection sequences from the data, and explain how I saw the ways these different connection sequences shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text.

Third, I describe the three main ways the teacher allocated turns of talk when she prompted the students to make connections, or the turn economies (cf. Philips, 1983) she used to initiate talk sequences during connection making events. In the data collected for this dissertation study, I identified two turn economies that Philips (1983) conceptualized based in her work on classroom talk: (1) a *first come, first served* turn economy and (2) a *round* turn economy. The third turn economy I saw in the data is one I have characterized and labeled as *individual student selection*. Because interactions in classrooms are generally organized so that one student speaks at a time, who is given permission to speak and in what order they are given permission shapes both the content and the language of speaker's talk. As I describe later in this chapter, the different turn economies Mrs. Thomas used to allocate turns of talk shaped the unfolding interaction in connection making events and ultimately *how* and *what* students made connections to the text.

Setting the Tone for Connection Making as a Literacy Practice

In the first section of this chapter, I describe how Mrs. Thomas presented connection making as a literacy practice at the initial book group meeting. While the rest of this chapter describes practices that were repeated throughout the book group, this section looks at a one-time event that set the tone for reoccurring connection making practices. First, I offer an explanation of the meaning of the activity setting for this teacher based on teacher interview data. In particular, I describe how Mrs. Thomas saw this text as a potential mirror for the book group students by analyzing her explanation of why she chose this text to. Next, I examine how Mrs. Thomas introduced the practice of making connections to texts in the first book group meeting, focusing on the text content

that she presented as a potential source of connection for the students. Last, I explain how Mrs. Thomas' explanation and introduction on this first day of class shaped the lens through which I as the researcher determined the sequences of talk that had to do with making connections. In the remainder of this chapter, I detail how the themes of the potential connections put forth by Mrs. Thomas during this initial book group meeting shaped *what* connections students made to the text and *how* students made these connections using language throughout the book group.

Meaning of the Book Group for Instructor

On the first day of the book group, I had a short and informal interview with Mrs. Thomas. In this interview, my primary aim was to understand why Mrs. Thomas chose to read *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) with this group of students. The group had previously read a few fiction texts, including books from the *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* and *Captain Underpants* series, so *Outcasts United* (St. John), a nonfiction text, seemed like a break from Mrs. Thomas' usual picks. When I asked Mrs. Thomas about this decision, she shared a few reasons that concerned points of potential connection for the students: the book was a nonfiction text about a group of refugees who played soccer. Her response is captured in Transcript 1.

Transcript 1 Mrs. Thomas Describes How She Chose Outcasts United

1	Jackie	What made you choose this book?
2	Mrs. Thomas	Um, I mean, I guess just really because it was about a group of
3		refugees, even though I feel like these kids don't exactly fall into
4		that category, their parents, you know, maybe were, so um...
5	Jackie	Yeah, okay
6	Mrs. Thomas	And plus, they're really into soccer. They all love soccer!
7	Jackie	Oh my gosh, they love it!
8	Mrs. Thomas	

9		So.. and a lot of them indicated at the beginning of the year that they prefer nonfiction over fiction
10	Jackie	Okay... which is really cool.
11	Mrs. Thomas	Even though this is, you know, like, narrative form, technically,
12		it's nonfiction. So, I thought it was cool. It's a true story... about a
13		real place? I feel like it's... kind of similar to North Riverside.
14	Jackie	Oh yeah?
15	Mrs. Thomas	I don't know, it just seems like the town has really done a good
16		job accepting in refugees...
17	Jackie	Huh... I'm curious to know more about that
18	Mrs. Thomas	Right... It's kind of interesting, because these kids are kind of like,
19		the next generation, you know, like they were born here
20	Jackie	Some of them... but wasn't Lion King was born in Africa?
21		Captain Bad Hair Cut has memories of Africa, I think
22	Mrs. Thomas	Was she? Okay
23	Jackie	Yeah... I know that CR7 [has memories of Nepal]... Leopard
24		Lady, I think I was born [in Nepal], but maybe... I can't quite
25		remember. Um, Mister Pants has memories [of Mexico] ...
26	Mrs. Thomas	Hopefully, those will come up as we read this
27	Jackie	Yeah, for sure

(November 28, 2017)

In the first half of this interview captured in Transcript 1, Mrs. Thomas named three reasons she chose the text *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). First, she shared she chose the book "just really because it was about a group of refugees" (lines 2-3), with the added caveat, "even though I feel like these kids don't exactly fall into that category, their parents [...] maybe were" (lines 3-4). Despite the difference she mentioned, that most of the kids' parents were refugees, Mrs. Thomas named the book's focus on refugees as one of the first reasons she chose this text. Additionally, Mrs. Thomas shared she chose the text because the students in the book group were "really into soccer" (line 6); she chose the text because it was about a topic the students "loved" (line 6). Finally, she asked the students in the beginning of the year what kind of books they liked to read, and they indicated that they preferred nonfiction over fiction texts (lines 8-9). Though she

does not explicitly use the word "connection," Mrs. Thomas' responses suggest she intentionally chose this text because she felt the content reflected students' lives and interests. She chose a book that had multiple, potential connection points, including their experience as refugees (and immigrants), their love of soccer, and their affinity for nonfiction texts. Though Mrs. Thomas named three reasons that she chose this text, the first reason she shared, that the text was about "a group of refugees" (lines 2-3), became the central theme in the connections she prompted students to make throughout the book group. I will provide evidence for this assertion in the example of teacher practices I share in the remainder of this chapter, and in the connection making events that I describe in the following chapter, Chapter 5.

In the latter half of the excerpt included in Transcript 1, Mrs. Thomas made a comment that seemed to suggest she anticipated this book would elicit connections to students' lives. After she compared the setting of the text to the North Riverside community (lines 11-16), Mrs. Thomas brought up that the students in the book group were "born here" (line 18) in the U.S. I responded that I was not sure if that was the case, and listed a few students who I thought were born overseas (lines 19-20) or had memories of living in places other than the United States (lines 22-24). When I mentioned students had memories from other countries, Mrs. Thomas replied, "hopefully, those will come up as we read this" (line 15). Her response to my comment about students' memories seems to suggest Mrs. Thomas thought reading *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) could prompt students to share these memories, or that memories about living in other countries would "come up as we read" (line 25). Taken together, Mrs.

Thomas' comment in line 25 and her explanation for how she chose this text earlier in this conversation provide insight into the kind of connections she anticipated students would make to *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) during book group meetings.

My interpretation of this interview with Mrs. Thomas was supported the way Mrs. Thomas introduced connection making during the initial book group meeting. In the remainder of this section, I examine how Mrs. Thomas laid the foundation for *what* and *how* students made connections to the text through how she introduced connection making as a literacy practice on the first day of the book group. In particular, when she modeled connection making for the students, Mrs. Thomas suggested particular aspects of the book that she thought students could connect with, namely, being a refugee and/or being from a different country. The purpose of this examination of her introduction to connection making is to make visible the themes Mrs. Thomas put forth as central to the connections students could make, themes that were taken up by Mrs. Thomas when she prompted students to make connections to the text, and themes that were taken up in *what* and *how* students made connections to the text.

Laying the Foundation on Day One

On the first day of the book group, Mrs. Thomas introduced connection making as a literacy practice that the students would participate in as they read *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). She introduced connection making after they finished reading the introduction to the text and the time allotted for the meeting was about to end. To begin her introduction, she spent several minutes first explaining the concept and importance of making connections, as well as the different kinds of text connections students could

make. Mrs. Thomas then asked students to make a connection to the text, and modeled this practice by sharing a connection she had to the text. However, in the connection she modeled, she also suggested a connection to the text that the students might have. Her introduction is captured in Transcript 2.

Transcript 2 Mrs. Thomas Introduces Connection Making

1	Mrs. Thomas	With just a few minutes we have left... what I want us to do is to
2		think about – another thing that helps us when we're reading
3		books is to try to make connections to the book. So what that
4		means is you can either think of something the book reminds you
5		of, does it remind you of something... in your own life that you
6		can think of or that you experienced before, or something you've
7		done before? Does it remind you of another book you've read?
8		Does it remind you of something you've heard about maybe on
9		the news, or something you heard people talking about
10		somewhere?
11	Student	Oh::
12	Mrs. Thomas	So I want you to think about that for a minute
13		((*murmurs of crosstalk*))
14	Mrs. Thomas	So I'll share one. One connection I feel like I have with this book
15		is that this book is all about refugees, peoples from other
16		countries, right? I have worked in a school before, where all of the
17		students were refugees or from other countries… I've worked
18		with… you guys that your parents are from other countries, right?
19		Most of you are were born here...
20	Student	((audible yawn))
21	Mrs. Thomas	So that's a connection I can make to my own life. Because I have
22		had other experiences in my life where I've met people from other
23		countries. So that's why this book kind of interests me because
24		it's also about people from other countries... So I want you to
25		think about a connection that you could make to this book

(November 28, 2017)

In her introduction to connection making as a literacy practice, Mrs. Thomas made several statements about connection making that, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text throughout the book group. First, she described making connections as "another thing that helps us when we're

reading books" (lines 2-3). In presenting making connections to texts as helpful, she communicated to students that making connections was a positive literacy practice, one that would be beneficial to them as readers. This is a theme she would repeat and elaborate periodically throughout the book group during connection making events. For example, on the second book group meeting, Mrs. Thomas reiterated the helpfulness of connection making:

> That's an important thing to do as we read a book, every now and then, stop and think about how can you connect to the book, because it helps you understand it better, and it helps to make it more exciting as you're reading, too. (November 30, 2017).

In this excerpt, Mrs. Thomas expanded upon her previous statement by offering an explanation for why making connections is helpful, listing text comprehension ("it helps you understand it better") and making reading enjoyable ("it helps to make it more exciting as you're reading, too"). About midway through the book group, Mrs. Thomas reminded the students that they began the book group by talking about connection making as important: "When we started reading this book, we talked about how important it is to make connections as we read a book" (February 22, 2018). Taken together, these excerpts demonstrate how from the first day, and then throughout book group meetings, Mrs. Thomas presented connection making as an important and helpful part of reading.

Second, in her introduction to connection making as a literacy practice, Mrs. Thomas gave the students directions as to the types of connections they could make in the context of the book group. She told them "you can either think of something the book reminds you of" (lines 4-5). She did not fulfill the conjunction "either" with options, but

seemed to stop herself and instead listed the different types of connections students could make. Though she did not directly use Keene and Zimmerman's (1997) terminology, Mrs. Thomas told the students they could make the three types of connections that have become standard in connection making scholarship and pedagogy: 1) text-to-self connections; 2) text-to-text connections; and 3) text-to-world connections. How Mrs. Thomas described each of these types of connections is captured in Table 2.

Table 2 Types of Connections Proposed by Mrs. Thomas

Connection type	Mrs. Thomas' Explanation
Text-to-self	Does it remind you of something... in your own life that you can think of or that you experienced before, or something you've done before? (lines 5-7)
Text-to-text	Does it remind you of another book you've read? (line 7)
Text-to-world	Does it remind you of something you've heard about maybe on the news, or something you heard people talking about somewhere? (line 8-10)

After Mrs. Thomas explained why readers make connections – to help them when they are reading (lines 2) – and explained the different types of connections students can make to the text – to themselves, to other texts, and to the world around them (lines 5-10) – she next modeled how to make a connection. Mrs. Thomas modeled connection making by sharing one of her own connections to the text. She told the students that she was about to model this for them when she said, "So I'll share one" (line 14), and then shared with the students her connection to the book: She worked in a school where all of the students were refugees or from "other" countries (lines 16-17), and she presently worked with the students at North Riverside whose "parents are from other countries" (line 18).

Although Mrs. Thomas framed her explanation as a connection she had with the text, in the content of her connection, she suggested a point of connections she thought the students would have (or should have) with the text: *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) was about refugees and people from other countries, and the students the book group had parents who were refugees or were refugees themselves, and they too were from other countries.

These two ideas, being a refugee and being from an "other" country, seemed to underlie all the text connections Mrs. Thomas prompted students to make throughout the book group. Because Mrs. Thomas set forth these two themes at the outset of the book group, I focus my analysis in this study on the sequences of talk in which the teacher asked students for their thoughts on being a refugee and being from an "other" country, the themes that she suggested the students could connect with. In particular, I look at sequences of talk in which Mrs. Thomas asked questions that invoked one or both of these themes, either (1) questions that prompted students to draw on their personal experiences of being a refuge or being from an "other" country in order to connect with something in the text; or (2) questioned aimed at helping the students comprehend portrayals in the text of refugees or of people from "other" countries, the parts of the text that she suggested students would connect with. This criteria for selecting connection sequences diverges from how making text connections is typically defined in the literature – i.e., text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world – because my criteria also accounts for (a) the co-construction of meaning making in literacy events and practices, and (b) the common uptake of connection making and mirror text theory, and in

particular, notions of how children should respond to texts that reflect their lives. These criteria not only reflect what the teacher laid out in the activity setting, but also allows me to interrogate underlying assumptions about mirror texts and connection making while highlighting how students drew on prior knowledge to make meaning (and connections) during ongoing talk around the text, and how the teacher shaped this practice.

Summary: How the Beginning Shapes the Ongoing

The event discussed in this section contained a series of related firsts: The first book group meeting, the first day making connections was introduced to the group, the first connections made during book group, and the first connection made and shared by the teacher. Lin (1994) found the first day of class and the interactions teachers lead with students can lay the foundation for future interactions and activity in that space moving forward. On this first day, the connection Mrs. Thomas made set a precedent for the book group, a precedent of focusing on content related to being a refugee and being from an "other" country. This proposed point of connection echoed what Mrs. Thomas shared with me in our initial informal interview about the book group (Transcript 1), that she thought the students would connect to the text because the book was about a group of refugees. While Mrs. Thomas named three reasons she chose this book in this initial interview – a potential connection to content on refugees, a potential connection to content about soccer, and the students' preference for non-fiction over fiction texts – the connections she prompted students to make were rarely related to the last two topics. As reflected in the lists of connection requests in the following section, most of the

connections she prompted students to make concerned being a refugee, or questions related to "other" countries and cultures.

To summarize, in this initial connection making event, Mrs. Thomas shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text by proposing points of connection between the students and the text that would underlie all the connection making events she would initiate during book group meetings. In the following section, I list the questions I identified in my data that Mrs. Thomas asked over the course of the book group that invoked these two potential sources of connection – being a refuge or being from an "other" country.

Different Categories of Connection Requests

The previous section described how Mrs. Thomas shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text through how she introduced connection making as a literacy practice during the first book group meeting. At the outset of the book group, Mrs. Thomas explained three different ways students could make connections to the text – text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world connections (cf. Keene & Zimmermann, 1997). Mrs. Thomas also established two topics as potential points of connection for the students in the book group to *Outcasts United* (St. John) – being a refugee and being from an "other" country. In the present section, I explore how Mrs. Thomas called upon these two themes during the sixth month book group during connection making events. In doing so, I demonstrate how Mrs. Thomas shaped the connections students made to the text through the ways she tried to elicit different connections from the students, and how

these different elicitations had sequential consequences for the unfolding interaction during connection making events.

I constructed two categories to characterize the different connection sequences that I identified in the data, *narrow connection sequences* and *open connection sequences*. I characterize talk sequences in which Mrs. Thomas asked a question that had a narrower range of possible responses that would be considered appropriate as narrow connection sequences. Narrow sequences were often initiated by Mrs. Thomas' questions for students' definitions of a particular term in the text or explanations of an idea that was pertinent to being a refugee or being from an "other" country. Alternatively, open connection sequences were sequences for which there was a wider or more open range of possible responses students could share. These sequences were often initiated by Mrs. Thomas' elicitations for students' thoughts, opinions, or feelings related to being a refuge or people from "other" countries. To be clear on what I counted and what I did not count as a connection sequence, in this section, I first present more details on how I identified connection sequences in the data. Then, in the remainder of this section, I describe each category of connection sequences with attention to how Mrs. Thomas' prompting shaped the connections students made through talk and interaction during book group meetings.

Defining a Connection Sequence

Within the data collected for this study, my interest is in the sequences of talk in which the teacher invoked one of the themes from the book *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that she thought the students could connect with – being a refugee and/or being from an "other" country. My focus on these interactions stems from the first day of the

book group when Mrs. Thomas shared with me that she chose the book because it was about "a group of refugees" (Transcript 1, lines 2-3), and when she positioned the students in the book group as being from "other countries," (Transcript 2, line 17). As I described in the previous section, the first day of the book group set the precedent for the rest of the book group meetings – the themes of being a refuge and being from an "other" country would be repeatedly called upon by Mrs. Thomas during text-centered conversations. However, my interest in this dissertation is not in all the conversations that centered on these two themes. Rather, my analysis focuses on interactional sequences in which (1) the teacher prompted the students to make a connection to text by drawing on their knowledge or experiences related to being a refugee or being from an "other" country; or (2) the teacher asked questions to help students understand a part of the text that portrayed being a refugee or people from other countries, a part of the text that she thought reflected their lives or that they would connect with because they too were refugees/people from other countries. In this section, I detail how I applied this lens to my data to determine what sequences of talk were connection sequences, and which were not. To help clarify this distinction, I offer a few non-examples from my data corpus.

As I described in the previous section, I categorized interactions as connection sequences when Mrs. Thomas asked the students to draw on outside knowledge to connect to the text – knowledge either related to being a refugee or being from an "other" country, or knowledge that would help them understand parts of the text about being a refugee or being from an "other" country. Only sequences of talk that prompted connection making and dealt with being a refugee or being from "other" countries were

categorized as connection sequences. The full list of connection sequences is included in Table 3 and in Table 4 .

However, not every moment of the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group was spent on making connections to the text. Much of the talk around text that I observed in the thirty-four book group meetings that I attended featured Mrs. Thomas prompting the students to make meaning strictly within the text. Additionally, though refugees and people from "other" countries were the primary topics of conversations in book group meetings, they were not the only topics the book group discussed. Although these sequences of talk were sometimes interesting to me as a classroom researcher for various reasons, these interactions were not included in my analysis for this dissertation study because they did not meet either of the criteria mentioned previously for connection sequences.

Perhaps a more nuanced distinction between inclusion and non-inclusion in the collection were interactions when one, but not both, of the criteria for a connection sequence was present. For example, there were instances in the data where Mrs. Thomas asked the students questions about being a refugee and being from an "other" country, but in these questions, she did not prompt them to connect to their prior knowledge or experiences. Rather, Mrs. Thomas asked questions that required students to give their answers based on what they read about these topics in the text. For example, in Excerpt 1, Mrs. Thomas asked the students what they learned from the chapter they read about the players on the Fugees, the all refugee soccer team that is the focus of *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). In this chapter of the text, St. John (the author) described the different places

the players on the Fugees had lived before they were resettled in the U.S. In Excerpt 1, Mrs. Thomas asked a text-dependent question that made the experiences of refugee (as portrayed in the text) the topic of the interactional sequence.

Excerpt 1 Non-Example of a Connection Sequence: The Fugees

1	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so what did we learn about the Fugees in this chapter?
2		Captain Bad Hair Cut?
3	Captain BHC	Um, Fugees, some of the Fugees – the Fugees come from a place
4		that have been in war?
5	Mrs. Thomas	Good. And how – what part of the book was that talking about
6		that? Captain BHC, what was going on in the book?
7	Captain BHC	Um, there are fighter - there are fighter jets? And some of the
8		Fugees were scared because they thought the fighter jets were
9		people attacking.
10	Mrs. Thomas	Yes. Very good. ((Writes on board)) Some of them came from
11		countries at war. Good. Who else?

(December 5, 2017)

In Excerpt 1, Mrs. Thomas asked Captain Bad Hair Cut a question about the text that required him to recall information he read: "What did we learn about the Fugees in this chapter?" (line 01). Captain Bad Hair Cut gave his response (lines 3-4), and Mrs. Thomas asked him a follow up question to check to see where in the book he read this information (lines 05-06). After he explains where he found this information in the text (lines 07-09), Mrs. Thomas positively evaluated his response (line 10) and recorded it on the board before calling on the next student. This sequence was about refugees but did not prompt students to make a connection, and therefore, was not counted in my collection of connection sequences.

There were also instances in the data where Mrs. Thomas prompted the student to make a connection to the text that did not necessarily have to do with being a refugee or people from other countries. This was the case in the interaction captured in Excerpt 2, in

which Mrs. Thomas asked the students to make a connection to knowledge that was not written in the book that they needed to know in order to understand this passage.

Excerpt 2 Non-Example of a Connection Sequence: Roster

1	Lion King	[reading] *Bien had arrived in the middle of season when they had*
2		*a full ra- ra- roasted?*
3	Mrs. Thomas	Roster – do you know what that means? What's a roster? Wolfy?
4	Wolfy	It's like an um... it's like on the clipboard with like a paper with
5		all the players' names on it.
6	Mrs. Thomas	Yeah. So basically the list of - the names of who is playing on the
7		team. So when it says that their roster was full, it means they had
8		enough people to play on the team, to play, like, all the positions,
9		and have some backups, probably.

In Excerpt 2, Mrs. Thomas helped the students make sense of the passage by having them make a connection to knowledge outside of the text. After Lion King seemed to stumble over the word "roster" (line 2), Mrs. Thomas had the group stop reading, and checked to see if they understood the meaning of the word (line 3). Wolfy made a connection to his prior knowledge of rosters (lines 4-5), which Mrs. Thomas affirmed and then elaborated on while providing a more detailed explanation of this part of the text. Though she did not spend a lot of time on fielding and responding to students' answers, this excerpt is an example of a time when Mrs. Thomas asked the student to make a connection to knowledge not in the text that did not concern being a refugee or people from other countries. Therefore, I did not include this sequence or similar interaction in my collection of connection sequences.

I share these two excerpts as non-examples to make clear the criteria I used to include and to exclude sections of talk I analyzed in this study. In Excerpt 1, Mrs. Thomas asked students questions about a section of text that concerned being a refugee,

but she did not ask them to make a connection; rather, she directed them back to the book to answer her question. In Excerpt 2, Mrs. Thomas asked students to draw on knowledge that was explicitly written in the text to understand a particular text passage, but the content of this sequence did not concern being a refugee or people from other countries. Because each of these examples exhibited one but not both of the criteria I identified for connection sequences, these sequences (and others like them) were omitted from the collection of connection sequences that I analyzed for this dissertation study. Having established which sequences I considered connection sequences and which ones I did not, I turn now to describe the two categories of connection sequences that I identified in the data: narrow connection sequences and open connection sequences, and how these different sequences shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to the text.

Narrow Connection Sequences

One of the two kinds of connection sequences that I identified in my data was narrow connection sequences, or interactional sequences that were initiated by a question Mrs. Thomas posed to the book group that had a narrow range of possible appropriate answers. In narrow connection sequences, Mrs. Thomas seemed to be asking students for their definitions of or their knowledge about ideas and concepts presented in the text. Whenever Mrs. Thomas requested students' knowledge on a topic or definition of terms (1) related to the experiences of refugees or being from an "other" country or culture, or (2) from a passage in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that was about refugees or people from "other" countries, I labeled these interactions as narrow connection sequences. To clarify how I defined narrow connection sequences and to illustrate how narrow

connection sequences shaped the connections students made to the text, in this section, I include a few examples of narrow connection sequences from the data.

The majority of the narrow connection sequences I identified were initiated by Mrs. Thomas' questions for students' knowledge about a term used in the text that concerned being a refugee or being from an "other" country. This is the case in Excerpt 3 and in

Excerpt 4, when Mrs. Thomas asked the students what they knew about the concept of "refugee resettlement" and the term "traumatized," respectively.

Excerpt 3 is from an activity where Mrs. Thomas previewed a few of the topics the students would be encountering in the next chapter of *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). Mrs. Thomas introduced the activity, "we're going to spend a few minutes, kind of discussing some topics that we're going to come across in the next chapter," and then explained the purpose of the activity, to "help us start kind of thinking about what we're going to be encountering" (January 11, 2018). In this introduction, Mrs. Thomas established the purpose of the activity as helping the students understand what they would be reading about in the chapter. Along with topics and terms such as civil war, child soldiers, and refugee camps (see Table 3 for more examples), Mrs. Thomas asked the students what they knew about refugee resettlement.

Excerpt 3 Narrow Connection Sequence: Resettlement

1	Mrs. Thomas	So tell me what you know about refugee resettlement, when
2		refugees go to a new place, and what kind of help do refugees get
3		when they are moving to a new home. Tell me what you might
4		know about that... Wolfy?
5	Wolfy	Maybe help from other relatives?
6	Mrs. Thomas	They might get help from relatives, okay. Lion King?

(January 11, 2018)

In the narrow connection sequence captured in Excerpt 3, Mrs. Thomas asked the students what they knew about "refugee resettlement" (line 01), and specifically, if they knew "what kind of help do refugees get when they are moving to a new home" (lines 2-3). "Tell me what you might know about that" (lines 03-04) she asked, prompting the students to draw on their prior knowledge about refugee resettlement, and what they might know about this topic. I categorized this interaction as a connection sequence because Mrs. Thomas initiated this interaction by asking students about refugee resettlement, invoking one of the themes from the text that she proposed would be a source of connection for the students – being a refugee. I categorized this excerpt as a *narrow* connection sequence because the range of responses that students could give and be considered correct or appropriate was limited, or narrowed, to what they knew about refugee resettlement.

Excerpt 4 is another example of a narrow connection sequence that occurred during book group meetings. Before the sequence recorded in Excerpt 4, the book group had just read a section of the text that described the refugees as "traumatized." Mrs. Thomas reviewed what they had just read, and then to ensure students understood what the text was describing about refugees, she asked students to draw on their prior knowledge of the word "traumatized."

Excerpt 4 Narrow Connection Sequence: Traumatized

1 2 3	Mrs. Thomas	[...] then people took their land away from them and there were just lots of horrible things happening and the book says they were traumatized. Do you know what the word traumatized means?[SEP][SEP]

4 Captain BHC Maybe, I think?
5 Mrs. Thomas Captain Bad Hair Cut, why don't you tell us?

(February 9, 2018)

In Excerpt 4, Mrs. Thomas asked the students "do you know what the word traumatized means?" (line 3). Although this question was posed as a yes/no question, when Captain Bad Hair Cut responded "maybe, I think" (line 4), Mrs. Thomas called on him to share his thoughts with the group: "why don't you tell us?" (line 5). I categorized this interaction as a connection sequence because Mrs. Thomas asked students to explain the word "traumatized," a word that students needed to understand in order to comprehend what they would read in the book about refugees. Thus, this sequence, like Excerpt 3, invoked one of the themes she proposed would be a source of connection for the students – being a refugee. Furthermore, I categorized this excerpt as a narrow connection sequence because there was a narrow range of responses that students could give to define the word "traumatized" and be considered correct.

In the previous two examples, Mrs. Thomas initiated the connection sequences by asking students what did they "know" about a particular topic. In other instances in the data, narrow connection sequences were introduced when Mrs. Thomas asked students to "explain" a particular term related to being a refugee or being from an "other" country. In Excerpt 5, Mrs. Thomas asked the students about a word they encountered in a description in the text of a character who had immigrated to the U.S. from another country. The text described the character as feeling "uprooted," and Mrs. Thomas stopped reading the text to ask students if they could explain this term.

Excerpt 5 Narrow Connection Sequence: Uprooted

1	Mrs. Thomas	[reading] *The loneliness of being uprooted was something Luma*
2		*could understand.* Who can explain what uprooted means?...
3		Captain Bad Hair Cut?
4	Captain BHC	Maybe judged?
5	Mrs. Thomas	Mmm, not quite judged. The word loneliness in the sentence gives
6		us a clue. Anyone else? What does uprooted mean? Mister pants?

(February 22, 2018)

After reading a section of the text, Mrs. Thomas initiated this sequence by asking "who can explain what uprooted means" (line 2). When Captain Bad Hair Cut offered a response that did not explain the term (line 4), Mrs. Thomas further prompted the students, "the word loneliness in the sentence gives us a clue" (lines 5-6), and asked again "What does uprooted mean?" (line 6). In this example captured in Excerpt 5, Mrs. Thomas asked the students to explain a term that they needed to know – uprooted – in order to understand a passage in the text that described the experience of a character from another country. Because this was one of the themes she set forth as a potential point of connection for the students, I counted this sequence in the collection of connection sequences. Furthermore, I labeled this sequence as narrow because Mrs. Thomas was looking for a definition of a word, and thus there was a narrow range of answers students could give and be considered correct.

Excerpt 6 is another example of a narrow connection sequence that was initiated by Mrs. Thomas asking students to "explain" a term. In this example, Mrs. Thomas asked the students who could explain "Ramadan," which was just referenced in a section of the text that the students had read.

Excerpt 6 Narrow Connection Sequence: Ramadan

1	Mrs. Thomas	Who can explain what Ramadan means?
2	Lion King	Ramzan
3	Mrs. Thomas	((pointing at text)) that word is capitalized
4	Lion King	Ramzan
5	Mrs. Thomas	Leopard Lady?
6	Leopard Lady	Like it's like a religion that they celebrate[...]

(January 30, 2018)

When Mrs. Thomas asked the students about Ramadan (line 1), Lion King offered the word "Ramzan" (lines 2, 4), a different name used for Ramadan, and Leopard Lady shared a description of what she thought Ramadan was (line 6). The larger interaction that this excerpt is a part of is described in detail in Chapter 5 when I describe *what* and *how* Lion King participated in these events (see Transcript 5). However, I include this excerpt here as an example of narrow connection sequences that were initiated by Mrs. Thomas' requests for students' definitions or knowledge of a particular term in the text that had to do with people from other countries or cultures. I categorized this sequence as narrow because Mrs. Thomas prompted students to explain Ramadan (lines 01), a question that had a narrow range of responses that could have been considered correct.

To review, I labeled interactions as narrow connection sequences when Mrs. Thomas initiated the sequence by asking students a question that concerned being a refugee or people from other countries, and that had a narrow range of acceptable answers. Out of the eighty connection sequences that Mrs. Thomas initiated over the course of the book group, I categorized forty-three as narrow connection sequences. The entire collection of the narrow connection sequences I identified in the data is included in

Table 3; rather than relaying the entire sequence, I limited my representation in this table to the question Mrs. Thomas posed that began each narrow connection sequence.

Table 3 Collection of Narrow Connection Sequences in the Data

	Date	Narrow Connection Request
1.	17-11-30	What's another reason a refugee might have to leave their country?
2.	17-11-30	Why do you think we would we call [the refugees in the text] outcasts?
3.	17-11-30	What [would be] a reason a refugee might have to leave their country?
4.	17-12-05	So what do you think that means, *It's a white town?*
5.	17-12-07	What does that mean, *they lived in poverty*? What is poverty?
6.	18-01-11	Who can tell me one thing you know about civil war?
7.	18-01-11	The civil war we're talking about... it's taking place in Liberia. Who knows something about Liberia?
8.	18-01-11	What do you know about children being soldiers? About child soldiers?
9.	18-01-11	Raise your hand if you think you know something about a refugee camp.
10.	18-01-11	Okay, and what do we know about refugees?
11.	18-01-11	Does anyone want to share anything else they know about refugee camps?
12.	18-01-11	Does anybody know someone who has ever lived in a refugee camp?
13.	18-01-11	So tell me what you know about refugee resettlement, when refugees go to a new place, and what kind of help do refugees get when they are moving to a new home. Tell me what you might know about that?
14.	18-01-11	Civil wars can happen anywhere. What does that mean?
15.	18-01-18	*Charles Taylor [a ruler in Liberia] used the power of his post to continue the killing until he fell out of favor with the United States*. What does what mean, he fell out of favor?
16.	18-02-01	Lion King, what's a mosque?
17.	18-02-01	Who can explain what Ramadan means?
18.	18-02-01	So what does that mean? *The older residents of Clarkson simply retreated into their homes...*

	Date	Narrow Connection Request
19.	18-02-01	Think about what we've been talking about, how the town is changing... why do you think the people that have lived there for a long time are just staying inside their houses?
20.	18-02-09	There were just lots of horrible thing happening and the book says they were traumatized. Do you know what the word traumatized means?
21.	18-02-09	*The resettlement agencies were overfunded and under-resourced as it was*. Do you know what resettlement agencies means?
22.	18-02-09	They were talking about the group of people the Somali Bhantu... and how they have had a lot of hardships. What do you think that means, they've had a lot of hardships?
23.	18-02-20	What are hijabs?
24.	18-02-20	What do you think was interesting about that market that Luma found? What kind of foods did you notice were there?
25.	18-02-22	*The loneliness of being uprooted was something Luma could understand*. Who can explain what uprooted means?
26.	18-03-01	What kind of help do refugees get when they are moving to a new home? Tell me what you might know about that.
27.	18-03-06	So how about we take a look at this displacement word? Does anybody know what this word means?
28.	18-03-08	So that word, trauma came up a couple of times. Anybody know what that word means?
29.	18-03-08	Who knows what – do we know what food stamps are?
30.	18-03-13	*Coach says it's not good [for Muslims to eat pork]*. What do you think that that means?
31.	18-03-15	CR7, do you know what assassinated means?
32.	18-03-15	Jessica, do you remember what civil war means?
33.	18-03-20	Tell me what you think the word racist means.
34.	18-03-20	The word discriminate. What does that word mean?
35.	18-03-22	Who can tell me what a clique is? *The possibility of fracturing into cliques by country or language or tribe was always there*.
36.	18-04-10	Anybody know what that sort of means? Foreigners or foreign?
37.	18-04-12	Um, anybody know what suburban means?
38.	18-04-12	Well, first of all, what does disadvantaged mean? Star Boy?

	Date	Narrow Connection Request
39.	18-04-17	Um, do we remember the definition of a refugee? What's that mean Leopard Lady, to be a refugee?
40.	18-04-24	They're being... um persecuted – do you know what that means, they were persecuted mean?
41.	18-04-26	That's the second time that word veteran has come up - Anybody know what that means?
42.	18-04-26	Do you guys remember – trauma? What trauma is?
43.	18-05-03	Have you heard that word before? Does anybody know what [dishdasha] means?

Note. Texts in italics when the speaker was reading or quoting verbatim from the book *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012)

In summary, narrow connection sequences were initiated by questions that tended to have a smaller or more narrow pool of answers that students could respond with to be considered correct or appropriate. Even in sequences that began with Mrs. Thomas asking questions with more open-ended phrasing, such as "What do you know about... ", the teacher seemed to be looking for a response or a few responses that built toward one 'correct' definition or explanation. In Chapter 5, I further elaborate on this conceptualization of narrow connection sequences by demonstrating how these sequences narrowed the possible answers students could choose in responding to these questions, and thus narrowed how they interacted in connection making events.

Open Connection Sequences

In addition to narrow connection sequences for students, I identified interactions in my data that I characterized as open connection sequences. Open connection sequences were initiated by Mrs. Thomas prompting students to share their thoughts or opinions on topics presented in the text. In open connection sequences, the range of possible

connections or responses that students could share and still be considered correct was, in general, more open and less defined. Whenever Mrs. Thomas prompted students for their thoughts, opinions, or feelings related to the experiences of refugees or being from an "other" country or culture, or related to a passage in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that was about refugees or people from "other" countries, I labeled these interactions as open connection sequences. To demonstrate how open connection sequences shaped the connections students made to the text, I include a few examples of open connection sequences in the remainder of this section.

Mrs. Thomas often initiated open connection sequences by asking students what they "think" or what they "thought" about a part of the text that concerned being a refugee or people from "other" countries. For example, in Excerpt 7, Mrs. Thomas asked the students for their "thoughts," about a scene in the book in which attendees at a town hall meeting discussed their frustration with the refugee resettlement program in their town. After CR7 finished reading this passage, Mrs. Thomas then initiated an open connection sequence by asking for students' "thoughts" on this particular part of the text.

Excerpt 7 Open Connection Sequence: Townhall

1	CR7	[reading] *The first question at the townhall was what can we do to*
2		*keep the refugees from coming to Clarkston?*
3	Leopard Lady	That's rude!
4	Mrs. Thomas	So – I was going to ask you what you thought about that question,
5		you think that's rude, Leopard Lady? Why?
6	Leopard Lady	Because, because – it's like, it's not fair!
7	Mrs. Thomas	Because they don't want them to come?
8	Leopard Lady	And they're, like, refugees... I mean, what is wrong with them...
9		I'm a refugee too, you know....
10	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so you think this is unfair... Okay. Mister Pants?

(February 9, 2018)

In Excerpt 7, Mrs. Thomas initiated a more open connection sequence by asking Leopard Lady to share her thoughts about a particular part of the text that dealt with being a refugee. Unlike more narrow connection sequences, this question invited a wider, or more open range of possible responses. Rather than restating facts about resettlement, in response to Mrs. Thomas' question, Leopard Lady shared her opinion, that the towns people's response was "not fair" (line 6), and added to her response a personal connection, "I'm a refugee too, you know" (line 8). This sequence is exemplary of a pattern I saw in the interactions I categorized as open connection sequences: open connection sequences seemed to encourage students to share a wider range of responses to the texts' portrayal of refugees and people from other countries, including their emotional reactions. Because this sequence concerned being a refugee, one of the themes invoked by Mrs. Thomas at the outset of the group as a potential source of connection for the students, and because the question that initiated this talk seemed to invite a wide range of responses, I categorized the sequence captured in part in Excerpt 7 as an open connection sequence.

In other instances of open connection sequences, Mrs. Thomas seemed to encourage students to share whatever thoughts they had in connection to a topic or passage in the text. This is the case in Excerpt 8, when Mrs. Thomas opened the interaction by asking students if a passage in the text made them think about something outside of the text.

Excerpt 8 Open Connection Request: Civil War

1	Mrs. Thomas	We were talking today about another civil war that was going on
2		in another country. I just am curious if anybody had any thoughts

3		about that, if any part of this made you think about something
4		else?... CR7?
5	CR7	Kind of like the Syrians – this reminds me of Syria right now,
6		because they're like... bombing places, like villages and stuff...
7		with all the people there
8	Mrs. Thomas	How do you know about that?
9	CR7	I just heard it on the news
10	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so that's a good connection that you made with something
11		else – something similar that's happening in another country
12		right now. Jessica?

(March 15, 2018)

In Excerpt 8, Mrs. Thomas prompted students to make a connection between what they read in the text about civil wars and something in their prior knowledge on this subject from outside the text. She invited them to share about "something else" (line 4) other than the text, opening up the range of possible responses students could share and be considered appropriate. In response to this prompt, CR7 shared a connection: the book reminded him of ongoing fighting in Syria (line 5), something that he had heard about in the news (line 9). Because Mrs. Thomas asked students to make a connection to civil war, a topic in the text that was described in connection to refugees from "other" countries, and because this question invited a more "open" range of answers, I categorized the sequence in Excerpt 8 as an open connection sequence.

The sequences in Excerpt 7 and Excerpt 8 exemplify the main distinctions I saw between narrow and open connections sequences. While most of the talk in narrow connection sequences seem centered on more concrete terms or topics, open connection sequences tended to deal with more complex ideas or themes in the text, such as racism against refugees (Excerpt 7) and civil wars, both past and ongoing (Excerpt 8). Additionally, in comparison to narrow connection sequences in which Mrs. Thomas

seemed to be looking for one or a few particular answers, she seemed to encourage a wider or more open range of responses in open connection sequences; students had more freedom to choose the content of their connection. Furthermore, as exemplified in the excerpts in this section, students' turns of talk in open connection sequences tended to be longer or more detailed, and often were specific to their lives and experiences. Out of the eighty sequences that Mrs. Thomas initiated during the book group, thirty-seven were open connection sequences. A list of all the open connection sequences that I identified in the data is included in Table 4.

Table 4 Collection of Open Connection Sequences in the Data

	Date	Open Connection Sequence
1.	17-11-23	So think about the things you've heard other people sharing the things that you have shared or learned... and think about a connection you can make.
2.	17-12-05	Lion King, I saw you light up there – did you read something that reminded you of something?
3.	18-01-11	Why do you think they would do that to kids, [make kids be child soldiers]?
4.	18-01-11	If you are moving to a new place, like a new country, you don't know anything - What would make you feel safe there?
5.	18-02-01	Why do you think that that's racist when similar people are living together?
6.	18-02-01	Do you guys want to share anything else about [Ramadan]? Since you celebrate it?
7.	18-02-09	Why are [the representatives at the refugee resettlement office] concerned that the refugees would be afraid of the police? Why would that be a concern?
8.	18-02-09	So, I was going to ask you what you thought about that question, [*How can we stop the refugees from Coming to Clarkston*?]
9.	18-02-09	Leopard Lady, how do you think people should respond to refugees?

	Date	Open Connection Sequence
10.	18-02-09	Why do you think some of these people don't seem very welcoming [to the refugees]?
11.	18-02-20	Has anyone made any new connections yet, something the book reminds you of, or something you've seen before, something it makes you think about?
12.	18-03-01	Alright, so what seems a little interesting about what Jeremiah just did at soccer practice?
13.	18-03-01	*She's a girl, he said, she doesn't know doesn't know what he's talking about.* Ooo-ooh, what do you think about that?
14.	18-03-06	So, displacement is kind of like, um, to be taken from a familiar place and put in a new place... Can anybody think about how that relates to the story?
15.	18-03-08	*There was a lot of underlying racism and a lot of baggage they brought with them*. What do you guys think about that?
16.	18-03-13	Let's try to think about if you were in that situation. So I said if you are in a group of people... from all different places, so who would you tend to talk to or to go towards?
17.	18-03-15	We were talking today about another civil war that was going on in another country, and I just am curious [...] if any part of this made you think about something else?
18.	18-03-20	*American boys wore their hair long, in braids, like women. They weren't nice either. Some had guns. They fought with each other. They made fun of people from Africa.* I'm going to stop us really quickly though. What do you guys think about that description of American boys?
19.	18-03-20	What do you think of Luma's rule, that she only let them speak English while they were playing soccer, that she didn't want them speaking Swahili or anything?
20.	18-03-22	It seems to me food is a pretty important part of different cultures – but what do you guys think about that?
21.	18-03-22	Do you think that [holiday customs] would go above or below the iceberg? Why?
22.	18-03-29	All right. So where do you think that would go [above or below the iceberg] – the importance of time?
23.	18-03-29	How do you think this concept of the cultural iceberg relates to the story and what's going on [in the book]?

	Date	Open Connection Sequence
24.	18-03-29	What do you guys think about that that that Jeremiah that wants to eat pork anymore since it was against Luma's beliefs? Leopard Lady, what do you think about that?
25.	18-04-12	Do you think you can tell any problems that the Fugees might run into?
26.	18-04-12	So what do you think about that? Why do you think the parents of the Fugees were seen as powerless?
27.	18-04-12	And so it says that her team would be at a disadvantage. So what do you think about that? Well, first of all, what does disadvantaged mean? Star Boy?
28.	18-04-12	So why would they be saying that Luma's team, or the Fugees parents, are at a disadvantage?
29.	18-04-12	So why – why are [the refugee parents] stuck with this situation? Why can't they get something better?
30.	18-04-17	I want you guys in your journals to do kind of a quick write about answering this question – what disadvantages do you think the Fugees facing?
31.	18-04-26	We talked about what the word trauma means – what do you think could be some of the problems that some of the boys might be experiencing?
32.	18-04-26	So, when she was talking about the last third [of her team] who - it says kids that had real problems, unstable families. Why do you think it said that that was the group of kids who needed the Fugees most?
33.	18-04-26	I have one more question... This one is kind of a personal question. But if you want to share, what groups or friends do you have that can help support you through difficulties?
34.	18-05-03	Okay, so this, this brings up a really interesting topic. It's talking about - this particular group of kids [who are] refugees might kind of feel stuck between two worlds. So the one world is kind of their parents and like their home country. And the other world – the new world is now the United States and friends and their peers at school. Do you? Does that make sense to you guys? Have you ever felt kind of a conflict between maybe your, your home culture or country and your family at home, your parents versus when you're at school?
35.	18-05-03	In general, I would think gangs usually aren't good influences. Usually aren't... a positive thing. But, but if that's the case, then why do you think people would want to be in a gang?

	Date	Open Connection Sequence
36.	18-05-03	So why do you guys think of that list of expectations that Luma has for her team? Is it fair? Would you agree to it?
37.	18-05-03	So what do you think is the motivation? What do you think is the motivation behind Luma giving all these expectations to her players and being sort of strict? What do you think?

In conclusion, open connection sequences were often initiated by questions in which Mrs. Thomas invited and encouraged a wider or more open range of responses. Open connection sequences also often included student turns of talk that were longer, more frequent, and more robust. Additionally, it seemed within open connection sequences, Mrs. Thomas more often asked students to explain their reasoning and justify their thinking. In Chapter 5, I further develop these assertions by illustrating how open connection sequences unfolded during connection making events.

Summary: Different Types of Connection Sequences

Not surprisingly, teacher questioning plays a powerful role in shaping classroom discourse, both in terms of how questions shape students' immediate responses and the overall, unfolding interactional sequence (Boyd, 2015; Boyd & Rubin, 2006; Daniel et al., 2016; Edwards-groves, 2017; Kim, 2010; Mehan, 1979; Mohr & Mohr, 2007). Analyzing how teachers initiate classroom discourse is all the more important when we consider display and development to be represented together in student talk; students display their knowledge (and language abilities) when they talk, and in talking, they also develop their knowledge and language abilities, both through sharing and through receiving feedback on what they have shared. This is not just a framework for understanding language in research projects, but rather this mindset is also reflected in

U.S. schools; Philips (1972) described how "the process of *acquisition* of knowledge and *demonstration* of knowledge collapses into the single act of answering questions or reciting when called upon to do so by the teacher" (p. 388, emphasis original). Therefore, in order to understand *what* and *how* students made connections to the text, I must also account for the ways the teacher shaped the connections students made through the different categories of connection sequences that she initiated during book group meetings.

Allocating Turns of Talk in Connection Sequences

In the previous section, I described how Mrs. Thomas shaped *what* and *how* students made connections to *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) through different types of connection sequences. Within these connection sequences, Mrs. Thomas also shaped the connections students made to the text through how she allocated turns of talk. In this third and final section of this chapter, I focus on the turn economies Mrs. Thomas used to allocate turns of talk in connection sequences. I use the term "turn economies" (Philips, 1983) to refer to what has also been described as "participation structures" (Au, 1980) and "participation frameworks" (Goodwin, 1990), or the "shared expectations among participants regarding the patterns of turn-taking protocols for a particular type of situation or event" (Bloome et al., 2005, p. 24). In this dissertation, I prefer "turn economies" (Philips, 1983) because within this term, "economy" can best be understood as "the way in which something is managed; the management of resources" ("Economy, n.," 2008), where the "resource" being managed by the teacher is the interactional floor. Because English learners in particular need to be able to talk in class in order to use and

develop language, the conceptualization of turn economies captures well the importance of the turn allocation and the interactional floor as a resource to be distributed.

In the remainder of this chapter, I explore the turn economies used by Mrs. Thomas, or the ways turns of talk were allocated that made up the "official structure of classroom interaction" (Philips, 1983, p. 74). To describe the different turn economies used by Mrs. Thomas during the book group, I draw heavily on the terminology used by Philips (1972, 1983), who analyzed turn allocations and teacher-led systems for regulating talk in classrooms on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. In analyzing data, I identified three different turn economies used by Mrs. Thomas: (1) first come, first served; (2) round; and (3) individual student selection. The first two turn economies (first come, first served, and round) are Philips' terms. The last turn economy (individual student selection) is one I created to describe a way of allocating turns of talk that for which Philips does not have a term.

First Come, First Served

Perhaps the most common and familiar allocation of student turns in K-12 classrooms is what Philips (1983) deemed the "first come, first served" turn economy. Philips characterized a first come, first served turn economy as one in which "the first child to raise a hand, or one of those among the first, is called on" (p. 78). Once the first child's turn is complete, the teacher may move on, and call on additional students, one at a time, to answer the same question or related follow up questions. The first come, first served system of allocating turns of talk was the most frequent turn economy used by Mrs. Thomas during book group meetings.

Similar to Philips (1983), I found that although the teacher in my study generally used the process described above, there were variations. For instance, Mrs. Thomas often called on a student who had not necessarily raised their hand first, but was the most vocal in bidding for turns of talk – or, what I often heard as an elementary school teacher, the student who had a "noisy hand." This was the case in Excerpt 9, when Mrs. Thomas called on Lion King after she vocally indicated she wanted to be called on.

Excerpt 9 First Come, First Served Turn Economy: Veteran

1	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, that word has come up before – veteran. Who knows what a
2		veteran is?
3		((multiple students raise their hands))
4	Lion King	Oh, uh! ((waving hand back and forth 3in air))
5	Mrs. Thomas	Lion King, would you like to share?

(April 26, 2018)

Alternatively, there were interactions in which Mrs. Thomas asked the students to not call out, and would wait to call on a student who raised a "quiet hand," even if this student was not among the first to bid for the floor. This was the case in Excerpt 10, when Mrs. Thomas allocated the first turn of talk to Jessica, even though she did not raise her hand or speak first.

Excerpt 10 First Come, First Served Turn Economy: Welcoming

1	Mrs. Thomas	Why do you think some of these people don't seem very
2		welcoming?
3		((Leopard Lady raises her hand, followed by Jessica))
4	Leopard Lady	Because they're rude
5	Mrs. Thomas	Wait, Jessica, what do you think?

(February 9, 2018)

There were also instances when Mrs. Thomas called on various students to answer the same prompt, but asked follow up questions after each student she called on to

help ‘funnel’ students (cf. Herbel-Eisenmann & Breyfogle, 2005) to a particular response. This was the case in Transcript 13 in Chapter 5, where Mrs. Thomas called on seven students for the meaning of the phrase “the older residents of Clarkston simply retreated into their homes.” In both of these instances, Mrs. Thomas asked follow-up questions to help guide students to a preferred response, and continued to call on students not because she wanted a diversity of responses, but because the previous responses had not yet satisfied the question at hand.

Mrs. Thomas’ use of a first come, first served turn economy impacted *what* and *how* students made connections to the text in several ways. First, the number of students who could share their responses in a connection sequence was limited by who was called on first, and the extent to which the first student’s response satisfied the question the teacher asked. Second, although there were times Mrs. Thomas held space (cf. Hikida, 2018) for (quieter) students, or allocated turns of talk specifically to students who tended not to speak as much, by and large when Mrs. Thomas used a first come, first served economy, the students who responded loudest and/or quickest were called on first. As the first come, first served turn economy was the one primarily used by Mrs. Thomas to allocate turns of talk, the amount of data I collected on individual students’ connection making practices is significantly larger for students who raised their hands early and often during connection making events.

Round

Another common turn economy used by Mrs. Thomas to allocate turns of talk during connection sequences was a *round.* In a round turn economy, “the teacher

systematically calls on every student who is party to the interaction, one after another" (Philips, 1983, p. 77). Mrs. Thomas followed a procedure almost identical to what Philips (1983) described. She would call on each student who had their hand raised one at a time, typically offering a brief comment on their response (e.g., a partial re-voice and/or positive evaluation) before calling on another student. Excerpt 11 is characteristic of how Mrs. Thomas would orchestrate a round.

Excerpt 11 Round Turn Economy: Safety

1	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, what about safety? If you are moving to a new place, like a
2		new country, you don't know anyone – what would make you feel
3		safe there... Leopard Lady?
4	Leopard Lady	... Like, people that can help you in your home, your house, like,
5		move and stuff?
6	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so people that could help you would help you feel safe.
7		Lion King?
8	Lion King	Friendly neighbors
9	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, friendly neighbors, that was good. Captain Bad Hair Cut?
10	Captain BHC	Like, like – like, knowing that you're always safe, and like people
11		are going to be there for you
12	Mrs. Thomas	knowing that people are going to be there for you... um, CR7[...]

(January 11, 2018)

In Excerpt 11, Mrs. Thomas called on multiple students to respond to the question: "If you are moving to a new place[...] what would make you feel safe?" (line 1). After she called on Leopard Lady (line 4), Lion King (line 8), and Captain Bad Hair Cut (line 10), Mrs. Thomas called on three more students before closing this connection sequence. As evident in Excerpt 11, in a round turn economy, Mrs. Thomas allocated turns of talk to individual students one at a time using an approach that could be described as an Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) structure (Mehan, 1979): She called on one student at a time to answer the question (Initiation), the student responded to this question

(Response), and then Mrs. Thomas evaluated the students' response (Evaluation) and called on the next student.

In a slight variation to what Philips (1983) found in her work, when Mrs. Thomas used this turn economy during book group meetings, I never observed her 'forcing' a student to participate, or pushing every student present to share. She would often gently encourage students who had not initially raised their hands by inviting them by name to share their contribution once she had called on the first wave of volunteers: "Jessica, would you like to share your thoughts?" or "Mister Pants, would you like to go next?" However, based on my observations, she did not punish students for not talking, nor did she pressure students to share who did not want to. When she allocated turns of talk in a round, Mrs. Thomas sometimes prompted the group as a whole toward the end of the round with a comment like, "anyone else want to share before we move on?" By the end of a connection sequence in which Mrs. Thomas initiated a round to allocate student talk, typically all but one or two students had volunteered to share their response.

A round turn economy also impacted *what* and *how* students made connection to the text. If Mrs. Thomas set up the connection sequence by announcing she wanted to hear from everyone, almost all students ended up participating in the subsequent interaction. It seemed more students participated in connection sequences organized by a round both because they knew they were expected to participate, and also because they had time to think through what they wanted to share and did not have to compete with other students for a turn of talk, as was sometimes the case with a first come, first served economy. Alternatively, in setting up the expectation that everyone was to participate, the

round turn economy obligated students to generate connections to the text, which may have inadvertently encouraged students to generate false connections in an effort to perform for the teacher (Jones & Clarke, 2007). Taken together, the round turn economy had both benefits and drawbacks in facilitating students' connection making practices.

Individual Student Selection

The third way I observed Mrs. Thomas allocating turns of talk was by selecting an individual student to respond at the beginning of the connection sequence. In a first come, first served system, an individual student was selected to respond after the question was issued to the whole group. Alternatively, in an individual student selection turn economy, Mrs. Thomas appeared to be directing the first question to a particular student. This turn economy was perhaps the most easily identifiable, as Mrs. Thomas almost always said the selected student's name before asking the question – e.g., "Lion King, what's a mosque?" (February 1, 2018) and "Leopard Lady, how do you think people should respond to refugees?" (February 9, 2018).

While nominating students before they have a chance to volunteer to speak can sometimes be used as a coercive classroom management strategy – a 'gotcha' for a student the teacher presumes to be 'off-task' – I did not observe this in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group. When Mrs. Thomas used an individual student selection turn economy, it seemed she was selecting specific students to respond for a few different reasons. At times, she seemed to select students when she thought they might have insight or knowledge about a particular topic related to their personal experience. For example, when the group read a passage of text that mentioned a mosque,

Mrs. Thomas selected Lion King to draw on her personal experience and insight to explain what a mosque is: "Lion King, what's a mosque?" (February 1, 2018) she asked, initiating a connection sequence that is analyzed in in Chapter 5 (see Transcript 3). As I demonstrate in Chapter 5, Lion King had a tendency to make connections to the text that concerned cultural or religious content, and in particular, Somali culture and Islam. Therefore, based on the ethnographic understandings I developed during data collection and my analysis of Lion King's connection making practices, I have come to see Mrs. Thomas' selection of Lion King as a purposeful effort to engage a student with a topic to which they were connected.

There were also instances when Mrs. Thomas selected a student to respond to a question because the student had seemed to indicate their interest in the topic at hand. For example, after Leopard Lady expressed frustration with the characters in the text who rejected refugees, and made the connection "I'm a refugee too, you know" (February 9, 2018, Excerpt 7), Mrs. Thomas later asked her to respond to the following question: "Leopard Lady, how do you think people should respond to refugees?" (February 9, 2018). After Leopard Lady gave her response, Mrs. Thomas invited more students to respond as well, transitioning to a round turn economy. In another example of individual student selection from the beginning of the book group, Mrs. Thomas read Lion King's nonverbal cues as interest in the text, and then asked her specifically if she had a connection to the text: "Okay stop there just a second – Lion King, I saw you light up there. Did something remind you of something?" (December 7, 2017). In these two

examples, it seemed Mrs. Thomas was intentional in selecting students whom she perceived to be interested in sharing.

In other instances, it seemed Mrs. Thomas used individual student selection to equalize the distribution of turns among group members. For example, I observed Mrs. Thomas use individual student selection to give a turn to a student who did not raise their hand fast enough to be called on first in a first come, first served economy. I saw this occur in the data when students had raised their hand to respond to the previous question and had not been called on, and Mrs. Thomas would select them to respond to the next question she had. For example, Mrs. Thomas selected Star Boy to respond to the question, "Star Boy, what's a gang?" after he had raised his hand to answer the previous question and Mrs. Thomas called on five of his peers (May 3, 2018). In another instance, Mrs. Thomas selected Jessica, asking, "Jessica, do you remember what civil war means?" (March 5, 2018), after she raised her hand to respond to the previous question but was not called on.

Mrs. Thomas' use of an individual student selection turn economy thus shaped *what* and *how* students made connections in several ways. First, in selecting a specific student and calling them out by name, she obligated this student to respond, which may have inadvertently forced students to generate a connection when they did not necessarily have one. For example, when Mrs. Thomas selected Jessica for the question "do you remember what civil war means?" Jessica smiled, raised her eyebrows, and responded, "a war?" The brevity, vagueness, and questioning tone of Jessica's reply seemed to indicate she did not necessarily have an answer to this question, but she gave a response anyway

because Mrs. Thomas selected her. Alternatively, when Mrs. Thomas selected individual students, it often seemed to be because she thought they had expertise on a given topic, as with the example of asking Lion King, "what is a mosque" (February 1, 2018). In selecting a student to respond, she positioned them as knowledgeable about the topic in question, as an authority on the matters at hand. As with the previous two turn economies, the practice of individually selecting students to respond to connection requests shaped students' connection making practices in multiple ways.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the practices that Mrs. Thomas enacted that shaped *what* and *how* students made connections during *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group meetings. First, I considered how Mrs. Thomas laid the foundation for future connection making events on the first day of the book group by how she introduced connection making as a literacy practice. In this section, I highlighted how Mrs. Thomas shaped students' connections by how she explained the different kinds of connections students could make – text-to-self, text-to-text, and text-to-world – and by how she proposed the text's portrayal of refugees and of cultural difference as a potential source of connection for the students in the book group. I then overviewed the different categories of connection sequences that Mrs. Thomas initiated during book group meetings, namely, narrow and open connection sequences. I discussed how these two kinds of sequences shaped students' connection making practices and available positions in various ways. Last, I described the primary three turn economies Mrs. Thomas used to allocate turns of talk during connection sequences – a first come, first served turn

economy, a round turn economy, and an individual student selection turn economy – and the drawbacks and affordances of each turn economy for *what* and *how* students made connections.

In providing an overview of these practices, I lay the foundation for Chapter 5 in which I shift my focus analytically from teacher practices to extended connection sequences, the co-construction of text connections, and positioning by students and the teacher during connection making events. In the next chapter, I explore in detail *what* connections students made to the text and *how* students made these connections in and through language. With regards to Mrs. Thomas, the following chapter builds on the findings presented here by exploring how Mrs. Thomas as the teacher shaped the connections students made through how she positioned students vis a vis the text and one another in ongoing talk during connection making events.

Chapter 5. Connection Making Events

In this chapter, I explore how students and their teacher co-constructed connections to the text during connection making events during *Outcasts United* (St John, 2012) book group meetings. Specifically, I look at *what* connections focal students made to the text and *how* they made these connections in and through language during book group meetings. The previous chapter examined the practices the teacher used that shaped *what* and *how* students made connections. In the present chapter, I shift my analytical focus from teacher practices to specific events that exemplify how two focal students made connections to the text through talk and interaction during book group meetings. My analyses of events focuses on individual students while accounting for how the teacher, the other students, and the larger activity setting of the book group influenced *what* and *how* students made connections. In this chapter, I also highlight how students' connection making and positioning were co-constructed and interrelated practices that took place in and through interaction during book group meetings.

To explore how the connections were co-constructed by students and their teacher during book group meetings, I used discourse analytic methods to identify how participants positioned (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Lagenhove, 1999) themselves and one another in their ongoing talk during connection making events. In particular, I looked at how participants positioned themselves and others in relation to the

content of the text – e.g., as similar to the refugees depicted in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) – and in relation to each other in the book group – e.g., as having the expertise necessary to talk about a specific topic. In focusing on the complex ways positions were proposed and taken up, or rejected and resisted, I aim to trouble how making connections to texts is theorized, researched, and put into practice with linguistically and culturally diverse students.

When I chose the events I analyzed in this chapter, I looked at interactions that were initiated by connection sequences. As I described in the previous chapter, I use the term *connection sequence* to refer to sequences of talk in which Mrs. Thomas asked (1) questions about the texts that prompted students to make connections to their personal experiences as refuges or as people from "other" countries; or (2) questions to help students understand depictions of refugees or of people from "other" countries in the text, parts of the text she suggested students would connect with because they reflected their lives. In this chapter, I refer to extended sequences of talk that were initiated by connection sequences as *connection making events*. Through analyzing each connection making event in the data, I identified patterns for how connections were co-constructed by students and the teacher through talk and interaction. The examples I include in this chapter also demonstrate the multiple ways teachers and students positioned themselves and one another as they made connections to the text. Rather than revealing a singular connection making pattern that took place over and over again, my analysis highlights the complex ways connections and positions were co-constructed in the moment-to-moment interactions that took place during book group meetings

The content (*what*) of students' connections and the language they used (*how*) to make these connections was different for each student in the book group. The connection making practices of two focal students, Lion King and Leopard Lady, are presented in this chapter. Out of the twelve students in the book group, I selected Lion King and Leopard Lady as focal students because they often played a prominent role in connection making events, and because they made connections in very different ways. In my analysis, I focus on how the focal students and the teacher positioned themselves and one another through talk and interaction as they made connections to the text.

Chapter Organization

In this chapter, I describe how Lion King and Leopard Lady made connections through talk and interaction during book group meetings. For each student, I first describe the general theme I observed in the content (*what*) of the connections the student made. For example, for Lion King, I observed a theme of cultural and religious content in the connections she made to the text. Second, I explain the overall pattern I observed regarding *how* the student made connections through talk and interaction during connection making events. For example, regarding Lion King's participation in connection making events, one of the patterns I observed was her tendency to protest the connections made by others until she was given permission to speak and hold the interactional floor; in this section for Lion King, I describe generally what I observed in the data that led me to characterize this particular approach to participation as *protestation* (terminology mine). Third, I analyze three different connection making events from the data that exemplify the identified pattern of interaction. For each

example, I give the context of the event, including a brief explanation of what occurred in the activity setting leading up to the event. I then present and analyze a transcript of the event, paying attention to how connection sequences were co-constructed through talk and interaction, and how participants positioned themselves and others as they made connections to the text. For each student, I present two different patterns of connection making practices, and for each pattern, I include three connection making events that exemplify that particular pattern.

Lion King's Patterns for Making Connections

As described in Chapter 3, at the time of data collection, Lion King was a fifth grade student who spoke English and Somali. When Lion King was a child, she and her family were resettled in the North Riverside area from a refugee camp in Kenya. During the *Outcasts United* book group, Lion King participated in forty-eight of the eighty connection making events I identified in the data. When I analyzed the connection making events that Lion King participated in, I observed a theme in the content (*what*) of her connections: In twenty-one of the forty-eight connection making events Lion King participated in, her connections were about culture or religion. In the six examples included in this chapter, the content of Lion Kings connections were: (1) the name for a mosque; (2) the importance of time for Muslims because they pray five times a day; (3) whether or not Ramadan is considered a holiday; (4) the name of a type of clothing worn to Qur'anic schools; (5) the practice of wearing henna for wedding and religious holidays; and (6) specific Somali foods. As I will demonstrate in my analysis, when Lion King made connections to culture or religion, she tended to position herself as an expert

on the particular cultural or religious matter in question, where as an expert can be understood as "a person who has a comprehensive and authoritative knowledge of or skill in a particular area" (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). One of the primary ways she positioned herself as an expert or knowledgeable on cultural or religious matters was by using language that positioned herself as a part of the group or people in question – i.e., Somalians or Muslims – and thus as an authority on the cultural content in question.

Making Connections Through Protestation

When Lion King made cultural and religious connections, I noticed one of the primary ways she used language to make these connections was through protestation. The Oxford English Dictionary defines protestation as "an emphatic declaration that something is or is not the case." In the data, Lion King's protests typically took the form of her repeatedly calling out to voice disagreement or a counter perspective, in spite of the possible disinterest signaled by her teacher's or her peers' reactions (or lack thereof). Lion King also often persisted in calling out and repeating parts of her connection until she gained permission from Mrs. Thomas to speak and to share her connection without competing for the interactional floor and with extended turns of talk. Additionally, when Mrs. Thomas tried to close a connection sequence and Lion King was not yet ready to yield the floor, Lion King would often speak without being called on, adding details to her connection. The first three examples in this section are illustrative of Lion King's pattern of making connections through protestation.

Example 1: What's a Mosque? This first example demonstrates how Lion King's tendency to make cultural or religious connections (*what*) through protestation

(*how*) and Mrs. Thomas' response to this strategy seemed to co-construct a context where Lion King's connection was left unexplored and her self-positioning as an authority on this topic was not taken up or reinforced by the rest of the book group. In this connection making event, Lion King protested the use and spelling of the word "mosque" in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012), positioning herself as an expert on this particular religious matter.

This first example is from a book group meeting in which the participation framework was typical of most book group meetings: Everyone sat in a circle and took turns reading *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) out loud, and Mrs. Thomas occasionally stopped the group to ask the students questions related to what they were reading. Immediately preceding the interaction in Transcript 3, the last sentence in the section of *Outcasts United* read aloud by Captain Bad Hair Cut mentioned a mosque: "A mosque opened up on Indian Creek Drive, just across the street from the elementary and high schools, and began to draw hundreds of worshipers" (St. John, 2012, p. 28). While Captain Bad Hair Cut was reading, I noted Lion King was not looking at the book in her lap, but was rather "staring into space; she looks zoned out" (Fieldnotes, February 1, 2018).

In Transcript 3, Mrs. Thomas initiated the interaction with a narrow connection sequence and employed an individual student selection turn economy and allocated the first turn of talk to Lion King. In this example, Lion King used protestation to try to reposition herself as an expert on this topic and to regain the interactional floor to

elaborate on her connection. Despite her repeated protests, Mrs. Thomas does not re-allocate the interactional floor to Lion King.

Transcript 3 Lion King Asserts a Different Word for Mosques

1	Mrs. Thomas	((to Captain Bad Hair Cut when he finishes reading)) Good
2		((looks at Lion King)) Lion King, what's a mosque
3	Lion King	Hmm?
4	Mrs. Thomas	What's a mosque?
5	Lion King	... I don't know what that means
6	Mrs. Thomas	Can someone else tell me? What is a mosque? Jessica
7	Lion King	Oh:: you mean a=
8	Jessica	=It's a place where we pray
9	Lion King	It's a masjid
10	Mrs. Thomas	((looking at Jessica)) And for what religion?
11	Jessica	Islam
12	Lion King	Islam
13	Mrs. Thomas	((still looking at Jessica, nods head)) Islam
14	Lion King	And it's called a masjid not a mosque
15	Mrs. Thomas	Well, maybe, I mean, the English word sounds different
16	Lion King	And they spelled it wrong
17	Emma	No, that's how you spell it
18	Mrs. Thomas	Well, this is how they spell it in English. They say Mosque.
19		You probably have a different word in... in your language. ((To
20		whole class)) Okay, so this is – they're describing how the
21		town is changing because of the people that are living there.
22		Okay, um... moving on... ((asks a student to read)

(February 1, 2018)

The co-construction of this connection making event begins in the first few lines of this interaction. After Captain Bad Hair Cut finished reading, Mrs. Thomas asked Lion King "what is a mosque?" (line 2). Because Lion King did not provide an answer to Mrs. Thomas and responded that she did not know (line 5), Mrs. Thomas opened the question up to the rest of the group (line 6). Lion King had positioned herself as not knowing and subsequently lost her turn of talk. In line 7, when Lion King seemed to realize what was going on and she did indeed have an answer, Mrs. Thomas has already moved on and

appointed Jessica to explain what a mosque is. Not acknowledging Lion King's bid for the floor in line 7, Jessica responded to Mrs. Thomas' question: "It's a place where we pray" (line 8). In the next turn of talk, Lion King uttered her first protestation, her disagreement with what she perceived to be an incorrect idea, that the "place where we pray" (line 8) was called a masjid, not a mosque (line 9).

However, Lion King's protest was not acknowledged by Mrs. Thomas or Jessica. Rather, Mrs. Thomas gave Jessica another turn of talk by asking her a follow up question (line 10). After Jessica answered (line 11), Lion King again bid for the floor, repeating Jessica's answer and thereby repositioning herself as knowledgeable about the topic at hand (line 12). Mrs. Thomas positively evaluated Jessica's answer – she nodded her head affirmatively and repeated her response verbatim, indicating Jessica had given an acceptable response (line 13). In looking directly at Jessica as she gave this feedback, Mrs. Thomas seemed to single out Jessica (and not Lion King) as the recipient of her approval. In repositioning Lion King as outside the conversation, Mrs. Thomas continued to construct a sequence in which Lion King made connections through protestation.

After Mrs. Thomas positively evaluated Jessica's response (line 13), Lion King continued to make a connection by protestation. She bid again for the floor in line 14, repeating her disagreement that "it's called a masjid not a mosque" (line 14). In response, Mrs. Thomas did not defer to Lion King's expertise on this topic as a Muslim or ask follow-up questions, but rather proposed an alternate explanation: "Maybe, I mean, the English word sounds different" (line 15). When Mrs. Thomas again does not yield the floor, Lion King added to her protest: the book "spelled it wrong" (line 16), 'it' being a

mosque/masjid. She repositions herself again as knowing, as an authority on the topic at hand. In her response to Lion King's last protest, Mrs. Thomas used pronouns that positioned Lion King as a speaker of a different language: she reiterated "this is how they spell it in English. They say Mosque" (line 18), and Lion King was "probably" thinking of a different word, a word from "your language" (line 19), a language that was not English. Though she selected Lion King to explain mosques at the beginning of the interaction, at the close of this connection making event, Lion King turns of talk seem to be met with more resistance from Mrs. Thomas.

In sum, the interaction captured in Transcript 3 illustrates the complicated ways connection making was a co-constructed practice involving the teacher and students during book group meetings. The content of Lion King's connection to the text seemed based on her prior knowledge and personal experiences as a Muslim and as an Arabic speaker. In her connection, Lion King invoked one of the themes Mrs. Thomas had suggested would be a source of connection between *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) and the students in the book group, the theme of being from an "other" country or culture. However, *how* Lion King made this connection seemed to inhibit her participation in the book group and the extent to which she could explain or elaborate on the content (*what*) of what she wanted to share.

Example 2. The Importance of Time. In this next example of how connections were co-constructed through talk and interaction, Lion King made a religious connection (*what*) to her knowledge of Islam as part of her protestation (*how*) of Mrs. Thomas' generalization about the concept of time in "other" cultures. To make this connection, she

positioned herself as a Muslim who prays five times a day, and thus as an authority on the importance of time for "other" cultures. After repeatedly protesting Mrs. Thomas' commentary without acknowledgement from her teacher or her peers, Lion King gained permission to speak from Mrs. Thomas and changed her approach, shifting from protestation to teaching.

This example is from a lesson where the book group discussed whether different "features of culture" were visible or invisible to a cultural outsider. Mrs. Thomas compared these different visible or invisible cultural features to the parts of an iceberg that are visible above the water line or invisible below the water line:

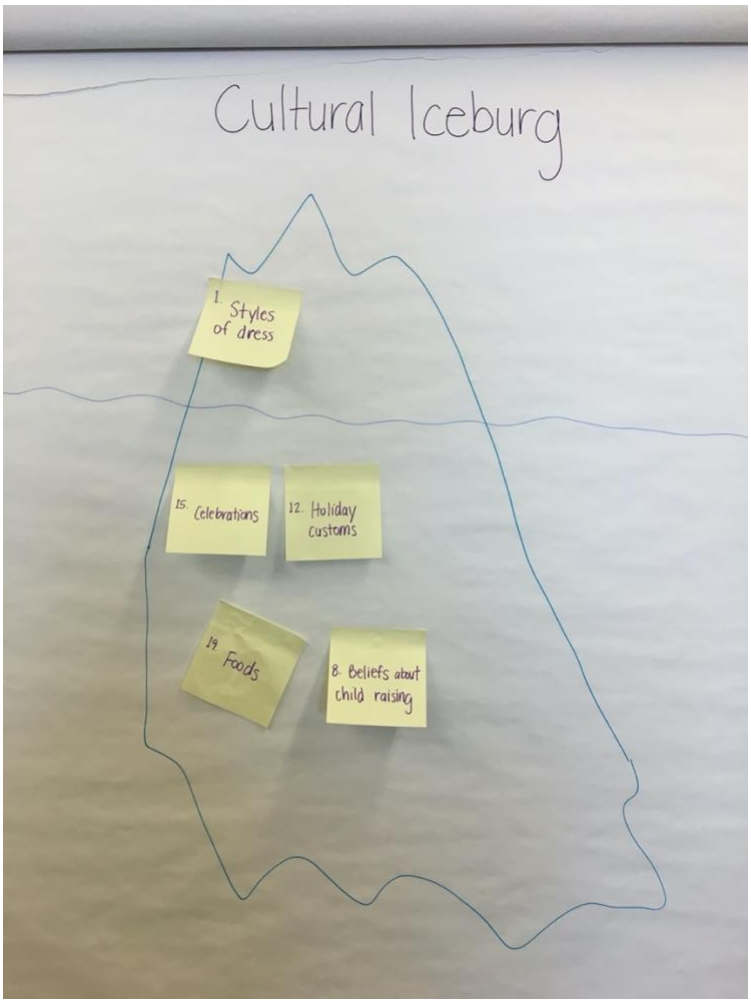
> In the same way that an iceberg only has a little bit showing above the water that you can see, but a lot more of it under water that you cannot see, we're going to compare this to culture. So culture can be the same way. (March 22, 2018)

Using the iceberg as a metaphor, Mrs. Thomas proposed different features of culture – such as food, dress, and hospitality – and asked the students to evaluate each idea:

> Would [these ideas] go on the top of the iceberg, which means when people who maybe don't know you, they're like just looking at you - would they be able to know this about your culture? Or is it something that's below that iceberg? Which means it's something you cannot see? (March 22, 2018)

After they discussed each feature of culture, the students represented their decision visually by putting a sticky note with the cultural feature written on it onto a picture of an iceberg drawn on chart paper. Figure 1 is a photograph I took of the iceberg chart paper during this activity.

Figure 1 Cultural Iceberg Activity, March 22, 2018



Note: From top to bottom, left to right, the sticky notes read: Styles of dress, Celebrations, Holidays, Foods, and Beliefs about child raising

In Transcript 4, Mrs. Thomas asked the book group to consider if "the importance of time" was a visible or an invisible feature of culture. She began this connection making event by invoking a theme she proposed on the first day of the book group – the difference between the United States and "other" cultures. Transcript 4, Part 1 captures Mrs. Thomas' talk and Lion King's repeated protests as she spoke.

Transcript 4 Lion King Protests the Importance of Time, Part 1

1	Mrs. Thomas	The importance of time – it's talking literally about time, like
2		the – like the clock. So like, in American culture, time is very
3		important. There's very strict schedules. There's deadlines, a
4		time when something starts and a time when something ends,
5		and you are expected to be there when it starts, if not early. You
6		know? And if you get there late, sometimes that's looked down
7		upon… But in other cultures, sometimes time isn't really that
8		important=
9	Lion King	=yes it is=
10	Mrs. Thomas	=Like, if you say what time does the party start, and they say,
11		oh, you know, noon, but, say you get there at noon, and
12		nobody's really ready for the party. Because they're just kind of
13		enjoying life, taking their time=
14	Lion King	=but it does=
15	Mrs. Thomas	=So, so time isn't that strict or important.
16	Lion King	It IS, it is=
17	Star Boy	=Oh for me, if you don't go straight on time you don't get no
18		food
19	Mrs. Thomas	For what – for you?
20	Lion King	Even for praying=
21	Star Boy	=We had this big party for my brother's birthday, our cousins
22		came two minutes late and by the time they start everybody
23		already got food there
24	Mrs. Thomas	So they missed out? Because they weren't on time
25	Star Boy	Almost! All of us gave them some
26	Lion King	((raises hand and waves it over her head))
27	Mrs. Thomas	Okay. Leopard Lady
28	Leopard Lady	To ours is not that way – if you go somewhere, if you like, go
29		somewhere in a meeting or something, yes. It's like, it's
30		important. But then like a birthday party or something and it
31		starts at noon... We probably go later than that, because there's
32		going to be so many people crowded and stuff like that.

(March 22, 2018)

In Transcript 4, the unfolding interaction is co-constructed by Lion King's repeated protests and bid for the floor, and Mrs. Thomas' lack of acknowledgement of her protests. Specifically, in the beginning of this connection making event, Lion King participated by protesting Mrs. Thomas' positioning of people from "other" cultures as

sometimes having a relationship with time that contrasted to American culture. When Mrs. Thomas claimed that "in other cultures, sometimes time isn't really that important" (lines 7-8), Lion King called out "Yes it is" (line 9), using absolute language to protest this characterization. Mrs. Thomas continued to talk without acknowledging Lion King's protest, and described how events may not start on time because the hosts are "just kind of enjoying life, taking their time" (lines 12-13). Lion King then protested this description, calling out "but it does" (line 14), the conjunction "but" marking her disagreement. Mrs. Thomas again continued talking without acknowledging Lion King's protest, concluding her explanation with "so time isn't that strict or important" (line 15). Lion King protested a third time, calling out "It IS, it is" (line 16), with particularly stress on the "is," highlighting the issue she took with Mrs. Thomas' statement.

However, before Lion King had the chance to elaborate on her disagreement with Mrs. Thomas in line 16, Star Boy began to share (line 17) and Lion King stopped talking. After Star Boy shared a connection he had to topic with his life (lines 17-18) and Mrs. Thomas asked him a follow up question (line 19), Lion King again bid for the floor, this time by sharing specific information about her point of protest: "Even for praying" (line 20). Despite Lion King's increasingly emphatic efforts to gain the interactional floor, Mrs. Thomas and Star Boy do not position her as a participant in the conversation. In the first half of this connection making event, Mrs. Thomas ignored Lion King's bids for the floor, and Lion King's talk was thus limited to short protests and truncated turns of talk that she seemed to interject in the momentary pauses between her peers' sanctioned turns.

After Star Boy finished his story (lines 21-23, 25), Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady, who also shared an example of how time was approached in her culture (lines 28-32). While her peers shared, Lion King continued to raise her hand to indicate she had something to share, but she was not called on. In the second half of this interaction captured in Part 2 of Transcript 4, Lion King persisted in her protestation until she was given permission to speak by Mrs. Thomas and the opportunity to elaborate on her protest by making a connection to how she observed prayer as a Muslim.

Transcript 4 Lion King Protests the Importance of Time, Part 2

33	Mrs. Thomas	((turns to Mister Pants)) So what do we think, Mister Pants?
34		[importance of time] go above or below?
35	Mister Pants	Below
36	Mrs. Thomas	Yeah, probably importance of time isn't something you'd really
37		be able to see, necessarily=
38	Lion King	=it is something=
39	Mrs. Thomas	=unless you're expecting someone to show up for something and
40		they and they don't, or they're not there on time. If they're part of
41		a different culture, and you have different understandings of time,
42		that could be something you can see=
43	Lion King	=But Mrs. Thomas, IT IS important!
44	Mrs. Thomas	Yes, Lion King?=
45	Lion King	=because if you're praying or something you need to be exactly
46		on time ((moves right hand up and down perpendicular to flat left
47		hand, punctuating words 'exactly on time')).
48	Mrs. Thomas	Oh::, okay. So in your culture, that – that's something – an
49		importance of time=
50	Lion King	=because in our culture we have to pray five times a day
51	Star Boy	FIVE TIMES!
52	Lion King	Yeah, a day, every day, five times... ((more quiet)) what's wrong
53		with that?
54	Star Boy	Je::sus!
55	Mrs. Thomas	Hey, don't say that, please. Star Boy, what's your next one?
56		[referring to next concept for the iceberg activity]

March 22, 2018

In Part 2 of Transcript 4, Lion King successfully gained permission to speak and hold the floor by addressing her teacher directly: “But Mrs. Thomas, it is important” (line 43). Once Mrs. Thomas yielded the floor to Lion King (line 44), Lion King used extended turns of talk to make a connection to her prayer practice as a Muslim, positioning herself as an expert on this topic based on her cultural experiences. In her connection, she stressed that for prayer, “you need to be exactly on time” (lines 45-47), emphasizing each word in “exactly on time” by moving her right hand up and down, perpendicular to her flat left hand. When Mrs. Thomas began to give feedback on her explanation (lines 48-49), Lion King elaborated on her reasoning, stating “because in our culture we pray five times a day” (line 56). She used the pronouns “we” and “our” to reinforce her positioning as a cultural insider, and thus as an authority on the matter she described.

In sum, the connection making event captured in Transcript 4 is another example of how connection making was a co-constructed practice during book group meetings. When Lion King bid attempted to gain the interactional floor through protestation, Mrs. Thomas tended to not respond. When Mrs. Thomas did not acknowledge her, Lion King’s participation was limited to protests and shortened turns of talk. However, Lion King persisted until her actions yielded what she wanted from Mrs. Thomas: she protested six times before Mrs. Thomas gave her permission to speak and positioned as a participant in the conversation. When Mrs. Thomas gave her permission to talk, the language Lion King used (*how*) changed and the content of her talk (*what*) shifted to a more didactic approach in which she used longer turns of talk with more detailed

explanations concerning a connection she could make to her own life. In this connection sequence, it seems Lion King and Mrs. Thomas co-constructed *what* and *how* Lion King made connections through talk and interaction in this connection making event.

Example 3. It's Not a Holiday. In this last example of how Lion King tended to make connections through protestation, Lion King made another religious connection (*what*) as part of her protestation (*how*) of Mrs. Thomas' and her peers' explanations of Ramadan. In this interaction, while Mrs. Thomas did not respond to Lion King's initial protestations, she eventually rearranges the interactional floor and gives Lion King permission to speak and share her explanation of Ramadan.

Immediately preceding the interaction captured in Transcript 5, the class had read the following sentence in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012): "A third of the students at the local elementary school skip lunch during Ramadan" (p. 29). Mrs. Thomas initiated this narrow connection sequence by prompting students for their definition of Ramadan using a first come, first served turn economy. In this interaction, Lion King's protests became increasingly insistent until Mrs. Thomas gave her permission to speak and to share her own experience of Ramadan.

Transcript 5 Lion King Asserts Ramadan is Not a Holiday

1	Mrs. Thomas	Who can explain what Ramadan means?
2	Lion King	Ramzan
3	Mrs. Thomas	((pointing at text)) that word is capitalized
4	Lion King	Ramzan
5	Mrs. Thomas	Leopard Lady?
6	Leopard Lady	Like it's like a religion that they celebrate=
7	Lion King	=It's not a religion
8	Leopard Lady	It's like a holiday=
9	Lion King	=It's not a holiday((turns to Mrs. Thomas)) It's not a holiday.
10		That's Eid

11	Mrs. Thomas	Captain Bad Hair Cut?
12	Captain BHC	On Ramadan, like, a lot of like Muslim and Islamic people, they
13		go somewhere=
14	Lion King	=That's Eid
15	Mrs. Thomas	Let him talk please
16	Leopard Lady	((makes mock outrage face at Lion King)) Yeah!
17	Captain BHC	Yeah, and then they don't they don't come to school or anything
18		they just stay home, I think they fast
19	Mrs. Thomas	Okay. Does anybody in this room celebrate Ramadan?
20		((Jessica, Emma, and Lion King raise their hands))
21	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, do you guys want to share anything else about it? Since you
22		celebrate it? So you would not call it a holiday?
23	Lion King	It's not a holiday because we only have two and that's Eid
24	Mrs. Thomas	Oh, okay... So – so what, what would you consider Ramadan?
25	Lion King	Ramadan. You wake up early like somewhere around 4:30
26	Emma	No:: – Two
27	Lion King	Oh yeah, two.
28	Mrs. Thomas	Well it might be different for different people,
29	Emma	I wake up at two
30	Lion King	Sometime – my family's up somewhere around 4:45 and then you
31		have to hurry up and eat fast ((hand motion indicating fast
32		movement)) before...
33	Emma	Six o'clock
34	Lion King	Yeah, before six o'clock starts when it's six o'clock, no eating
35		until you start – until the last prayer
36	Captain BHC	Man, I told you it was fasting
37	Leopard Lady	Laughter
38	Emma	It's actually the last prayer - till the fourth prayer
39	Lion King	Yeah, the fourth prayer. then then we eat. And we do that for a
40		month. Then at the end=
41	Mrs. Thomas	=A month?
42	Emma	Two months! ((looks at Lion King, holds up two fingers))
43	Lion King	A month! It's a month.
44	Jessica	It's 30 days, one month.
45	Mrs. Thomas	You celebrate it longer than that?
46	Lion King	It's 30 days that's a month.
47	Emma	((looks in credulous)) Ye::s.
48	Lion King	Oh yeah, and=
49	Mrs. Thomas	=Again, different people might do differently.
50	Lion King	At the end of Ramadan, we have a holiday and that's called Eid.
51	Mrs. Thomas	Oh:: okay. So I probably would have called Ramadan a holiday,
52		but you don't consider it a holiday. Is that offensive if somebody
53		calls it a holiday?
54	Jessica	No

55	Lion King	It's not really a holiday
56	Mrs. Thomas	((to Jessica)) You said it's not offensive?
57	Jessica	((nods head yes))
58	Lion King	We only have two holidays, and that's one in the summer and one
59		in the fall=
60	Mrs. Thomas	=Okay, so would you call it a celebration? Or::...
61	Lion King	((shakes head no))
62	Mrs. Thomas	((laughs)) Okay it just doesn't have... you just call it Ramadan?...
63		((to whole class)) Okay, let's keep going. Umm... go ahead,
64		Leopard Lady

(February 1, 2018)

The connection making event captured in Transcript 5 illustrates two different ways connection making sequences were co-constructed through talk and interaction for Lion King. In lines 1-18, Lion King spoke without being called on and persistently protested the connections made by her teacher and peers. From the outset of this interaction, Lion King positioned herself as knowledgeable on Ramadan and Muslim holidays, and as having the authority to correct others, including the teacher. Mrs. Thomas, in turn, mostly did not acknowledge her protests, and did not position her as a part of the interaction. This pattern began immediately when Mrs. Thomas opened the sequence by asking the students to explain "Ramadan" (line 1) and Lion King replied with an alternative name for Ramadan, "Ramzan" (line 02), which she repeated again in line 4.

Lion King repeatedly reinforced her position as knowledgeable about Ramadan, and as an authority on this topic that concerned religion, through her persistent protestation in lines 7-14. When Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady (line 5), Lion King overlaps her speech with Leopard Lady, effectively cutting her off, and directly rejects Leopard Lady's explanation of what is Ramadan twice (lines 7 and 9). In lines 9

and 10, Lion King also made an effort to gain permission to speak by directing her protestation at Mrs. Thomas, shifting her body away from Leopard Lady and toward Mrs. Thomas. Rather than call on Lion King or give Leopard Lady back the turns that Lion King just usurped, Mrs. Thomas called on a new student, Captain Bad Hair Cut (line 11). Lion King again protested Captain Bad Hair Cut's explanation (line 14), repeating her declaration from line 10, that he is describing Eid, not Ramadan, and making a connection to her religious knowledge. After this fifth instance of Lion King talking without being called on, Mrs. Thomas asked (or, more so, directed) Lion King to "let him talk, please" (line 15), speaking to Lion King directly for the first time in this interaction.

After Captain Bad Hair Cut shares (lines 17-18), in line 19, Mrs. Thomas initiated a new connection sequence that reconfigured the interactional floor in a way that repositioned Lion King as not only a participant, but as the main speaker in the interaction and as an authority on Ramadan. Mrs. Thomas initiated this new sequence by asking the class, "does anybody in this room celebrate Ramadan?" (line 19), and then if these students wanted "to share anything else about it?" (line 20). She also explicitly added to the students' authority on Ramadan with the statement "Since you celebrate it" (lines 20-21), reinforcing their positioning as knowledgeable based on their personal experiences. In this same turn of talk, Mrs. Thomas also seemed to acknowledge that she heard the content of Lion King's repeated protests, asking "So you would not call it a holiday?" (line 21). The connection that was previously ignored was now front and center in the unfolding interaction. Mrs. Thomas again reinforced Lion King's self-positioning as an authority on this topic when she asked, "so what, what would you consider

Ramadan?" (line 24), privileging Lion King's perspective on the matter. After Mrs. Thomas gave her permission to speak, in lines 25-46, Lion King (and Emma and Jessica) shared how she observed Ramadan, her connection to the text, and she did so using longer turns of talk with more detailed explanations than when she was limited to protestation.

How connection making sequences were co-constructed in lines 19-50 is contrasted to the sequences in lines 1-18. In lines 1-18, Lion King's persistent protestation and Mrs. Thomas' lack of acknowledgment of her protests seem to co-construct an interactional sequence where Lion King's turns of talk were limited to short and corrective statements. Alternatively, in lines 19-50, Mrs. Thomas shifted the interactional floor by initiating a more open connection sequence, and positioned Lion King as an expert and a teacher on the subject. In lines 19-50, Lion King displayed longer, more robust and detailed turns of talk in which she was able to share her knowledge on Ramadan. Lion King's protestation thus proved to be an effective approach for connection making only and when her protestation resulted in Mrs. Thomas giving her the floor and prompting her to share her personal expertise. Said differently, Lion King's approach to making religious connections through protestation and Mrs. Thomas' responses to this approach together co-constructed *what* and *how* Lion King made connections in this moment, and the positions available to her as she did so.

Making Connections Through Piggybacking

In the previous section, I focused on examples where connection making sequences were co-constructed through Lion King's tendency to make cultural or

religious connections through protestation, and Mrs. Thomas' responses to this approach. In the current section, I discuss a second pattern I saw in Lion King's connection making practices, a pattern I describe as *piggybacking*. To piggyback, according Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, is "to set up or cause to function in conjunction with something larger, more important, or already in existence or operation." This definition captures how Lion King would often participate in connection making sequences by piggybacking off of the comments of her peers, or how she would take the content of their utterance and find a way to link her own connection. In piggybacking off of the comments of another speaker, she positioned herself as the next logical speaker in a connection making event. By presenting her connection as similar to (or connected to) another speaker's comment, piggybacking also facilitated Lion King's entry into the connection making sequence by giving some legitimacy to a discursive move that would likely be otherwise characterized as an interruption. The following three examples illustrate Lion King's pattern of making connections through piggybacking.

Example 4. And We Do Henna. The first example of Lion King's approach to making cultural or religious connections using piggybacking took place during a class discussion about holiday customs. Leopard Lady had just explained the Nepali custom of tika, or the small forehead mark generally associated with blessings. In the event captured in Transcript 6, as Mrs. Thomas moved to close this conversation, Lion King piggybacked off part of Leopard Lady's connection – the application of body paint as part of a religious celebration – to make a connection to her own cultural practice of decorating with henna.

Transcript 6 Lion King Talks About Henna

1	Mrs. Thomas	Is [tika] part of your culture, Leopard Lady?
2	Leopard Lady	((nods))
3	Mrs. Thomas	When – when would you put that there?
4	Leopard Lady	Yeah, if it's a celebration, or if you just go to like, your family's
5		house from far away where they live and you can't see them for
6		like, a long, long, long time
7	Mrs. Thomas	Even if it's not a holiday? You would put a – it's called a tika?
8	Leopard Lady	Yeah
9	Mrs. Thomas	Okay=
10	Lion King	=And we put on henna ((displays forearms))... and ahlahl
11	Mrs. Thomas	((looking at Leopard Lady)) And that would be, like, a religious
12		ritual. But that would be something we could see, right?
13	Leopard Lady	((nodding)) Yeah
14	Mrs. Thomas	But again, we – if we're not a part of that culture, we may not
15		know exactly what it is or what it represents=
16	Lion King	=we put on henna and ahlahl ((displays forearms, makes motion
17		up and down her arm with opposite hand))... when it's our holiday
18	Mrs. Thomas	What's that?
19	Lion King	((enunciating)) Henna or ahlahl. When somebody's getting
20		married, or if it's a holiday
21	Mrs. Thomas	Oh, yeah – say the name of it again?
22	Lion King	Henna or ahlahl
23	Mrs. Thomas	Yes, I've heard henna before, and I've seen=
24	Lion King	=Henna is like reddish orange and ahlahl is black
25	Mrs. Thomas	Yeah... So again, that's something that could be visible to other
26		people? Right? They could see it. They just might not understand=
27	Lion King	=I remember last time I wore it=
28	Mrs. Thomas	=the purpose for it ((voice gets quieter and trails off))
29	Lion King	=people thought it was a tattoo
30	Mrs. Thomas	...did they?
31	Lion King	Yes
32	Mrs. Thomas	Alright... What do we have left? Mister Pants?

March 29, 2018

Transcript 4 illustrates how Lion King's use of piggybacking to participate in connection making events and Mrs. Thomas' response to this strategy seemed to co-construct a context where Lion King was able to position herself as a participant in a conversation of which she was not originally a part. After Leopard Lady explained the

Nepali custom of tika (lines 1-8), Lion King entered the conversation by piggybacking off of Leopard Lady's connection – a cultural custom involving the application of paint on the body. To make this connection in line 10, she called out, beginning her turn of talk with the conjunction "and," signaling that what she was about to say was linked to what was just discussed. "We put henna," she announced, using gestures to draw attention to her talk, and adding "and ahlahl" (line 10). Mrs. Thomas did not initially yield the floor to Lion King, and instead continued to talk to Leopard Lady about tika (lines 11-15). Lion King made another bid for the floor in line 16, overlapping her talk with Mrs. Thomas: "We put on henna and ahlahl" (line 16-17) Lion King called out, repeating her utterance and gesture from line 10, before adding "when it's our holiday" (line 17). In this second bid for the floor, Lion King repeated her connection and used the pronouns "we" and "our" to position herself as a member of a particular group that celebrates with this custom.

In line 18, Mrs. Thomas yielded the floor to Lion King with the response "what's that?" which gave Lion King permission to speak and to share her connection. Once she was given the floor, Lion King took up the position of teacher and shared more about the custom she was describing: she enunciated the unfamiliar terms slowly (line 19) and offered an expanded explanation of when she would use henna and ahlahl (line 20). When Mrs. Thomas began to center her own experience with this topic, "I've heard of henna and I've seen" (line 23), Lion King began to speak, overlapping her speech with Mrs. Thomas, and added more details about her connection; the colors or henna and ahlahl. In talking over Mrs. Thomas, Lion King repositioned herself as the teacher in this

connection making sequence. Similarly, as Mrs. Thomas seemed to be wrapping up the conversation (lines 25-26), Lion King interjected one last personal story about henna (lines 27-29). In this interaction, piggybacking proved to be a successful discursive strategy with which Lion King was able to generate a connection to the text, position herself as a participant in the unfolding interaction, and eventually gain permission from Mrs. Thomas to speak and hold the floor. In acquiescing to this strategy, Mrs. Thomas co-construed with Lion King a connection making event in which Lion King's and Leopard Lady's cultural connections were shared with the group.

Example 5. Oh, a Kameez! This next example of piggybacking comes from a book group meeting when Mrs. Thomas asked the students about a term from the text – the word "dishdasha." Mrs. Thomas initiated this interaction by asking by asking for students to define the word dishdasha. In the interaction in Transcript 7, Lion King piggybacks off of Mrs. Thomas' description of a dishdasha and talks about a "kameez," an article of clothing in Somali culture that she described as similar to a dishdasha.

Transcript 7 Lion King Talks About Kameez And Dugsi

1	Mrs. Thomas	Did you guys also notice that word in there? It's about an Iraqi
2		man whose gray dishdasha?
3	Leopard Lady	What is dishdasha?
4	Mrs. Thomas	Have you heard that word before?
5	Leopard Lady	No
6	Mrs. Thomas	Does anybody know – know what that means?
7	Lion King	Where is it?
8	Mrs. Thomas	So I looked it up. And::, um – it was last week, but it's kind of
9		like a traditional dress:: for a man. It's like a long=
10	Lion King	=Oh:: a kameez::!
11	Wolfy	What?
12	Mrs. Thomas	You have a different name for it?
13	Lion King	We call it a kameez

14	Mrs. Thomas	Actually, when I looked it up, there were a few different names I
15		think that different people refer to it as what, what it was – Lion
16		King, can you explain what that is?
17	Lion King	It's like, when you go to dugsi
18	Wolfy	What?
19	Mrs. Thomas	What's dugsi?
20	Lion King	It's school on the weekends and the boys have to wear that or
21		wear a shirt and jeans
22	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so is that for Islam?
23	Lion King	No, it's for Arabic, and um xxx ((voice trails off))
24	Mrs. Thomas	Is that – what's the school about?
25	Lion King	It's supposed to teach you about the Quran and Arabic
26	Mrs. Thomas	Okay... So it's, uh – it's, uh, kind of like, something you would
27		wear? Right? For a man, it's long=
28	Lion King	=or short.
29	Mrs. Thomas	... or short. Okay. We might – if you don't know what it is, you
30		might call it a dress. But it's not really a dress, they have a special
31		name for it... ((looks around room at students with hands raised))
32		Okay, CR7?

(May 3, 2018)

In this example, Lion King's use of piggybacking seemed to shift the unfolding interaction in this connection sequence from the definition Mrs. Thomas originally requested to a topic of Lion King's choosing. After presenting the term dishdasha to the group (lines 1-2) and asking if anyone knew what it meant (line 6), Mrs. Thomas began sharing the definition she had found when she looked the word up (lines 8-9). As Mrs. Thomas was sharing her description of a dishdasha, Lion King called out "Oh," stressing and elongating the word, "A kameez!" (line 10). The prosody of this utterance seemed to index the realization of something obvious (Strauss & Feiz, 2014) – as if Lion King had just figured out the correct answer to a riddle, rather than introduced a new topic into the conversation. Though her turn of talk has just been taken by Lion King, rather than take back the floor or ignore her, Mrs. Thomas acknowledged Lion King's utterance (line 12), and asked her "can you explain what it is?"(line 16). In asking Lion King to explain what

a dishdasha is, Mrs. Thomas positioned Lion King as the teacher for this particular topic, and positioned herself and the other students in the book group as learners.

Now positioned as the teacher in this interaction, Lion King used this opportunity to shift the topic of conversation again; instead of describing a dishdasha or kameez, Lion responded to Mrs. Thomas' request that she explain these topics with "it's like, when you go to dugsi" (line 19). In introducing "dugsi" – the Somali term for Qur'anic schooling (cf. Moore, 2011) – without defining it, Lion creatively set the stage for follow up questions and thus the opportunity to speak again. This strategy proved effective in garnering Lion King additional turns of talk and opportunities to position herself as an expert: Mrs. Thomas' asked her repeated follow up questions (lines 19, 22, 24, and 26) in which she positioned Lion King as the resident authority on dugsi. Lion King's favorable positioning as an authority in this connection making event was manifest again as the interaction came to a close; rather than reprimanding or ignoring Lion King for calling out while she was talking (line 28), Mrs. Thomas ratified Lion King's last contribution to this interaction by repeating it and incorporating it into her own talk (line 29).

In this example, piggybacking proved an effective strategy for shifting the focus of the unfolding connection sequence from a topic that Mrs. Thomas proposed to a topic of Lion King's choice, one in which she alone was the resident expert. Mrs. Thomas contributed to the co-construction of this shift by giving Lion King the floor and multiple sanctioned turns of talk. Transcript 7 exemplifies the pattern I saw in the data regarding piggybacking: Lion King's use of piggybacking (*how*) to make cultural and religious connections to the text (*what*) and Mrs. Thomas' willingness to give Lion King

permission to speak when she used this strategy seemed to co-construct connection sequences where Lion King had the opportunity to position herself as an expert and teacher on a religious or cultural topic of her choice.

Example 6. It Reminded Me of Our Food. In this final example, Lion King's use of this strategy is slightly different than in the previous examples of piggybacking; rather than piggybacking off of the content of another speaker's talk, in Transcript 8, Lion King piggybacked off an idea in the text to make a connection to food from her own culture. In addition to Lion King's use of piggybacking in this connection making event, the event in Transcript 8 stuck out to me as analytically significant because in a post book group debrief I conducted with Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Thomas spoke favorably (unprompted) about Lion King's connection. Mrs. Thomas' approval of Lion King's connection seemed to indicate this event held significance for understanding how connection making in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group was co-constructed between the teacher and students. As part of my analysis of this connection making event, I share an excerpt of this post book group conversation with Mrs. Thomas.

The connection making event captured in Transcript 8 occurred just after the group read a chapter in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) in which one of the characters visited a Middle Eastern food market that reminds the character of her home in Jordan:

> Luma came upon a small Middle Eastern market called Talars. She pulled into the parking lot, went inside, and took a deep breath, filling her lungs with the old familiar smells of cardamom, turmeric, and cumin. Luma stocked up on groceries—pita bread, hummus, and *halloumi*, a salty sheep's and goat's milk cheese that was one of her favorites—then went home to make herself a meal like her grandmother might have made. (p. 37)

At the end of the book group, Mrs. Thomas initiated this connection event by asking the students if they had made any new connections to the text. She then allocated turns of talk using a round, calling on three students before calling on Lion King. In her turn of talk, Lion King made a connection by piggybacking off of content in the text. In this connection making event, note how Mrs. Thomas responded differently to Lion King's connection than she did to the connections made by the first three students (Leopard Lady, Mister Pants, and CR7).

Transcript 8 Lion King Makes a Connection to Somali Food

1	Mrs. Thomas	Quickly before we go – when we started reading this book we
2		talked about how important it is to make connections as we read a
3		book. Has anyone made any new connections yet, something the
4		book reminds you of, or something you've seen before, something
5		it makes you think about? ((looks at hands in air)) Leopard Lady?
6	Leopard Lady	((jumps out of seat)) SOCCER! ((throws hands over head))
7	Mrs. Thomas	Okay – the parts that we read recently?
8	Leopard Lady	Yeah! ((smiling, still bouncing on toes))
9	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, uh, Mister Pants?
10	Mister Pants	It reminds me of getting lost in Walmart one time
11	Mrs. Thomas	Oh really? What reminded you of that in the book?
12	Mister Pants	When she found herself lost in a different town.
13	Mrs. Thomas	So that's your connection. Okay. CR7?
14	CR7	It just reminded me of – well – when she went to the market it
15		reminded me of Turkey Hill and how I got a slushy there.
16	Mrs. Thomas	... So the text reminded you about a time when you went to
17		Turkey hill and got a slushy?
18	CR7	Yeah
19	Mrs. Thomas	((laughs)) Okay... Lion King?
20	Lion King	When she went into the store and she found all that food, it kind
21		of reminded me of our foods called Malawah, it's xxx thing, I
22		don't know why=
23	Mrs. Thomas	=what do you mean our food?
24	Lion King	Like, uh, Somali food, because when that word halloumi looked
25		like hummus, it kind of reminded me of humus and malawah
26	Mrs. Thomas	What, what kind of food are you talking about?
27	Lion King	Mm, malawah? It's like uh, it's something that you bake, it's like
28		a mixture. It's kind of like – when you do it, it's like a batter, but

29		it looks like a pancake, but when you do it, it's not thick, it's like,
30		thin, like thi::s thin ((brings fingers together with small gap
31		between))
32	Mrs. Thomas	Mm-mm, okay! So some of the foods she talked about reminded
33		you of food from your own country?
34	Lion King	Yeah
35	Mrs. Thomas	Okay!

February 20, 2018

How text connections were co-constructed through interaction is evidenced in the difference between the connection sequences with Mrs. Thomas and Leopard Lady, Mister Pants, and CR7, and the connection sequence with Mrs. Thomas and Lion King. The first three connections sequences followed a very similar pattern of interaction: Mrs. Thomas called on the student, the students shared their connection, Mrs. Thomas asked a follow up question or checked for confirmation, the student responded to this question, and Mrs. Thomas closed the interaction. I represented this pattern visually in Table 5.

Table 5 Connection Making Sequence Patterns for Example 6

Discursive Move	Leopard Lady (lines 5-9)	Mister pants (lines 9-13)	CR7 (lines 13-19)
T: Selection	Leopard Lady?	Mister Pants?	CR7?
S: Response	Soccer (slams down hands)	It reminds me of getting lost in Walmart one time	It just reminded me of – well – when she went to the market it reminded me of Turkey Hill and how I got a slushy there
T: Follow up	Okay – the parts that we read recently?	Oh really? What reminded you of that in the book?	So the text reminded you about a time when you went to Turkey hill and got a slushy?
S: Response	Yeah!	When she found herself lost in a different town.	Yeah
T: Closure	Okay, uh, Mister Pants?	So that's your connection. Okay. CR7?	((laughs)) Okay... Lion King?

Note: T Stands for Teacher, S Stands for Student

In looking at the similar way each of the first three connection sequences played out, it seems Mrs. Thomas' responses to students were somewhat formulaic. In our conversation after book group, Mrs. Thomas commented on these first few connections: "At first… the connections they made, I was like ((rolls eyes))... okay, this isn't going anywhere" (Video recording). Her eye roll and the statement "this isn't going anywhere" seem to indicate the first three students' responses were not what she had in mind when she asked them if they had any new connections.

Alternatively, the co-construction of Lion King's connection sequence diverged from this pattered, IRE/IRF-like sequence (cf. Mehan, 1987, Cazden, 2000). In her first turn of talk, Lion King made explicit how she used piggybacking to make a connection to the text – she indicated the passage they read that day reminded her of food from her culture (lines 20-21) – and then she reinforced and added more detail as to how she was piggybacking off the text in her turn of talk – she pointed to specific words in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that reminded her of Somali foods (lines 24-25). In response to Lion King's original connection (lines 20-21), Mrs. Thomas asked two follow up questions about the content of Lion King's connection (lines 23 and 26). These follow up questions gave Lion King more turns of talk and opportunities to position herself as a reader who pays attention to the text and is able to make connections between the text and her own life (lines 24-25), and as an expert and teacher on Somali food (lines 27-31).

This connection making event in Transcript 8 exemplifies how Lion King's strategic use of piggybacking in connection making events and Mrs. Thomas' positive

response to this strategy co-constructed space for Lion King to make cultural and religious connections that positioned her as an expert on these topics. This inference is supported by the second half of Mrs. Thomas' comment in our post book group debrief; after she shared that she was not sure the conversation was "going anywhere" based on Leopard Lady, Mister Pants, and CR7's connections, Mrs. Thomas added, "but then Lion King really brought it back around" (Video recording, February 20, 2018). Connection making, as evidenced in this example, was a co-constructed practice in which the student and the teacher both participated.

Leopard Lady Pattern for Making connections

Leopard Lady was a fifth grade student from Nepal who spoke English, Nepali and some Hindi. When Leopard Lady was a baby, she and her parents were resettled in the United States after taking refuge in Bhutan. Over the course of the book group study, Leopard Lady participated in forty-three of the eighty connection making events I identified in the data. In twenty-four of the connection making events in which she participated, Leopard Lady made what I describe as *stretch* connections. The content (*what*) of these stretch connections seemed related or connected to the text with varying degrees of closeness; at times, what Leopard Lady shared seemed loosely related to the text and, at other times, somewhat random or arbitrary. I use this descriptor cautiously because I am hesitant to describe a student's utterance strictly from an outside perspective. I am also wary of describing students' talk in a way that does not value the purposeful decisions children make as they choose what to share at a particular moment and in a particular context. Even still, I describe these connections as stretches for two

reasons: First, in analyzing the linguistic and paralinguistic resources Leopard Lady used to make these connections, it seemed like Leopard Lady was making a (mental) stretch as she made these connections: as I demonstrate in my analyses, she used verbal and non-verbal cues to indicate she was less than certain about the content of her talk during connection sequences. Second, Leopard Lady's connections were often treated by the teacher and her peers as a stretch. I use the term stretch, therefore, to describe how I observed Leopard Lady and the rest of the book group co-construct Leopard Lady's talk during connection making events.

There is precedence in the literature for describing students' connections to text from an outsider perspective with the goal of troubling connection making as a literacy practice. Jones (2009), who studies what happens when readers are pushed to make connections to texts when they do not have any, describes how "often the connections [students share] are superficial instead of the deep, thoughtful, provocative connections we hoped for" (p. 58). Furthermore, Jones argued over-emphasizing connection making can turn students into "meaningless connection-makers" (p. 59). Jones used this descriptor not as an attack on students, but to highlight the potential danger of pushing students to make connections to texts when they do not have any, and in defense of students' right to disconnect with text content. In this vein, I also use the term stretch to align myself with this body of work and to underscore that connection making is still by-and-large an institutionally governed activity that privileges the teacher's understanding of whether or not a student's proposed connection is relevant.

In the examples I share of Leopard Lady's tendency to make stretch connections, from my perspective, some of these connections seem 'meaningless' in the sense that Jones (2009) described. However, because I was not privy to her decision making, I am not comfortable describing her connections as 'meaningless.' Therefore, I use the term stretch connections to describe the connections Leopard Lady shared that seemed to me – and, as I will argue in the following analysis, to Mrs. Thomas – as a stretch in connection to *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012).

Making Connections Through Guess and Check

One of the primary ways I observed Leopard Lady making stretch connections to the text was through an approach I describe as *guess and check*. In the data, I identified an interactional pattern in the connection making events in which Leopard Lady used a guess and check approach: Mrs. Thomas prompted students to make a connection to the text and Leopard Lady would bid for the floor, typically by raising her hand or calling out; once called on by Mrs. Thomas, Leopard Lady used linguistic and paralinguistic cues that seemed to indicate she was less than sure of the content of her talk, or that her connection was a stretch; immediately after or while she spoke, Leopard Lady looked for Mrs. Thomas' reaction to what she shared; Mrs. Thomas gave Leopard Lady non-verbal and verbal feedback on her connection, typically by asking follow-up questions that indicated she too thought the content of Leopard Lady's connection was a stretch; Leopard lady either elaborated on her original connection or presented additional guesses, or she would resign, ceding the floor verbally by saying "I don't know" or "I just guessed." In this pattern, Leopard Lady and Mrs. Thomas' actions and reactions to one

another co-construct Leopard Lady's connections as stretches – as guesses – in relationship to the text.

In this section, I illustrate Leopard Lady's use of a guess and check strategy to participate in connection making events by examining three examples. In my analysis of each transcript, I highlight the content (what) of the stretch connection, as well as how she made these connections through a guess and check pattern, and how the sequence of talk was co-constructed in and through Leopard Lady's interaction with Mrs. Thomas. For each example, I also highlight how this approach to connection making impacted Leopard Lady's positioning in each connection making event.

Example 7. A Dirty, Messy Place. This first example demonstrates how Leopard Lady's use of a guess and check approach (*how*) and Mrs. Thomas' response to this approach co-constructed Leopard Lady's connections as stretches (*what*) and positioned Leopard Lady as a guesser, or as not knowing, during connection making events. Before the interaction captured in Transcript 9 occurred, the group read aloud a passage from *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that mentioned the word "suburban:"

> Luma also felt that if a soccer team of suburban kids was assigned to play on a field of sand and broken glass, parents would call the team sponsor or the league, someone to protest. The parents of the Fugees' players were seen as powerless, she believed, so no one thought much about putting the team at such a bad field. (p. 95)

Mrs. Thomas paused the whole group reading and initiated a narrow connection sequence by asking students to define the word "suburban," allocating turns of talk using a first come first served economy. After first calling on one other student, Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady, who used a guess and check approach in constructing her answer.

Transcript 9 Leopard Lady Guesses the Definition of Suburban

1	Mrs. Thomas	Um, anybody know what <u>suburban</u> means?
2		((CR7 and Leopard Lady raise their hands))
3	Mrs. Thomas	CR7?
4	CR7	It's like a place...
5	Mrs. Thomas	Yes. What kind of place? Leopard Lady?
6	Leopard Lady	A dirty, messy place? ((tilts head to side, raises eyebrows))
7		Ri::ght?
8	Mrs. Thomas	...Why do you say that?
9	Leopard Lady	((subtle head shake, shrug)) I don't know. I just guessed
10	CR7	((jumps out of seat, hand raised)) No, no – OH, I <u>know</u>!
11	Mrs. Thomas	((eyebrows high, chin down, eyes on Leopard Lady)) You're just
12		guessing? ((turns to look back at CR7))... CR7?

(April 12, 2018)

The interaction captured in Transcript 9 exemplifies how Leopard Lady's use of a guess and check approach and the resulting co-construction of her connections as guesses was contingent on the questions Mrs. Thomas asked and how Mrs. Thomas allocated turns of talk during connection making events. In the beginning of this example, Leopard Lady raised her hand after Mrs. Thomas' asked if anyone knew "what suburban means?" (line 1), presumably to answer Mrs. Thomas' question. Mrs. Thomas first called on CR7 (line 3), and then incorporated CR7's response into a follow up question, "What kind of place?" (line 5). Instead of having CR7 explain "what kind of place," Mrs. Thomas then called on Leopard Lady (line 5), who responded "a dirty, messy place?" (line 6). Leopard Lady employed linguistic and paralinguistic cues to communicate she was unsure about her response in line 6: She used a rising intonation during her turn of talk, and a marked rise in pitch at the end of her utterance with the word "place" (line 6), presenting her connection more as a "guess" than a response. In the same turn of talk, Leopard Lady checked for Mrs. Thomas' feedback; she tilted her head to the side and raised her

eyebrows as she asked “right?” elongating the word and rising her pitch, further indicating she was unsure of her response (line 7). Through *how* she responded to Mrs. Thomas’ question, Leopard Lady communicated she was unsure of *what*, or the content, of her response. She presented her connection as a guess, and then she checked for Mrs. Thomas’ evaluation of her connection.

Mrs. Thomas further contributed to construction of Leopard Lady’s connection as a stretch by asking Leopard Lady “why do you say that?” (line 8). She positioned Leopard Lady as needing to explain her reasoning. Instead of offering an explanation, Leopard Lady responded “I don’t know. I just guessed” as she shook her head and shrugged (line 8). In this turn of talk, “I don’t know” functioned as a polite, discursive move to avoid “further disagreement and a move to sequence closure” (Weatherall, 2011, pp. 323–324). In ceding the floor and declaring she “just guessed,” Leopard Lady further contributed to construction of her connection as a stretch. Mrs. Thomas’ response reinforced Lion King’s self-positioning as a guesser and as not knowing; She repeated Leopard Lady’s words while lowering her chin and raising her eyebrows (lines 11-12), a look I characterized in my fieldnotes as a “major teacher look.” Using linguistic and paralinguistic cues, Mrs. Thomas communicated to Lion King that “guessing” was not preferred. This interaction exemplifies how Leopard Lady’s connections were co-constructed as stretches through the unfolding interaction of connection making events in which she employed a guess and check approach and Mrs. Thomas responded to this strategy.

Example 9: Civil War or Civil rights? The following example highlights how Leopard Lady's practice of making stretch connections (*what*) using a guess and check approach (*how*) was co-constructed through talk and interaction during connection making events. Specifically, in the interaction in Transcript 10, *what* and *how* Leopard Lady participated seemed to reflect the connections made by students in prior turns of talk, as well as Mrs. Thomas' responses to her talk in the moment.

This connection making event took place during an activity in which Mrs. Thomas was previewing a few of the topics and terms they would read about in the upcoming chapter of *Outcasts United.* The first term Mrs. Thomas introduced to the class was "civil war." In the interaction captured in Transcript 10, Mrs. Thomas allocated turns of talk using a first come, first served turn economy to define the term civil war. When Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady in this connection sequence, Leopard Lady used a guess and check pattern to share her response to Mrs. Thomas' question.

Transcript 10 Leopard Lady Guesses the Definition of Civil War

1	Mrs. Thomas	So the first term is Civil War. Who can tell me one thing they
2		know about civil war. Emma?
3	Emma	It was a war that was in the 1800s?
4	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so I think you might be referring to a specific war in the
5		United States, right? Okay. That's correct. But civil war with a
6		lowercase c, that's Civil War, the capital C, when we – that's a
7		specific war. But civil war can happen anywhere. It can happen in
8		lots of different places. Does anyone know what a civil war is?
9	Lion King	I know!
10	Mrs. Thomas	Lion King?
11	Lion King	A civil war is like – is like how, some people are treated badly,
12		and they like, black and white=
13	Mrs. Thomas	=So the civil war that happened in the United States was about
14		that, but I'm not talking about the one specifically in the United
15		States... Civil wars can happen anywhere. What does that mean?
16	Leopard Lady	((waves hand back and forth in the air))

17	Mrs. Thomas	Leopard Lady?
18	Leopard Lady	Like voting?
19	Mrs. Thomas	((makes no movement, maintains eye contact with Leopard Lady))
20	Leopard Lady	... Like, if you don't give people the right... to vote... like...
21	Wolfy	Wha::?
22	Students	((multiple students raise their hands)
23	Leopard Lady	They, uh, fight for it... ((voice gets quieter as speaks))
24	Mrs. Thomas	It doesn't really have to do with voting=
25	Leopard Lady	=I don't know=
26	Mrs. Thomas	=you might be thinking about civil rights, which is something
27		different... Wolfy?

(January 11, 2018)

How Leopard Lady participated in this interaction is emblematic of the guess and check pattern: When Mrs. Thomas called on her in line 17, Leopard Lady seemed to have picked up on a theme in Emma's and Lion King's utterances – the civil rights movement – and incorporated this into her response: "like, voting?" (line 18). However, she crafted her response using linguistic and paralinguistic cues that communicated she was unsure of the content of her connection: Leopard Lady qualified her one word response with the colloquial filler "like" (Strauss & Feiz, 2014), and presented her connection using rising intonation, posing her response as a question rather than an answer. In doing so, she positioned herself as being unsure, and her connection as a stretch. Mrs. Thomas' response to Leopard Lady's connection in line 19 reinforced this positioning; She did not react or movie, indicating Leopard Lady needed to finish or amend her talk to make her answer acceptable. Leopard Lady then elaborated on her connection, adding additional details about voting (line 20). However, her repeated pauses as she spoke contributed to the construction of Leopard Lady's connection as a stretch. Her peers seemed to pick up on Leopard Lady's lack of confidence: Wolfy called out, "what?" (line 21), extending the medial sound and dropping the final consonant, positioning Leopard Lady as off topic or

confusing. Several other students then raised their hand, perhaps because they recognized Leopard Lady had given the preferred response and they anticipated a new student would be called upon to answer the question (as was customary in a first come, first served allocation of terms).

Mrs. Thomas' response to Leopard Lady seemed to reinforce her connection as stretch: "It doesn't really have to do with voting," (line 24) she began, and as she paused briefly between utterances, Leopard Lady called out "I don't know" (line 25). Her explicit declaration of "I don't know" was typical of this last phase of the guess and check pattern. Overlapping her talk with Leopard Lady, Mrs. Thomas offered "you might be thinking about civil rights, which is something different" (lines 26-27), before calling on a new student.

The example in Transcript 10 demonstrates how positioning and connection making were co-constructed and interrelated for Leopard Lady during book group meetings. When Leopard Lady used a guess and check approach, she positioned herself as guessing, as being unsure of her knowledge, which seemed to diminish or hide the mental work that went into the connection she crafted (i.e., in this example, how she linked her answer to the two previous student responses). When her teacher and peers responded in ways that reinforced her positioning as a guesser, or as not knowing, rather than explain her reasoning or asserting her knowledge, Leopard Lady reinforced this positioning by declaring "I don't know." This interaction illustrates how connection making, for better or for worse, was a co-constructed practice.

Example 9. Trials the Boys Might be Facing. This last example of this pattern highlights how through her use of a guess and check approach, Leopard Lady took up and reinforced a less favorable position for herself – as not knowing, or as guessing – than the position Mrs. Thomas seemed to repeatedly offer her throughout the interaction. Before the connection making event captured in Transcript 11, the students had just read a passage in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that described children who were refugees that had "severe problems:"

> After the trauma of war and relocation, many refugee kids had severe problems. Luma had to keep this in mind. She had learned from experience that she needed about a third of her players to be well adjusted kids from stable families, they would set an example for the others. Another third of the team would be boys who were for the most part dependable, even if they had a few problems at school or with other kids. The last third would be kids with real problems and unstable families. These were the boys who would require most of Luma's energy and he would most likely cause fighting on the teams. They were also the boys who needed the Fugees the most. (p. 103.)[3]

After they read this paragraph in the text, Mrs. Thomas initiated an open connection sequence for students' thoughts about what problems the boys might be experiencing. She then called on Leopard Lady, the only student who raised her hand, and Leopard Lady proceeded to participate using a guess and check approach.

Transcript 11 Leopard Lady Guesses the Problems Characters Experience

1	Mrs. Thomas	So that last paragraph, I've a couple of questions after that... um...
2		what do you think – we talked about what the word trauma means
3		– what do you think could be some of the... problems that some of
4		the boys might be experiencing? After the trauma of war and
5		relocation? ((looks around room at raised hands))... Leopard
6		Lady?

[3] A lengthy commentary on the text's portrayal of refugees and children who have experienced trauma is out of the scope of this dissertation. However, I am compelled to simply note here that I find this description to be problematic and reductive.

7	Leopard Lady	School?
8	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, what kind of problems do you think they might be having
9		in school?
10	Leopard Lady	((looking at book)) Um work...((looks up at Mrs. Thomas))
11	Mrs. Thomas	((looks back at Leopard Lady))
12	Chris	Oh! ((raises hand))=
13	Leopard Lady	=Oh, um – no, not work ((looks down at text, then back up at Mrs.
14		Thomas)) Uh fighting? Like, like...
15	Mrs. Thomas	((*instructs Chris to move his seat away from Star Boy*))
16		((turns back to Leopard Lady)) So what problems do you think
17		they might be having in school?
18	Leopard Lady	Fighting? Other people?
19	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, why do you think they would be fighting other people?
20	Leopard Lady	Because they ma::d... ((looks at Mrs. Thomas)) They could be
21		mad... the war... xxx ((talk grows quieter, covers mouth with
22		book, small shoulder shrug))
23	Students	Ooo! ((Chris and Star Boy put hand in air))
24		((Mrs. Thomas nods at Chris. Chris starts talking))

April 26, 2018

In this example, Leopard Lady and Mrs. Thomas go back and forth for multiple turns of talk in which Leopard Lady presented one or two-word responses that referenced a part of the text they just read, and Mrs. Thomas, in turn, prompted her verbally and non-verbally to respond again. When Mrs. Thomas first called on her to answer, "what do you think could be some of the problems that some of the boys might be experiencing?" (lines 3-4), Leopard Lady responded "School?" (line 7). The rising intonation in her talk posed her response more as a question than answer, communicating she was less than certain of what she said. "Okay," Mrs. Thomas responded, and then asked the follow up question, "what kind of problems do you think they might be having in school?" (lines 8-9). Mrs. Thomas' elaboration of Leopard Lady's utterance realigned her response to the question at hand, the "problems" the boys might be experiencing. In doing so, Mrs.

Thomas seemed to be pushing her down a path, guiding Leopard Lady toward a particular response.

Before she answered Mrs. Thomas' follow up question, Leopard Lady looked down at her book, likely searching the text for what to include in her response. After a brief pause, she said "Um, work" (line 10) the "um" indicating her less than full commitment to her response. After a pause, perhaps while she was waiting for a response, Leopard Lady looked up from her book and made eye contact with her teacher checking for Mrs. Thomas' reaction. Mrs. Thomas held Leopard Lady's gaze and did not respond verbally(line 11), which seemed to signal to Leopard Lady that her response was incomplete. Leopard Lady then seemed to rush to correct herself: "Oh, um – no not work" (line 13), she uttered, and looked down at the book. She gave a new answer, "Uh, fighting?" (line 14), which she repeated again in line 18, with the addition "Other people?" In response, Mrs. Thomas incorporated Leopard Lady's utterance into her follow up question and gave Leopard Lady the floor again by asking: "Okay, why do you think they would be fighting other people?" (line 19). This is the third follow-up question Mrs. Thomas asked Leopard Lady in this sequence. While Leopard Lady seemed to repeatedly position herself as unsure, as guessing, Mrs. Thomas seemed to be repeatedly giving her opportunities to reposition herself as knowing (if Leopard Lady could explain her responses).

In her last turn of talk in this interaction, Leopard Lady again presented her response using verbal and non-verbal cues to communicate she was less than certain about her response. "Because they mad" (line 20), she began, pausing briefly to check for

Mrs. Thomas reaction before amending her original statement to include more nuance: "They could be mad" (line 21). She paused again and said, "the war," and her voice then trailed off and her talk was inaudible on the recording, as she covered her mouth with the book and gave a small shrug. Though subtle and perhaps subconscious, these movements – covering her mouth with her book, making her talk quieter, and ending her turn of talk with a shrug – conveyed again Leopard Lady was uncertain. Though she did not audibly say "I don't know," she ended with a shrug, indicating resignation, the last stage of the guess and check pattern. With the last turn of talk, she positioned herself again as unsure. Without any feedback to Leopard Lady, Mrs. Thomas called on the next student.

In Transcript 11, it seemed Leopard Lady repeatedly used a guess and check approach to position herself as unsure, or her connections as guesses. In her responses to Leopard Lady, Mrs. Thomas, in turn, seems to give her multiple opportunities to position herself as knowledgeable, to expand on what she is sharing and expand on her thinking. The co-construction of this connection making event highlights how through the use of a guess and check approach, Lion King positioned herself less favorably than the position Mrs. Thomas seemed to be offering her.

Making Connections Through Shock and Awe

In the previous section, I described how connection making events were co-constructed when Leopard Lady made stretch connections (*what*) through a strategy that I have characterized as guess and check (*how*). In this section, I explain the second way I saw Leopard Lady participating in connection making events, by using *shock and awe*. In this approach to connection making, rather than communicating uncertainty about the

content of her connections, Leopard Lady would participate in connection making events using a variety of linguistic and paralinguistic cues that had the effect of shock and awe on the book group; when she used this pattern, her utterances tended to be one word or a short sentence that she delivered with atypical stress, intensity, or volume, often accompanied by an abrupt gross-body movement, such as slamming down her hand or jumping out of her chair. In this pattern of connection making, when Mrs. Thomas asked her follow up questions, Leopard Lady tended to escalate in the intensity of her responses versus backing off or becoming more tentative. Additionally, when enacting this approach, Leopard Lady seemed particularly attuned to her classmates' reactions; this contrasted to the guess and check pattern, in which Leopard Lady seemed to look for Mrs. Thomas' reactions. Altogether, because the shock and awe approach was a sharp departure from Leopard Lady's other modes of participation (e.g., the guess and check approach), interactions in which Leopard Lady used this pattern often left me as the observer wondering, 'what just happened here?' It was only in closely analyzing how these interactions unfolded moment-to-moment that I identified the pattern I describe here. The last three examples in this chapter demonstrate Leopard Lady's pattern of making connections through a shock and awe approach.

Example 10. Soccer! In this section, I share the following connection making event first because it is the simplest (and shortest) example that I found in my data of how Leopard Lady used a shock and awe approach. The setting of the interaction captured in Transcript 12 was previously discussed in the section on Lion King's pattern of making connections through piggybacking. Mrs. Thomas initiated this connection

event by asking the students if they had made any new connections to the text. She then allocated turns of talk using a round, calling on each person who raised their hand. In this connection making event, Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady first, who shared her connection using a shock and awe approach.

Transcript 12 Leopard Lady Makes a Connection About Soccer

1	Mrs. Thomas	Quickly before we go – when we started reading this book we
2		talked about how important it is to make connections as we read a
3		book. Has anyone made any new connections yet, something the
4		book reminds you of, or something you've seen before, something
5		it makes you think about? ((looks at hands in air)) Leopard Lady?
6	Leopard Lady	((jumps out of seat)) SOCCER! ((throws hands over head))
7	Mrs. Thomas	Okay – the parts that we read recently?
8	Leopard Lady	Yeah! ((smiling, still bouncing on toes))
9	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, uh, Mister Pants?

(February 20, 2018)

In Transcript 12, Leopard Lady shared a connection she had to the text using linguistic and paralinguistic cues typical of the shock-and-awe pattern: "Soccer!" (line 6) she shouted, using unusually emphatic expression. She also used gestures that were not typical of her participation in book group: she jumped out of her seat, brought her hands up over her head and then quickly back down, and then bobbed back and forth on her seat. She positioned herself as having a connection to the text that was worthy of enthusiasm and excitement.

Also typical of the shock and awe connection making pattern, Mrs. Thomas gave Leopard Lady feedback on her connection in the form of a question. "Okay," she began, "from the parts we read recently?" (Line 7). Although presented as a query, Mrs. Thomas' talk in line 7 also seemed to signal to Leopard Lady that she was supposed to make a connection to something they had "read recently." At this point in the book

group, soccer had yet to come up in *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012). The students knew that eventually the central action of the text would be about a soccer team, but they had yet to read about soccer. With this follow up question, Mrs. Thomas positioned Leopard Lady as not quite right, as having a stretch connection versus an obvious connection, or a connection she preferred.

In her next turn of talk, Leopard Lady replied with the one-word, emphatic response, "yeah!" (line 8). She offered no more details on this topic, and instead stood smiling at Mrs. Thomas and the group, all the while bouncing on her toes. If she understood the underlying message of Mrs. Thomas' follow up question, that her connection was supposed to be about something they had just read, she ignored it and chose instead to stick to her original connection. She may not have understood the illocutionary message of Mrs. Thomas' talk, but I have multiple examples in my data where Leopard Lady demonstrated she was diligent in monitoring Mrs. Thomas' verbal and nonverbal feedback (e.g., when she employed a guess and check approach). Therefore, it seems likely she at least partially understood her response was not preferred by Mrs. Thomas, and instead of adjusting or modifying her response, Leopard Lady stayed the course. In reaffirming her commitment to her original connection, she repositioned her connection as on topic, as appropriate, and as not needing to offer any further explanation. While Mrs. Thomas positioned her connection as a stretch, Lion King repositioned herself and her connection as correct and obvious.

Mrs. Thomas ended this sequence by laughing and then offering "okay" as a one-word evaluation of Leopard Lady's talk (line 9). Mrs. Thomas' laughter served as a non-

lexical marker of her affective stance (Strauss & Feiz, 2014) toward Leopard Lady's comment – she found Leopard Lady's connection humorous. She then called on Mister Pants, closing Leopard Lady's turn of talk and continuing the connection event (line 9). Leopard Lady, also recognizing her turn of talk was over, sat back down in her seat. To review, this example illustrates how connection sequences were co-constructed when Leopard Lady used a shock and awe approach: Leopard Lady made a connection using verbal and non-verbal language to communicate extra emphasis, Mrs. Thomas responded with a follow up question that indicated some skepticism about Leopard Lady's connection, and Leopard lady responded by doubling down on her original assertion.

Example 11. Simply Retreated into Their Homes. The following is an additional example of how connection making events were co-constructed when Leopard Lady used a shock and awe approach. The interaction in Transcript 13 in particular demonstrates how Leopard Lady's use of this approach both reflected and shaped the unfolding interaction in the moment.

Before the interaction captured in Transcript 13 occurred, the book group had just read a passage from *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) that described the reaction of the townspeople to the resettled refugees: "Rather than making noise, during the first decade of resettlement the older residents of Clarkston simply retreated into their homes" (p. 39). After they read this sentence, Mrs. Thomas asked the class: "Rather than making noise, they simply retreated into their homes...What do you think that means?" She initiated this connection sequence by asking for students' understanding of this sentence, and began to call on students using a first come, first served turn economy.

Mrs. Thomas called on six students before she called on Leopard Lady. As Mrs. Thomas went back and forth with each student, Leopard Lady had her hand raised and changed the position of her body multiple times; she stood up and sat back down in her seat three times, and she danced, waved, and audibly signaled she wanted to share. When she was not called on by Mrs. Thomas, she would slam her hand down and let out a breath of air that sounded like exasperation, and then would put her hand up and down to continue to signal she wanted the floor. After she called on Mister Pants, Emma, CR7, Jessica, Captain Bad Hair Cut, and Lion King, Mrs. Thomas then called on Leopard Lady. A full transcript of this connection making event is in Appendix E. The portion of this connection making event in which Leopard Lady enacts a shock and awe approach is rendered below in Transcript 13 on line 66, right before Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady. In this transcript, Leopard Lady proceeded to participate using a shock and awe approach. The animation in Leopard Lady's actions built as she and Mrs. Thomas went back and forth during this connection making event and culminated at the end with Leopard Lady's most shock and awe-inducing turn of talk.

Transcript 13 Leopard Lady Argues There is a War in Clarkston

65	Leopard Lady	((waving hand in the air))
66	Mrs. Thomas	Leopard Lady, do you have any thoughts to share?=
67	Leopard Lady	=((brings hand straight down in front of her body, leans forward))
68		Tha::nk you!.. because of wa::r
69	Mrs. Thomas	Is there a war going on in Clarkston?
70	Leopard Lady	Probably!
71	Lion King	About what! City and versus city? Town versus town?
72	Leopard Lady	Yes!
73	CR7	=((quietly)) Country versus country
74	Mrs. Thomas	What do you –
75	Captain BHC	((quietly, to self)) People versus people
76	Mrs. Thomas	Have we read anything about a war going on in Clarkston?=

77	Leopard Lady	((shadow boxing in seat as Mrs. Thomas starts talking))
78		=but I know there's a war! ((raises arm above head, points finger,
79		and swiftly brings it down across her body as talks))
80	Mrs. Thomas	Is there one going on in Clarkston?
81	Leopard Lady	Ye::s ((stands up, bobbing back and forth on toes))
82	Lion King	Well, what is – what is it?=
83	Mrs. Thomas	=Okay, what – what is the war?=
84	Lion King	Yeah, what is the war called?
85	Leopard Lady	Uh, um... CIVIL war! ((throws hand out in front of her as says
86		civil war))
87	Students	((Students in the group erupt in laughter; CR7 and Captain BHC
88		double over in seats, rock back and forth; Leopard Lady is
89		standing, laughing))
90	Leopard Lady	((as students are laughing)) You know... No, I don't know ((sits
91		down))
92	Mrs. Thomas	Okay. Listen! There is a civil war that ... there is a civil war that
93		took place in United States. But it was a long time ago. This is
94		right now in Clarkston. They're talking about in like, the 2000s...
95		((goes on to explain what 'retreated ion their homes' meant))

(February 1, 2018)

From her first turn of talk to her last in this connection making event, Leopard Lady's participation is marked by *more* – more intensity, more emphasis, more volume, more body movement – culminating with her jumping out her seat and yelling in lines 85 and 86. The initial exchange between Mrs. Thomas and Leopard Lady followed a somewhat typical discourse pattern for connection making sequences: Mrs. Thomas asked a question (line 66), Leopard Lady responded (lines 67-68), Mrs. Thomas asked with a follow up question (line 69), and Leopard Lady affirmed her original response (line 70). After this exchange, Leopard Lady's peers chimed in, stirring the pot: Lion King mocked Leopard Lady's assertion that there's a war in Clarkston, (line 71) aligning herself with Mrs. Thomas' assessment. CR7 (line 73) and Captain Bad Hair Cut (line 75)

replicate Leopard Lady's taunts, further contributing to the growing tension and level of animation of the conversation.

The interaction continues, and Mrs. Thomas asked Leopard Lady if they had read about a war going on in Clarkston in the text (line 76), a question that seems aimed at helping Leopard Lady realize her connection was incorrect, or a stretch. As Mrs. Thomas was talking, Leopard Lady was shadow boxing in her seat (line 77), a move that seemed to both reflect the topic of the conversation – wars and fighting – and Leopard Lady's stance in the conversation – ready and willing to defend her claims. She then jumped out of her seat and declared, "but I know there's a war!" emphasizing the "know" and reasserting her position as knowledgeable (lines 78-79). When Mrs. Thomas questioned her again (line 80), Leopard Lady rose to her feet as she emphatically said "yes" (line 81). As she stood, she bobbed back and forth on her toes, similar to a boxer shuffle, again positioning herself as ready to fight. In the next three lines of talk (lines 82-84), Lion King and Mrs. Thomas again push Leopard Lady to answer their question – what was the war happening in Clarkston? Their overlapping talk and the repetition in their utterances together created a sense of urgency, further adding to tension of the moment. Leopard Lady, already on her feet, doubled down again and made her most emphatic response yet: After buying herself an extra pause, using the fillers "uh" and "um" she yelled her response, "civil war!" putting extra stress on "civil" and throwing her hand forward, in a triumphant, self-congratulatory gesture (lines 85-86).

The effect of Leopard Lady's performance in line 81 on the book group was immediate. Her peers erupted in laughter as soon as she said "war," with students falling

out of their seats, bending back and forth as they clutched their stomachs, throwing their heads back and laughing loudly (lines 87-89). Leopard Lady looked around and the room to see everyone laughing, smiling as she looked around the book group. After looking around the room at her peers, Leopard Lady offered a commentary on her own turn of talk, "You know... No, I don't know," and then she sat back down in her seat (lines 90-91), signaling her turn of talk was complete. Once Leopard Lady sat down, Mrs. Thomas regrouped the class and offered her explanation of what was happening in the text (92-95). In this interaction, Leopard Lady's use of a shock and awe approach to participating in connection making events both fueled and was fueled by the reactions of her peers and her teacher.

Example 12. She's an American Girl! Similar to the previous transcript, in this final example of how connection making events were co-constructed in and through Leopard Lady's use of a shock and awe approach, the momentum and tension built over the course of the interaction as Leopard Lady repeatedly used emphatic speech and body movement and culminated toward the end of this connection making event.

The example in Transcript 14 took place during the cultural iceberg activity, a book group meeting I described previously in the section about Lion King (see Transcript 4). In the interaction below, Mrs. Thomas called on Leopard Lady and asked her if she thought holiday customs would go above or below the water line on the chart paper iceberg (See Figure 1 for reference), meaning, did she think "holiday customs" were an element of culture that was visible or invisible to an outside observer. In the turns of talk that followed, Leopard Lady used linguistic and paralinguistic cues to communicate

increased emphasis as she doubled down on her initial connection, escalating in intensity over the course of the interaction until a moment of distinct shock and awe.

Transcript 14 Leopard Lady Argues About Holiday Customs

1	Mrs. Thomas	Okay. Do you think that [holiday customs] would go above or
2		below the iceberg
3	Leopard Lady	Above.
4	Mrs. Thomas	Why?
5	Leopard Lady	Cause, like... ((turns from table to face Mrs. Thomas in chair))
6		you can see people and, uh, how they're dressed, and you could
7		tell if they celebrate uh um, some – a holiday or not – or like, or
8		like a – a specific holiday or not ((brings left hand down
9		perpendicular to right hand, clapping them together))
10	Mrs. Thomas	So if you look at someone you can tell that they're celebrating a
11		holiday.
12	Leopard Lady	((nodding)) Yeah!
13	Mrs. Thomas	How can you tell?
14	Leopard Lady	By their CLOTHES, their HAIR, um... ((rocks back and forth,
15		makes chopping motion with hand from above head to waist
16		level))
17	Wolfy	((turns to face Leopard Lady, slaps hands together in exaggerated
18		clapping, as if mocking her))
19	Mister Pants	Their hair? ((skeptical))
20	Leopard Lady	((more quiet, smiling)) Yeah, their hair
21	Lion King	You can't even see our hair
22	Students	((crosstalk, volume in room rises as more talk))
23	Mrs. Thomas	What if you see they're dressed a special way, but you don't
24		kno::w that it's for a holiday?
25	Emma	Yeah! ((raises eyebrows and looks down nose at Leopard Lady))
26	Leopard Lady	((stands up, starts walking to chart paper to put her sticky note on
27		the iceberg drawing))
28	Jackie	Leopard Lady, I think what might be confusing is you're thinking
29		like if you walked into a room and you saw people dancing, like
30		yeah, you can watch that custom. You can watch celebration. But
31		by looking at you right now. I don't know what holiday you
32		celebrate... Right?
33	Leopard Lady	((smiling)) Uh huh ((dabs))
34	Lion King	She dabbing ((laughing))
35	Mrs. Thomas	All right
36	Jackie	

37		Can you look at Mrs. Thomas and know what holidays she celebrates?
38	Leopard Lady	Yes! ((claps hands together, turns to face Mrs. Thomas))
39		She celebrates Christmas, she celebrate Thanksgiving ... ((brings
40		both hands over her head, and brings them down as she says
41		Christmas, Thanksgiving)) She, she celebrates... ((bobbing back
42		and forth, looks over shoulder at peers))
43	Star Boy	HALL-O-WEEN! ((enunciates each syllable, claps hands))
44	Students	((Wolfy and Lion King stand up; Wolfy is clapping and dancing,
45		Lion King is yelling yeah while dancing; Emma and Jessica are
46		both dancing with their hands up in their seats; Star Boy is
47		clapping and laughing))
48	Mrs. Thomas	How do you know that
49	Leopard Lady	((bobbing side to side on feet)) Cause of her, her – her dress and
50		all that. She looks like an American girl.
51	Jackie	She looks like an American girl
52	Leopard Lady	((dabs))
53	Jackie	An::d do all Americans celebrate Halloween, Thanksgiving, and
54		Christmas?
55	Leopard Lady	((facing Jackie)) No
56	Jessica	Most of them do
57	Mrs. Thomas	((looking out at group)) So maybe you don't actually no that much
58	Leopard Lady	((turns away from Mrs. Thomas while she is talking, hops back to
59		seat))
60	Mrs. Thomas	Okay – who has another one?

(March 28, 2018)

Transcript 14, the shock factor of Leopard Lady's talk built over time. In the initial portion of the exchange, Leopard Lady seemed to be settling into the conversation and gearing up for the discussion. She first stated that holiday customs went above the water (line 3), or were visible to the outside observer. When Mrs. Thomas prompted her to explain why (line 4), Leopard Lady explained she felt you could tell by how someone is dressed if they celebrated a specific holiday, using non-verbal cues (vocal stress and gestures) to communicate particular emphasis in her argument (lines 5-9). As she spoke, she squared her body toward the group and Mrs. Thomas, signaling engagement in the conversation.

In the next turns of talk, as Mrs. Thomas, myself, and her peers pushed her for more information, Leopard Lady began to double down, escalating the emphasis and intensity of her talk. When Mrs. Thomas pushed her to explain how she could tell what holiday someone celebrated by looking at them (line 13), Leopard Lady answered using emphatic stress and added intensity with her gestures, punctuating each word by leaning forward sharply and chopping through the air with her hand (lines 14-16). A few of Leopard Lady's peers responded; some seemed to be mocking her intensity (lines 17-18), while others questioned the content of her talk (lines 19, 21), and the overall volume in the room began to rise (line 22). When Mrs. Thomas asked another follow up question, again stressing her skepticism about the ability to know what holiday someone celebrates by looking at them (lines 23-24), Leopard Lady did not respond to her questions, and instead stood up and walked toward the chart paper to place her sticky note with the words "holiday customs" onto the cultural iceberg. In ignoring Mrs. Thomas and her peers, Leopard Lady positioned herself as knowing, as correct.

In the next sequences, I jumped into the conversation and played a role in co-constructing the continuation and culmination of Leopard Lady's use of shock and awe. When I spoke, I attempted to describe both perspectives I was hearing (lines 28-32) and concluded by asking if Leopard Lady could "look at Mrs. Thomas and know what holidays she celebrates" (lines 36-37). Leopard Lady responded with an emphatic "yes" and clapped her hands together (line 38). She then turned to face Mrs. Thomas and listed the holidays she thought Mrs. Thomas celebrated: She listed Christmas and Thanksgiving, emphatically bringing down her hands over head as she named each

holiday (lines 39-41). Leopard Lady then paused and seemed to restart her statement, "she celebrates..." before looking over her shoulder at her peers, as if to say, "help me out!" (lines 41-42). She was rescued by Star Boy, who, echoing Leopard Lady's energy, yelled "Halloween!" enunciating each syllable and clapping for further stress (line 43). With Star Boy's comment, the class erupted in laughter and noise. It was as if someone flipped a switch, and all the students in the book group celebrated by clapping, dancing, yelling, and waving their hands in the air. Goofiness and silliness abounded. Leopard Lady turned in a circle, looking at and laughing with her peers, observing their reactions. This moment was perhaps the most dramatic impact of a shock and awe moment that I have in my data. The remaining lines in this transcript (lines 48-60) capture the descending action of this event, concluding with Leopard Lady taking her seat.

In this connection making event, Leopard Lady's intensity and animation grew over the course of the interaction until she delivered a turn of talk with such shock and awe that the rest of the class joined in the revelry. This example illustrates how the turn-by-turn talk that created connection making events was co-constructed by students and teachers together through talk and interaction; it seemed Leopard Lady's energy built as she and Mrs. Thomas volleyed turns of talk back and forth, with her peers' input further fueling her escalation. In closing, perhaps most striking in this example was the relational work Leopard Lady enacted with her peers by using this approach. Through positioning herself in (amicable) opposition to Mrs. Thomas, Leopard Lady was able to perform as a jokester for her peers, and ultimately created a context where she and all her peers upset the normal social order in book group and through a mini-dance party. Though Mrs.

Thomas did not seem to appreciate this approach, in using shock and awe, Leopard Lady was able to create an interaction in which she curried favor with her peers.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how connection making events were co-constructed through talk and interaction by the students and teacher in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group. Specifically, I explored *what* connections focal students made to the text and *how* they made these connections in and through language during book group meetings. In the events that I have shared in this chapter, I examined four different approaches for participating in connection making events that were evident in the data collected for two focal students, Lion King and Leopard Lady. I asserted Lion King tended to make cultural and religious connections (*what*) through two different approaches (*how*), *protestation* and *piggybacking*. In my analysis, I found these approaches had different affordances and constraints for Lion King's opportunities to position herself as knowledgeable about Somali culture and Islam. For Leopard Lady, I contended she tended to participate in connection making events using two different approaches (*how*), *guess and check* and *shock and awe*. While the content of the connections she made (*what*) using both these approaches were co-constructed as stretches (or responses that did not seem obviously or immediately linked to the text), the way Leopard Lady positioned herself – as unsure or as certain – varied depending on which approach she used. Taken together, these analyses illustrate the complex ways connection making events were co-constructed during book group meetings. In focusing on how connection making and positioning were interrelated and created together

through talk and interaction, findings from this chapter contribute a new perspective to current connection making scholarship.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Ending with the Beginning: Revisiting Initial Study Assumptions

This dissertation study analyzed the connections made by refugee and immigrant youth to a teacher proposed mirror text in ESL book group. My purpose was to explore *what*, or the content of the connections students made to the text, and *how* students used language to make these connections during book group meetings. Using positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & van Lagenhove, 1999) as a lens, I set out to understand how students made connections to the text through talk and interaction with their teacher and peers. The following research questions guided this study:

(1) *What* connections did refugee and immigrant youth make to the proposed mirror text *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012)?

(2) *How* did students make these connections in and through language during book group meetings?

(3) How did the teacher shape students' connection making practices?

At the outset of this study, I expected students would see parts of the text as a mirror (Sims Bishop, 1990) for their lives. I thought students would make personal connections to the text (cf. Keene & Zimmerman, 1997) from their experiences as refugee and immigrants, and from their day-to-day lives as linguistic and cultural

minorities in the United States. Because the content of *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) seemed to reflect parts of their lives, I also expected to see students' interest in reading increase as measured by observable behaviors in the book group, such as verbal expressions of enjoyment and increased participation in class discussion.

Looking back now, I can see how my initial hunches were reflective of some of the commonly held ideologies surrounding connection making and mirror texts: Connection making scholarship has long touted making connections to prior knowledge as a strategy 'good readers' use to make sense of what they are reading (R. C. Anderson & Pearson, 1984). Research on mirror texts has repeatedly stressed the need for more books that reflect the lives of minoritized children, arguing that these texts affirm these kids' identities and support their growth as readers (e.g., Sims Bishop, 1990; Botelho & Rudman, 2009). Additionally, my impressions were also based in learning from my TESOL education program about the importance of choosing teaching materials that reflected student's cultural backgrounds. Because the context of this study reflected the conditions in all three of these bodies of work – linguistically and culturally diverse students reading a text that reflected parts of their lives and prior experiences – I had expected findings from this study would illustrate how these assumed benefits worked together to support multilingual learners.

I revisit these original hypothesis and the predominant narratives of each of the bodies of literature that this study is connected to because the contrast between my expected outcomes and what I actually found in the data: (1) highlights the ways my study contributes to current scholarship in each of these fields; (2) previews some of the

implications of this study for practice; (3) underscores limitations of this study; and (4) indicates possible future directions for research. In the remainder of this chapter, I first present an overview of study findings with a focus on how findings from Chapter 4 on connection making practices and Chapter 5 on connection making events inform one another. I next describe some of the contributions, limitations, future directions, and limitations of this project, and then close this chapter by offering a few concluding thoughts.

Overview of Study Findings: Looking Across Chapters

The primary aim of this dissertation study was to understand the connections students made to a teacher proposed mirror text. In Chapter 4, I explored the teacher practices that shaped the connections students made during book group meetings. Findings from Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are connected in a similar way to set design and performances in theatre. Some aspects of set design, such as the backdrop for a particular scene, are created once and then are used over and over again by the actors who play in that scene. When the teacher in this study initiated the book group by proposing *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) as a mirror text because it was about refugees and people from other countries, she set the stage for reoccurring book group meetings. She invoked themes that would be the backdrop, or setting, for continuing talk around the text that occurred on day to day basis. Similarly, the teacher established practices for initiating connection making events, including how she proposed narrow or open connection sequences, and how she allocated turns of talk. These teacher practices, these patterned ways she used language during connection making events to elicit student connections,

shaped day-to-day and moment-to-moment talk during book group meetings. While talk during book group certainly did not follow a script, the unfolding sequence of interaction during connection making events was constructed, in part, by how the stage was set on day one, and by reoccurring teacher practices.

After describing in Chapter 4 the teacher practices that provided the backdrop for connection making events, I shifted my focus in Chapter 5 to explore the connections students made to the text during connection making events. In analyzing *what* connections students made and *how* students used language to make these connections, I found the connections students made were co-constructed through ongoing talk during book group meetings. Specifically, the content of students' connections (*what*) and *how* students made these connections in and through language were shaped by the unfolding interaction of the connection making event in which they participated. Additionally, *what* and *how* students made connections seemed to influence what happened next in the moment-to-moment unfolding interaction. These findings are consistent with social views of language-in-use that understand talk in interaction as a reflection of what has come before and influential on what comes after (Bakhtin, 1981; Bloome et al., 2019; Voloshinov, 1973). Taken together, Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 demonstrate how text connections were not solely the construction of students' transactions (cf. Rosenblatt, 1978) with the text. Rather, in this book group, students' connections to *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) were reflective of and responsive to not only the text, but to the teacher and their peers. As these conclusions are central to my contribution to the literature

connected to this study, I reiterate these findings and their importance to current scholarship on mirror texts and connection making in the following section.

Contributions to the Literature

Empirical work on making connections to texts and research on mirror texts has mostly studied these topics by focusing on the individual reader as the unit of analyses. Research from this approach has contributed to our current understanding of making connections as beneficial for text comprehension (e.g., Keene & Zimmermann, 1997; McKee & Carr, 2016; Miller, 2013; Pearson et al., 1992), creating new knowledge from information presented in texts (e.g., Anderson, 1994; Anderson & Pearson, 1984; Pearson, 1992) and reading enjoyment (e.g., Feger, 2006; McNair, 2013; Schrodt et al., 2015). Similarly, literature on making connections has provided valuable insight into students' personal experiences while reading mirror texts, especially how mirror texts also support comprehension and positive affective responses (e.g., Brooks, 2006; McNair, 2014; Stewart, 2017). While this line of inquiry has provided insight into the different ways readers connect to texts and how these connections support reading comprehension, the role of interaction in connection making has been largely overlooked.

In this dissertation study, I used discourse analysis (Bloome et al., 2005) to take an interactional approach to understanding the connections students made to a mirror text. In employing this perspective, I found the connections students made were co-constructed (1) by the teacher's practices for initiating and allocating student turns of talk during connection sequences, and (2) in the moment-to-moment talk and unfolding interaction in connection making events with their teacher and peers. Furthermore, focal

students used particular approaches to make connections to the mirror text (e.g., *protestation*, or *guess and check*) that contributed to the co-construction of observable patterns of interaction in connection making events. In taking an interactional perceptive, I contribute to the small but growing body of work that looks at making connections and making meaning with mirror texts as socially and contextually situated. More specifically, findings from my study offer an empirical base for understanding how text connections to mirror texts are co-constructed through talk and interaction during literacy events.

Additionally, I bring mirror text and connections making scholarship into conversation by analyzing *what* and *how* connections were co-constructed in a mirror-text centered activity. In doing so, I provide an example of how these complimentary bodies of literature can be brought together in an effort of supporting the language and literacy learning experiences of multilingual and multicultural students. Furthermore, as I discussed in Chapter 2, the vast majority of empirical work from both perspectives has been conducted in English L1 settings. Findings from this study thus add to the small but growing body of work that is interested in mirror texts and/or connection making in English language teaching and learning settings.

Implications for Praxis

Making connections to text has long been touted as a key aspect of reading comprehension and "good" reading instruction (e.g., Harvey & Goudvis, 2000). Similarly, it is often suggested students (especially minority students) need opportunities to see themselves in texts and to engage with books in and out of school that have

characters with whom they can identify (cf., Sims Bishop, 1990). However, findings from this study complicate how Sims Bishop's (1990) notion of mirror texts is often taken up in the classrooms. While presenting and reading multicultural literature in schools is certainly important, the responses of the students in the *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) book group illustrate how a mirror text is only a mirror if the reader decides so.

Mrs. Thomas chose *Outcasts United* because she wanted to present a text she felt her students could identify with. However, it may be that Mrs. Thomas inadvertently chose a text that reified narratives of tragedy and white saviorism. Short (2019) warns teachers to think about how power relationships are represented in a text in terms of "who is shown as solving a problem. Until recently, books on new immigrants to the United States disproportionately showed a white child stepping in to 'save' a child of color by teaching him or her to speak English" (Short, 2019, p. 4). Therefore, findings from this study encourage teachers to use caution in presenting texts as mirrors that reflect only one aspect of their minoritized students' identities.

In addition to reconsidering the texts we present in classrooms as mirrors, findings from this study call into question the preoccupation in literacy instruction with connection making as conceptualized by Pearson and colleagues (1984; 1992) and Keene and Zimmerman (1997). In the data I collected for this study, students generally tended to not connect personally (as refugees or more broadly) to the text, despite the teacher's prompting. When teachers overemphasize the importance of making connections, Jones (2009) argues teachers may inadvertently encourage students to articulate meaningless or fictitious connections in order to participate in the activity at hand or to earn the teacher's

approval. This seemed to be the case with Leopard Lady in some of examples in the data of making stretch connections. Therefore, rather than encouraging students to make connections carte blanch, Jones (2009; see also Jones & Clarke, 2007) argues teachers should also encourage students to think about and express ways that they disconnect with texts, or ways the text is dissimilar or does not reflect their lives.

Encouraging disconnection making as well as connection making in literacy instruction has implications for both pre- and in-service teachers. Teacher education programs will play a role in preparing pre-service teachers to model and cultivate connection making and disconnection making practices in their students. Furthermore, findings from this study have demonstrated how a teacher's reactions to students' talk during ongoing conversations around texts can impact *what* and *how* students make connections. Therefore, preparing teachers to teach connection and disconnection making involves instruction on verbal and non-verbal ways they can use their authority as the teacher to encourage, value, and show enthusiasm for both kinds of responses. Similarly, this implication encourages in-service teachers to consider if they privilege their own connections with texts – or the potential connections they see for students – in ways that discourage students from making disconnections. As Jones and Clark (2007) describe, part of this effort will involve all teachers reflecting on how to create spaces in their classroom for authentic conversations about reading, while resisting normalizing certain kinds of text responses.

Future Directions for Research

Upon completing this dissertation study, I see future directions for research in two areas: (1) further work with this current data set, and (2) suggestions for new studies on connection making and mirror texts. In this section, I first discuss my future plans for working with the data I collected for this dissertation study, and then discuss potential future research agendas.

Plans for Continuing Work With this Data

Throughout data collection and analyzing data for this dissertation study, I was struck by what seemed like a narrative of "change" that Mrs. Thomas seemed to be using to explain some of the racist interactions in a text between the townspeople and the newly resettled refugee. In a future study, I plan to go back through the data set using narrative theory (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015) and discourse analysis beyond the speech event (Wortham & Reyes, 2015) to see if this hunch is correct. This line of inquiry still concerns the themes Mrs. Thomas invoked as a source of connection for the students – i.e., being a refugee and being from another country – but explores these themes from a different theoretical and analytical perspective.

Although I was unable to find evidence of change over time regarding in the way students used language to make connections to the text using positioning as a lens and microethnographic discourse analysis, there have been other scholars who have combined qualitative and quantitative methodologies to study change over time using interactional data. For example, Bernstein (2018) took a micro-genetic approach to understanding interaction and English language development using positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990)

and a corpus analysis of language growth over the course of the year. Through this layered epistemological framework, Bernstein (2018) was able to study complimentary research questions concerning language process (how students participated in classroom activity) and product (learning outcomes). I see potential in my data set for a similar type of study, and how mixed method approaches have the potential to shed light on data that might otherwise be obscured to me when I limit myself to one methodological approach.

Additionally, although I collected data at thirty-four book group meetings, I only analyzed events that were initiated by the connection sequences described and listed in Chapter 4 (see Table 3 and Table 4). Thus, the vast majority of talk around texts that I collected was not analyzed in this study. Because I focused my analysis in this dissertation to (oral) language use and language practices, I envision a future research project in which I further explore this data with more of an orientation toward text-based discussion as part of literacy teaching and learning. In looking across the examples of text-based questions and identifying the different kinds of questions the teacher asked, and the kinds of responses these questions elicited, I aim to better understand the affordances and drawbacks of different types of teacher questioning for supporting student talk.

Suggestions for Future Studies

Regarding future empirical work, there is much left to be discovered regarding connection making and mirror texts, and specifically, at the intersection of these two bodies of work. I believe the framework I used in the study to analyze how connections were made to a mirror text has potential for use in other studies with similar aims. As

described in the literature review, there is a surprising lack of empirical research that has been conducted on connection making that looks at children interacting with texts, and the same could be said for research on mirror texts. In future studies along these lines, I hope to move more toward participatory research methodologies (e.g., Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2015) with classroom teachers. I envision creating a study in which we together look at how connections and disconnections were supported through talk around texts. I do not view this research as an intervention, but rather a collaborative inquiry in which both of our ways of knowing and our input is valued as we work together to support students. In this study and with all my research, I aim to work with and alongside classroom educators in mutually beneficial and respectful ways.

There is also potential for future research that looks more closely at text content as part of studying the connections refugee and immigrant youth make to potential mirror text. Content analyses of picture books and young adult literature for refugee and immigrant youth has already begun to gain some momentums (Karam et al., 2019; Lynn, 2017; Strekalova-hughes, 2019). Additionally, studies like Cho and Christ (2019) have demonstrated how combining content analysis with classroom interactional data has promising results for understanding the relationship between text content and student responses to this text. If indeed "no one really becomes literate without seeing themselves in literacy" (Harste & Vasquez, 2018, p. 17), then understanding what kind of books students *see* themselves in should be an important part of future research in this area.

Findings from this dissertation study also underscore the potential usefulness of more research on making disconnections as a literacy practice (Jones & Clark,

2007). Jones and Clark (2007; see also Jones, 2009) argued the inclusion of disconnection making in literacy instruction has the potential to support more nuanced readings of texts, as well as critical thinking and reflection. To my knowledge, this argument has yet to be explored in literacy or education research. To interrogate the potential impact of this practice, future research that studies opening up text responses to include disconnection making in the elementary reading classrooms is necessary. Furthermore, investigations of how teachers and students together navigate connection and disconnection making can help us understand how "these conversations can be moved toward the deconstruction and reconstruction of texts" (Jones & Clark, 113).

Finally, there is a need for empirical research that speaks to the usefulness of mirror texts and (dis)connection making for specifically supporting English language and literacy development for multilingual kids in schools. While it has been proposed that teaching students to make connections and disconnections to texts supports their growth as readers (Jones, 2009), the extent to which this practice promotes English language learning for multilingual students has yet to be explored. Because multilingual language and literacy development involves "the ongoing, dynamic development of concepts and expertise for thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two languages" (Reyes, 2006, p. 269), good literacy instruction strategies for monolingual English readers can indeed be good for multilingual readers, but they are often not enough. Rather than relying on theory and research based in English dominant settings, there is a need for scholarship that looks at these assumptions and pursues their significance through a multilingual lens.

Closing Thoughts

In closing, I cannot help but feel this dissertation study has posed almost as many questions as it has answered. For instance, in concluding this dissertation, I am left wondering what a mirror text really is, and who gets to decide? In advocating for a more nuanced application of "mirror texts," I am not advocating against the use of mirror texts nor Sims Bishop's leadership and innovation in the field of multicultural literature. Rather, I align myself with her mission and her work, and I agree "literature transforms human experience and reflects it back to us, and in the reflection we can see our own lives and experiences as part of the larger human experience" (Sims Bishop, 1990, p. ix). Because literacy education like all parts of education is justice work, we as teachers, teacher educators, and researchers need to take up this metaphor in a way that accounts for the particularities of context – people and place, both local and global.

Finally, as a former classroom teacher, I stand in solidarity not only with students who have marginalized identities, but also with their teachers. Mrs. Thomas was a thoughtful, kind, and hardworking teacher who chose *Outcasts United* (St. John, 2012) because she believed her students would enjoy and connect with it. While we in the field of educational research complicate the notion of mirror texts and connection making, it is imperative that our scholarship simultaneously considers how to support teachers' instructional efforts at inclusivity without creating more "should" narratives (a.k.a. teacher guilt trips) for well-meaning teachers. Refugee and immigrant students and their teachers both need support in dismantling damaging discourses and systems of

oppression, and we all in education scholarship must be willing to take part in this important work.

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Appendix A: Plan for Collection of Different Data Sources

Data Source	Plan for before field visits	Plan for during field visits	Plan for after field visits
Video and Audio Recordings	Check recording equipment for technological readiness - make sure there is sufficient data storage, battery life, etc. for the upcoming visit.	Video record book group; use supplemental audio recorder(s) to capture student talk at respective tables that could be missed due to camera angle and recording limitations. Audio record all interactions at field site with students not during book group (e.g., at dinner, recess, or homework help) in event data to relevant to the research questions is presented	As soon as possible, review recordings for data relevant to research focus; mark recordings with salient points for transcription. Transcribe marked recording in part or in whole within a week of their recording to ensure they were rendered as accurately as possible; transcriptions will note participant speech as well as paralinguistic and nonverbal cues.
Field Notes	Review wonderings and lingering questions from previous visit;	Record fieldnotes and jottings throughout visit, noting key moments or events to revisit in recordings or	Within 24 hours, type fieldnotes; separate observations from interpretations; begin identifying key

Data Source	Plan for before field visits	Plan for during field visits	Plan for after field visits
	form and plan to ask potential follow-up questions.	relevant action that occurs outside the camera view.	events and make personal, theoretical, and methodological notes At the end of each week(about 2 visits), re-read all fieldnotes to guide intensive discourse analysis, and/or to support (or disprove) findings
Artifact Collection	Check camera for technological readiness - make sure there is sufficient data storage, battery life, etc. for the upcoming visit.	Take pictures of student work products relevant to the research question. Make note of these artifacts and why they were recorded in fieldnotes.	Organize and categorize artifacts. Add descriptions as to who, what, where, when and why the artifact was collected. Redact documentation to protect participant privacy.
Informal Participant Interviews	Review wonderings and lingering questions from previous visit; identify students to potentially interview and clips for stimulated recall	Ask to interview students, when applicable; audio or video record interview, depending on participant comfort. Talk to Mrs. Thomas after book group, ask about preliminary or lingering Qs	Log and index interviews; transcribe parts relevant to research question in part or in whole.

Appendix B Inventory of Recordings and Artifacts

Date Collected	Video Recording	Audio Recording	Additional Recordings	Artifacts Collected
2017-11-28		40:28	Audio - Other	Student work products; Teacher created materials
2017-11-30	31:01	30:41		
2017-12-05	26:02	30:58	Audio - TT	
2017-12-07	23:11	34:24	Audio - Other	
2017-12-12	30:08	29:56	Audio - Other	
2017-12-14	38:44	37:18	Audio - Other	Still images of students
2018-01-09		58:41	Audio - Other	
2018-01-11	37:41	42:55	Audio - Other	
2018-01-18	38:09	43:04	Video – TT; Audio - Other	
2018-01-23	33:00	42:17	Audio - TT; Video - TT; Audio - Other	Still images of students; Student work products
2018-01-25	29:41	37:55	Audio - Other	
2018-01-30	20:05	32:47	Audio - Other	
2018-02-01	36:54	39:08	Video - Other; Audio - Other	
2018-02-09	39:05	5:14	Audio - Other	Teacher created materials
2018-02-13	26:09	26:10	Video - TT	Teacher created materials; Student work products
2018-02-15	36:42	18:21	Video - TT; Audio - Other	Still images of students
2018-02-20	39:18	33:04	Audio - TT	Teacher created material

Date Collected	Video Recording	Audio Recording	Additional Recordings	Artifacts Collected
2018-02-22	34:01	32:12		Still images of students; Teacher created materials; Student work products
2018-02-27	30:25	46:25	Audio - Other	Student work products; Teacher created materials
2018-03-01	28:08	0:00		
2018-03-06	36:21	0:00		
2018-03-08	33:08	0:00		
2018-03-13	33:28	33:04	Video - TT	
2018-03-15	41:36	0:00	Audio - Other	
2018-03-20	32:05	0:00	Video - TT	
2018-03-22	33:05	0:00	Video - TT	Teacher created materials; Student work products
2018-03-29	42:59	0:00		
2018-04-10	34:14	0:00	Audio - Other; Video - TT	Teacher created material
2018-04-12	29:11	0:00		
2018-04-17	33:39	0:00		Student work products
2018-04-24	36:07	0:00	Video - TT	Student work products
2018-04-26	40:09	0:00		
2018-05-01	27:29	0:00	Video - TT	
2018-05-03	34:32	0:00		
34 days	17h 46m	11h 35m		

Note. TT stands for Teacher Time, the setting of the *Outcasts United* book group. *Other* denotes recordings taken at the afterschool program outside of Teacher Time/book group meetings; the durations of these recordings are not included in the totals listed in this table.

Appendix C Transcription Key

?	Rising intonation
!	Emphatic tone
=	No pause between turns of talk
...	Noticeable pause in talk
[...]	Omitted talk
Underlined text	Emphatic or stressed speech
CAPITALIZED TEXT	Particularly emphatic or stressed speech
–	Sudden stop in current sound
::	Immediately preceding sound is elongated
((plain text))	Description of nonlinguistic action
((*italicized text*))	Summarized section of talk
Italics	Words read directly from text
[plain text]	Text added for clarity
xxx	Undecipherable talk
Student	Student speaker, identity unknown
Students	Multiple students speaking at once

Appendix D Connection Sequences by Date

Date	**Codes**
17-11-28	Open
17-12-05	Narrow
17-12-07	Open
17-12-07	Unsolicited
17-12-07	Unsolicited
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Narrow
18-01-11	Open
18-01-11	Open
18-01-11	Unsolicited
18-01-30	Narrow
18-02-01	Narrow
18-02-01	Narrow
18-02-01	Narrow
18-02-01	Narrow
18-02-01	Open
18-02-01	Unsolicited
18-02-09	Open
18-02-09	Open
18-02-09	Open
18-02-09	Open

Date	**Codes**
18-02-09	Unsolicited
18-02-20	Narrow
18-02-20	Narrow
18-02-20	Open
18-02-22	Narrow
18-03-01	Narrow
18-03-01	Narrow
18-03-01	Open
18-03-01	Open
18-03-06	Open
18-03-08	Narrow
18-03-08	Narrow
18-03-08	Open
18-03-08	Unsolicited
18-03-08	Unsolicited
18-03-08	Unsolicited
18-03-08	Unsolicited
18-03-13	Open
18-03-13	Open
18-03-15	Narrow
18-03-15	Narrow
18-03-15	Narrow
18-03-15	Open
18-03-15	Unsolicited
18-03-20	Narrow
18-03-20	Narrow
18-03-20	Open
18-03-22	Narrow
18-03-29	Narrow

Date	**Codes**
18-03-29	Narrow
18-03-29	Open
18-03-29	Unsolicited
18-03-29	Unsolicited
18-03-29	Unsolicited
18-03-29	Unsolicited
18-04-10	Narrow
18-04-10	Open
18-04-10	Open
18-04-12	Narrow
18-04-12	Open
18-04-12	Open
18-04-12	Open
18-04-12	Open
18-04-12	Unsolicited
18-04-17	Narrow
18-04-17	Open
18-04-17	Open
18-04-17	Open
18-04-17	Unsolicited
18-04-17	Unsolicited

Date	**Codes**
18-04-24	Narrow
18-04-26	Narrow
18-04-26	Narrow
18-04-26	Narrow
18-04-26	Narrow
18-04-26	Open
18-04-26	Open
18-04-26	Open
18-05-01	Open
18-05-01	Unsolicited
18-05-03	Narrow
18-05-03	Narrow
18-05-03	Narrow
18-05-03	Open
18-05-03	Narrow
18-05-03	Open
18-05-03	Open
18-05-03	Open,
18-05-03	Open
18-05-03	Open
18-05-03	Unsolicited

Appendix E Transcript 13 Leopard Lady Argues There is a War in Clarkston

1	Mrs. Thomas	It says that they - rather than making noise, they simply retreated
2		into their homes. What do you think that means? Alma?
3	Daniel	They're going back inside.
4	Emma	Hmm?
5	Mrs. Thomas	Why do you think that – Do you know what retreated means? like
6		Daniel said they're going back and staying inside their houses.
7	Emma	Mmm-hmm
8	Mrs. Thomas	So why would they be doing that?
9	Emma	Maybe because of snow?
10	Mrs. Thomas	((short laugh)) Well think about what we've been talking about
11		how the town is CHANGING, all the changes that are taking
12		place. So why do you think the people that have lived there for a
13		long time are just... staying inside their houses?
14	Emma	...I don't know.
15	Mrs. Thomas	You don't know
16	Emma 17:27	((shakes head))
17	Mrs. Thomas	CR7 what do you think?
18	CR7	Probably, like there's a lot of trash, and like...
19	Mrs. Thomas	Why – why do you think there's a lot of trash?
20	CR7	Um, like, there's a lot of blood in the ground or something?
21	Mrs. Thomas	A lot of blood? Why?
22	CR7	Because it says there was - they were fighting?
23	Mrs. Thomas	Well, so that- that wasn't referring to in Clarkston. That was
24		referring to a situation that happened in another country
25	Mrs. Thomas	Jessica, what do you think?
26	Jessica	Um, there is something bad going on outside?
27	Mrs. Thomas	There's something bad going on outside?
28	Jessica	((nods))
29	Mrs. Thomas	Captain Bad Hair Cut
30	Captain BHC	Maybe, like, they don't want to make any trouble, or they want to
31		change anything so people don't get mad at them and kick them
32		out.
33	Lion King	I know something=
34	Mrs. Thomas	=They don't want to make any trouble about what?
35	Captain BHC	Like, um like, mess something up so people won't be mad...
36	Mrs. Thomas	Who are those people that you mean?
37	Captain BHC	The refugees.
38	Mrs. Thomas	So the refugees aren't mad at the people that are living there.

39	Captain BHC	Yeah ((nods))
40	Lion King	I know something -
41	Mrs. Thomas	Okay, so they're just kind of not... talking to them... Lion King,
42		what do you think?
43	Lion King	Maybe it's like - maybe there's like new things that everybody
44		follows. So they so maybe there's war there... the wars stopped
45		work at their, like their country, and maybe they'll come back.
46	Mrs. Thomas	Are you talking about the refugee.
47	Lion King	No! ((laughs)) I'm talking about the old people
48	Students	((laughter))
49	Mrs. Thomas	The older people? That there's ware in the United States?
50	Lion King	No! ((puts hands over face))
51	Mrs. Thomas	Well, help me understand I don't understand what you're saying.
52	Students	((laughter))
53	CR7	Guys, it's not a joke ((looks at the camera, laughs))
54	Lion King	I mean they're going back to the state that they were born at...
55	Mrs. Thomas	so you think that they're leaving Clarkston to go back to where
56		they're originally from?
57	Lion King	((nods))
58	Mrs. Thomas	Why do you think they want to leave Clarkston?
59	Lion King	Because it says, the older – the older, older residents of Clarkston
60		simply retreated into their homes, and homes means home
61		country.
62	Mrs. Thomas	No, well they're talking about their homes in Clarkston.
63	Lion King	I want to bang my head on the wall right now ((hits book with
64		head))
65	Leopard Lady	((waving hand in the air))
66	Mrs. Thomas	Leopard Lady, do you have any thoughts to share?=
67	Leopard Lady	=((brings hand straight down in front of her body, leans forward))
68		Tha::nk you!.. because of wa::r
69	Mrs. Thomas	Is there a war going on in Clarkston?
70	Leopard Lady	Probably!
71	Lion King	About what! City and versus city? Town versus town?
72	Leopard Lady	Yes!
73	CR7	=((quietly)) Country versus country
74	Mrs. Thomas	What do you –
75	Captain BHC	((quietly, to self)) People versus people
76	Mrs. Thomas	Have we read anything about a war going on in Clarkston?=
77	Leopard Lady	((shadow boxing in seat as Mrs. Thomas starts talking))
78		=but I know there's a war! ((raises arm above head, points finger,
79		and swiftly brings it down across her body as talks))
80	Mrs. Thomas	Is there one going on in Clarkston?
81	Leopard Lady	Ye::s ((stands up, bobbing back and forth on toes))
82	Lion King	Well, what is – what is it?=
83	Mrs. Thomas	=Okay, what – what is the war?=
84	Lion King	Yea, what is the war called?

85	Leopard Lady	Uh, um... CIVIL war! ((throws hand out in front of her as says
86		civil war))
87	Students	((Students erupt in prolonged laughter; CR7 and Captain BHC
88		double over in seats, rock back and forth; Leopard Lady is
89		standing, laughing))
90	Leopard Lady	((as students are laughing)) You know... No, I don't know ((sits
91		down))
92	Mrs. Thomas	Okay. Listen! There is a civil war that ... there is a civil war that
93		took place in United States. But it was a long time ago. This is
94		right now in Clarkston. They're talking about in like, the 2000s...
95		((goes on to explain what 'retreated ion their homes' meant))