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BECOMING LITERATE IN A CROWD: A SOCIOCULTURAL STUDY OF THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF READING AND WRITING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A FIRST GRADE CLASSROOM

By

Becky Wendling Kirschner

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

BECOMING LITERATE IN A CROWD: A SOCIOCULTURAL STUDY OF THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF READING AND WRITING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A FIRST GRADE CLASSROOM

By

Becky Wendling Kirschner

The purpose of this study was (1) to develop a model for studying literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, and (2) to use the model to gain an insiders' perspective into the dynamic process of the teaching and learning of reading and writing within the context of a first grade classroom.

The year-long sociocultural (Wertsch, 1981) and interpretive (Erickson, 1986) study was conducted in a first grade classroom. Data collected included: field notes and audio and video tapes of classroom interactions, interviews with the teacher and students, and documents including the teacher's journal and students' writing.

The literacy event served as a conceptual and analytical framework for documenting and analyzing data and was developed by combining the units of analysis used by the sociocultural approach (activity), by anthropologists (event), and psychologists (task). Following the conventions of the sociocultual approach, historical and genetic analyses were carried out on and across the sociocultural planes. Interactional analysis was carried out on the interactional plane and took into account the socio- psycho-linguistic aspects of the literacy activity and the context in which the literacy activity occurred. Inferences were then made about shared and individual meanings constructed by the teacher and the students.

The findings include a detailed account of the (1) the social and cognitive processes through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were carried out in this classroom, (2) the social relations in which the process occurred, (3) the meanings the teacher and her students constructed through their interactions, (4) the changes that

occurred in the meanings during four phases of the year, and (5) the interplay among the teacher's beliefs, the micropolitics and social organization of the classroom, the literacy activity, what children learned, and the larger context.

The model of the literacy event provides a framework for studying the individual and social as interacting systems and the process by which culture shaped cognition, and the detailed description of the face-to-face inteactions provides a grounded view of literacy teaching and learning in a classroom context.

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1993

For Teresa

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INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, naturalistic studies of children's language development have generated new ways of conceptualizing the language learner and the language learning process. Several lines of research have established the importance of social context and social interaction in children's early language development. Studies of mother/child interactions (Bruner, 1975, 1981; Snow, 1977; Wells, 1981; Scollon, 1979) and language development within the family (Taylor, 1983) have increased our understanding of the important role adults play in children's language development and have shown that literacy learning is socially constructed and embedded within social relationships.

The study reported in this dissertation grew out of my desire to understand how reading and writing are taught and learned through interactions which take place within the context of school classrooms. In reviewing the literature, I found that while much is known about how children learn to speak through interactions in informal settings, less is known about how they learn to read and write through interactions in school settings. Therefore, in this study I was interested in exploring school as a context for learning and in looking more closely at the interactional nature of language development, especially the development of reading and writing in school. In the following pages, I will report the findings from a year-long sociocultural study of the teaching and learning of reading and writing which I conducted in Lee Mead's first grade classroom.

In looking at literacy in Lee's classroom, I defined literacy as a cultural practice and a socio-cultural and psycho-linguistic process. I explored language and social context as an integrated whole and sought to gain an insider's perspective of the dynamic

process of the social construction of knowledge which took place in real time and in the daily lives of the participants through their face-to-face interactions.

From a prior ethnography of Lee's thinking and practice, I had learned that she saw a connection between classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the curriculum, and what children learned in her classroom. In her presentation at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association in Washington D.C. in 1987, Lee described the type of relationship she had developed with children and explained how she perceived that relationship interacting with classroom management and curriculum.

> We now give students more time and space to try out new ideas. We more honestly listen to them and talk with them. We answer many questions with another question. We challenge them to think instead of assuming that teachers have the best right answer. We believe that they will become more responsible as we control them less. We believe that they will cause fewer discipline and management problems when we present them with a curriculum that is more consistent with their developmental needs as first graders. (Curtis, 1987)

Given these insights into Lee's beliefs, I wanted to study more closely the process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing was carried out in Lee's classroom by examining the relationship between the social and academic life in Lee's classroom, and looking at how that relationship might influence and shape the literacy teaching and learning process as well as what was learned. The purpose of this research was to gain insights into (1) the social and cognitive process being carried out in Lee's classroom, (2) the meanings and interpretations Lee and the students constructed through their interactions, (3) the changes in the meanings and interpretations that might occur over time, and (4) the interplay among Lee's beliefs, the social relations or micropolitics of the classroom, classroom management or the social organization of classroom life, the literacy curriculum and literacy activity, what the children learned about reading and writing, and the larger cultural context.

My overarching questions for this study were

1. What is the nature of the process through which reading and writing are taught and learned in Lee Mead's first grade classroom?

2. What meanings and interpretations do the teacher and students construct and reconstruct through their interactions?

3. How do the teacher and students experience and interpret those interactions which focus on literacy teaching and learning?

4. How do the meanings and interpretations change over time?

5. How do the teacher's beliefs, the social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, and what the students learn interact with and shape each other as the teacher and students create and recreate meanings and interpretations through their face-to-face interactions?

6. What do the students learn?

To conduct the study, I united the sociocultural approach with the approaches used by cultural anthropologists and cognitive psychologists in conducting studies of the teaching and learning of reading and writing. Using the sociocultural theory of activity as a framework, I combined the units of analysis used by the sociocultural approach (activity), by anthropologists (event), and by psychologists (task) to form a single unit of analysis, the "literacy event." The "literacy event" served as a conceptual and analytical tool during documentation and analysis.

Through the analysis of fieldnotes, documents, journal entries, interview transcripts, and audio and video recordings, I was able to trace changes in (1) the teacher and students' shared and individual beliefs and knowledge; (2) the classroom social relations; (3) the social organization of classroom events; (4) the socio-cultural and psycho-linguistic organization of literacy events; (5) what was taught and learned about participating in classroom life and about reading and writing, and (6) the larger social context in which the classroom was situated. From this data, I made inferences about how the teacher's beliefs, the social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum and literacy activity, what the students learned, and the larger social context in which the classroom was situated interacted with and shaped each other.

Findings from this study indicated that literacy functioned in this classroom as a social and cultural process and that literacy was a system within a system of social relations. The teaching and learning of reading and writing in this setting were deeply embedded within and intertwined with the social relationships and social processes of classroom life and were not merely cognitive processes. Social relationships were used to develop knowledge of reading and writing, and reading and writing were used to establish and negotiate social relationships.

Learning to read and write in this classroom was a gradual process of acculturation that was embedded in interactions that were part of the social processes of classroom life. Both the teacher and the students played an active role in shaping social relationships, how the classroom was organized socially, and what was taught and learned. Through their face-to-face interactions, the teacher and students created and recreated contexts in which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were carried out. The context created through one series of interactions shaped what was taught and learned through the next series of interactions. Through a dynamic process in which webs of meanings and interpretations were created and recreated through face-to-face interactions (Geertz, 1973), Lee and her students developed a classroom culture consisting of shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of other (Goodnough, 1964, 1976), and constructed a classroom culture of literacy consisting of a shared set of values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing (Smith, 1983). The meanings and interpretations constructed on the interpersonal plane were then internalized on the intrapersonal plane (Vygotsky, 1978).

The findings from the study are reported as a case study of the natural history of teaching and learning in Lee's first grade classroom. The case study describes how one teacher and her students experienced the teaching and learning of reading and writing within the context of school. It reports from the insider's perspective the dynamic process

Lee Mead and her students engaged in to construct and reconstruct a literate community in which all of the students, even those considered hard to teach, came to see themselves as readers and writers. By accounting for the actions of the individual learner, the relevant features of the environment, and changes in "individual-environment interactions across time, from before learning, through during learning, and after having learned" (Erickson, 1982, p. 159), the case study provides insights into (1) the process of acculturation through which these children became readers and writers in school and (2) the interplay of teacher beliefs, social relations, the social organization of classroom life, the literacy curriculum and literacy activity, what students learned about reading and writing in this context, and the larger social context in which the classroom was situated.

It is important to note that I do not offer this as a case study of exemplary practice nor as a model for a literacy curriculum. That is not my intent nor is it how the teacher experienced, perceived, or described what happened that year. Rather, this is a case study of one year in this teacher's ongoing process of development, of her search to find a way to provide all students with a quality education, and of how she and her students experienced and made sense through their interactions in that classroom.

The findings from this study have implications (1) for researchers and teachers who are interested in better understanding the teaching and learning of reading and writing in classrooms; (2) for teachers and researchers who want to educate students who are considered hard to teach; (3) for teacher educators who want to improve the education of teachers; and (4) for policy makers who want to reform schools.

Overview of Dissertation

In the following chapters, I will present the theoretical foundations of the study, the research findings, and the implications of those findings. The first three chapters focus on the theoretical and methodological foundations for the study. In Chapter One, I

will introduce the problem addressed in this study and describe the events and research which generated the questions I used to frame the study. First I will provide background information about the context out of which this study grew. Then I will describe the events that raised the overarching questions that guided the study. Finally, I will review the research on which the definition of literacy used in this study was based and the research approaches used to date to study literacy learning. In Chapter Two, I will present the theoretical framework for the study. I will begin by presenting key concepts in the sociocultural theory of learning. Then I will introduce the "literacy event" which served as the unit of analysis in this study. Last, I will provide a vignette of a literacy event to illustrate how I used the model of the literacy event to frame literacy activities in Lee's classroom. In Chapter Three, I will introduce the setting and participants, present the methods and procedures I used to study and analyze the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom, and discuss how I arrived at the approach I used to report the findings from the study.

In Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven, I will present a natural history (Erickson, 1982) of the teaching and learning of reading and writing which occurred in Lee Mead's first grade classroom during an academic year. To capture the dynamic nature of the process as experienced by the participants and to account for change over time in both shared and individual meanings and interpretations, the chapters are arranged chronologically and provide case studies of four interactional phases in the year-long acculturation process. To demonstrate how the meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions created the context in which they constructed and reconstructed meanings and interpretations in subsequent interactions, each chapter reports (1) the goals and motives Lee and her students had when a phase began; (2) the interactional process through which they constructed and reconstructed meanings and interpretations during each phase; and (3) the meanings and interpretations they had constructed throughout the phase.

In Chapter Four, I will describe the dynamic process through which Lee and her students constructed a classroom social context. First, I discuss Lee's goal for the year and show how she used her beliefs about children, children's culture of literacy, community, and pedagogy and her knowledge of the larger context in which her classroom was situated to create a classroom context before the students arrived. Next, I will describe the interaction process through which Lee and her students established social relationships and notions of the social organization of classroom life and created shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of others (Goodnough, 1964, 1976). Finally, I will discuss the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions during Phase I.

In Chapter Five, I will show the dynamic process through which Lee and her students constructed a classroom culture of literacy. First, I will describe how the focus of the interactions shifted from creating a social context that would support learning to creating a classroom subculture of literacy that would prepare students to become part of the larger culture of literacy. Second, I will describe Lee and her students' shared and individual goals when Phase II began. Next, I will describe the interactional process Lee and her students engaged to develop a shared set of values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing (Smith, 1983). Finally, I will discuss the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed about the classroom social context and about reading and writing through their interactions during Phase II.

In Chapter Six, I will describe the dynamic process Lee and her students engaged in to construct meaning during Phase III while Lee struggled to balance the social and academic needs of individuals with the social and academic needs of the group and to find a balance between muting and asserting her authority as she worked to maintain order and to give the children an opportunity to use their creativity to take responsibility for and ownership of their own learning. Through this account, I will illustrate how Lee's

beliefs, classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum and literacy activities, what students learned, and factors outside the classroom interacted with and shaped what was taught and learned during Phase III. First, I will discuss the shared and individual goals Lee and her students held before the phase began. Then, I will describe Lee and the student's interactions as they continued to construct a classroom culture that would support learning and a classroom culture of literacy that would prepare all of the students to join the larger culture of literacy. Finally, I will describe the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions in Phase III.

In Chapter Seven, I will describe the process Lee and the students engaged in during the final phase of the year as Lee focused on meeting the needs of individual students and of the group. First, I will discuss Lee and the students' individual and shared goals when the phase began. Second, I will describe the process Lee engaged in to bring individual students into the classroom subculture and the classroom subculture of literacy in the hope of preparing them for the culture of school and the culture of literacy while at the same time striving to maintain an environment that would support all of her students social and academic development and "get them as far as they could go" before the end of the year. Third, I will describe the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and the students constructed through their interactions during Phase IV. Finally, I will summarize the dynamic process Lee and her students engaged in throughout the four phases of the year.

In Chapter Eight, I will discuss the implications the study has for research and for teaching.

CHAPTER ONE

FRAMING THE PROBLEM

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will provide background on the problem addressed in this study by describing the context out of which it emerged and the events and research which framed the problem. In sections one, I will provide some background information about this study. I will describe the national context in which the study was set and the larger project out of which it emerged. In section two, I will describe how the problem addressed in this study was framed by questions that were generated by events which occurred during the first three academic years of the larger study. In section four, I will examine what we know about literacy and literacy learning. First, I will present a current definition of literacy and the research on which it is based. Second, I will review research on literacy and literacy learning to examine what approaches have been used and what we have learned from them. Finally, I will conclude by arguing that given the problem I set out to study, I needed (1) to find a theory of learning which takes into account both the social and cognitive aspects of literacy learning and (2) to develop a model which provides a framework for looking at the individual and social as interacting systems and at the process by which culture shapes cognitive development.

The National Context: Schooling and Literacy

A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, published in 1983, warned Americans that illiteracy was a serious problem in the United States and that millions of students were failing to learn to read and write in our schools. The report stated that "about 13 percent of all 17-year-olds in the United States can be considered functionally illiterate; functional illiteracy among minority youth may run as high as 40 percent;" "many 17-year-olds do not possess the 'higher order' intellectual skills we should expect of them;" and "nearly 40 percent cannot draw inferences from written material; only one-fifth can write a persuasive essay; and only one-third can solve a mathematics problem requiring several steps" (pp. 8-9). The report went on to say that

> Individuals in our society who do not possess the levels of skill, literacy, and training essential to this new era will be effectively disenfranchised, not simply from the material rewards that accompany competent performance, but also from the chance to participate fully in our national life. (p. 7)

The authors argued that the very survival of our nation is threatened by an undereducated and illiterate citizenry.

Response to this report was immediate and intense. Calls for reform came from all segments of society. Given that literacy has been linked to the notion of equal opportunity and democracy in the minds of Americans, this response was not surprising. Our nation was founded on the Enlightenment belief in equality. The Declaration of Independence explicitly states,

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

Enlightenment thinkers such as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin saw a link between equality and education. They believed that to protect people's inalienable rights, it was necessary to have an educated electorate to guard against possible excesses in government and to insure that each member of the new nation would be able to secure the rights guaranteed to them by nature.

While the perception of what it means to be educated changed over time, being literate and being educated have always been related. The relationship between schooling and literacy, on the other hand, has not always been taken for granted (Cook-Gumperz, 1986). However, over the past century or so, a relationship between literacy and schooling has been established. Literacy has become "an unquestioned part of present-day social knowledge that literacy is both the purpose and the product of schooling" (Cook-Gumperz, 1986, p. 16). The belief that "literacy plays a major role in the improvement of the quality of life for individuals, social groups and even whole societies" (Cook-Gumperz, 1986, p. 16) is equally well accepted.

Once the relationship between schooling and literacy was established, expectations for schooling changed as definitions of literacy changed. At one time, people were considered literate if they could write their names and recite simple texts, and schools were held responsible for teaching basic literacy skills of decoding and encoding required to achieve these tasks. Currently, according to Theodore Sizer (1984), being literate means being able to "understand ideas and arguments to a degree that allows an individual to use them" (p. 86).

Today, universal schooling and universal literacy are expected. Schools are now charged with bringing all students to this high level of literacy heretofore applied only to a limited elite (Resnick and Resnick, 1977). Lauren Resnick (1981) notes:

> Although it was once considered enough to offer instruction only to those who were likely to learn easily and willingly, it is today considered necessary to strive for successful instruction even of reluctant and hard-to-teach students. Although it was once all right to tolerate substantial amounts of functional illiteracy in our population, we are today engaged in a struggle to raise everyone's literacy to levels undreamed of a century ago (p. 9).

Amid the calls for reform which followed the publication of A Nation at Risk, I became part of a research team conducting an ethnographic study of teacher thinking and practice. As part of that project, I had an opportunity to work collaboratively with a first grade teacher who was reflecting on and implementing changes in her practice. Throughout the five years I worked with Lee Mead, her primary goal was to improve her practice so that she could provide a quality education to all of her students, even those she considered reluctant to learn and hard to teach. The study reported here was conducted during the fourth year of our work together when Lee's primary focus was on developing a curriculum and pedagogy that would support children's learning of reading and writing, and on assessing how the children experienced the changes she made in her practice and what they learned about reading and writing.

In the following section, I will provide background on the larger project out of which this one year study grew.

The Teacher Development and Organizational Change Project

The Teacher Development and Organizational Change Project (TDOC) has been discussed by project participants in a number of presentations and articles in which the teachers, principals, and researchers have presented their perspectives on our collaborative work. In the following paragraphs, I will present a brief history of that project before I discuss the events which led to the study reported here.

In response to national calls for reforms in education and for the preparation of more reflective teachers, Frederic Erickson, Douglas Campbell, and Richard Navarro developed a proposal for the Institute for Research on Teaching at Michigan State University. From previous ethnographic studies of classroom life and teachers' thinking which Frederick Erickson and his colleagues had conducted in the Boston and Mid-Michigan areas, the researchers knew that participating in ethnographic research had

stimulated teachers' reflection on their practice and that, in a number of instances, reflection had led to change in the teachers' practice. It appeared that the ethnographers' non-intervening presence and non-judgmental questions about their practice had helped the teachers in the studies make explicit their rich store of implicit knowledge about their practice.

Like the earlier studies, the TDOC Project was designed as an ethnographic study of teacher thinking and practice, but this time an explicit goal of the study was to use ethnographic methods to stimulate teacher's reflection on their practice and to document changes which might occur naturally as a consequence of that reflection. The project set out to answer the overarching questions: What happens when teachers reflect on their practice as a natural consequence of participating in an ethnographic study of their practice? What changes occur in their thinking and practice?

The researchers were committed to working collaboratively with a small group of elementary teachers in culturally, racially, and/or socio-economically diverse classrooms; to letting the teachers' interests and questions guide the project focus; to using the ethnographic methods of participant observation, dialogue journals, informal interviews, and audio and video recordings of classroom events to stimulate teachers' reflection on their practice; and to developing audiences with whom teachers could share their now explicit knowledge and thus bring teachers' voices into the debates on school reform. In addition, from the previous studies, the researchers had discovered that working with reflective teachers had also led researchers to reflect on their own practice. Therefore, another goal of the project was for researchers to document their own thinking and changes in thinking.

As a research assistant, I participated in identifying a site and negotiating entry. After looking for a district with racial, ethnic, and/or socio-economic diversity and for a group of teachers interested in reflecting on their practice, we gained entry into a district with a diverse socio-economic population but with little racial or ethnic diversity. With

the help of the district's superintendent, we approached three first grade teachers and their principal who worked in the district's elementary school with the lowest SES and greatest number of elementary students whom the district and teachers considered at risk to be successful in school. All four were identified as outstanding professionals, all had Master's Degrees, and all had extensive teaching experience. The teachers had from eight to twelve years of experience and had been working together in the same building and at the same grade level for eight years. All were interested in reflecting on their practice and on providing a quality education for all students. The principal had extensive teaching experience and was in her first year as principal.

During January, the practitioners and researchers began negotiating entry. In February I became a participant observer in Lee Mead's first grade classroom. For the next four and one half years, I observed, documented, and analyzed changes in Lee's thinking and practice.

In the following section, I will present what I learned during the first three years of the larger study about Lee's beliefs about children, teaching and learning, classroom management, literacy, and the culture of school and discuss how the insights I gained into Lee's thinking and practice generated questions which framed this study. I will describe changes in Lee's thinking and practice, insights I gained into her thinking, and the questions which emerged and framed the way I looked at the teaching and learning of reading and writing in her classroom.

Changes in Lee's Thinking and Practice

Like the other participants of the TDOC Project, Lee and I sought to establish a collaborative relationship, to let Lee's interests and questions establish our focus, and to use ethnographic methods to stimulate Lee's reflection on her practice and thus make her implicit beliefs explicit. Over time, I observed and documented changes in these beliefs and in her practice. Gradually, I became aware of the interplay of factors that shaped her thinking and of the way changes in her thinking were intertwined with changes in her practice. As my understandings grew, I generated questions which began to frame the way I looked at the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom.

During the three and one half years I worked with Lee preceding my dissertation study, Lee reflected on her beliefs about children and their learning, about teaching and her role in children's learning, about classroom management, about the literacy curriculum, about pedagogy, about the school culture, and about the connections among these.

In the following section, I will trace what Lee described as key changes in her thinking and practice and introduce questions which these changes raised for me. The beliefs and the changes in them reported here are those which Lee and I identified in an analysis of my fieldnotes, of our dialogue journal entries, and of transcriptions of meetings, conversations, and previous presentations in preparing for our presentations at the 1989 Ethnography in Education Forum at the University of Pennsylvania (Curtis, 1989; Kirschner, 1989). In the following discussion, I have quoted extensively from Lee's own words to preserve her voice and present her perspective.

Year 1

When Lee and I began working together in February 1985, our goal was to make explicit Lee's implicit beliefs about children and their learning and about teaching and her role in children's learning. From the beginning Lee made it clear that she was interested in reflecting on her practice because she believed that by reflecting on what she did, she could find ways to improve her practice and "provide a quality education" for all of her students. In one of her early journal entries, she expressed her beliefs that as a teacher, she was responsible for the child's social and academic development and that she saw a connection between behavior and learning. She noted that she felt responsible for students' learning and said that she wanted to make students independent learners, to make subject matter meaningful to their lives, and to structure the classroom in ways that would make students responsible for their behavior and learning. She wrote:

> Although the contract for employment that I sign is most specifically to teach academics ("skills" + "objectives"), this is not my priority. My main purpose and therefore my focus of attention - is to make them think for themselves!
>
> -to relate the subject-matter to them -specifically + individually
>
> -to cause them to see that they are directly responsible for themselves and all for their own decisions, behavior, and emotions
>
> -to help them learn that they choose their own thoughts, behaviors, + feelings and that it is possible to learn a positive attitude
>
> -that I am there to help, but they have to do the work in order to get anywhere
>
> So as much as possible, I try to structure a classroom in which they must accept the consequences for their own behavior. (Journal entry, 2/12/85).

In our work together from February to the following September, Lee chose to focus on making explicit her implicit beliefs about children as learners and about her role as a teacher. We used ethnographic methods to stimulate her reflection on her beliefs about what children know and need to know and on what role she as their teacher should play in their learning. She was especially interested in articulating the connection she saw between students' behavior and their learning.

Lee asked me to observe their behavior during seatwork while she was conducting reading groups to help her monitor the students' progress toward becoming responsible for their own learning. Like the other project participants, we exchanged dialogue journals and discussed what went on in the classroom. Before an observation, Lee would ask me to focus on a specific activity. I would observe that event and describe in vignette form what I had observed. Lee would focus on the same event and write about it from her perspective. Later, we would discuss what we had seen or respond to each other's description in our dialogue journals.

In most cases, we saw the same event quite differently. Given our differing perspectives - the teacher was inside of the action and I was outside of it - each of us supplied different information about the same event. In sharing our observations of children during seat work, Lee described what she saw from the reading table where she was conducting a reading group, and I described what I saw as I walked around the room or sat by the children while they did their work.

In some cases, my description gave Lee information about a child or children she could not have gotten from her vantage point inside the reading group. For example, in focusing on a child Lee had asked me to observe to learn how he used his time during seatwork because she said he had difficulty completing his work, the vignette I wrote described to Lee how he managed the class for her while she worked with her reading group. I described how children came to him to resolve conflicts or for suggestions about what to do when they completed their work and how, despite the interruptions, the child had continued to work on his seatwork assignments. On the other hand, Lee's journal entries gave me insights into her beliefs about children, about teaching and learning, and about classroom management. In her entries she frequently expressed her goals for her students and for herself. These entries gave me insights into the motives behind her practice and helped me make sense of what I saw her doing.

In analyzing the changes that had taken place in her classroom and her thinking during the first year of the study, Lee described it as a time of reflection that led to personal changes in how she saw the children, herself, and her practice. She said that the questions we asked her about her practice and the journal entries we exchanged had a powerful effect on her. She said our questions helped her begin to ask herself questions she had not asked before. Instead of taking what she did for granted, she said that she began to ask herself why she did what she did and to reflect on her everyday actions and to think about other possibilities she had not considered before. In her presentation Lee said,

> They asked us questions we knew the answers to, but until they had asked us, we hadn't thought about the answer. And so that began to get us to question some things that they had asked us about, too. We also began to act on those reflections, and therefore, these changes started to evolve. And they were not making suggestions of changes we should make, but just by us being asked those questions and thinking along those lines, we discovered ways that we wanted to change. (Curtis, 1989)

Lee also noted that our presence in her room gave her a second set of eyes and thus gave her insight into events and students she could not have gotten on her own. She said that this new way of seeing helped her see her students in a new way. Instead of looking at what they could not do, she began to look at what they could do, and in the process, she found that they were much more capable than she had imagined. In her presentation, Lee described the changes she experienced that first year in this way:

> I changed personally in the way I think and the way I look at things... And I think, when I said changes, the changes were within me and the way I looked at things. I began to look much more at my classroom ... much more at what was there and to appreciate and see the positive instead of looking at and focusing on what wasn't there and the negative. (Curtis, 1989)

While her ideas about students and their ability to take responsibility for their learning changed somewhat during that year, Lee continued to believe that she was responsible for the whole child and his or her social and academic development while he or she was in her classroom. At a meeting near the end of the year, she and the other teachers agreed that they felt 100% responsible for the children's development, academic

and social. However, in our conversations with Lee during the summer, she told us that she had begun to see that students could take on more responsibilities than she had believed was possible. She said that this realization had caused her begin to reconceptualize her role as teacher and to begin to think of herself as orchestrating rather than controlling children's learning (Interview, 7/25/85).

Lee's reflections gave me insights into her beliefs about children and about teaching and learning. I began to see that her beliefs about children shaped how she organized her classroom, what she taught, and how she thought about and carried out her role as teacher. I began to form questions about the relationship between her beliefs and her practice, especially about the connection between her beliefs about children and about teaching and learning. The questions which emerged were:

> Does Lee see a connection between her relationships with the children and classroom management?
>
> How might Lee's beliefs about children and how they learn interact with her social organization of the classroom?
>
> How might experiences she has had with students one year shape her beliefs about students the next year?

Year 2

During the second academic year (1985-1986), Lee continued to develop further insights into children and their learning. She also began to develop a new understanding and appreciation for the role of community in supporting children's learning, to take cooperation into account in her social organization of the classroom, and to examine the relationship of classroom management and academic tasks.

When the second year began, Lee told us she wanted to focus on classroom management. She said that her goal was to help the students become independent learners so that she could teach reading groups without being interrupted. Initially she sought to do this by establishing rules and routines for seatwork. When these did not achieve what she had hoped, she changed seatwork from an individual to a small group activity. When she concluded that the children could not work productively together, she

taught them cooperative learning strategies. Eventually, the changes she made in the social organization of the seatwork activities led to her making changes in the academic tasks the students engaged in during seatwork.

In analyzing the second academic year of the project, Lee described it as a year of change, first in management and later in curriculum. She noted that the initial organizational changes involved the seatwork segment of the morning and the way students were organized to complete their work. She reported that at first she made the changes to deal with a management problem she was having while the students worked at their seats and she conducted reading groups, not to address curricular concerns. "But it was still, we still did it for a management issue, not for a curriculum issue" (Curtis, 1989).

Lee described the changes in this way:

> Instead of seat work, the kids started going to centers. And that basically meant they were still doing seatwork, they were just doing it in different places. They would go here for their boardwork and here for the dittoes, but at least it changed that a little bit. It gave the kids a little more idea of an idea of timing in their class, in the classroom and some too of their responsibility. (Curtis, 1989)

Lee noted that an ongoing project discussion of "education" versus "schooling" and a researcher's observation about her reading group stimulated the major change she made in the social organization of her classroom. In addition, she said that our questions and our dialogue journals contributed to her reflection as did the video tapes made of her classroom. According to Lee, the video tapes helped her see her teaching in yet another way.

> The first day the kids walked in we had video tapes going. And we would look at those, and even though we had been there teaching, to turn around and watch us on video tapes, you saw completely different things. And we would reflect on that (what we saw) and discuss it. (Curtis, 1989)

Lee noted that these changes led her to see her students in a new way and these insights caused her to reassess how she had organized work in the centers. Initially, she had expected the students to work independently within the center group, but during the

first days of the shift from seat work to centers, Lee circulated around the room to observe and to keep the students on task. This meant that she could not work exclusively with the reading group as she had in the past. One day she said that she looked up from a center group back to the reading group and saw the students conducting a reading lesson much as she would have done had she been there. She said she was amazed that the children could work so well without her and that this discovery stimulated her to move toward cooperative learning in the centers.

Lee described how for several weeks she circulated among the centers to model how students who heretofore had been expected to work individually should now work as a group. She assigned captains in each center group, modeled supportive behavior, and established center procedures. She said that several weeks after she had made the organizational changes, she looked up from her reading group at a center she had anticipated would be a problem and discovered how well the students were working together.

The center she looked up to observe was the one in which she had given the students the ingredients and directions for making pumpkin pies for the class Thanksgiving feast. In previous years she had guided students through making the pies step by step with only one student doing the work while the others watched. To her amazement, when she looked at the pumpkin pie center she saw six children working collaboratively to complete the task. The group had assigned tasks without dispute and had even created a job for the extra person in the group. The child had gone to the office, gotten the school cart, and loaded the finished pies onto the cart to take them to the kitchen to bake. All of this had happened without Lee's intervention.

Lee said that the manner in which the students handled their new responsibilities and worked cooperatively made her recognize that they had more potential than she had thought. She said that events such as the "pumpkin pie" incident made her realize that

she had put limits on the students because she was unaware of what they were capable of doing. She said,

> We had limited these kids with our own thinking on what they could do. And so we started raising the ceiling and having higher standards for them because we were discovering how much they were capable of doing. (Curtis, 1989)

Lee said that at this point she began to see that there was a connection between the social organization of the classroom, classroom management, and what the children learned. These realizations led to curricular changes. The first curricular changes involved writing. Lee described it in this way.

> Instead of the kids just copying their work off of the board, we started doing something called stringing sentences. We would put a series of words on the board, and they could pick from those. Like, 'the' 'cat/dog/mouse' 'ran/jumped/played' 'in the' 'house/outdoors.' The kids could pick the words. The emphasis still was on spelling, correct spelling, and neat handwriting instead of a lot of creativity, but we thought, at that point, we thought, this is really open (of us) to do this. (Curtis, 1989)

Lee noted that the change in the writing task had an unexpected consequence. The students became involved in their writing and fewer management problems arose in that center.

> We started learning how the kids were becoming more responsible, and we suddenly started having fewer management problems. And we realized how directly connected our curriculum was to management. (Curtis, 1989)

Over the rest of that academic year and during the summer, Lee and Ann, the other first grade teacher, began to talk about how they could develop a curriculum that was more developmentally appropriate for their students. They attended inservice workshops and enrolled in a summer Math Their Way Program. Lee said that the theory of learning on which the Math Their Way Program was based helped her and the other teacher think about the academic and behavioral goals they had for their first graders.

> As we began to incorporate some of the philosophies (of the Math Their Way Program), we started to think a lot more about a developmental philosophy of working with children. And that program also helped us to articulate what we believed about children learning developmentally. (Curtis, 1989)

As I observed the changes Lee made in the social organization of the classroom and in her beliefs about what children were capable of doing, I began to generate new questions. In addition to those I had formed at the end of the first year, I asked:

> How do the children's actions shape Lee's beliefs about their ability?
>
> How do Lee's beliefs about the children's abilities shape and interact with her relationships with the students and her social organization of the classroom and the curriculum?

Year 3

During the third year (1986-1987), Lee continued to develop new insights about her students and to further her appreciation of the way cooperative learning could support student learning. She also began to gain new insights into how children learn to read and write. As she worked to change her practice to fit her new beliefs about children, teaching and learning, classroom management, and the literacy curriculum, a new issue emerged. A number of teachers in her building expressed their concern that the changes she and her colleagues were making in their classrooms were not in keeping with the educational philosophy of the rest of the school. Thus, in addition to focusing on making changes in her own classroom, Lee also began to focus on the concerns expressed by the other teachers in her building and to look for ways to support what she was doing.

When the third academic year began, Lee and Ann were determined to make major changes in their classrooms. They adopted the Math Their Way Program, changed their writing program, and planned a major change in their reading program. They attended more inservice workshops, visited process writing classrooms in a district where I was working as a part-time writing consultant, and worked with and visited the classroom of another first grade teacher in their district who had developed a trade-book centered reading program.

Lee began the year by working to get to know her students as individuals, to build relationships with them, and to help them build relationships with each other and work cooperatively. As she had in the previous year, she introduced the children to cooperative

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learning strategies. She worked with them in their centers where she modeled cooperative behavior and established routines.

Throughout the third academic year, Lee also made major changes in her language arts program. She introduced a process writing program, and in mid-October she changed the way she ran reading groups. She eliminated homogeneous reading groups and instituted an individualized reading program. Reading became one of the morning center activities during which students worked in heterogeneous center groups. In January, Lee replaced the basal readers with trade-books.

In analyzing the changes she made during the third year, Lee described it as a year during which she focused on curricular issues.

> The third year ...our focus (was) still a little bit on management, but we were really beginning to focus in (on) and refine our curriculum. And by January, we really started a very open language arts program. (Curtis, 1989)

Instead of having me observe in her classroom weekly as I had done, Lee asked me to work with her and the other first grade teacher on redesigning their language arts curriculum, and to observe in her class on a less regular basis. In describing the changes they made in the curriculum, Lee noted that the first changes involved writing.

> We changed the string words to totally open creative writing. The kids used ...inventive think-spelling where... (they) sound out phonetically what they hear.... Then they begin to learn more about capital letters and periods and spaces (between words) and more about phonetic rules and their spelling just evolves. And we saw them get real excited about that kind of writing. (Curtis, 1989)

Lee also described how in mid-October she eliminated the homogeneous reading groups that had been the basis of her reading program. She noted that in their place she added a reading center to the morning centers. Instead of assigning the students to center groups based on their reading groups, she created heterogeneous center groups. She said that the desire to eliminate homogeneous reading groups had provided a major impetus for changing the reading program. Both Lee and her colleague had been disturbed by the way the reading groups had affected students' self image. The previous year, Lee had been especially dismayed when in the middle of the lowest reading group, one child had

looked up from his book around the table at the others and stated, "I hate this. We are in the lowest group. We are dumb!" (Fieldnotes 11/16/86).

Lee pointed out that in the revised program, students went to the reading center in a heterogeneous group and read to themselves or to each other or had an individual reading conference with her. The reading material also changed. After the first of January, the students read from trade books instead of basal readers.

> We brought in trade books. We started bringing all kinds of trade books. And the kids basically just read. They read to each other, they read books they've brought from home and memorized, they pretend they can read. They listen to books on tapes. Then all of the time they are doing this, we read books to them and teach them how to read books. And, they might even just read them back from memorization, but they start to make connections between written and oral words. We also have individual conferences with everyone. We ... meet one at a time and take notes on them individually and how they are reading. We might give them mini-lessons. (Curtis, 1989)

During the year, both Lee and I noticed dramatic changes in the students after she had made changes in the reading program. Although I had been focusing on documenting the literacy curriculum work Lee and Ann were doing and had been observing in her classroom less frequently than in other years, I had observed several times each month from the first day of class. During those observations, I had noticed several children who were only minimally engaged in center activities. One little girl, Marla, finished her center work, but her comments to the others in her group and the way she approached the tasks had led me to conclude that she had not made much sense of the tasks. On several occasions, she would ask Shelly, "What are we supposed to do here?" Shelly would explain what she had heard Lee say and begin to work. Marla would lean over, look at Shelly's paper and copy what Shelly wrote. Or on other occasions, Marla would quickly draw a picture on her writing paper, write a few words under it, and put it in the wire basket on the table. She might tell Shelly or another friend, "Let's hurry up and do our work so we can play!" Her talk was rarely about the task in which she was engaged. Instead, it focused on her new bracelet or her nail polish or new shoes. Other students had followed similar patterns during the first part of the year.

Several weeks after Lee had changed the reading program and the students had begun to keep writing folders, Lee asked me to observe in her room. She told me, "It just feels so different. The kids are really getting into it! I feel like we are getting closer to our ideal!" On the day I observed, Lee had brought in a box of trade books a friend had gotten for her at a garage sale. She told the children that she had a surprise for them and showed them the books in the box. Several students asked if they could "do centers right now?" Lee explained that they had other things to do first and the whole group groaned. When it was time for centers, the group who had reading group first cheered. I watched as they and subsequent groups moved to the reading table and selected books from the box or the shelves to read. Every child in every group read. Some read alone, some with a friend, and some read to Lee. At the writing center students showed me their folders. Bobby showed me a child-written book Lee had shown the class, and he told me, "we get to make books just like this when we finish our stories!" A number of children asked if I wanted to hear what they were writing. Students from the reading group came over to me to show me books they were reading. Janet said, "Look at this book I found in the box. I have the same book at home. I can read this!" and she read it to me and her friend Jane.

Throughout the next months, I observed and video taped in Lee's room frequently. The new "feel" in the room started to become unremarkable to me. Then I did not observe for a little over a month. When I returned to observe, I was struck by what I found. The minute I walked in the door, Marla, who had all but ignored me before even when I talked to her, grabbed me by the hand and said, "Come over here. I want to read my book to you!" She proceeded to read the book she had written and published to me, smiling all the while. Other children brought the books they had written for me to read or trade books which they read to me. I did not have a chance to take a single fieldnote during my observation that day. Lee saw what was going on and said over her shoulder something like, "No adult is safe in here. If they walk through the door, they are read to!"

Over the next few weeks, I observed more frequently in the room. I saw children who had been minimally engaged in the center tasks engaged and excited. I also saw children reading who had not been reading when they read only basals in their reading groups. A week or so before the last day of school, Ted, one of the boys who had been labeled learning disabled and was in the remedial reading program, brought me the book he had written with Lee's help and had just published. Slowly he read the story to me. At first I thought he had memorized the words and was telling the story from memory, but gradually, I observed that he was sounding out some words and using the context of his story to decode others. When he finished he looked at me and beamed, "I can read now. Did you know that?" In the following week, he read several books to me which he had not written himself, smiling all the while.

That year every child in Lee's room became a reader and a writer. According to Lee that was the first time that had happened in her fifteen years of teaching first grade despite her efforts each year to provide quality education to all of her students. We had both observed changes in the students during the year, but because my collaborative research with her had focused on her curriculum development and implementation and not explicitly on the students' learning, Lee and I could not explain or even describe the process the children had gone through to become readers and writers.

Through our discussions at the end of the year, it became clear that Lee and I were both interested in shifting and expanding the focus of our work together. Lee's interest grew out of her desire to improve her practice and provide a quality education for all of her students that would prepare them for the world and for remaining years in school. My interest stemmed from a desire to address the questions I had been generating about the connection between Lee's beliefs and her practice and the interplay of the social and the academic. In addition, I was interested in studying the teaching and learning of reading and writing in the context of school.

Planning the study

Lee and I agreed that I would conduct my dissertation study in her classroom the following year. Our goal was to document the teaching and learning of reading and writing in her classroom. We decided that during the next year, Lee would continue to reflect on her practice and beliefs and that in addition, we would document and analyze how she put her beliefs into practice, how the children experienced classroom literacy events, and what the children learned about reading and writing during the following year.

Lee planned to keep records of the children's progress in reading and writing and to give standardized tests to measure their literacy development. I planned to observe and document the teaching and learning of reading and writing to gain insight into the social and cognitive processes by which students became readers and writers in her classroom. I planned to do this by looking at the literacy occasions, how they were organized socially, how discourse was used in them, and how academic work was organized and accomplished. In addition, I planned to observe and document the micropolitics of social relations and to look at the social organization of the classroom in order to learn how Lee and her students constructed the classroom environment in which the students learned and displayed what they had learned. Finally, we both planned to observe and document the way the larger context of the school shaped Lee's thinking and practice.

Lee and I generated some general questions which would guide our study. Lee's general questions focused on curriculum, classroom management, and pedagogy.

1. What should be the content of the language arts program?
2. How can a language arts program be organized to take into account children's developmental needs?
3. How can one adult meet all of the emotional and academic needs of all kids, all of the time?
4. How is it possible to balance the need for order and the need to allow students to be creative at the same time?

In the previous years I had asked the questions:

Year 1

Does Lee see a connection between her relationships with the children and classroom management?

How might Lee's beliefs about children and how they learn interact with her social organization of the classroom?

How might experiences she has had with student one year shape her beliefs about students the next year?

Year 2

How do the children's actions shape Lee's beliefs about their ability?

How do Lee's beliefs about the children's ability shape and interact with her relationships with the students and her social organization of the classroom and the curriculum?

At the end of the third year, I added the following questions to those I had generated during the first two years:

Year 3

What is happening in this classroom that keeps students engaged in learning and supports students' becoming readers and writers?

How do the teacher and students experience and interpret those interactions which focus on literacy?

What meanings do the teacher and students construct and reconstruct through their interactions?

How do the relationships between Lee and the students and the students and their peers, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, and what the children learn interact with and shape each other?

However, at this point these questions were secondary to a prior question: What approach could I use to study literacy development within the context of Lee's classroom and to answer the questions Lee and I had generated? To address this question, I reviewed the literature on literacy and literacy learning to develop a definition of literacy and to discover an approach that would help me answer my questions. In the following section I will present the definition of literacy I used in this study and two approaches which have been used to study literacy learning. I will end by describing why these

approaches were insufficient for addressing the problem Lee and I had framed and the overarching questions I had developed.

A Definition of Literacy and Approaches Which Have Been Used to Study It

In the following section, I will review of the research that contributed to the current definition of literacy which I used in my study, examine two approaches that have been used to study literacy and the research they have generated, and discuss how the research and the two approaches contributed to my framing of the study of the teaching and learning of literacy in Lee's classroom.

Definition of Literacy

Over the past two decades, studies of the reading and writing processes and naturalistic and sociolinguistic studies of children's language development and emergent literacy, as well as cross-cultural studies of literacy, have given us new definitions of literacy and have expanded our understanding of literacy learning. Whereas literacy was once considered a psychological process, today it is defined as a cultural practice and a socio-cultural psycho-linguistic process.

As I noted earlier, definitions of literacy have changed over time. Psychologists, sociolinguists and ethnographers of communication, and cultural anthropologists and cross-cultural psychologists have all contributed to the current definition of literacy which framed this study. David Smith (1983) pointed out that historically, cognition has been "a central and analytic construct in traditional school-centric views of literacy" (p. 174). During the early part of the century the "behaviorist" view was the prevalent view held by psychologists studying literacy and language learning. Behaviorists held that literacy is a cognitive activity and that like other kinds of learning, language learning

"occurs as the result of the environment shaping an individual born with a given IQ...." (Lindfors 1987, pp. 96-97). Through a process of reinforcement (positive and negative), desired behavior is strengthened and negative behavior is abolished.

In the mid-60's, the "innatist" view of language learning gained ground and continued to define literacy as a cognitive process. Chomsky (1965) articulated a strong version of this position when he maintained that "every child is born with universals of linguistic structure 'wired in'" (Lindfors 1987, p. 104). He argued that the child does not have to learn "those features common to the structure of all human languages, for he is born with the skeletal framework of linguistic structure innately specified; the semantic, syntactic, and phonological possibilities of human language are already present" (Lindfors 1987, p. 104). Researchers such as Lenneberg (1964), operating out of the strong version of the innatist view, linked language acquisition to biological maturation, which supported the innatist claim that humans inherit a predisposition for language acquisition.

While the innatist view of language development dominated research efforts for a time, direct and intensive observations of children's language learning over time in natural settings conducted by developmental psychologists such as Donaldson (1978) suggested that the child is an active learner who has the ability to figure out language. Unlike Chomsky, who argued that the child's "wired in" "language acquisition devise" was "triggered" when the child was exposed to the language of his community, Donaldson and others held that the child's general capacity for inference made it possible for the child, through active hypothesis-testing and inference, to build a knowledge of language. By the early 1980's, systematic studies of children's language learning in natural settings had located language acquisition squarely within a social framework (Lindfors, 1987), and many psychologists and psycholinguists began defining literacy as a cognitive process learned in social interaction.

Ethnographers of communication and sociolinguists operating out of an anthropological perspective and building on definitions of culture as (1) learned and shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of others (Goodnough, 1964, 1976) and (2) as webs of meaning and interpretations created and recreated through face-to-face interactions (Geertz 1973), began studying language in natural settings in the early 70's. Drawing on their research, they argued that language usage "is governed by culture, subculture, and context specific norms which constrain both the choice of communicative options and the interpretation of what is said" (Gumperz, 1986, p. 53), and that literacy is not only a cognitive process but also a social and a linguistic process. As a social process, they held that it is used "to establish, structure, and maintain social relationships" (Bloome and Green 1984, p. 395), and as a linguistic process, it is used "to communicate intentions and meanings" between those involved in the literacy event (Bloome and Green, 1984, p. 395). Gumperz (1972) noted that

> Social rules, therefore, are much like linguistic rules; they determine the actor's (or speaker's) choice among culturally available modes of action or strategies in accordance with the constraints provided by communicative intent, setting, and identity relationships (p. 16).

By the early 80's, ethnographers of communication and sociolinguists were defining literacy as a sociolinguistic process.

Work in cognitive anthropology and cross-cultural psychology brought together the definitions of literacy offered by those working in the psychological and anthropological traditions. Through their research, they established that literacy is not simply a socio- or a psycho-linguistic process, but that it is a cultural practice, making it both a socio- and a psycho-linguistic process (Scribner & Cole, 1981; Lave, 1977).

In a series of studies among the Vai of Liberia, Scribner and Cole (1981) compared reasoning patterns of those who were literate in Western script, Arabic script, and a traditional Liberian script, Vai, with reasoning patterns of nonliterate Liberians. Because each script form was taught in a different context - Western script in schools,

Arabic script in church classes, and Vai script outside of schools - and because there were both schooled and unschooled persons literate in Vai, Scribner and Cole (1981) were able to compare the performance on school-like reasoning tasks of schooled and non-schooled people. From these comparisons, they concluded that the ability to perform in school-like reasoning tasks is not due to the influence of literacy so much as it is to the influence of schooling.

From their study, Scribner and Cole concluded that human reasoning is not culture-free but culture-specific and situation-specific, consisting of skills that are reflexively constituted in the context of situation of use and purpose. Calling these domain-specific and situation-specific operations "practices," Scribner and Cole noted that literacy is a practice. They argued that as a practice, "literacy is not simply learning how to read and write a particular script but applying this knowledge for specific purposes in specific contexts of use" (Scribner and Cole, 1981, p. 236).

Scribner and Cole's research had a significant impact on the way researchers looked at learning in general and literacy learning in particular. Drawing on cross cultural research on learning, psychologist Barbara Rogoff (1981) proposed that learning is context specific. As one of the earliest to articulate a theory of learning that linked cognitive activity to context, Rogoff noted that

> Evidence suggests that our ability to control and orchestrate cognitive skills is not an abstract, context-free competence that may be easily transferred across widely diverse problem domains, but rather consists of skills tied to somewhat specific types of cognitive activity in particular tasks. (p. 130)

Consequently, while people can generalize some aspects of knowledge to new situations, the assumption of broad generality is unfounded according to Rogoff. "Cognitive activity is influenced by the familiarity of the task materials and mental operations, and the familiarity of the goal and social situation of the cognitive activity" (Rogoff, 1981, p. 126). Rogoff argued that to study learning of all kinds and especially learning of language, it was necessary to study cognition and social context.

Sociolinguists and ethnographers of education also began expanding their definitions of literacy. Erickson (1984) noted that calling literacy a cultural practice means that like all cultural knowledge, literacy is socially constructed, and that what is learned is influenced by social, cognitive, and physical features present in social interaction. He said,

> To call these capabilities practices is to say that an individual's ability to think is dialogically defined, that is, constituted by (a) other people in particular forms of social relationship, (b) the physical objects (utensils, tools) and symbols (words, numbers) with which the individual interacts, directly or vicariously, in doing the thinking. Change the physical form of the tools or symbols, or change the social forms of relations among the people with whom the individual is learning the practice (or is performing it once learned) and one has profoundly changed the nature of the interaction - the nature of the learning task. In doing so one has also changed what is in ordinary parlance we call the ability of the individual. (p. 529)

In the last decade, literacy has come to be defined as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process. The definition of literacy and the theory of literacy learning generated by the research on literacy helped me frame what to look at and how to look at literacy teaching and learning in Lee's classroom. This research showed that I would have to look at both the social and cognitive tasks involved in the teaching and learning interactions related to literacy learning. It would be essential to look at the context in which teaching and learning occurred, to look at the people and the forms of social relationships in which they were involved, and to look at the tools and symbols used in the interactions.

To further frame how I might study the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom, I looked at the approaches which have traditionally been used to study literacy. In the next section, I will discuss those approaches.

Approaches Used to Study Literacy Learning

Prior to the redefinition of literacy discussed above, there has been a long tradition in the West of separating the study of cognition and cognitive development from the study of the cultural circumstances in which people grow up (Cole, 1985). Separate research approaches emerged to address these concerns. The psychological approach focused on the individual learner and the learner's cognition and cognitive development while the anthropological approach focused on groups and how members of the group are acculturated. In the following section, I will discuss the two approaches and the knowledge they have generated about literacy and literacy learning.

The Psychological Approach

The cognitive psychology approach. The largest and oldest body of research on reading and writing and on instruction in reading and writing was, for the most part, generated by psychologists who defined literacy as a cognitive process and sought to develop models of what occurs in readers' heads as they engage in the reading and writing processes.

Research on the reading process dates back to 1886 when Cattell published his work on letter and word recognition, legibility of letters and print type, and span of attention. In the past thirty years, researchers have shifted their attention to describing cognitive processes and have proposed various models describing the cognitive processes involved in reading. These models have described reading as "a psycholinguistic guessing game" (Goodman, 1970); a psycholinguistic process (Smith, 1971); a form of information processing (Gough, 1972); a process carried out by the automaticity of the component processes of decoding and comprehension (LaBerge and Samuels, 1974); an interactive process emphasizing flexible processing and multiple information sources, depending on contextual circumstances (Rummelhart, 1977); a process emphasizing comprehension to

the exclusion of word identification (Kintsch and van Dijk, 1978); and an interactive-compensatory process (Stanovich, 1980).

Other researchers developed models of the cognitive processes involved in writing (Hayes and Flower, 1980; Scardamalia, Bereiter & Goelman, 1982; Beaugrande, 1984). Hayes and Flower's model identified the subprocesses of the composing process as planning, translating, and reviewing and views writing as problem solving. Scardamalia, Bereiter & Goelman continue to work on a model that represents the differences between the schema of expert and novice writers. Beaugrande proposed a parallel-stage interaction model.

Rumelhart (1978) used the notion of schemata to characterize cognitive processes, while Alberson (1981) characterized them as scripts. These units were used to account for the representation and application of human knowledge.

In the early 1980's, Tierney and Pearson (1984) proposed a model of the reading process which went to the heart of understanding the connections between reading and writing. In "Toward a Composing Model of Reading," (1984), they argued that reading and writing are essentially similar processes of meaning construction, that both are acts of composing. Squires (1984) echoed that argument in "Composing and Comprehending: Two Sides of the Same Basic Process," in which he demonstrated six different ways in which the processes were the same.

Building on Tierney and Pearson's model, Butler and Turbill (1984) constructed a model showing the relationship between reading and writing throughout the before, during, and after phases of the composing processes. In addition, they combined Smith's (1982) notion of the conventions of written text with Tierney and Pearson's composing model, and they developed a model representing how reading and writing processes assist each other. By combining a model of the reading/writing processes with knowledge gained from the analysis of written text, Butler and Turbill brought together the two lines of research that had dominated school instruction in reading and writing for decades.

The approach used by cognitive psychologists provided methods for studying individual functioning and for generating theories about the processes humans employed to develop the cognitive processes of reading and writing. In addition, the approach provided ways for explaining how human knowledge is represented and applied. In framing my study, this approach helped me think about how to look at the cognitive processes involved in the teaching and learning of reading and writing, how to look at the connection between reading and writing, and how to look at individual functioning. However, it did not take into account the social, cultural, or linguistic aspects of literacy and literacy learning.

The interactionist approach. In addition to studying literacy as a process, psychologists also studied the development of language and literacy. Studies of language acquisition began with a focus on cognition and cognitive development but more recently have begun to look at the social as well the cognitive nature of literacy learning.

Building on studies of children's early oral language development (Bruner, 1975; Bruner and Feldman, 1982; Wells, 1981), Genishi and Dyson (1984) developed the "interactionist" view of language learning which brought the social aspects of language acquisition into prominence and contributed to a redefinition of literacy as a social as well as a psychological process. Genishi and Dyson concluded that children become language users through interaction. "Language development - and development in general - are accounted for by the interaction of the active, thinking child and her genetic makeup and the nature of her environment" (Genishi and Dyson, p. 2). The interactionist theory also held that "Every instance of language that the young child encounters is contextualized. That is, it occurs in some real situation for some real communication purpose" (Lindfors, 108).

From work on early language development, Teale (1984) and others further conceptualized the interactive nature of language development and the important role of adults in those interactions. They developed a vision of children as active learners who

become literate through interacting with an active environment peopled with adults who model the meaningful use of language and engage children in meaningful language events.

> Because literacy is socially accomplished, it develops through social interaction, with children internalizing not in a receptive but in a mutually constructive way the structure of the activities involving literacy in which they participate and which they observe being conducted in the world around them. Thus, natural literacy development entails active input from both the perspective of the learner and the perspective of the environment as parents engage in reading or writing which the child has the opportunity to observe, as parent(s) and child engage in interactive literacy events, or as the child independently attempts to read or write (Teale, 1984, p. 136).

Studies of both oral and emergent written literacy further illuminated the ways in which the child develops language in interactions with adults who support children's language development. Research on mother-child interactions in mainstream families documented the role played by adults and children in their interactions. They showed that the mother and child work together to learn to communicate with each other, to develop inter-subjectivity (Wells, 1986). The active child, driven by the innate human desire to communicate (Donaldson, 1978), works with the mother to jointly construct conversations. These studies included descriptions of "motherese," the mother and child's joint focusing of attention, their joint construction of conversation, their joint building of a repertoire of interactional formats and routines, their joint construction of a shared world of experience, and their mutual influence on one another's interactional styles (Lindorfs, 1987).

Summarizing the findings from studies of children's early language development, Florio-Ruane (1988) noted that in informal learning settings, adults and children jointly create occasions for practicing language by doing things together with language. In adult/child interactions "a) the activities are mutually engaging; b) they are about something to which language is necessary; c) adults and children work together to complete these activities; d) even when an activity is beyond a child's experience or

knowledge, the adult may well yield to the child in shaping the activities direction" (p. 276).

While the focus of these studies was on the interaction between adults and children, researchers also looked at the context in which these interactions occurred. Cambourne's (1984) research on children's oral language development provided insights into the role adults play in creating an environment that supports children's early language acquisition. From observing children interacting with adults in natural settings, Cambourne concluded that adults immerse the child in the meaningful use of language used for a variety of functions. Through their interactions with others and with the child, adults demonstrate the use of language. Because adults expect the child to learn to speak in time, they accept the child's approximation of language and allow the child to employ language for a variety of functions. By sharing responsibility with the child for the child's language development and by providing the child with meaning-based feedback, adults support the child's language development.

The interactionist view of the early language learner has also been applied to children's learning to read and write. Genishi and Dyson (1984) applied this theory to their discussion of children's spoken language as well as to children's learning to read and write. Researchers on emergent literacy supported this stance and adopted the interactionist view of language learning. Others, notably Frank Smith (1928) and Yetta Goodman (1986), have taken the position that learning to read and write are extensions of this early process of developing oral language. Goodman notes, "Written language is one expression of language, and is the major medium through which literacy is represented. The different functions literacy serve as a symbolic system for humans and the values it holds for the members of a society will affect the way in which children learn written language. Because it is language, children will learn it in ways similar to oral language" (p. 1).

In studying literacy learning in school, the interactionists adopted the approaches used by ethnographers of communication and sociolinguists. I will discuss this in the next section. But their early studies of language development and emergent literacy helped me frame my study by providing me with insights into approaches for studying cognitive development within the social interactional context. I found that it would be important to look at face-to-face interactions, at the student as an active learner, at the roles of both the student and the teacher in their joint construction of meaning and at the context in which learning takes place. However, this approach did not provide me with a way to look at literacy learning as a cultural practice or at the social and cognitive as an integrated whole.

To the questions I had generated earlier to guide my study, I now added the following:

> What is the teacher's knowledge of reading and writing?
>
> What schema and scripts represent her knowledge of the reading and writing processes?
>
> What skills and techniques does she teach the students?
>
> What sequence of events and actions does she use to represent the knowledge to the students?

The Anthropological Approach

Anthropologists, sociologists, ethnographers of communication, and sociolinguists take a different approach to studying literacy and literacy learning. Unlike psychologists who focus on individual learners and their cognitive processes and development, researchers in the anthropological tradition focus on the sociocultural processes involved in becoming a member of a literate community.

The notion of communicative competence is central to this view of literacy. It was originally proposed in order to account for the fact that "to be effective in everyday social settings speakers and listeners depend on knowledge which goes beyond

phonology, lexicon and abstract grammatical structure" (Gumperz, 1986, p. 53). Exploring patterning of language in face-to-face interactions and the functions of language in social interactions (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz and Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974), sociolinguists contended that when people come together in face-to-face interactions, they must signal and negotiate communicative rights and duties for that specific context. As contexts shift and evolve, so do the rights and duties of the participants. Therefore, within each context or situation, communicative rights and duties are negotiated by participants based on how they define what they are doing and who they are.

Sociolinguists have applied definitions and discussions of culture to their studies of literacy events at the level of face-to-face interactions. Like the interactionists, they stress the central role that face-to-face interactions played in literacy acquisition but look at those interactions from a cultural perspective rather than a cognitive. They explore cultural patterning of language in face-to-face interactions and the functions of language in social interactions (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974). While psychologists and psycholinguists studying language acquisition have focused on studying interactions between adults and children in informal settings such as the home, ethnographers of communication and sociolinguists have looked at literacy learning in social contexts of classrooms.

Looking at literacy learning in classrooms, they have assumed that there is an intimate relationship among language forms, the functions they serve, and the social contexts in which they occur (Mehan, 1979). In addition to exploring language in face-to-face interactions, they have explored language and social context as an integrated whole and have studied the social context and functions of language as well as how discourse is organized.

Instead of focusing on content or instructional technique, sociolinguists focus on the learning environment and those aspects of the setting and of student and teacher

background that affect the transmission of knowledge and thereby constrain what is learned. Teaching and learning are treated as interactive processes that require active participation of teachers and students. What is accomplished in the classroom is studied as a function of what is communicated through the interplay of curricula, pedagogical strategies, and what participants perceive over time (Gumperz, 1986).

To study classroom discourse (context and functions of language), sociolinguists have focused on events and their participant structures, cultural differences and differential treatment, and classroom discourse and student learning (Cazden, 1986). In their studies, anthropologists, sociologists, sociolinguists, and ethnographers of communication treat classrooms as social systems where what is accomplished is not simply the imparting of information but where the learning process is influenced by the social characteristics of the students themselves.

They have referred to schools and classrooms as communities and/or cultures (Heath, 1979; Mehan, 1980; Smith, 1983). Minich (1985) saw schools as acculturating institutions and contended that formal schooling in our culture "is a place where the child is drawn into unique modes of social interaction and thinking that have their roots in the history of Western science and philosophy" (pp. 367-368). Keeping in mind Heath's (1979) warning not to overextend the metaphor of the classroom as a community, Mehan (1980) notes that it is heuristic to think of classrooms as small communities with their own "folklore and myth, tradition, taboo, magic rites, ceremonies of all sorts, collective representations, participation mystique" and as the locust of a separate culture of the young with

> complex rituals of personal relationships, a set of folkways, mores, and irrational sanctions, a moral code based upon them..., games..., an elaborated set of ceremonies..., traditions..., laws..., specialized societies with a rigid structure and a limited membership. (Waller, 1932, p. 8)

Hymes (1972) and Gumperz (1968) referred to classrooms and other communities where members know how to speak with each other and are mutually intelligible as "speech communities." Gumperz (1968) defined a speech community as "any human

aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage" (p. 219).

Researchers in the anthropological and sociological traditions assume that like all communities, schools have preferred patterns of behavior, some of which are carried over from general society, some generated within the school. Both the local and general patterns of behavior are guided by rules or norms. These rules do not impose automatic constraints on action but are established by convention (Lewis, 1969), "which means they are tacitly agreed upon, cooperatively maintained, and must be acquired by the members of the classroom community" (Mehan, 1980, p. 136).

Researchers in these traditions view learning as a process of acculturation. In discussing learning that takes place in school, Mehan (1980) suggested that classrooms can be seen as communities where children learn cultural knowledge. He quotes Richards (1974) as saying,

> The elementary school is a place where socialization occurs. When culture is viewed as competent membership, a different view of socialization occurs. Socialization becomes the interactional and symbolic process involved in the transmission and acquisition of cultural knowledge. It is the process by which people become competent members of their community, concerned with the development of the fundamental human attributes of speech, social communication, thought, self-reflection, and consciousness. (As quoted in Mehan, 1980, p. 134)

Mehan notes that students go to school to learn to read and write, to master the content of subjects, to be instructed in and learn dominant cultural values and conventional morality, and to learn to integrate academic content with interactional form. This, in turn, requires the integration of social behavior and social context:

> Learning that certain ways of talking and acting are appropriate on some occasions and not others, learning when, where, and with whom certain kinds of behavior can occur, are some of the essential constituents of the stock of social knowledge relevant for effective participation in the classroom community. (Mehan, 1980, p. 136)

Sociolinguists assume that language learning in school is similar to language at home. "Classroom events, like other communication events, are constructed by

participants as they engage in face-to-face interactions" (Green, 1983, p. 184). They view students as active participants who work with the teacher to jointly construct meaning and context through their face-to-face interactions. Like psycholinguists who study language acquisition, sociolinguists hold that adults and children jointly construct their interactions. They argue that while communication and learning are affected by the organizational requirements of the social system and by student-peer and student-teacher interactions (Gumperz, 1986), teachers and students not only conform to rules and fit their speech to a pre-existing context, they also actively speak to create and change the context by occasionally transcending "the societal and the situational rules, redefining the situation itself in the process of performing it" (Erickson, 1975, p. 484). Mehan (1980) notes,

> That is, the child, the world, and the adult are in constant interaction; children and adults work together to constitute environments for each other.... Thus, a teacher teaches a child, while a child teaches the teacher. Or in more general terms, children structure and modify their environment (including adults) just as they are structured and modified by it. (p. 148)

Given this perspective, students are viewed not only as active learners, but as active learners who interact with the teacher to co-construct the environment in which they learn and display what they know. Teaching is seen as a creative process, a "process of creating environments, of creating activities, of creating situations with children so children can master academic content and the social content of schooling" (Green, 1983, p. 183). Running through sociolinguistic work on classroom interactions is the belief that only by looking at the interactional process of education, what is really happening between teacher and students when children learn and are taught, will we gain significant insight into the problem of illiteracy.

Like the interactionists, sociolinguists also argue that it is important to consider context when studying literacy learning. David Smith (1983) has argued that viewing literacy as a fundamentally socio-cultural phenomenon requires looking at the social context of literacy in a new way:

> The social context, school or otherwise, is not simply a setting to display a set of cognitive skills and knowledge which remains constant across settings, but is a key ingredient in the literacy event itself. So central is context to understanding literacy that it is easy to find that what counts as reading in one context will not count in others. (p. 173)

Smith further proposes that defining reading and writing in this way means thinking of the meanings of literacy in the cultural contexts in which individuals or groups live their lives. He says, "The culture of literacy refers to the values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and social statuses associated with reading and writing. Each school develops its own culture (or subculture) of literacy" (p. 174).

Sociolinguistic studies of children's language learning in the family (Taylor, 1983), and in the home and in school (Heath, 1983), have shown how context and social interactions support and shape language learning. Taylor's (1983) study of children's literacy development within the family showed that literacy learning is context specific and embedded within social relationships. "Literacy is deeply embedded in the social process of family life and is not some specific list of activities added to the family agenda to explicitly teach reading" (p. 92-93).

Cazden's (1979) work showed that literacy learning in school is also embedded in social relationships. She argued that in school, what is learned is deeply embedded in interactions that take place between the teacher and peers and that how interactions are organized is of the utmost importance. She contends that how the teacher organizes reading, assigns turns, gives praise, or asks questions can have a profound effect on whether a child learns to read.

Similarities between language learning at home and in school. Several studies of classroom literacy learning have also shown that the interactional patterns in some classrooms are in many respects similar to those patterns found in informal literacy learning settings (Cochran-Smith, 1984; Au & Jordan, 1980; Caulkins, 1983; Dyson, 1989).

In her study of children's socialization into literacy in a nursery school setting, Marilyn Cochran-Smith (1984) documented literacy events, student-student interactions, and teacher-student interactions. In identifying, documenting, and analyzing the literacy events and interactions, she found that children in that setting acquired both the technical skills of decoding and encoding and the appropriate ways to use print in various situations to achieve specific goals in their community through formal and informal interactions with adults and peers. She noted, "Instruction in literacy skills was informal, nonsystematic, and irregular; it was often given at the request of the children themselves. Practice in literacy skills was initiated and controlled by the children, and was process rather than product oriented. Practicing these skills was simply one of the ways children experimented with the materials that surrounded them" (Cochran-Smith, 1984, p. 99). Unlike the planned and formal learning interactions found in typical or traditional classrooms where the social and academic come together, the interactions Cochran-Smith described were of the informal variety usually associated with literacy learning outside of school. Like the literacy learning Taylor (1983) found in the families she studied, Cochran-Smith's study showed that the children's learning about reading and writing was also a result of an indirect, informal, gradual process of socialization that was embedded in routine social interactions between children and adults and children and peers.

Au and Jordan (1981), in their analysis of literacy learning in the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program (KEEP) classrooms where children were most successful in learning to read, also found that interactions between teachers and students had many of the characteristics found in literacy learning interactions in informal settings. For example, they discovered that in those classrooms where students were successfully becoming readers, the teachers had developed a personal relationship with the children. In addition, the teachers attempted to build the children's background knowledge of unfamiliar subjects and make the unfamiliar familiar before asking children to read about those subjects. In further analysis of the KEEP reading program, Tharp and Gallimore

(1988) concluded that "the weaving of the schooled with the everyday is not only enhancing to the dialectical growth of conceptions but also motivating" (p. 110). Like the children in Cochran-Smith's study, the children in the KEEP classrooms learned to read by interacting with adults in ways similar to the ways they would interact with adults in informal literacy learning settings. In addition, Au and Jordan (1981) found that in successful classrooms, the teachers allowed children to use interactional patterns in reading instruction that were similar to those used in informal settings. They referred to this interactional pattern as "talk story," a co-narration pattern found in the Hawaiian culture. Use of this pattern of interaction in learning to read allowed the children to play an active role in constructing the learning occasion and to bring to bear their out-of-school ways of knowing and learning to learn in school.

Studies of children becoming successful writers in school have also shown that the children learn to write in formal and informal interactions with teachers and peers and that in the classrooms in which they became writers, the occasions for learning to write were similar to those found in informal literacy learning settings. In following Susie's development as a writer over time, Calkins (1983) discovered that Susie made use of formal and informal interactions with adults, peers, and text to develop as a writer. In addition to gaining insight into Susie's composing process, Calkins also uncovered characteristics of the learning environment which seemed to support Susie's development. She noted that the structure of the writing workshop, children's interactions with the teacher and peers in conferences, and children's freedom to select their own topics for writing all contributed to development. As in informal literacy learning settings, the occasions provided for learning to write in this classroom gave students a role in co-constructing the context for learning and the course of learning.

Dyson (1989), in her two-year study of five to eight-year-old children becoming writers in an urban classroom, looked closely at the nature of the classroom as a context for early literacy development. Like Calkins, she found that the setting had many of the

characteristics found in informal literacy learning settings and that children used formal and informal interactions with adults, peers, and texts to become writers. In fact, Dyson's findings showed that the children's growth as writers was linked to their lives in the classroom community. She noted, "Writing as a symbolic and social tool grows directly out of children's experiences with other tools ... and their relationships with other people. The story of each child's growth as a writer, then, is influenced by that child's symbolic intentions and social life, by his or her ways of interacting with materials and people" (p. 68). In exploring the pedagogical implications of her findings, Dyson argues that current ways of thinking about school literacy learning need rethinking. She says that within the context of her study, it became clear that "children's growth as literate people was linked to the social practices that surround them" (p. 276) and that children's growth as writers can best be supported by providing them with opportunities to join together their multiple worlds - the imagined and real. This is best done in a setting that gives children a role in co-constructing interactions and the context for learning. In this sense, students become writers in settings where they can engage in formal and informal interactions with adults, peers, and text, settings that have characteristics of both school and informal learning settings.

Differences in the school as a context for language learning. While the descriptions of typical classrooms discussed above indicate that there are important similarities between the interactions which support learning inside of school and those which support it outside, others have argued that learning in school is different from learning in informal settings (Au & Jordan, 1981; Taylor, 1983; Florio-Ruane, 1988).

Despite finding similarities between learning at home and learning in KEEP classrooms, Au and Jordan (1981), pointed out that traditionally there has been a marked difference between formal learning in school and informal learning outside of school. They noted that in school learning what is being taught is most important while who is doing the teaching is most important in informal learning. The content being taught in

school is usually unfamiliar while in informal learning it is usually familiar. Language is the main vehicle for learning in school but watching and doing are also used as vehicles for learning outside of school. Finally, learning in school is rule-oriented while learning outside of school is task oriented (Au & Jordon, 1981:150).

Philip Jackson (1968), in Life in Classrooms, argued that schools are unique institutions in our society not to be confused with others. He said, "Even devoid of people... a classroom is a classroom" (Jackson, p. 6). "The things that happen there and the ways in which they happen combine to make these settings different from all others" (Jackson, p.9). He said that as places of learning, schools are institutions charged not only with developing children's cognitive abilities, but that they are also places where children "come to grips with the facts of institutional life" (p. vii) which include "crowds, praise, and power" (p. 10)."

Jackson noted, "Learning to live in a classroom involves, among other things, learning to live in a crowd" (p. 10). Most things done in school are done in a crowd, with others, and this has profound implications for determining the quality of a student's life and for what and how students learn. Equally important is the fact that schools are evaluative places. "It is not only what you do there, but what others think of what you do that is important. Adaptation to school life requires the student to become used to living under the constant condition of having his words and deeds evaluated by others" (p. 10). Finally, schools are places "in which the division between the weak and the powerful is clearly drawn" (p. 10). Teachers have more power than children and more responsibility for shaping classroom events. Children must learn to cope with this difference in authority.

Susan Florio-Ruane (1988) supports Jackson's position and notes that learning in school is different from learning in informal settings. She says that part of that difference is attributable to the relationships of power that exist between teachers and students in classrooms. She points out that adults and children practice language together all of the

time in informal situations and that in these interactions, the adult and child jointly create occasions for learning that are not rigidly controlled by the adult. "What matters most is engagement, continued participation, not whose definition of task holds sway at a given moment" (p. 276). But, she notes, practicing language in school is different:

> Teachers are responsible to plan explicitly for learning. As such they serve as both academic and social authorities. They are presumed not only to control social life but to hold the greatest stock of academic knowledge. These two aspects of teacher authority come together for better or worse in the setting of school learning. (p. 276)

Cazden (1988) supports the arguments raised by Au and Jordan, Jackson, and Florio-Ruane. She notes that spoken language is the medium through which most teaching takes place and in which children display what they know. She said that crowds are a reality of life in classrooms - "Classrooms are among the most crowded human environments" (p. 2) - making conversations in classrooms unique. She points out that in other crowded environments, "simultaneous autonomous conversations are normal, whereas in classrooms one person, the teacher, is responsible for controlling all the talk that occurs while class is officially in session - " (pp. 2-3).

Sociolinguists have also noted that problems occur in communication that takes place in school language learning interactions which do not occur in interactions in the home. In the home, the adult, through interactions with the child, brings the child into the speech community of which the adult is a member. However, in the crowded environment of the school, participants may come from different speech communities. Key research in the sociolinguistic tradition has shown that different groups of people use language and organize learning in different ways and that this can be of critical importance to them on social and educational levels. As McDermott (1977) notes, "In any given community, different people appear to know different things about how to get along linguistically, and they use these differences to negotiate statuses and roles" (pp. 154-155). Cazden (1988) argued,

> Spoken language is an important part of the identities of all the participants ... differences in how something is said, and even when, can be matters of only

> temporary adjustment, or they can seriously impair effective teaching and accurate evaluations. (p. 3)

Given the differences between the communication patterns used at home and at school for the teaching and learning of language, Cazden (1988) argued, "It is essential to consider the classroom communication system as a problematic medium that cannot be ignored as transparent by anyone interested in teaching and learning" (p. 3).

Sociolinguistic studies of culturally different ways of communicating in classrooms (Philips, 1972; McDermott, 1977; Mohatt and Erickson, 1981; Au and Jordan, 1981) and of classroom discourse (Piestrup, 1973; Michaels, 1983; Collins, 1983) have shown that cultural mismatches between the students and the teacher can create communication problems and interfere with student learning. Others have argued that mismatches in communication patterns can become the source of political struggles between the teacher and students (McDermott and Gospodinoff, 1981). Erickson (1986), has argued that taken together, these interpretive studies show that it is important to take the micropolitics of classroom life into account when studying classroom interactions.

In the last decade, ethnographers of communication and sociolinguists have argued that in addition to studying interactions to learn what one needs to know to become a member of a culture, it is also important to study what individuals learn in interactions (Erickson, 1982; Cazden, 1988). Erickson (1982) called for anthropologists to conduct studies of the natural history of individual learning. Cazden (1988) argued that studying three features of classroom life - the language of curriculum (the communication of propositional information, also termed the referential, cognitive, or ideational function); the language of control (the establishment and maintenance of social relationships); and the language of personal identity (the expression of the speaker's identity and attitudes) - could provide insights into individual learning because "in each and every utterance, speech truly unites the cognitive and the social" (p. 3). However, for studies of this type, it was necessary to draw on a theory of learning other than the

concept of acculturation in order to conceptualize how the cognitive and social are united by language.

The sociolinguistic approach to studying literacy showed me that it was important to focus on interactions, to look at language and context as a united whole, to look carefully at the role of the context, and to take into account the micropolitics of interactions. The methods used by these researchers provided ways for studying and analyzing verbal and nonverbal interactions.

Guiding Questions

Drawing on the concepts generated by the approaches that have been used to study literacy learning, I generated additional questions to help me frame my study. To the questions I had generated during the first three years of the TDOC Project, I now added the following:

What is the teacher's knowledge of reading and writing?

What schema and scripts represent her knowledge of the reading and writing processes?

What skills and techniques does she teach the students?

What sequence of events and actions does she use to represent the knowledge to the students?

What is the nature of the face-to-face network in which the teacher and students acquire literacy in this first grade classroom?

What are the key situations in which literacy is taught and learned?

How are these key situations organized socially and cognitively?

How do the teacher and students organize discourse in these key situations?

How do students in this setting make sense of the key situations?

Overarching Questions

Bringing together the questions I generated during the three years I worked with Lee and the questions I generated when I looked at the approaches used to study literacy learning, I developed the following overarching questions:

1. What is the nature of the process through which reading and writing are taught and learned in Lee's classroom?

2. What meanings do they construct and reconstruct through their interactions?

3. How do Lee and the students experience and interpret those interactions which focus on literacy teaching and learning?

4. How do those meanings and interpretations change over time?

5. How do Lee's beliefs, the classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, and what children learn interact with and shape each other?

6. What do the students learn?

The Need for a Model

My review of the literature had revealed that while literacy is currently defined as a cultural practice and a socio-cultural psycho-linguistic process, past research on the study of literacy learning was marked by a division of labor between psychology and anthropology (Cole, 1985). The psychological approach had given me insights into how I could study and analyze what the students learned about reading and writing in Lee's classroom, and the anthropological approach had given me insights into how I could study and analyze the social interactions and classroom discourse. However, neither approach provided a way for studying simultaneously the cognitive and the social or for looking at and analyzing how Lee's beliefs, the social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, and what the students learned interacted with and shaped each other.

Before I could address the questions which framed my study, I needed to develop a model that permitted me to look simultaneously at the socio-cultural and the psycholinguistic processes involved in literacy learning.

To develop a model, I needed to address the following questions:

1. How would it be possible to simultaneously attend to the social relationships, classroom management, the literacy curriculum, and what children learned about reading and writing?

2. What model could I use to study the interplay of the social and cognitive in the teaching and learning of literacy within the context of the classroom?

3. On what theory of learning might such a model be based?

4. What would be the unit of analysis?

5. What methods could I use to carry out the analysis?

In the Chapter 2, I will present the theory of learning which I used as the basis for developing a model for studying and analyzing the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will present the theoretical framework for the study. In section one, I will present key concepts of the sociocultural theory of learning and explain how I combined the sociocultural approach to studying learning with the approaches used by Western psychology and cultural anthropology to conduct my study. In the second section, I will introduce the unit of analysis used in this study. I will describe how I combined the units of analysis of the sociocultural approach with the units of analysis used by psychologists and anthropologists and how I conceptualize the literacy event as the unit of analysis in this study. In the third section, I will introduce the model of the literacy event I developed and describe how I used it to conduct historical, genetic, and interactional analyses. I will conclude this section by providing an extended vignette to illustrate how I used the model to frame the literacy event.

The Sociocultural or Sociohistorical Theory of Psychological Processes

In framing the study, I had (1) defined literacy as a cultural practice and a socio-psycho-linguistic process, and (2) committed myself to looking at how the teacher's beliefs, the social relations in the classroom, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy activity, student learning and the larger context in which the classroom was

situated interacted with and shaped each other. Given my desire to study the interplay of the social and cognitive in the teaching and learning of reading and writing within the context of Lee's classroom and to study what the children in the setting learned about reading and writing, I was committed to studying both culture and cognition.

Cole (1985) has argued that "the study of culture and cognition must incorporate the study of both the systems of social relations and of internal (cognitive) activity" (p. 159). My review of the literature revealed that while literacy has been defined as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, past research on the study of literacy in the West has been marked by a division of labor between psychology and anthropology (Cole, 1985). Traditionally, psychology had focused on the psychological and linguistic process involved in reading and writing and on cognitive development. Anthropological approaches had focused on the socio-cultural processes and studied them from the perspective of the social structure or social organization (Cole, 1985). To develop a model for looking at the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom, I needed a theory of learning that would provide a framework for looking at (1) the individual and social as interacting systems, and (2) the process by which culture shapes cognitive development. Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory of learning provided such a theory. In the following section, I will review the key concepts of this socio-cultural approach which served as the theoretical foundation for my model.

Uniting the Individual and the Socio-Cultural

In the mid 1920's, Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky set out to restructure psychology. His goal was to "overcome the dualisms emanating from Wundtian psychology and its successors" and to develop "an approach that denied the strict separation of the individual and its social environment" (Cole, 1985, p. 148). In Vygotsky's approach,

> The individual and the social were conceived of as mutually constitutive elements of a single, interacting system; cognitive development was treated as a process of acquiring culture. The normal adult cognitive processes, Wundt's higher psychological functions, were treated as internalized transformations of socially prevalent patterns of interpersonal interaction. (Cole, 1985, p. 148)

With his "general law of cultural development," Vygotsky brought together the social and the cognitive. The basic idea underlying this concept held that "the child's individual mental activity derives from his or her interactions with other people" (Rogoff, 1982, p. 136). Vygotsky (1978) proposed that "Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or in two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category and then within the individual child as an intrapsychological category" (p. 57).

At the interpersonal level the child is guided through the learning process by an adult who models and structures the tasks for the child. Instruction takes place in the child's "zone of proximal development, a region of sensitivity to instruction where the child is not quite able to manage the problem independently" (Rogoff, 1982, p. 136). In a process called "proleptic teaching" (Rogoff, 1982), the adult anticipates the child's level of competence, "the zone of proximal development," and adjusts instruction to that level. The adult then guides the child through the activity by modeling and with verbal directions always cognizant of the child's needs and always fitting instruction to match or pull ahead the child's cognitive processes (Rogoff and Gardner, 1983). Not only does this learning experience serve to develop the child's higher psychological processes and prepare the child to operate at the intrapersonal level, but it also creates the "zone of proximal development" in which the child will function in the future (Brown and French, 1979).

Vygotsky further emphasized the tight connection between the social organization of behavior and the individual organization of thinking in his claim that "the levels of generalization in a child correspond strictly to the levels in the development of social interaction. Any new level in the child's generalization signifies a new level in the

possibility for social interaction" (Vygotsky, 1956, p. 432, as cited in Wertch, 1983, p. 26.)

Vygotsky's "general law of cultural development" provided a way to unite social interaction and cognitive development. By bringing together the individual and the social, Vygotsky's approach also acknowledged the close relationship between language, culture, and cognition (Trueba, 1988) and explained the cognitive development of children on the basis of that relationship.

Vygotsky's Notion of Cultural Development as a Historical Process

Vygotsky's notion of cultural development as a historical process provided a theoretical framework that recognized the role of culture in specific learning settings (Trueba 1988). Historical analysis was the key to his dialectical approach. With his notion of cultural development as a historical process, Vygotsky brought together the concepts of culture and cognition. This approach provided a theoretical basis for studying learning in face-to-face interactions in classrooms, a way to unite analysis across three planes, (1) the sociocultural system (larger culture), (2) the immediate learning environment (face-to-face interaction), and (3) individual functioning (Erickson, 1982), and a way to trace changes across time on the three planes.

Vygotsky argued that to understand higher psychological processes (such as reading and writing), it was necessary to look beyond the organism's limits and to search for the roots of the complex processes in the "historically formed environment, in the communication of the child with adults, in the objective relations among objects, tools, and language which have been laid down in the course of social history. In short, we must seek the roots of such higher psychological functions in the mastery of general, human, historically formed experience" (Luria, 1971 p. 260).

Vygotsky also argued that studying something historically was to study 'phenomena in movement' (Vygotsky, 1966, p. 105 as quoted by Scribner, 1985, p. 120). In contrast to Western psychologists who explained children's cognitive development in biological terms, Vygotsky held that historical not biological laws held the key to discovering the development of higher psychological functions. He said, "The historical research of behavior is not an additional or auxiliary aspect of theoretical study but forms the very basis of the latter" (Vygotsky, 1966, p. 105 as quoted by Scribner, 1985, p. 120). "Neither the eternal laws of nature nor the eternal laws of the spirit but 'historical laws' are the key to discovering the development of higher forms of behavior" (Vygotsky 1966, p. 20 as quoted by Scribner 1985, p. 122).

Luria (1971) pointed out that Vygotsky believed that individuals do not possess psychological characteristics independent of the culture in which they live and that Vygotsky's position rests on two important propositions. Luria said that according to Vygotsky,

> 1) the fundamental categories of conscious life do not have a priori, spiritual character, but are the product of historical development; and 2) that a function of the transition from one historical form to another, not only the contents of consciousness, but the structure of higher mental processes, underlying concrete forms of psychological activity change. (Luria, 1971, p. 265)

In discussing Vygotsky's uses of history, Scribner (1985) argued that Vygotsky's proposition to "look to cultural history for hypotheses about the origin and transformation of higher functional systems" (p. 138) might be read as "an attempt to weave three strands of history - general history, child history, and the history of mental functions - into one explanatory account of the formation of specifically human aspects of human nature" (p. 138). At the first level - general history - Vygotsky focused on the symbolic-communicative spheres of activity in which humans collectively produce new means for regulating their behavior. He called these means "cultural" and the new forms of behavior "specifically cultural forms" (Scribner, 1985). Vygotsky held that for one to explain the genesis and development of cultural forms of behavior, one must first explain

historical development (Scribner, 1985). "Historical laws of development, as they apply to human mental life, are therefore laws of development of cultural forms of behavior and the other way around: Cultural forms appear slowly, each new stage building on a preceding one, so that everything cultural is in its very nature, an historic phenomenon" (Scribner, 1985, p. 123).

At the second level - the subject's individual history or the child's history - Vygotsky held that while biological or natural processes regulated the growth of the lower psychological functions, it was necessary to look at the social and cultural processes to understand the development of an individual's higher psychological functions. He said, "Natural processes regulate the growth of elementary psychological functions in the child - forms of memory, perception, and practical tool-using intelligence.... Social and cultural processes regulate the child's acquisition of speech and other sign systems, and the development of 'special higher psychological functions ' such as voluntary attention and logical memory' (Vygotsky, 1966, p. 35)" (Scribner, 1985, p. 124).

At the third level Vygotsky studied the development of higher psychological functions. He argued that higher psychological functions have their own history or genesis and their own stages of development (Scribner, 1985, p. 133). He said, "These functions, which from the point of view of phylogenesis are [products of] the historical development of the human personality posses also from the point of view of ontogenesis, their own particular historical development (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 64 as quoted by Scribner, 1985, p. 133).

Vygotsky's notion of cultural development as a historical process provides a way for analyzing cultural development across three planes - sociocultural, interactional, and individual as well as analyzing changes on these three planes across time. The concept of activity held that analysis should focus on activity and the theory of activity provided a framework for conducting the analysis.

The Concept of Activity

The concept of activity is at the heart of Soviet psychology and is the unit of analysis for the sociocultural approach (Wertsch, 1981). In stating the centrality of activity to his approach, Vygotsky argued that in order to understand the individual's psychological functioning, it was necessary to examine processes as opposed to object and to examine dynamic relations rather than "fossilized" behavior (Rogoff, 1981, p. 156).

Drawing on the works of Marx and Engels and their approach to the relationship between humans and reality, Soviet psychologists held that "activity is not merely external behavior; rather, it is inextricably linked with consciousness. Activity is the key to understanding the relationship between consciousness and the objective world" (Rubinshtein as quoted by Wertsch, 1981, p. 11-12). Soviet psychology stressed "the importance of active subjects whose knowledge of preexisting material reality is founded on their interactions with it..." and emphasized "that only by interacting with the material world and with other humans can we develop a knowledge of reality" (Wertsch, 1981, pp. 10-11).

Vygotsky gave much emphasis to the role of language and speech in human activity. Rather than simply recognizing that language can serve as a repository of distinctions and concepts that are useful for human cognitive activity, Vygotsky stressed that the introduction of speech into historical and ontogenetic frameworks causes a fundamental change in the very nature of the activity. In his work, he was concerned with studying "how humans come to master sign systems and then use those sign systems to organize their activity" (Wertsch, 1981, p. 13).

While Vygotsky applied the concept activity to his studies, A. N. Leont'ev, the third founder of the sociohistorical school with Vygotsky and Luria, conducted the most thorough philosophical analysis of the concept of activity. Growing out of the need "to

provide a framework that would allow one to observe the actual process by which culture shapes cognitive development" (Cole 1985, p. 151), Leont'ev formulated the concept of activity as a unit of analysis "that could serve as the basis for a cultural theory of cognition" (Cole, 1985, p. 151) and that could provide an approach for analyzing the structure and function of activity.

He conceived of activity "as a nested system of coordinations bounded by general human motives. In contemporary ethnographic terminology, an activity is coexistent with the broadest context relevant to ongoing behavior" (Cole, 1985, pp. 151-152). Activities are "composed of actions, which are systems of coordination in the service of goals, which represent intermediate steps in satisfying the motive. Actions in turn, are composed of operations, the means whereby an action is carried out under specified constraints" (Cole, 1985, p. 152).

Cole notes that Leont'ev emphasized "that 'intellectual activity is not isolated from practical activity,' which he understood to include, 'ordinary material production' as well as activities that we count as intellectual" (Cole, 1985, p. 151) and that human activity is embedded in social relationships. Leont'ev argued,

> Human psychology is concerned with the activity of concrete individuals, which takes place either in a collective - i.e., jointly with other people - or in a situation in which the subject deals directly with the surrounding world of objects - e.g., at the potter's wheel or the writer's desk...if we remove human activity from the system of social relationships and social life, it would not exist...the human individual's activity is a system in the system of social relations. It does not exist without these relations. (Leont'ev 1981, pp. 46-47 as quoted in Cole 1985, p. 151)

The Theory of Activity

In formulating the concept of activity as a unit of analysis, Leont'ev united the key concepts of the socio-cultural approach and developed a six part theory of activity (Wertsch, 1981). The six features of the theory of activity provide a framework for

analyzing activity at the level of face-to-face interactions, across three planes, and across time.

The first feature of the theory is that "activity is analyzed at three levels; each level is defined by different criteria. According to Leont'ev, "activities are distinguished on the basis of their motive and the object toward which they are oriented; actions on the basis of their goals; and operations, on the basis of the conditions under which they are carried out" (Wertch, 1981, p. 18).

The second feature reemphasizes one aspect of the first. It is the notion of goal or goal-directedness. This feature of the theory stresses the importance of the goal in directing actions and suggests that similar actions cannot be viewed in the same way because each action is initiated by its own goal (Wertsch, 1981).

The third feature of the theory is that activity is mediated. "Vygotsky always claimed that speech was the most widely used and important means employed by humans to organize social interaction, to regulate others, and to regulate self" (Wertsch, 1981, p. 25). Vygotsky extended the notion of mediation by tools to mediation by signs and argued "that in order to manage many of the psychological tasks involved in coordinating one's efforts with others and in self-regulation, humans use sign systems to mediate their efforts" (Wertsch, 1981, p. 24).

The fourth feature is the concept that emphasizes the developmental or genetic explanation and is closely related to Vygotsky's notion of history. Vygotsky held that the most important way to explain human mental process is to examine their origins and development. That is to say, "behavior can be understood only as the history of behavior" (Blonsky, 1921 as quoted in Wertsch, 1981, p. 27). Historical or genetic analysis can focus on the sociocultural or phylogenetic and deal with historical data or it can focus on the individual and be concerned with ontogenetic phenomena (Wertsch, 1981). Therefore, to understand a person's behavior, both phylogenetic and ontogenetic data would have to be studied.

The fifth feature is that human activity and the means that mediate it have arisen through social interaction (Wertsch, 1981, p. 29). This feature related directly to Vygotsky's general law of cultural development which holds that a child's mental activity develops through interactions with adults. The interpsychological mediation becomes the intrapsychological mediation of inner speech which guides the child's actions.

The sixth feature expands the concept of internalization. "The notion of internalization is concerned with the ontogenesis of the ability to carry out socially formulated, goal-directed actions with the help of mediating devices" (Wertch, 1981, p. 32). This feature of the theory of activity ties together the other five features.

These six features of the theory of activity provide the theoretical basis for analyzing activity in three ways - the historical (feature #4), the interactional (features #1, 2, 3, 5), and the individual (feature #6) and for tracing changes on the sociocultural, interactional, and individual planes across time. The three kinds of analyses make it possible to look at the individual and the social as interacting systems and at the process by which culture shapes cognition.

Limitations of the Research Designs Used by the Sociocultural Approach

While the sociocultural approach provides a theory of learning and a theoretical framework for looking at the individual and social as interacting systems and at the process by which culture shapes cognitive development as well as a unit of analysis for analyzing activity, the research designs used in sociocultural research did not provide a model or methods for studying the individual and social as interacting systems or the process by which culture shapes cognition.

In developing research designs which focused on specific aspects of the child's development such as play, Vygotsky and the others tended to conceive of the interactions as dynamic and of the individual as a dynamic system while assuming that the broader

socio-cultural system was static (Scribner, 1985). I wanted to look at the interplay of the dyadic, small group, and large group interactions, the broader socio-cultural system, and individual learning, and I wanted to trace how changes on one level shaped and interacted with changes on the other level. To study the interaction of the individual and the social and the process by which culture shapes cognition, I needed a research design that would take into account that "actions are at one and the same time components of the life of the individual and the social system [and] will be defined and structured in certain respects by the broader social and cultural system" (Minick, 1985, p. 257).

Furthermore, sociocultural studies had, for the most part, focused on studying one-to-one interactions, the role of a single adult in direct interaction with a single child. I wanted to study interactions within the context of the classroom where crowds are a reality of life. Concentrating on one-to-one interactions would not fully represent the social realities of human life or of learning in school. "It is a rare circumstance when only one person influences a learner. In the community and in schools, all teaching - including the teacher/child dyad - is embedded in complex organizations" (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p. 71).

Finally, the concept of activity did not specify methods for studying and analyzing (1) the face-to-face encounter between the individual and the physical materials, social interaction, and the cultural meaning of both, or (2) the sociocultural patterns in the world beyond the encounter together with individual thought and action, and acquisition across time by the individual of new and more complex capacities of thought and action (Erickson, 1982, p. 166).

To design a model for studying the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom and to find methods for analyzing these activities, I combined the sociocultural approach with the approaches used by Western psychologists and by those who have used approaches associated with cultural anthropology to study language and

literacy. In the next section, I will describe how I developed this framework for looking at the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom.

The Unit of Analysis

Conceptualizing the unit of analysis

Michael Cole (1985) has argued that the sociocultural approach, cultural anthropology, and Western psychology share common ground that can serve as the basis for a culturally grounded theory of cognition. He went on to identify interaction as the basic unit shared by the three approaches:

> 1. There is a basic unit common to the analysis of both cultures' and individual's psychological processes.
>
> 2. This unit consists of an individual engaged in goal-directed activity under conventionalized constraints. This unit is variously designated an "activity," a "task," an "event."
>
> 3. In the main, particularly where children are concerned, these activities are peopled by others, adults in particular.
>
> 4. The acquisition of culturally appropriate behavior is a process of interaction between children and adults, in which adults guide children's behavior as an essential element in concept acquisition/acculturation/education. (Cole, 1985, p. 158)

Cole added that while interaction is the basic unit common to both anthropologists and psychologists, there has traditionally been a division of labor in analyzing interactions. Anthropologists have analyzed interactions to make inferences about the social structure in which they take place. Psychologists have analyzed interactions to discover what is going on in the minds of individuals involved in the interaction:

> Anthropologists, in general, eschew the implications of activities as the basis for internal activity (e.g. cognition) looking instead to the social structure of which it is the basic unit. Psychologists, in general, eschew analysis of links between activities (e.g. social structure) in their attempts to discern laws of internal (mental) organization and the emergence of more abstract categories of knowledge. (Cole, 1985, p. 158)

Cole went on to argue that the sociocultural concept of activity militates against this separation of the individual and social activity with its insistence that "the study of culture and cognition must incorporate the study of both the systems of social relations and of internal (cognitive) activity"(Cole, 1985, p. 159). He notes that by combining all three approaches, it is possible to develop a culturally grounded theory of cognition which provides a framework for studying both individual and social activity.

> In circumstances where we do not want to take the cultural context as given,... the sociocultural approach in combination with concepts developed in Anglo-American cultural anthropology and cognitive psychology offers a very fruitful framework because of its militant insistence on linking individual and social activity. (Cole, 1985, pp. 158-159)

Given my research questions and my desire (1) to study the social and cognitive activity involved in the teaching and learning of reading and writing within the context of the classroom, and (2) to unite the analysis of culture and cognition, I drew on Cole's argument to develop a unit of analysis which combined the components of "task," "event," and "activity."

I began this process by considering how each unit functioned as a unit of analysis. For each of the three units, I looked at how it was defined, at its key components and how they were distinguished, and at the kind of information generated when the unit was used to conduct an analysis of interactions. Using this information, I developed graphic representations of "task," "event," and "activity" to better discern the commonalities and differences across the three units.

Task as a Unit of Analysis

In studying the teaching and learning of reading and writing, developmental psychologists and psycholinguists use the task as the unit of analysis to study the interactions of the child and the adult to assess what the child learned. Doyle (1986) defined task as a two part system. He said, "The concept of task has two components: (a) a goal state or end product to be achieved; and (b) a problem space, that is, a set of instructions, conditions, and resources available to reach the goal state" (Doyle, 1986, p.

394). Scribner and Cole (1981), Rogoff (1981), and others have expanded on this definition and argued that learning is context specific making context a third part of the system.

In Figure 1, I have conceptualized task as a nested two part system situated within a specific context. The nested boxes represent the task and the behaviors which constitute it. The first box represents the task and the second, the problem space. The dotted line separating the second box into two parts indicates that the problem space can be distinguished at two levels. The broken circle represents the context in which the task is carried out. The shaded circle represents individual functioning.

Task as unit of analysis

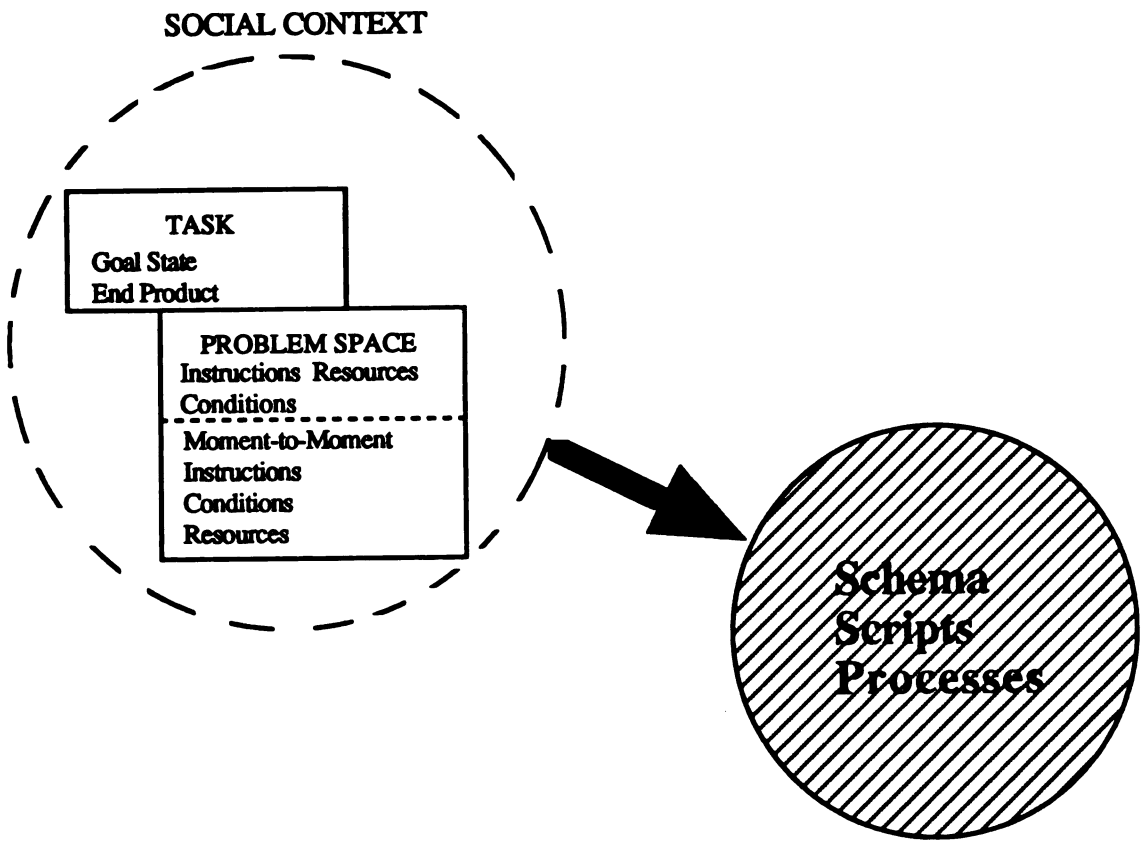


Figure 1

As Figure 1 indicates, task is distinguished on the basis of the goal state or end product to be achieved by the behavior. The problem space is distinguished on the basis of the set of instructions, conditions, and resources available to reach the goal state. The dotted line indicates that the problem space can be studied in two ways: (1) by identifying a set of variables used to carry out the behavior, or (2) as dynamic moment-to-moment sequences carried out in the performance of the task.

In studies of language learning, context is distinguished on the basis of the physical and interactional variables of the setting in which the task is situated, (who, when, and where). Individual functioning is distinguished by inferring what knowledge the individual has acquired and built up through recurrent participation in the tasks which occur in social contexts. This knowledge can be conceived of as a script, a knowledge structure (Schank and Abelson, 1977) or as schemata, representations of our "knowledge of objects, situations, events, sequences of events, actions, and sequence of action" (Rumelhart, 1978).

For the most part, tasks are analyzed to discern laws of internal mental organizations which are referred to as scripts, schema, or processes. Data collection and analysis focus on the second level of the problem space, the sequences of instruction, the moment-to-moment conditions under which behaviors are carried out, and the moment-to-moment use of resources and tools. The arrow indicates the view that in carrying out tasks in specific social contexts, individuals develop new categories of knowledge.

Event as a Unit of Analysis

In studying the teaching and learning of reading and writing, the event is the unit of analysis used by cultural anthropologists and by sociolinguists and ethnographers of communication studying literacy. Event (Frake 1946) has been defined as streams of behavior punctuated into relatively discrete segments (Mehan, 1982), and as

"constellations of verbal and nonverbal behavior made manifest in practical circumstances" (Mehan, 1978, p. 37).

Events are constituted through face-to-face interactions in which the participants display their cultural knowledge and hold each other accountable for their verbal and non-verbal behavior. Events can be distinguished from one another because certain activities regularly occur within these frames. People conduct themselves differently in different frames and the physical arrangements of the participants vary within the phases of the events. Therefore, each event has unique organizational features that are assembled in the interactions (Mehan, 1982, p. 66).

Through their interactions in events, participants constitute a larger situational frame (Goffman, 1967) or context. Contexts are not equated to physical surroundings but are constituted by the people present in varying combinations of participants and audience. They are interactionally constituted environments which are embedded in time and can change from moment to moment (Erickson and Shultz, 1981). Like events, contexts are constituted by what people are doing, as well as when and where they are doing it. That is, people in interaction serve as environments for each other. Through the interactions which take place within the interactional context over time, cultures and subcultures are created and recreated and people come to share common understandings. "Ultimately, social contexts consist of mutually shared and ratified definitions of situations and in social actions people take on the basis of the definitions" (Erickson and Shultz, 1981, p. 148).

I conceptualized an event as a nested system of verbal and non-verbal behavior in a system of contexts or social environments. I assumed that the behavior in events could be segmented into "units of increasingly smaller size, with the 'event' being the largest interactional unit; events, in turn, are composed of phases, and phases are composed of interactional sequences" (Mehan, 1982, p. 72). The system of contexts could be segmented into subcultures within the larger culture.

Figure 2 represents my conceptualization of the event as a unit of analysis. The nested boxes represent the segmentation of behavior into units of decreasing size: events, phases, interactional sequences. The broken circle represents the context created and recreated through the interactions in the events. The solid circles represent society and the cultural contexts and subcultures constructed and reconstructed through interactions and in which interactions occur.

Event as the unit of analysis

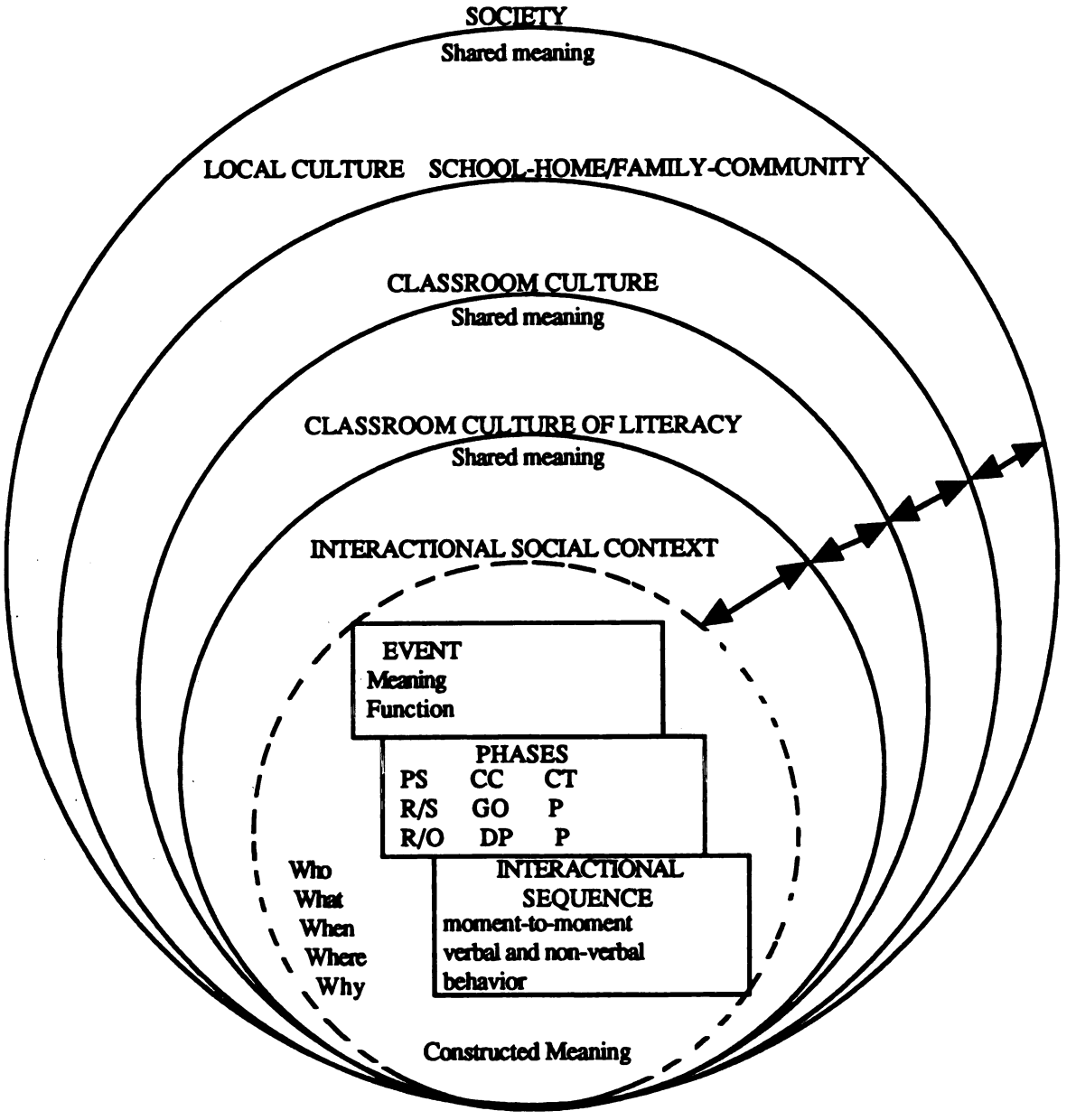


Figure 2

As Figure 2 indicates, events are distinguished on the basis of meaning and function. Phases are distinguished on the basis of the organization of verbal and non-verbal behavior displayed through (1) participant structures, role and status, rights and obligations, and (2) contextualized cues, gaze orientation, body positions, conversational topics (Bremme and Erickson, 1977), and posture and proximity (Florio, 1978). Interactional sequences are distinguished on the basis of the sequencing of moment-to-moment verbal and non-verbal behavior such as turn-taking.

The interactional context is distinguished on the basis of who is participating in the event and who controls it (who), the space in which the interaction is taking place (where), the time in which the interaction occurs (when), as well as the participants' shared definitions of the situation (what is happening) and the local meaning constructed and reconstructed about the purpose of the event which is developed through the interactions in the events (why is this interaction taking place).

The larger social contexts, cultures and subcultures, are distinguished on the basis of the learned and shared standards which are created and recreated over time through interactions which occur at the local level. As a cultural practice, literacy is one system of shared meaning and interpretations within the larger cultural system. The culture of literacy is distinguished on the bases of the shared values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing. Subcultures of literacy are constructed and reconstructed at the local level such as the classroom (Smith, 1983).

Events are analyzed to provide insights into the social structure of which they are a part. Analysis focuses on the interactional sequences. Inferences are made about what knowledge one needs to have to be considered competent in a given society. The arrows indicate the reciprocal nature of the relationship between these three planes. Behaviors in events shape and interact with the context; the context shapes and interacts with the event; the context and event interact with and shape the larger cultural contexts; and the larger culture interacts with and shapes the immediate context and event.

Activity as a Unit of Analysis

As I have noted, the unit of analysis in the sociocultural approach is activity. Leont'ev (1981) defined activity as a system in a system of social relations and conceptualized it as a nested system of coordination consisting of activity, actions, and operations which are bounded by general human motives. Activity is the development of mental functions which derive from interactions between the child and the adult on the social or interpersonal plane and are internalized by the child on the psychological or intrapersonal plane. At the interpersonal level, activity is mediated by objects, tools, and language laid down in the course of the social interactional history of the individuals involved and of the social history of the larger culture. What the child internalizes is shaped by these two forms of social history and is constructed through the interactions.

Figure 3 represents activity as a unit of analysis. The nested boxes represent the system of activity and the circles surrounding the boxes represent the system of social relations in which activity is a system. The smaller broken circle represents the system of social relations and social history created and recreated through the interactions. The larger solid circle represents the social relations and social history of the general human culture. The shaded circle represents individual functioning.

Activity as the unit of analysis

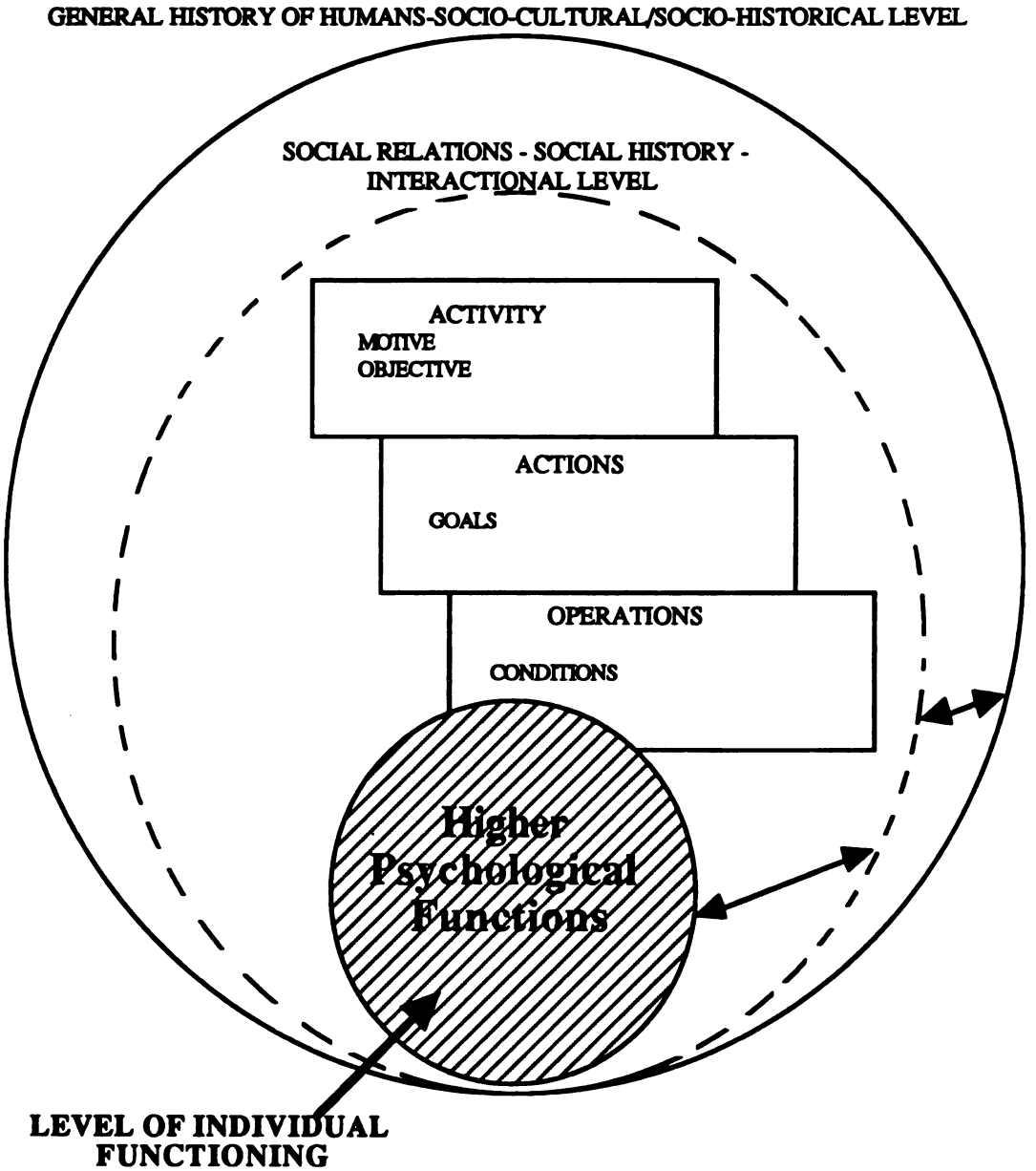


Figure 3

As Figure 3 indicates, activity is distinguished on the basis of motive and the objective toward which it is directed; actions on the basis of goals; and operations on the basis of the conditions under which they are carried out. At the interactional level, social relations are distinguished on the basis of the social history and of the perceptions of the activity constructed by the child and adult through their interactions in the child's zone of proximal development (what and why). At the level of general human culture, general human motives are distinguished by the motives which have developed historically and culturally through interaction. Individual functioning is distinguished by inferring what the child internalized from the knowledge which was socially constructed through the face-to-face between the child and adult in the child's zone of proximal development.

Analysis is carried out on each of the three planes - the sociocultural or sociohistorical, the interactional, and the individual - and across the three planes. According to Vygotsky's notion of cultural development as a historical process, to understand the development of higher psychological process such as reading and writing, it is necessary to look beyond the limits of the individual and to search for the roots of the complex processes in the "historically formed environment, in the communication of the child with adults, in the objective relations among objects, tools, and language which have been laid down in the course of social history" (Luria, 1976, p. 260).

Uniting the Three Units of Analysis

In conceptualizing the three units of analysis, I found that as Cole noted, there are significant commonalities among them. All three conceive of behavior as a system of behaviors carried out in a social context. All three focus on analyzing behavior which occurs in interactions.

There are also differences. Task focuses on the psycholinguistic aspects of literacy teaching and learning; event focuses on the sociocultural aspects; and activity unites the sociocultural and the psycholinguistic. Task and activity had been used as

units of analysis in studies of one-to-one interactions; event had been used as the unit of analysis in studies of the teaching and learning of reading and writing in school.

In the next section, I will present the unit of analysis I developed by combining all three.

The Literacy Event

To conceptualize a unit of analysis that would allow me to study the individual and social as interaction systems and the process by which culture shapes cognition, I used the sociocultural theory of activity as a framework for combining "task," "event," and "activity" into a single unit of analysis, the "literacy event." I looked at the literacy event as a system of socio-cultural and socio- psycho-linguistic activity in a system of social relations. By uniting the sociocultural approach with concepts developed by sociolinguists and ethnographers of communication and by psychologists, I conceptualized the system of activity as the sociocultural and socio- psycho-linguistic processes involved in the comprehension and production of text. I saw the system of social relations as a system of shared knowledge constructed and reconstructed through interactions.

In selecting the term "literacy event" for the unit of analysis, I was aware that the term had been used before and that the literacy event had been used as a conceptual and analytic tool in a number of studies of literacy (Heath, 1978, 1982; Anderson, Teal, and Estrada, 1980; Cochran-Smith, 1984). Heath (1978) had defined "literacy event" as an event "in which written materials are integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" (p. 35). Anderson, Teale, and Estrada (1980), had defined it as "any action sequence, involving one or more persons in which the production and/or comprehension of print plays a role" (p. 59). Cochran-Smith (1984) had conceived of literacy events as being derived from the speech event (Hymes, 1974)

and structured according to interactional norms which frequently "center on relationships between oral and written language strategies and how these are used by participants in order to understand, discuss, apply, respond to, play with, evaluate, build upon, or refer to various kinds of printed materials" (p. 2).

Because these definitions corresponded in large part with my conceptualization of the literacy event, I combined these definitions, modified them slightly, and defined the "literacy event" as an interaction in which (1) written material is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes, and (2) participants engage in a sequence of sociocultural and psycholinguistic actions in which they use oral and written language strategies in order to understand, discuss, apply, respond to, play with, evaluate, build upon, or refer to various kinds of printed material.

In the next section, I will introduce the model of the literacy event which I used to frame and analyze the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom.

Model of the Literacy Event

To develop a model which I could use to help me frame and interpret the literacy event, I used the sociocultural theory of activity as a framework and combined my representations of task, event, and activity. In Figure 4, I have represented my conceptualization of the literacy event as a nested system of activity with a system of social relations consisting of three planes, the sociocultural, interactional, and individual. To form the sociocultural plane, represented here by the solid circles, I combined the sociocultural plane (the social history of general human culture) from "activity" and the larger social context (cultures and subcultures) from "event". To form the interactional plane, represented here by the broken circle and the nested boxes, I combined the components of "activity", "event", and "task" which relate to interaction. To form the system of social relations, represented here by the broken circle, I combined social

relations ("activity"), interactional context ("event"), and social context ("task"). To form the system of activity, represented here by the nested boxes, I combined activity ("activity"), event ("event"), and task ("task"). To form the individual plane, represented here by the shaded circle, I combined higher psychological functions ("activity") and individual functions ("task").

The Literacy Event as a unit of analysis

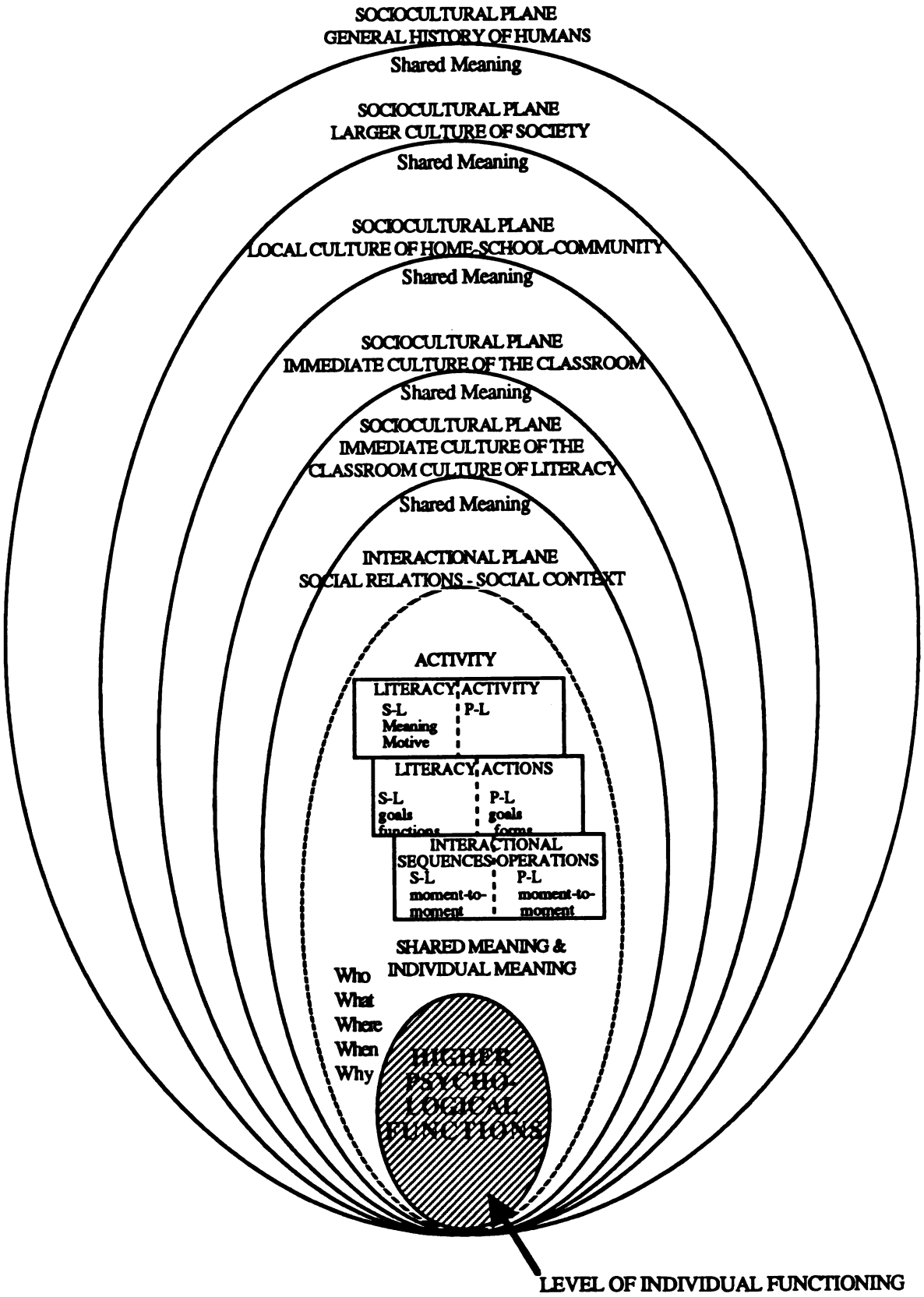


FIGURE 4

The solid circles of decreasing size represent the sociocultural plane, the systems of social relations, and the cultural and subcultural contexts in which literacy activity is embedded. In decreasing order, the circles consist of the general history of humans ("activity") and the culture of the society in which the literacy event takes place ("event"), the subcultures of the culture of the community/home/school ("event"), and the subculture of the classroom ("event") in which the classroom culture of literacy ("event") is embedded.

The broken circle surrounding the nested boxes and the nested boxes represent the interactional plane. The broken circle consists of the system of social relations ("activity"), the interactional context ("event"), and the social context ("task"). The nested boxes consist of the system of literacy activity and consist of literacy activity (a combination of "task", "event", and "activity"), literacy actions (a combination of actions, phases, and problem space), and interactional sequences and operations (a combination of interactional sequences, operations, and conditions of the problem space).

The shaded circle within the interactional plane represents the plane of individual functioning which develops through the internalization of concepts which are constructed and reconstructed through face-to-face interactions on the interactional plane. It consists of higher psychological functions ("activity") and individual functioning including scripts, schema, and processes ("task").

The social contexts within the sociocultural plane are distinguished (1) on the basis of the shared human motive and shared social meaning constructed and reconstructed in the interactional plane, and (2) on the basis of the social contexts which consist of "mutually shared and ratified definitions of situations" and the "social actions people take on the basis of the definitions" (Erickson and Shultz, 1981, p. 148).

The social context on the interactional plane is also distinguished on the basis of the shared and ratified definitions of situations and the social actions of the participants

involved in the interaction and can be thought of as the activity setting (Tharp and Galimore, 1988) or the who, when, where, what, and why.

The literacy activity is distinguished on the basis of socio-linguistic and socio-psycho-linguistic features. Literacy activity is distinguished on the basis of meaning and function ("event"), goal ("task"), and motive ("activity"). Literacy actions are distinguished on the basis of participant structures, role/status, rights/obligations, contextual cues, gaze orientation, body positions, conversational topics ("event"); instructions, resources, goals, ("task"); and goals ("activity"). Interactional sequences and operations are distinguished on the basis of the sequencing of moment to moment verbal and nonverbal actions ("event"); moment to moment instructions, conditions, and resources ("task"); and conditions ("activity").

Individual functioning is distinguished on the basis of inferences one can make about what the child had learned by looking at what the child is able to do without assistance in interactions with tools, objects, and language ("activity"), and consist of scripts, schemata, or processes (task").

Analysis of the Literacy Event

To develop a framework for analyzing the literacy event, I went back to the sociocultural theory of activity. As noted earlier, the theory of activity holds that analysis is carried out on three planes, the sociocultural or sociohistorical, the interactional, and the individual. The forms of analysis are historical, genetic, and interactional.

Historical Analysis of Phylogenetic Data

The fourth feature of the theory of activity holds that the most important way to explain human mental processes is to examine their origins and development. Historical or genetic analysis can focus on the sociocultural plane and be concerned with phylogenetic and historical data or it can focus on the individual plane and be concerned

with ontogenetic phenomena (Wertsch, 1981). While Vygotsky did not use the historical approach to its fullest on the plane of general history or individual history, theoretically he held that analysis should be conducted at the levels of general history (sociocultural plane), the subject's individual history (interactional plane), and the history of the higher psychological functions (individual plane) (Scribner, 1985).

To develop a historical framework for carrying out historical analysis and in which to locate particular theoretical and research questions, I modified Vygotsky's three-level scheme. As Scribner (1985) pointed out, Vygotsky's three-level system worked for his purposes of model building. It was sufficient for him to look back at history and view it as one stream of development within the context in which he worked. However, the three-level system is inadequate for the purpose of conducting concrete research and for developing theory in the present. "Societies and cultural groups participate in world history at different tempos and in different ways" (Scribner, 1985, p. 139).

I expanded Vygotsky's three-level system to a seven-level system by adding four levels to the sociocultural or sociohistorical level (Level 1) which Vygotsky identified as the "general history of man." The expanded levels account for: (Level 1) the general history of humans; (Level 2) the history of individual societies; (Level 3) the history of institutions within those societies; (Level 4) the history of the sub-culture of the classroom in which the interactions are embedded, and (Level 5) the history of the sub-culture of literacy created and recreated through the interactions in the classroom.

In Figure 5, I have represented the levels that this system allowed me to take into account in my historical analysis of the literacy events.

Levels of Historical Analysis of the Sociocultural Development of Literacy

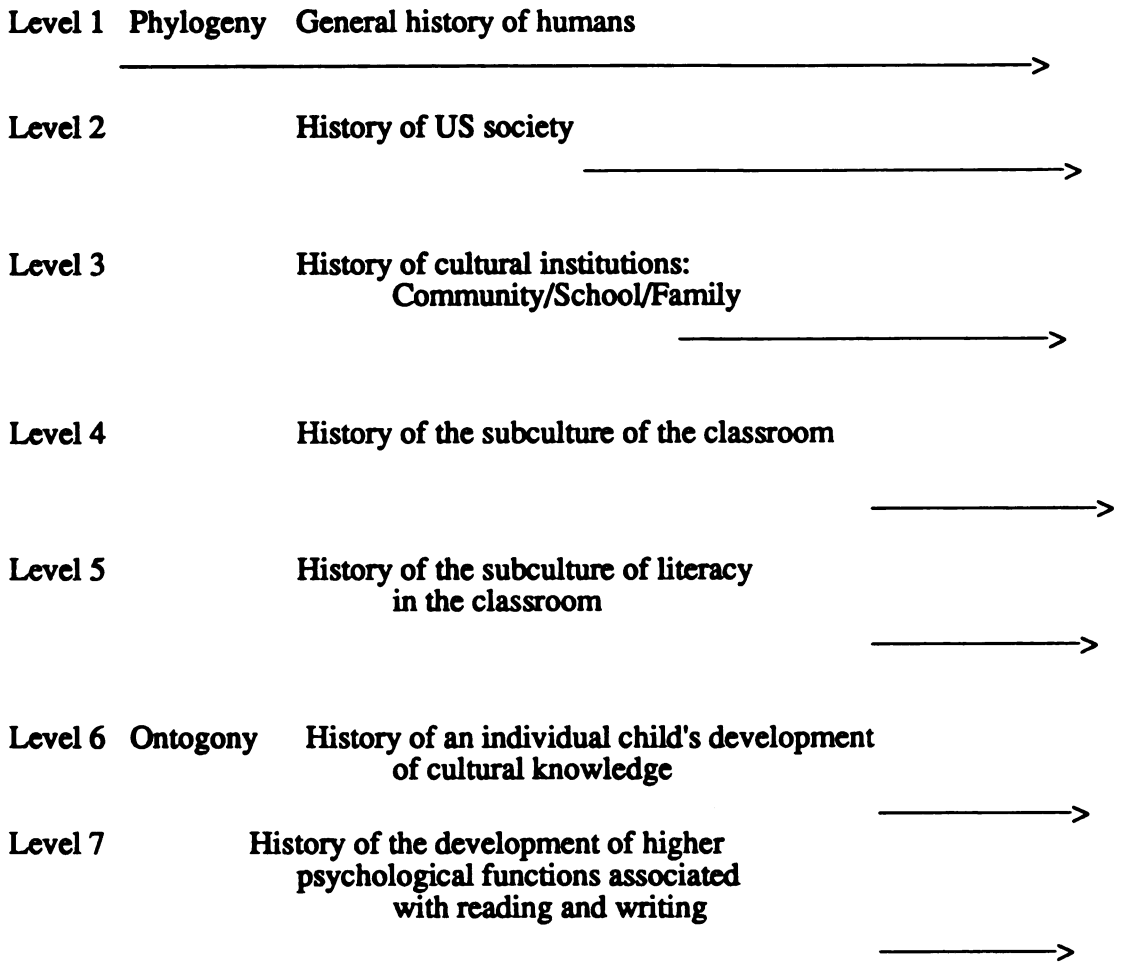


Figure 5

As Figure 5 shows, this framework made it possible to carry out analysis on seven levels. The arrows indicate that I conceived of all levels as dynamic and that I traced changes on all levels. I assumed that to understand an individual's development of reading and writing, it is necessary to look at the historical development of literacy on each of the seven levels. At Level 1, I could take into account the general history of the human development of literacy. While it was unlikely that significant changes would occur on this level during my one year study, I assumed that looking at the literacy events through this lens would help me understand the children's process of moving from oral to written literacy given that children's development does follow the historical path humans followed from oral to written literacy, from speech to pictures and from pictures to alphabetic symbols.

At Level 2, I could take into account the changing definitions of literacy as well as the tools and signs associated with literacy in the United States' society. While it was unlikely that significant changes would occur at this level during my year-long study, it was important to take into account the definitions of literacy and tools available to students in this setting.

At Level 3, it was likely that the changes would be more dynamic. From my previous work within the school, I was aware of the changes that were occurring in the district's reading and writing curriculum and of the competing theories of literacy learning which the teachers held. In looking at literacy events through this lens, I could take into account the current state of the debate within the school. In addition, I could also take into account the view of literacy the children brought into the classroom from their homes.

At Level 4 and Level 5, I could trace changes in the subculture of the classroom and in the culture of literacy which was created and recreated through the interactions. At these levels, it was likely that change would be dynamic. In analyzing the changes at the level of the classroom, I could take into account the dynamic process, the webs of

meaning and interpretations created and recreated through face-to-face interactions (Geertz, 1973), the development of and changes in the shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of others (Goodnough, 1964, 1976). At the level of the subculture of literacy, I could take into account the development of and changes in the subculture of literacy, the values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing (Smith, 1983).

At Level 6, I could look at the dynamic changes that occurred in individual development. On this level, I could look at how individual children's knowledge of the shared knowledge of the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy changed over time. To analyze these changes, I could look at the child's verbal and non-verbal behavior during interactions in the classroom with peers and with the teacher or others present.

At Level 7, I could look at the dynamic changes that occurred in an individual student's internalization of the classroom culture and of the culture of literacy. To conduct analysis, I could look at a student's knowledge of reading and writing before an interaction in a literacy event, the development of knowledge about reading and/or writing during the interaction, and at what the student could do in reading and writing after the interaction.

Genetic Analysis of Ontogenetic Data

In addition to developing a framework for carrying out historical analysis which I conducted on each of the seven levels, I also developed a framework for conducting a genetic analysis across the levels. According to Vygotsky's notion of cultural development as a historical process, to understand the development of higher psychological functions such as reading and writing, it is necessary to look across the planes to observe how knowledge constructed and reconstructed on one plane interacts with and shapes knowledge constructed and reconstructed on another plane.

The fifth feature of the theory of activity which relates directly to Vygotsky's notion of cultural development and the sixth feature of the theory of activity which expands the concept of internalization further explain genetic analysis. The fifth feature holds that interpsychological mediation becomes the intrapsychological mediation of inner speech which guides the child's actions. The sixth feature of activity theory expands the concept of internalization by stating that "The notion of internalization is concerned with the ontogenesis of the ability to carry out socially formulated, goal-directed actions with the help of mediating devices" (Wertsch, 1981, p. 32). While the development of higher psychological functions cannot be observed, it is possible to look at the knowledge the child develops through interactions and infer what the child has internalized since activities are carried out initially on the external or interactional plane and then are internalized on the individual plane. While the internal plane cannot be observed, one can infer what has been internalized by analyzing interactions. By observing and analyzing the child's ability to carry out socially formulated, goal directed actions with the help of the mediating devices of tools, signs, language, and the support of adults, it is possible to infer what the child has internalized. That means one can observe the child in interactions with others and in interaction with tools, signs, and language set down by social history, as well as observe the child producing products. In conjunction with the knowledge of the history of the behavior, products produced by the child can also be analyzed to infer what the child knows.

In Figure 6, I have disembedded the planes to better illustrate historical and genetic analyses. The solid circles represents the sociocultural plane which includes the larger culture, the culture of the society, the local culture, the subculture of the classroom, and the classroom subculture of literacy. The broken circle represents the interactional plane. The shaded circle represents the individual plane.

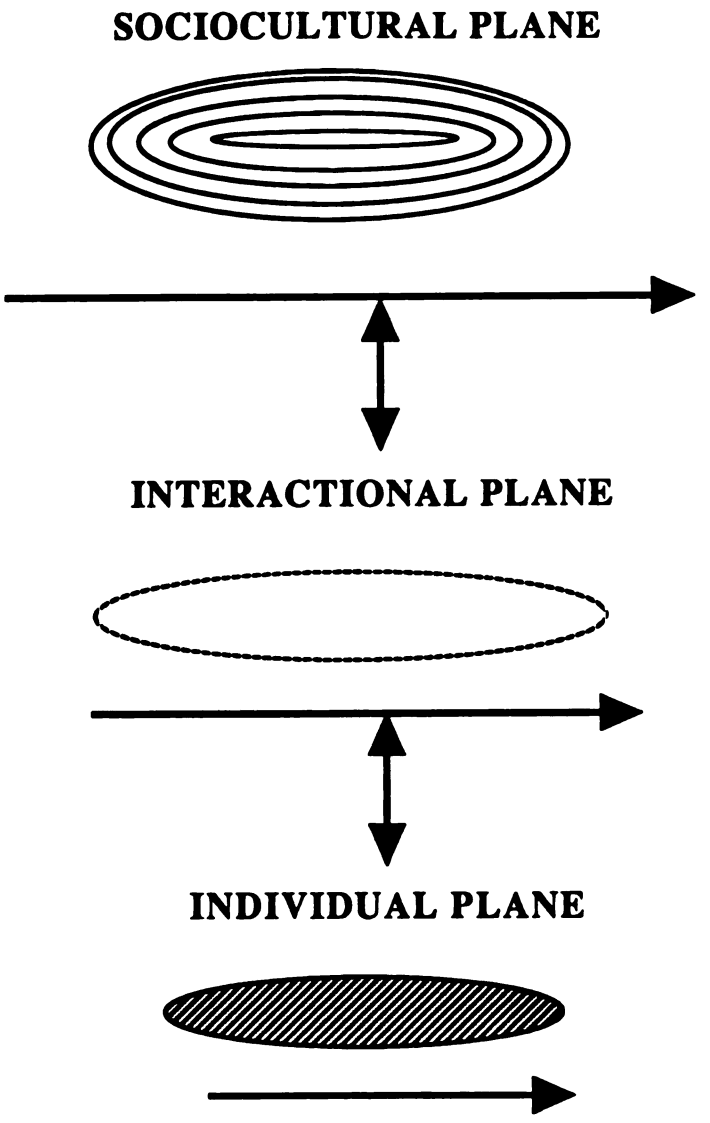

SOCIOCULTURAL PLANE
INTERACTIONAL PLANE
INDIVIDUAL PLANE

FIGURE 6

The horizontal arrows denote the historical analysis across time at each level which I described above. They indicate that the forms of knowledge are continually evolving and that there is nothing final about them. "The forms of knowledge available for mediating activity today have evolved out of earlier forms, and will develop into different forms in the future" (Wertsch, 1981, p. 32).

The vertical arrows between the planes denote the reciprocal nature of activity and social relations across the sociocultural, interactional, and individual planes. Because literacy is developed through social interactions with the historically formed environment, in communication with others, and in objective relations among objects, tools, and language which have been laid down in the course of social history, it is important to look at how changes at one level interact with and shape interactions on another level. Activities interact with, shape, and are shaped by individual learning. Activities also interact with, shape, and are shaped by social relations and by culture.

In the genetic analysis across the planes, I looked at (1) how the interpretive meaning created and recreated through the face-to-face interactions shaped and changed the classroom culture and the culture of literacy, and (2) at how changes in the classroom culture and culture of literacy shaped and changed the face-to-face interactions. I also looked at how interpretive meaning created and recreated through the interactions shaped and changed individual learning and at how changes in individual learning shaped and changed the interactions. Finally, I looked at how changes at the sociocultural level, especially the school and home, shaped and changed the face-to-face interactions as well as how the interpretive meaning created and recreated through face-to-face interactions changed the sociocultural level.

Genetic analysis provided me with a way to look at how the classroom culture shaped and interacted with the culture of literacy; how the face-to-face interactions interacted with and shaped the culture of the classroom and the classroom culture of

literacy; and how the face-to-face interactions interacted with and shaped the teacher's knowledge and beliefs and the student's individual learning.

Interactional analysis

According to the fifth feature of the theory of activity, analysis should also take place at the interactional level. Related directly to Vygotsky's general law of cultural development, this feature of the theory of activity held that a child's mental activity is mediated through social interaction by tools and language (feature three of the theory of activity). The psychological functions are first carried out interpsychologically and then intrapsychologically. This means that development moves from the social to the psychological plane. Inner speech is an intrapsychological mediating device that arises out of the interpsychological functioning.

The focus of interactional analysis is on the activity or interaction. Because literacy is a socio-cultural psycho-linguistic process, I attended to both the sociocultural and psycholinguistic dimensions of the discourse used to mediate the interaction.

In Figure 7, I have taken the interactional plane out of my model of the literacy event to more clearly show how I carried out the analysis of the literacy event on the interactional plane.

LITERACY ACTIVITY

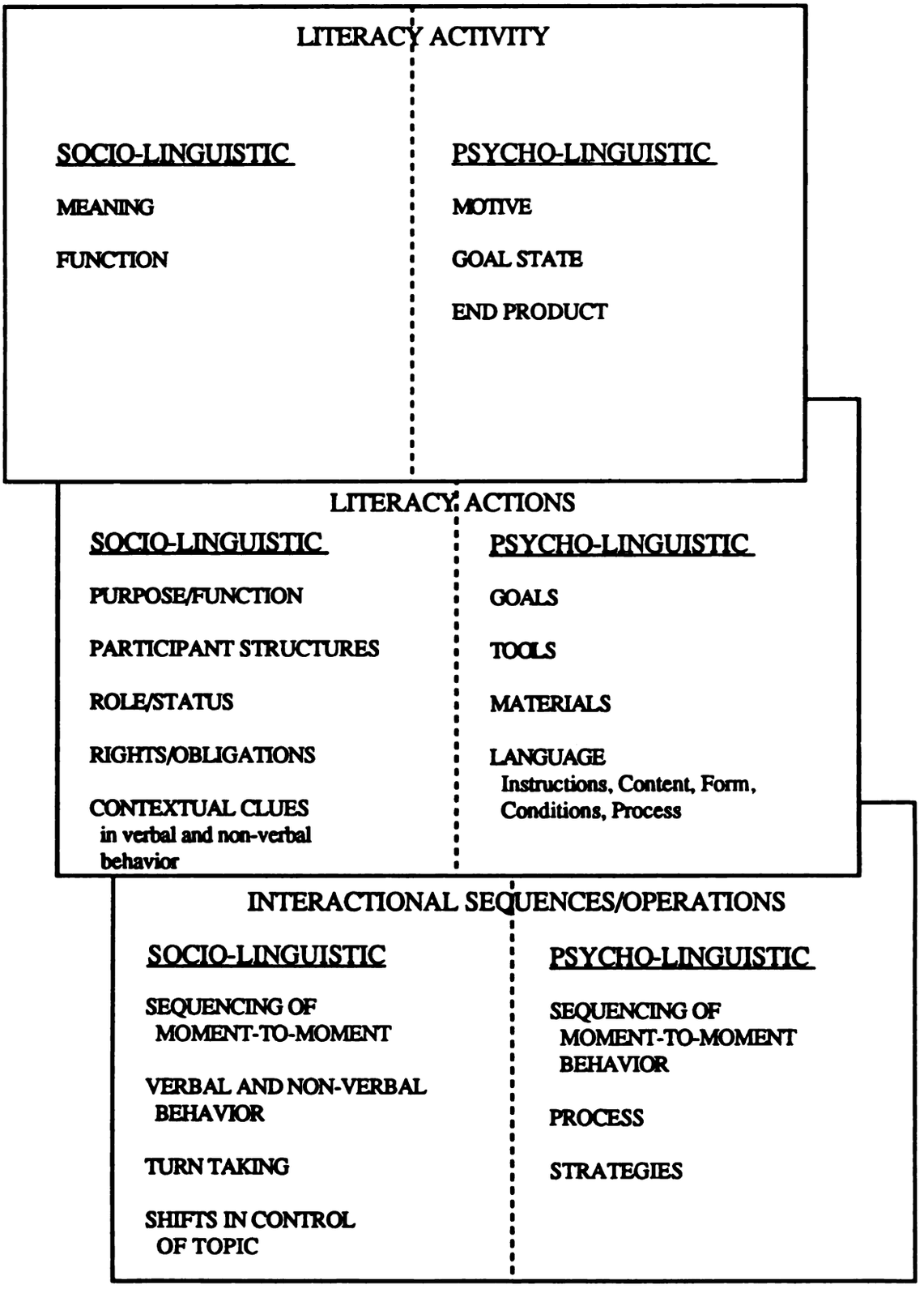


FIGURE 7

Drawing on the definition of literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, I divided activity and its coordinations into the socio-linguistic and psycho-linguistic. As Figure 7 shows. each component of literacy activity is distinguished by a sociocultural and psycholinguistic aspect.

The first box shows that literacy activity is distinguished in terms of the socio-linguistic aspects on the basis of meaning and function. In psycho-linguistic terms, it is analyzed on the basis of motive, goal state or end product.

The second box shows that actions are distinguished generally on the basis of goal or purpose. The socio-linguistic aspect is analyzed on the basis of purpose or function; social relationships and social organization including participant structures, role and status, rights and obligations; and verbal and non-verbal behavior including contextual cues, gaze orientation, body positions, conversational topics, posture and proximity. The psycho-linguistic aspects are analyzed on the basis of goal; tools; language including the instructions, content, and form; and conditions or process.

The third box shows that interactional sequences and operations are distinguished generally on the basis of the conditions under which the operations are carried out, the moment-to-moment sequencing of actions. The socio-linguistic aspects are analyzed on the basis of the sequencing of moment-to-moment verbal and non-verbal actions such as turn taking, and shifts in control of the topic. The psycho-linguistic aspects are analyzed on the basis of operations and the conditions under which they are carried out and include the sequencing of steps in process and strategies used.

The interactional context or situational frame is analyzed on the basis of who is participating in the event and who controls it (who), the time and space in which the event takes place (when and where), the shared meaning about social relations and literacy (what and why) which are constructed and reconstructed through the face to face-to-face interaction.

Summary

By using the sociocultural theory of activity as a framework for combining activity, task, and event into a single unit of analysis, the literacy event, I was able to develop a model which provided me with a framework for observing, documenting, analyzing, and interpreting literacy events. The model gave me a way to address my overarching questions about the individual and the social as interacting systems. It allowed me to collect information and analyze data so that I could address the question: How do Lee's beliefs and knowledge, the social relations in the classroom, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, what the students learn, and the larger context in which the classroom is situated interact with and shape each other? By allowing me to document and analyze the process by which culture shapes cognition, I could address the questions: How does the cultural knowledge created and recreated through face-to-face interactions interact with and shape individual cognition? What do the children learn about the sociocultural and psycho-linguistic processes of literacy? By guiding my documentation and analysis of the history of behavior and of the changes in the social and cognitive aspects of interactions over time, I could address the questions: How does the participant's shared knowledge change over time? How does individual learning change over time?

To illustrate how I used the model to frame the literacy event in order to collect and document the information required to carry out interactional, historical and genetic analyses, I will present a vignette of literacy event in Lee's classroom.

Vignette of a Literacy Event

In this section, I will present a vignette of a literacy event in Lee Mead's classroom to illustrate the complexity of the literacy event and to demonstrate how I used my model of the literacy event to observe classroom interactions and to document the

information I needed in order to conduct interactional, historical, and genetic analysis. To illustrated the kinds of interpretations I was able to make by using this model to guide me through interactional, historical, and genetic analyses, I will provide examples of assertions I made about the meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions in this literacy event.

The occasion described in this vignette occurred during independent reading on June 3, six days before the end of school. In observing and documenting this event, the model helped me take into account (1) the larger cultural context in which interactions in this classroom were set; (2) the subculture of the classroom and the subculture of literacy which developed over the year; (3) the activity, actions, interactional sequences and operations involved in the moment to moment and face to face interactions, and (4) individual functioning.

To facilitate discussion of the multiple levels of activity described in the vignette, I have set off sections with bracketed numbers. The first section of the vignette, [1], focuses on activity related to the classroom subculture and the classroom subculture of literacy before the literacy activity began. The second section, [2], describes the transition into this classroom literacy event and focuses on the social system in which the literacy interaction takes place. Section three, [3], describes interactions during independent reading and provides information about the classroom culture of literacy and about individual functioning. Finally, section four, [4], describes the activity after independent reading and provides information about the classroom culture and about how knowledge constructed through interactions in the literacy event becomes part of the classroom culture of literacy.

June 3, Independent Reading

[1] It was 11:45 on June 3 in Mrs. Mead's first grade classroom, one week before the end of school. So far that morning the children had engaged in a discussion with their teacher on personal safety, sung some of their favorite songs, taken a spelling test, completed a math activity on estimation, and gone outside for recess. They had just returned to the classroom and were sitting in their seats or standing in line at the drinking fountain. They talked excitedly with each other, faces red, eyes aglow. Their teacher stood by her desk

looking at a sheet of paper. She raised her head, surveyed the classroom and said in a loud voice, "Could someone please write me a note to remind me to get food for Smokey?" A red-haired girl who had stopped talking to her neighbor as soon as the teacher had begun to speak, jumped up from her seat, raised her hand and said in a clear voice, "I will!" She walked to a box on a shelf at the front of the room, took out a sheet of paper and returned to her desk where she bent over the paper, pencil in hand, and wrote.

[2] The teacher continued to look at the paper in her hand for a another minute and then looked up at the class again. Only two children remained in the drink line. "All right," she said. Ti-i-i-i-me to list-en." When her voice fell on the last syllable, all of the children had stopped talking. Their hands were still, their feet were still, and most were looking at her with anticipation.

"We get to vote now," the teacher said. "We can work on another math activity, o-o-or, we can do independent reading." The children squirmed on their chairs and made eye contact with each other, "Yeah, independent reading," "Reading," most whispered as they looked at each other nodding their heads. The teacher said, "All right, all in favor of math raise your hands?" Three hands shot up. "Okay, all in favor of independent reading?" 21 hands shot up and with them some children seemed pulled from their seats into kneeling positions on their chairs. "Independent reading it is," the teacher announced. "Yeah," "Alright," some children called out in hushed cheers.

"Patty's table may get their books now," the teacher said softly. The children sitting at the table near the front window walked to the corner of the room opposite the teacher's desk and selected books. From a variety of reading materials, they chose trade books propped up on the chalk tray and shelved on one of two bookcases, basal readers from the stacks on the book cases, books composed of class writings from a bin on the window sill and books written by individuals in the class shelved beside the trade books. Some children got down on their knees to look on the bottom shelves for ALPHA comics and Bill Martin easy readers. Others looked briefly through the stack of back issues of <u>USA Today</u> newspapers. When they had selected three or four pieces of reading material, with much consultation and interaction with each other, they returned to their seats and began looking at their selections.

Then Mrs. Mead announced, "Kelly's table may get their books," and the other half of the students walked to the corner, repeated the process of selecting books, and returned to their seats. When everyone had selected something to read and had returned to their seats, the teacher said, "Okay, are we ready to begin?" Holding up a paperback book with a picture of a bird on it as she walked to a vacant chair at one of the children's' tables and sat down, she said, "I am reading this book on birds to learn how to take care of my new bird. Time to begin." She and the students opened their books and began to read.

[3] Olympia and Abby sat beside each other. Each had a copy of the same basal reader and were turned to the same page. In quiet voices they read the story together, smiling, pointing at words and stopping to discuss the story. Jason and Anne sat next to Olympia. Jason read silently to himself from <u>Happy Birthday Dear Dragon</u>, smiling to himself. Ann bent over a <u>Downey Duck</u> and whispered words to herself as she sounded them out.

At the other large table, Ethan, Tony R., and Matt were crowded around the same picture book. Matt pointed to a picture and Ethan shook his head. "No, that is not it. I said 'I spied something red.'" Matt shook his head, and he and Tony peered more closely at the picture while Ethan sat beside them with a big smile on his face. Down the same side of the table, Kelly sat quietly reading a book aloud to herself. She paused at a word, sounded out the initial letters, frowned, and leaned over to Michael E. who was sitting beside her. She pointed to the word in her book. Michael leaned over, looked at the work Kelly was pointing at and said, "It says 'bare.' It was one of our spelling words, remember?" Kelly smiled and nodded. On the other side of the table, Nathan and Ted

were looking at a nature book together. "Let's find a snake!" Ted said with a twinkle in his eye. Nathan started to turn pages. At the end of the table Slade sat with a stack of ten or fifteen books piled in front of him forming a wall between himself and the other students. He slowly turned the mostly pictureless pages of One Hundred and One Dalmatians. His lips moved silently as his eyes moved from left to right, top to bottom on each page. At one point, he smiled and shook his head. On an adult sized chair by the window and book cases, Kimberly sat holding a library book the teacher had read to the class the day before turned toward the empty floor in front of her. In teacher fashion, upside down and from the side, she looked around the cover of the book at the words on the page and read quietly to an imaginary group of children.

Other children read silently alone or with each other. Jessica read the book she had written about the unicorn, whispering the words to herself with much expression. Max and Robert, who frequently argued with each other on the playground sat with their heads together as they worked to read "Boy Was I Mad" from the level 8 basal, A Time for Friends which the teacher had read to the class several weeks before. Cody sat alone at the end of one of the large tables and read one of the "special" books the teacher had set aside for him. The hum of voices filled the room; everyone was interacting with text. Everyone appeared to be enjoying their interactions with books. All were smiling or engaged in activities with books or discussions about books. Twenty five readers, one adult and twenty four children.

[4] At 12:20 the teacher looked up at the clock. "Oh, my goodness. Okay. Ti--me to s-t-o-p. It is nearly time for lunch." A few children groaned as they closed their books. "Who wants to tell about a book they read today?" the teacher asked. Hands shot up. One by one children took turns holding up books and telling the class what they liked about the book they had read. Anne said, "I read Jessica's RSVP book about unicorns. It is really good! Joel said, "I read Pigs in Space AGAIN! Tony R. sitting beside him giggled. Others told about the books they had read. The teacher said, "Good. Patty's table may put the books back where they found them and then get ready for lunch. Michael E. would you please do your helping job and get the bleach and towels ready after you put your books away?"

Levels of Meaning Captured

The actions described in [1] of the vignette provided me with information about the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy that developed during the year. On June 3, the teacher and students engaged in actions which suggested that they shared a common understanding of the norms involving post-recess behavior. The teacher's request for someone to write her a note to remind her to buy food for the classroom pet suggested that she and the children shared an understanding of the transactional purpose of writing (Britton, 1970).

The actions described in section [2] provided more evidence that the teacher and students shared a common understanding of how classroom procedures are to be carried out. When the teacher said, "Time to listen," the students stopped talking and moving and they all looked at the teacher. The students also showed that they knew how to vote and participate in selecting materials to read. There were no questions about which material they could select. The teacher and students' actions also illustrated something about the micropolitics of the classroom. From their actions, it is appeared that these students were accustomed to being given a choice of activities and that, at least in this event, the teacher participated in the activity in which she asked the students to take part.

The student's individual actions and interactions with each other and with text, described in section [3] suggested that a wide range of activities counted as reading in this classroom. Reading text, playing with text, decoding text, interpreting text, and pretending with text all appeared to be appropriate. In addition, a variety of participant structures appeared to be acceptable in this literacy event. Students interact with text on their own and with others. It also appeared that the students used a variety of skills and strategies to "read" the texts.

The actions described in section [4] suggested that the students and teacher engaged in interactions which allowed them to share the meaning they constructed during independent reading and make that knowledge part of the classroom culture of literacy.

Interpretation of the Vignette

As I observed this scene six days before the end of the school year, I saw a community where the members shared a common set of values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and social statuses associated with reading and writing, a culture of literacy (Smith 1983). Because I had been a participant observer in this classroom from the first day Lee and these students had come together and had watched the weaving of events that had brought

the students to this place on this day, I knew what was going on, who these people were, and what had brought them to this point. I had watched the teacher and students construct and reconstruct their social relations and classroom norms, their definitions of what did and did not constitute reading and writing in this context, and their individual values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with literacy.

Because I had been observing and documenting the literacy events for the school year, I was able to analyze this event in light of the patterns that had developed throughout the year and across events. By conducting historical, genetic, and interactional analyses of the literacy events, I was able to interpret the actions on June 3 and to see how they fit into patterns which had developed over the year and across events.

Through historical, genetic, and interactional analyses on the sociocultural, interactional, and individual planes, I knew that on June 3, Independent Reading had become an integral part of the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy. While none of these students had participated in an event called Independent Reading before entering this classroom on September 8, the scene on June 3rd was not atypical. The students engaged in Independent Reading nearly every Friday, and after the first few weeks, they followed the routines and patterns described above.

The students, as a group and individually, had come to value and use literacy through participating in activities like this and others. In other language arts activities such as reading and writing centers, they wrote about topics they selected, read a variety of texts including trade books, basals, peer-generated writing, and USA Today and that during their free time, the children often wrote letters or cards to their family and friends. One girl had written a letter to a friend who had moved away and an anniversary card for her parents. Another had written thank you notes for the Christmas gifts she had received from her family. All had contributed to the thirty-six class books that had become a part of the classroom library and all had published at least two books of their own writing.

The children had made reading and writing part of their daily lives. Parents had reported that the children read and wrote at home. Formal and informal assessment of their reading and writing supported my observations and revealed that all were reading at or above first grade reading level; most were reading above second grade level. Jason and Jerrod had taught their younger brothers to read. Robert read regularly to his younger sister. When the students had been given time to share things from outside of school, they often shared books they had read. Kimberly had found a copy of an old basal reader at her family's summer cottage which she shared with the class by reading them a story from it. The book became so popular that the teacher located additional copies of the book in the district's store room so that more students could read it. The students frequently brought the teacher "love letters" they had written to her at home which she displayed on the wall. Others took home the books they were writing and worked on them there. Some wrote brief notes to the teacher about the books they read at home. Michael E. checked twenty-two books out of the classroom library. He reported back to the class almost daily on his progress and his classmates kept asking him when he would be bringing the books back. On the day he returned the books, the other students clapped and cheered for him. He gave the teacher a stack of short notes that told about each book he had read.

I also knew how participating in the life of this classroom had shaped individual student's thinking about school and about reading and writing. I knew that when the teacher and students had come together on September 8th, the first day of school, several children had already experienced academic and/or social problems in school. While the majority of the children had entered first grade believing they would learn to read and write, some were not so sure. On the first day of school, four students were entering their third year of school, and they were not so sure they would ever be successful in this place called school. One had been retained in first grade. Three had been in a transition room between kindergarten and first grade. Based on their academic and social progress in

kindergarten, two others had been recommended for the transition room. Their parents had refused to accept the recommendation, and they had entered first grade. The majority of the students did not know the alphabet or letter sound relationships, thus putting into question their readiness for learning to read.

In addition to their academic problems, many of the children had ascriptive characteristics associated with school failure. A substantial number of the students came from low income families who received some kind of social assistance or might be classified as "working poor." Three were minority students, two African-American, one Hispanic. Others had family related problems. Several of the children came from single parent families. Two had parents with a drug or alcohol problem. Several parents were unemployed, one was pregnant and unmarried. One child's behavior problems had become so severe that he had been recommended for the emotionally impaired classroom. But, in spite of having fears about succeeding in school and other personal problems, all of the children in this classroom had become readers and writers by June 3.

From observing and talking with the children, I knew that with six more days of school left in the year, every child in this first grade classroom had learned to read and write. They had developed a variety of strategies for decoding and comprehending text. What is more, they all had come to see themselves as readers and writers. When asked who the best reader in their class was, the majority of the children said, "I am." Those who did not say they were best named another child and explained why they thought that person was a better reader, but all said that with work, they would get better, could get better.

The children had also developed metacognitive knowledge of the reading and writing processes and were able to describe how they had learned to read and write, which activities in school and at home had helped them become part of the culture of literacy. Each could also discuss what one needed to do to learn to read and write. All of the children enjoyed reading and writing; they were aware of and able to use many

conventions of text such as end punctuation, apostrophes and quotation marks and they had mastered letter-sound relationships. In writing a book for kindergarten students about first grade, most had said learning to read and write were the best part of being in first grade.

On June 3, I knew these things about the students in Lee's first grade classroom. I knew where they had started and where they were at the end of the year. Unlike information provided by pre and post test scores or reports in students' permanent files which report how students stand with relationship to each other, I could make assertions about how the students had become readers and writers and about what each had learned.

In the next chapter, I will present the methods and procedures I used to unravel the story of how these children and their teacher developed a classroom culture and a culture of literacy of this classroom. I will provide background on the district and school and on the teacher and students. Then I will discuss the methods and procedures I used to document and analyze the dynamic process of the teaching and learning of reading and writing in this classroom.

CHAPTER THREE

SETTING, PARTICIPANTS, AND METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will introduce the setting in which I conducted this study and the methods and procedures I used. I will begin by restating the purpose of my study and my overarching research questions. Next, I will provide background on the setting in which this study was conducted, introduce the students who were participants in the study and provide additional information about Lee. Finally, I will discuss the methods and procedures I used to collect, document, analyze and interpret data.

Purpose of the Study

The overarching purpose of this study was to gain an insider's perspective into the dynamic processes of the teaching and learning of reading and writing within the context of Lee Mead's first grade classroom and to learn how Lee's beliefs, the micropolitics of the classroom social relations, the social organization of classroom events, the literacy curriculum, and what the children learned about reading and writing interacted with and shaped each other.

Overarching questions were:

1. What is the nature of the process by which reading and writing are taught and learned in this setting?

2. What meanings do the teacher and students construct and reconstruct through their interactions?

3. How do the teacher and students experience and interpret those interactions which focus on literacy teaching and learning?

4. How do the meanings and interpretations change over time?

5. How do the teacher's beliefs, the social relations, the social organizations of the classroom, the literacy activity, what students learn and the larger context in which the classroom is situated interact with and shape each other as the teacher and students create and recreate meanings and interpretations through their face-to-face interactions?

6. What do the students learn?

To address these questions, I studied context and language as an integrated whole and focused on face-to-face interactions through which the teacher and students created and recreated a classroom culture and a classroom culture of literacy.

In the next section, I will describe the setting in which the study was conducted and introduce the participants who were part of the study.

Setting and Participants

National, State, and Local Context

To understand what happened in this classroom, it is necessary to be aware of the larger context in which it was embedded. At the time this study was conducted, educational reform had once again become a national focus. A Nation At Risk had sounded the alert and a second wave of reforms aimed at addressing that report's recommendations had begun. The state had responded to the calls for reform by mandating competency based testing. When A Nation of Readers was published, the state responded by calling for a redefinition of reading focusing on comprehension, and for the development of new tests to assess students' comprehension. The district in

which I conducted the study had begun its search for a new basal series and was in the process of offering inservice workshops for teachers to acquaint them with the new definition of reading and instructional techniques aimed at improving students' comprehension. One school in the district was piloting a new basal series and one of that series' authors regularly came to the district to conduct workshops on reading strategies. A number of teachers in Lee's building had volunteered to become part of a district-wide staff development program which had been developed by the district's reading consultants and which focused on putting into practice the research based comprehension strategies the basal author presented at her workshops.

Process writing was making its way into classrooms nationally and locally through the efforts of national and state writing projects. The intermediate school district was offering writing workshops for teachers. Teachers enrolled in the university's master's program in reading and language arts were learning about and beginning to implement literature-based reading programs and process writing workshops in their classrooms.

Within Lee's school, some teachers responded to these changes with apprehension. Many were in favor of maintaining a basic skills approach in the lower elementary grades. In a meeting the previous spring, first and second grade teachers had discussed students' transition from first to second grade, and there had been a debate over the use of a skills approach versus a whole language approach. Some of the teachers expressed their concern that students would not develop the required skills if basal readers and workbooks were not used in the reading program. They also voiced their apprehensions about allowing students to use invented spelling in their writing and to work in cooperative groups rather than individually at their own desks. Lee and her colleague responded by assuring the others that they did teach basic skills. After the meeting, Lee and her colleague agreed that they would document their student's reading and writing development as well as their performance on skill work the following year.

The School District

The study was conducted in a small suburban community adjacent to a midwestern state capitol. At the time of this study, the population was racially, ethnically, and economically diverse with the majority of residents best characterized as white and middle class. Most residents were employed by the state, the university or the automobile industry in middle management and skilled labor.

The district was established in the early 1920's and had 4,400 students in grades K-12. There were 5 elementary schools (K-5), a middle school (6-7), a junior high school (8-9), and a high school (10-12). Over half of the district's teachers held Masters Degrees and nearly half had training beyond the M.A. 55% of the district's graduates went on to 4-year colleges, 2-year colleges, or other institutions of higher learning.

Compared with other districts in its intermediate district, the district was financially poor. Its State Equalized Valuation (SEV) per pupil for the year preceding this study was the second lowest in the intermediate district. But despite its low SEV per pupil, the district had the fourth highest total millage rate in the intermediate district. Community support for the schools was high. The voters consistently passed substantial millage proposals and many parent and citizen volunteers served regularly in the schools' libraries, offices, and classrooms, and as tutors.

The district had a relatively low minority population. 4% of the students in Lee's school were minority students. Based on information provided by the state and on basis of the number of students applying for and receiving free and reduced lunches in grades K-12, district officials estimated that 12% of the students came from low-income families. Lee's school was one of two elementary schools with the highest percentages of students from low-income families. 16% of the students at Lee's school came from low-income families.

The state assessment scores indicated that the district had a high number of students who might be considered academically at risk. While performing better than students in its neighboring inner-city district, students in this district scored far below students in a neighboring residential district. Especially significant was the drop in scores from fourth to tenth grade. Together with an annual high school drop-out rate in the three years preceding the study of approximately 5%, it appeared that a proportion of the district's students were at high risk. Another 5% were involved in the high school's alternative education program designed to meet the needs of high school students who could not function in regular high school classes.

The Students

In this section, I will provide information about Lee's students and begin to answer the questions: Who were these students? What did they know about going to school and about reading and writing when they entered Lee's classroom? What did they know when they left Lee's classroom? First, I will present information about the students' academic standing at the beginning and end of the school year. Then I will provide background information about the children's personal lives which they, their parents, and/or Lee considered relevant to the children's academic development.

The information presented here was gained from my interactions with the students, from information they provided about themselves and their families in their writing or during sharing time, from conversations with Lee, from conversations with student's parents or siblings, and from information other teachers or the principal provided. I did not have access to, nor was I aware of, the information in the students' permanent records. However, as a participant in the classroom, I did become aware of their scores on the tests Lee administered and her assessment of their progress. As part of the entry process and securing human subjects' approval for the study, I obtained parent's

permission to use personal information I learned about the students that was related to their learning to read and to write. As I will make clear in the findings chapters, the children's social and academic worlds were inseparable. Therefore, the personal information I will present here was part of the individual student's social and academic world which became part of this community of learners. Each child brought who he or she was and what he or she had learned and experienced outside of school into the interactions that created the learning community and the culture of literacy.

What Did the Students Know about Reading and Writing?

During the time I worked with Lee, she expressed on many occasions her beliefs about first graders' readiness for learning to read and write in first grade. In project meetings and to other teachers, she noted that she realized that some teachers assumed the students entering first grade should know the alphabet and be aware of letter-sound relationships and, therefore, be ready to learn to read. Lee said that although she would like to believe that all of her students entering first grade were ready to learn to read, she knew that was not the case. Instead, she said, she realized that she would have to "take the children where they are," and go from there.

To learn where the children were when they entered her class, how ready they were to learn to read and write, Lee used a number of informal and formal methods to assess her students' literacy readiness. Several weeks before the start of school, she sent a letter to her students' homes in which she welcomed them to her class and asked them to draw a picture of "the best summer fun." The children were asked to bring their pictures with them to school on the first day.

Lee used these pictures and whatever writing might be part of them to begin to learn about the child. She studied the pictures and the writing on them to begin to form a sense of the child's developmental level. On the first day of class, Lee noted the variety in the papers the children brought to her. All papers had a picture. Some had writing as

well. In a majority of cases, the students or an adult had written the child's name on the paper. Most children had written their own names. Lee noted those who had written their own names, who had reversed letters or had difficulty writing certain letters, or who had not followed conventions of linearity. She also looked at the complexity of the pictures. These varied from a simple rainbow to an intricate drawing of an amusement park with the individual rides labeled in a child's writing.

From looking at these papers, Lee began to assume that most of the children had some experience with written text, that they had some knowledge of the letters of the alphabet and were able to write them, that most were at the symbolic stage where pictures represented meaning, and that some were moving into the stage where letters were symbols for meaning (Temple, Nathan, Burris &Temple, 1988).

During the second week of school, Lee began using a brief reading readiness test to assess each of her students. She administered these tests on a one-to-one basis. By September 30, she had given the test to the whole class. According to Lee, the test had been developed by the district's reading consultants for their use, but the consultant in Lee's school had given it to the first grade teachers a number of years before to use to assess their students' reading readiness. Lee and the other first grade teachers in her building had been administering the test themselves for at least six years.

The test consisted of five categories. The first, titled "Letter Identification," presented letters of the alphabet in random order. First the upper case letters, and then the lower case. The second, "Letter Sounds," presented the consonants and vowels in order. The third, "Numerals," presented numbers zero to 9 in random order. The fourth, "Number Words," gave the words from one to ten. Finally, the fifth, "Color Words," listed the following color words: red, yellow, green, blue, orange, brown, black, purple, white. The directions for scoring were in parenthesis at the bottom of the page. They said, "Uncircled items indicate correct responses. Circled items indicate incorrect responses and include responses made. N.R. - No Response."

From the children's performance on this test, Lee concluded that of the twenty-four students in her class, sixteen recognized all of the upper case letters and fourteen out of twenty-four recognized the lower case letters. Only three of the twenty-four students identified the appropriate letter-sound relationship in the second part of the test. Three of twenty-four read all of the number words. Ten of the twenty-four read all of the color words.

Beginning on March 1, and ending on March 5, Lee again administered this test to students in her class. (Her records indicate that not all students were tested on all categories.) The results of the March testing show significant growth for the class. Twenty-three of the twenty-four students identified all of the upper case letters. Nineteen of the twenty-four identified all of the lower case letters. Fourteen identified the letter sound relationships. Seventeen read all of the number words and eighteen read all of the color words. Table 1 provides a more detailed comparison.

The numbers on the left for both the BEFORE and AFTER columns represent the number of correct responses (CR) given. The numbers on the right of both columns represent the number of students making the correct number of responses (SR). BEFORE tests were given on or before September 30. AFTER tests were given on March 1, 3, or 5.

TABLE 1

Students' 'Before' and 'After' Scores on Reading Readiness Test

BEFORE	AFTER
Upper case	Upper case
CR* SR*	CR* SR*
12 - 1	
18 - 1	
21 - 1	
22 - 1	
23 - 1	
24 - 2	24 - 1
25 - 1	
26 - 16	26 - 23
Lower case	Lower case
(CR) (SR)	(CR) (SR)
8 - 1	
17 - 1	
21 - 1	
22 - 3	
	23 - 1
24 - 2	24 - 4
25 - 2	
26 - 14	26 - 19
Letter sounds	Letter sounds
(CR) (SR)	(CR) (SR)
7 - 1	
12 - 3	
14 - 2	
16 - 1	
17 - 1	
18 - 1	
19 - 2	19 - 1
20 - 1	
	21 - 1
22 - 4	22 - 1
23 - 3	23 - 1
24 - 3	24 - 14
	(5 not tested)
ff	
Number words	Number words
(CR) (SR)	(CR) (SR)
0 - 10	
1 - 1	
	4 - 1
6 - 1	6 - 1
7 - 1	
8 - 4	8 - 1
9 - 3	
10 - 3	10 - 17
	(4 not tested)
Color words	Color words
(CR) (SR)	(CR) (SR)
0 - 2	
1 - 1	
2 - 1	
3 - 1	
4 - 2	
5 - 1	
	6 - 1
7 - 3	
8 - 2	8 - 1
9 - 10	9 - 18
	(4 not tested)

* CR indicated the number of possible correct responses
* SR indicated the number of students giving a correct response

At a meeting on September 30, Lee and Ann, the other first grade teacher who was also a member of the TDOC Project, discussed how they might document their students' progress in the new reading program they had developed. They had approached the reading consultant to ask her to test their students on the Woodcock Reading Test which measured students sight vocabulary, work attack skills, and comprehension. However, she had indicated that she would not have time to do that and had offered to provide them with the materials to test their own students. Lee and her colleague decided that they would administer the test over the next few weeks to document their students' reading levels at the beginning of the year and that they would give the students the test at the end of the year to measure their growth and include that information in the records they passed on to the second grade teachers.

In addition, they discussed ways to document which basal stories their students read during the year so that they could provide the second grade teachers with that information as well. They decided to develop grids for the basal readers on which they would record when the students read each story. For their own records they agreed to develop and use a form for recording what happened in the individual reading conferences they had with their students. (See Appendix for samples of these forms.)

They began testing their students on the Woodcock during the next week and Lee finished testing on October 19, the day before she began recording which basal stories her students read.

Table 2 provides a comparison of the students scores on the Woodcock at the beginning and end of the school year. The numbers on the left refer to grade level (GL). The numbers on the right refer to the number of students at a given grade level (S).

TABLE 2

Students Scores on the Woodcock Reading Test at the beginning and end of the year

BEFORE	AFTER
Word identification	Word identification
GL* S*	GL* S*
1.0 - 10	1.5 - 2
1.1 - 2	1.6 - 1
1.2 - 2	1.7 - 1
1.3 - 1	1.8 - 3
1.4	1.9 - 4
1.5 - 2	2.0 - 1
1.6 - 2	2.3 - 4
1.7 - 4	2.4 - 1
1.8 - 1	2.5 - 2
	2.6 - 1
	2.7
	2.8 - 3
	2.9 - 1
Word attack skills	Word attack skills
(GL) (S)	(GL) (S)
1.2 - 17	1.2 - 1
1.4 - 2	
1.6 - 2	1.6 - 2
	1.7 - 1
	1.8 - 1
1.9 - 1	1.9 - 1
	2.0 - 3
	2.2 - 1
	2.4 - 2
2.9 - 1	
	3.1 - 1
	3.3 - 1
	3.6 - 2
	3.9 - 1
	4.9 - 1
	5.8 - 2
	6.1 - 1
	7.0 - 1
	10.1 - 1
Comprehension	Comprehension
(GL) (S)	(GL) (S)
1.1 - 14	
1.3 - 2	
1.5 - 2	
1.6 - 2	
1.7 - 2	
1.9 - 2	1.9 - 1
	2.1 - 2
	2.2 - 3
	2.3 - 1
	2.4 - 3
	2.5 - 3
	2.6 - 4
	2.7 - 2
	2.8 - 2
	3.1 - 2
	3.3 - 1

*GL indicates grade level
*S indicates number of students performing at grade level

End of the year test scores on both reading measures indicated that everyone was reading at grade level or above. Some were doing better than others. All tested high in comprehension. The second grade teachers had indicated that they expected students to be reading at level seven when they entered second grade. Lee's records showed that eighteen were reading at or above level seven in the basal. Four more were ready to move into level seven. Of the two who were not, Michael E. had read 22 books at home. He avoided reading from the basal but read well from trade books, and Lee had ranked him 14th in her ranking of the class based on his improvement on the Woodcock. Ethan was getting help with his reading from his mother and was making progress. His Woodcock scores were 1.9 comprehension, 1.7 work attack, 1.6 word identification.

All of the students had shown growth in their writing. All had written and published at least two books. All had mastered the skills associated with the following: the linearity principal (Temple, Nathan, Burris, & Temple, 1988); presentation and layout; basic surface features such as capitals to begin a sentence and most proper nouns; end punctuation; spelling of familiar words; and writing in a variety of registers (Butler & Turbill, 1984).

Lee's records of the students' performance on spelling and skill tests suggested that most had learned to spell the one hundred words most frequently used in children's literature and basic skills including the phonetic, language, word attack, and study skills she had taught in skill lessons and on which the children were tested.

The children loved to read and write. They frequently asked Lee when the class could go to the library to get books and when they had an opportunity to vote on activities, they selected reading. They wrote about topics they selected, read a variety of texts including trade books, basals, peer-generated writing, and USA Today. All of the students contributed to the thirty-six class books that had become a part of the classroom library and all had published at least two books of their own writing.

The children made reading and writing part of their daily life. Jason and Jerrod had taught their younger brothers to read. Robert read regularly to his younger sister. After they finished their center work, children wrote letters or cards to their family and friends. Megan wrote a letter to a friend who had moved away and an anniversary card for her parents. Kelly wrote thank you notes for the Christmas gifts she had received from her family. Parents reported that the children read and wrote at home. When the students had been given time to share things from outside of school, they often shared books they had read. Kimberly had found a copy of an old basal reader at her family's summer cottage, and she shared with the class by reading them a story from it. The book became so popular that the teacher located additional copies of the book in the district's store room so that more students could read it.

The students frequently brought the teacher "love letters" they had written to her at home, and she displayed on the wall. Others took home the books they were writing and worked on them there.. Some wrote brief notes to the teacher about the books they read at home. Michael E. checked twenty-two books out of the classroom library. He reported back to the class almost daily on his progress and his classmates kept asking him when he would be bringing the books back. On the day he returned the books, the other students clapped and cheered for him. He gave the teacher a stack of short notes that told about each book he had read.

By the end of the year, all of the children considered themselves readers and writers, and they all believed that with practice, they would "get better and better."

Why Were These Students Considered "Hard to Teach"?

In previous years, Lee had read the students' cumulative records before they arrived or during the first week of school to get acquainted with their family backgrounds and previous performance in school. But this year, she had made a conscious decision

not to do so. In my fieldnotes on September 8, I noted that Lee said, "I don't want to pre-judge the kids. I would rather make my own evaluation."

She did have knowledge of a number of the students from comments the kindergarten or transition room teachers had made the previous year or from her previous association with the children or their families. She knew that Cody had been retained in first grade; Megan, Max, and Slade had been in a transition room between first grade and kindergarten; and Ethan and Tony R. had been recommended for the transition room rather than first grade but their parents had rejected the recommendation. Lee was familiar with the discipline problems Cody had had the previous year in first grade, and she said she believed he had been retained for that reason rather than his academic ability. The transition room teacher had discussed Max and Slade with her, and she was aware of their special needs. She knew that Max was small for his age and full of energy. Some teachers had even referred to him as hyperactive, but the transition room teacher had not. Lee also knew that Slade was big for his age and a year older than most of her students, and that he had frequently been involved in fights in school and on the playground. But the transition room teacher had told Lee that Slade had potential if he were given a chance, and she had said that he needed to be encouraged and taught how to get along with other children.

Megan's parents told Lee at the first parent meetings that Megan had been in a transition room in another school in the district and that they had fought to have her placed there rather than have her repeat kindergarten. They said that Megan was small for her age, a young kindergartner, and shy. They said they believed those were the reasons for her not being promoted to first grade after kindergarten. Lee also knew that the kindergarten teacher had recommended that Ethan go to the transition room rather than first grade but that his parents had insisted that he start first grade with his friends Max and Jason. They said they would work with him at home and were sure he would do fine. Based on the records forwarded from his previous school in another district and the

assessment done when he enrolled in the school, the principal had suggested to Tony R.'s parents that he enter the transition room. The parents had rejected the recommendation.

In addition to the information Lee had gained from other teachers or parents about individual students she also was acquainted with some of her new students and their families because she had had their brothers or sisters in class in previous years. These informal associations with the children or their families gave her some insight into her students. Kimby, Olympia, Kimberly, Michael G., Matt, and Judy had all had brothers or sisters in her room in previous years, and Lee had established relationships with their parents. It was clear from the interactions between Lee and these parents that they had been pleased with her teaching; many of the parents had requested her for their child's first grade teacher.

From her association with their families, Lee knew among other things that Kimby's father was a minister and that she had been having serious health problems; Olympia's parents were recent immigrants whose marriage had been arranged in their native country; Kimberly's father was a police officer and her mother had just started a new job; Matt's mother had a master's degree in early child development, was expecting a baby, and Matt was a "little worried and excited about it"; and Patty's dad had been out of work for some time and her mother worked for the state.

Many of the other children's parents quickly established a relationship with Lee and provided her with information about their child and/or the family. Within the first few weeks of school, parents made Lee aware of some factors within their children's lives or families which they believed might effect their child's performance in school. She learned that Jason suffered from migraine headaches which "really worried" his mother; Ann had a twin brother and her mother was pregnant, unmarried, and unable to work; Tony C. and Ethan's fourteen year old brother and sister were expecting a baby; Ted and Robert's fathers were in the military and the families moved frequently; Kelly and Michael E. were cousins, and Kelly's dad was in an alcohol treatment program; Jessica

was a bi-racial child, and her parents were concerned about how the other children might treat her; Cody's mother was dating a man she was thinking of moving in with but he had a son she and Cody did not like; Tony R.'s family had just moved to the district; Nathan's grandmother in another city was ill, and his mother had to be away from home frequently to take care of her; and Megan's parents both worked and were attending the community college.

Lee learned that some of her students had been coping with more serious and longer term problems. Cody's mother told Lee that Cody had been sexually molested when he was younger and that she thought his problems stemmed from that experience. Slade's father confirmed what Lee had heard about Slade's life. Both of his parents had been addicted to heroin. Slade had been born addicted. When he was still very young, he and his sister had been taken away from the parents and placed in foster homes. Slade had been in over twenty homes and had been returned to his father's custody recently when his father had entered a treatment program. Slade's sister was with his mother, and his father said Slade's mother and the social workers frequently disrupted their lives with phone calls or unannounced visits. He added that he had been permanently disabled and was unable to work and that he and Slade lived on ADC.

During the year, parents continued to discuss personal problems with Lee which they felt might effect their children's school lives. Matt's mother discussed Matt's reaction to the new baby when it was born. Cody's mother shared the problems Cody was having adjusting to her relationship with the man she was considering marrying. Robert's mother told Lee about Robert's father's strictness and Robert's outbursts at home. When his outbursts and depression became evident at school, Lee suggested he see a counselor, and his parents agreed. Ann's mother shared with Lee the physical problems she was having related to her pregnancy and the economic problems she and the children were experiencing. Kimberly's mother told Lee that Kimberly was having tantrums at home, and she thought they might be related to her new job. Max's mother talked with Lee

regularly to discuss ways to help Max develop appropriate behavior in school. She asked Lee to separate him from Cody and send home a daily report so that she and his father could monitor his behavior. His mother confided that she too had had problems in school and wanted to help Max be more successful than she had been. Tony C.'s mother told Lee that the actions of what Tony called "the bad boys" upset him and that she had a hard time getting him to go to school some days. Jerrod's mother shared with Lee that she was ill and that Jerrod was upset by her illness and its effect on the family.

From the information parents shared with Lee, she said she was able to get a better understanding of the children and their needs. She said that she had really come to see the children as people, individuals, not just students in her classroom, and she felt this was important if she was going to be able to meet their individual needs. Like the parents, she also believed that events in the children's personal lives had an impact on their life in school and their ability to develop socially and academically.

By sharing this information with me, Lee helped me better see events through the children's eyes and understand their perspectives. As I will show in the findings, it did appear that the children brought their out-of-school lives into the classroom with them and that what happened to them outside of school did have an impact on the creation of the community of learners and the culture of literacy. The participants' personal lives - Lee and I included - affected how they interacted with each other, and consequently, the context for learning that was created by their interactions.

The Teacher

Because I had been working with Lee for nearly three years before I conducted this study, I had already learned a great deal about her thinking and practice. As I noted in Chapter 1, I was aware of the changes she had made in the social organization of her classroom and the academic content and organization of the curriculum, of what she

believed had inspired and informed those changes, and of what she hoped to accomplish with her students during the coming school year.

When the study began, Lee was in her mid-thirties. She had been teaching first grade in the same school for fifteen years and had been working with one of the other first grade teachers for that entire time. Both of them had worked for nine years with the third first grade teacher who had been an original member of the TDOC Project until she became seriously ill and took a leave from teaching. They had maintained a close relationship with her and her family, and were very much involved in her fight for her life.

Lee was active in the local and state education association and in district curriculum work. She was highly respected by administrators and teachers and had an excellent reputation with parents. Students from previous years frequently stopped by to see her as did their parents. Because my husband was also active in local and state teacher association work, I had met Lee a few times before I began working with her on the TDOC Project. I knew that she had a reputation for her intelligence and high energy. The summer before the study, Lee and a friend went on a biking excursion through the Rocky Mountains.

When this study began, Lee had developed a perspective consistent with the one David Smith (1983) says will emerge when we view reading and writing in the real world from the perspective of the culture of literacy. In Chapter 1, I described in detail the insights I gained into Lee's beliefs and the new perspectives she had developed. In the following, I will briefly show how those changes correspond to Smith's description of what emerges when one views reading and writing from a real world perspective.

First, when I began this study, Lee had developed a new understanding of children and had come to see them as active learners who took responsibility for their learning. In Smith's terms, she saw them as "innately adjusting, always seeking to make sense of their world" (Smith, 1983, p. 186). Lee believed that when she provided them with

meaningful learning occasions, they would take responsibility for their own learning and use a variety of methods to acquire new knowledge. She summarized these new beliefs about and interactions with her students in her presentation at the American Educational Research Association the spring before I conducted this study. She said,

> We now give students more time and space to try out new ideas. We more honestly listen to them and talk with them. We answer many questions with another question. We challenge them to think instead of assuming that teachers have the best right answer. We believe that they will become more responsible as we control them less. We believe that they will cause fewer discipline and management problems when we present them with a curriculum that is more consistent with their developmental needs as first graders. We believe that they have great creative potential that will expand when we break through our assumptions of their limits. We believe that these experiences will help them to become more intuitive, inner-directed learners. (Curtis, 1987)

Lee had also developed a sensitivity to the children's culture of literacy and to the importance of the intricate and complex relationships children develop with each other. In Smith's terms, she had developed "a sensitivity to children's culture of literacy," the subculture of children, and the importance of the "intricate and complex relationship children develop with peers" (Smith, 1983, p. 186). Lee had come to believe that children could use relationships with peers to support their literacy development. She realized that children loved to play and to pretend and that they could use playing and pretending to learn. In my fieldnotes on February 24 the year before I began this study, I noted that Lee had encouraged the children to support each other's learning to read by saying, "teach each other to read" or "practice a story with a friend." She encouraged them to read their stories to each other, help each other spell words, and teach each other to read the books they had written. Together she and the children "played" with words.

Lee had also expanded her appreciation of community. She had always been aware of the relationship between school and home but now she worked even harder to make connections with the children's families. In Smith's terms, she had come to see teaching as participation in community activity. She spoke frequently to parents, in person and on the phone. She and Ann began sending a weekly newsletter to parents in

which they described what the children had been studying, suggested how parents might support student's learning, and included copies of articles which discussed the methods they were using in the new language arts program. Lee also set aside five or ten minutes each morning for children who had something special they wanted to share with her to line up by her desk and take turns sharing their news with her. She said this gave her information about each child that she would not have learned in any other way.

Finally, Lee had moved toward developing a pedagogy that would make room for the children's agenda while maintaining her own. In Smith's terms, she had a desire to develop a pedagogy that "gave children room," by making allowances for different learning styles, giving time for rehearsal before work is displayed publicly, and tolerating some chaos (Smith, 1983). As Lee put it during the second month of this study, she was trying to find a way "to balance order and creativity." In explaining this comment, Lee said that she wanted to find a way to do all of the things she knew the children needed to do to learn to go to school and to learn what they would be expected to learn in first grade and at the same time to give the children some space to do what they needed to do such as interact with their friends and play.

In talking with Ann about the changes they were making in their classrooms during the third year of the study, Lee said, "We're finally headed in the direction that's really unlocking the kids' potential. We're providing them with situations that allow them to, you know, do a lot more of their own thinking academically" (Fieldnotes 11/15/86). A few days later, she observed, "I've seen a direct correlation in the less control I have, the more responsible they become" (Fieldnotes 11/15/86). But she still worried that the children's desire to play with their friends sometimes replaced her agenda to help them learn. This was a concern she took into the fourth year, the year of this study. As I will show in the findings chapters, Lee continued to work to develop a pedagogy that balanced her agenda with the students'.

The Researcher

In Chapter 1, I described my entry into this setting and explained how I began working with Lee as a member of the Teacher Development and Organizational Change Project. During the two and a half years we worked together before I conducted this study, I was a participant observer in Lee's classroom. As a participant observer, I was committed to adopting Lee's perspective and to sharing her day-to-day experiences. I observed and documented ongoing events in her classroom, interviewed her to gain insights into her thinking, collected documents, wrote a dialogue journal with her, and worked with her while she made changes in her classroom and curriculum. Over time, my role changed from stranger, to provisional member, to categorical member of Lee's classroom (Denzin, 1978). Initially, Lee treated me like a stranger and our initial encounters were somewhat superficial. During this stage, I worked to present myself to Lee in an acceptable way, and Lee worked to place me in a recognizable social role in her classroom. Gradually, Lee granted me the status of a provisional member of the classroom, and she began to understand the role I needed to play as a researcher. By the end of the second year, Lee and I had developed a collaborative approach to studying her thinking and practice, and I had become a categorical member of Lee's classroom community. Together, we established areas of observation and the roles we each played. During the third year, in response to Lee and Ann's request, I documented their work on their literacy curriculum and consulted with them on the changes they were making.

By the time this study began, we had also become collaborators in the research. In preparing to make presentations at professional meetings, we identified patterns in the events I had documented, linked interactional patterns with Lee's beliefs about her actions, and traced changes in Lee's thinking and practice. We also analyzed how the roles we both played had changed during our work together.

In order to address the overarching questions I had generated for my dissertation study, I needed to return to my role as researcher and to establish a relationship with Lee's students that would allow me to assume their perspective as well as Lee's. I needed to develop a relationship with the students similar to the one I had developed with Lee. This meant that I needed to be less involved in Lee's work on her language arts program and less involved with helping her carry out her plans in the classroom.

Lee and I discussed how these changes would affect our interactions and my role in her classroom. She assured me that she understood that I would need to be less involved in supporting her and that I would document rather than consult with her on her literacy curriculum. We agreed that we would continue to exchange our dialogue journal and to discuss her sense making about what happened in her classroom and that we would meet regularly to discuss her perspective on the students' development. We also agreed that I would interact with the students to gain insight into their perspective and that I would support their learning when doing so this would be a natural outgrowth of my interactions with them. I agreed to share with Lee the insights I gained into the children's learning.

Limitations of My Role

Despite our attempts to clarify the role I would play in Lee's room during my study, our prior work together put certain limitations on my role as researcher. Lee and I could not go back to where we had been when we first started to work together. We had spent a great deal of time in project meetings and on our own talking about her thinking and the changes she had made in her classroom. We had shared our personal feelings about how working together had influenced the way we saw our personal and professional lives. Lee had shared with me her hopes and fears about the coming year, and I was aware of some of the pressures she was experiencing in her personal and professional life. I knew that some of the changes she and Ann were making were a

significant break from the established school culture and that this had created tension with other teachers.

Lee knew that I was familiar with the research on writing and that I had worked in another district as a writing consultant. She knew my beliefs about children, teaching and learning, and schooling. She had not observed me teaching, but she knew that working with her had made me reflect on my own practice and change my thinking.

While the relationship Lee and I had established and the insights I had gained into Lee's thinking were invaluable for my study, the relationship we had established also complicated my ability to play the role I needed to play to address all of my research questions. Because Lee knew I was familiar with research on literacy and because she knew my beliefs about children, teaching and learning, and schooling, it was possible that she would assume that I was judging her when she chose to do things differently from what research suggested she should do. Because I was aware of the tensions Lee faced and because I knew that she would reflect on her practice as a natural consequence of being asked even open-ended questions, it was possible that I would refrain from asking her questions which I thought might increase her stress or, worse yet, not ask her questions but instead assume that I understood what she was thinking. Therefore, Lee and I had to continue to communicate about concerns when they emerged, and I had to be especially careful to avoid making assumptions and to ask Lee questions about her actions.

To keep track of the influence I would naturally have on Lee and on her students, I resolved to document our interactions and anything I did with students. In addition, I wrote personal notes in which I recorded my reaction to classroom events and to events in my own life which might influence how I made sense of what I observed. By documenting these things, I hoped to separate my perspective from Lee and the students' perspectives. However, there were times when I found it difficult to maintain my role as a researcher and to collect the information I needed for my study.

Despite these efforts to maintain my role and to document what I did in interactions with Lee and the children, I still found that it was difficult to remain outside of the action and not to become a full participant. For example, Lee would frequently ask me for advice about the writing program or about how to address a problem a child was having. On most occasions, I reminded her of the role I was trying to play and asked her to talk with me about what she planned to do. On other occasions when it would have been unnatural for me to be the researcher rather than a friend, I played the role Lee asked me to play and documented what I had done.

With the children, it was even more difficult to remain outside of the action. They insisted that I be a part of their activity, much of which involved learning to read and write. That was helpful to my study, and I gained insight into what they knew and what they were working on learning through such interactions. However, they also drew me into their relationships with each other and with Lee. For example, when a problem between children arose which I had observed, the children and Lee frequently asked me to describe what had happened. On several occasions, I stepped into situations where children were in danger of being harmed physically. But, for the most part, I did not discipline the children even when I observed them breaking the classroom rules. Maintaining the role of researcher in these situations made me worry that as an adult, I was giving the children the message that it was all right to break the rules.

Methods and Procedures

To study how reading and writing are taught and learned through interactions that take place within the context of school, I conducted a year long sociocultural and interpretive study (Erickson, 1986) in Lee Mead's first grade classroom. I entered the field on September 7, 1987, the day before the children began school, and I was in the

classroom an average of two and a half days per week throughout the year until June 9, 1988, the last day of school.

In this section, I will provide a "natural history" (Becker, 1958) of the research process I used to carry out the study. First, I will describe, in general terms, the approach I used. Then, I will describe the methods and procedures I used in the field and after I left. Finally, I will discuss the decisions I made about how to report the findings.

Research Approach

I designed the study according to the theoretical perspective associated with fieldwork. In carrying out the study, I approached fieldwork as a process of deliberate inquiry. In keeping with the principles of inductive analysis associated with fieldwork as discussed by Erickson (1986), I regarded information collection as progressive problem solving where sampling, hypothesis generation, and hypothesis testing went hand in hand. During the study, I made deliberate decisions about the collection of information and engaged in ongoing analysis during the process of collecting documentary information. I looked for patterns, generated hunches, and tested them by looking for confirming and disconfirming instances and discrepant cases to test the evidentiary warrant of my assertions and to gain further insights into the "locally distinctive subtleties"(Erickson, 1986, p. 147) made by insiders. As patterns emerged and were confirmed or disconfirmed, I modified my procedures, questions, and methods.

After I left the setting, I conducted further analysis of my documentary information and converted them to data. I retested the assertions that had emerged while I was in the setting by conducting a systematic search of the data looking for confirming and disconfirming evidence and for key linkages among various items of data. I revised those assertions and generated new assertions which I then tested and retested.

The literacy event served as a both a conceptual and analytical tool throughout the study. As a conceptual tool it helped me focus on interactions and manage the complexity of observing and documenting the face-to-face interactions in Lee's classroom while I was in the field. Using the model of the literacy event, I brought together a blend of methodological approaches to document verbal and nonverbal actions involved in the construction of meaning on the sociocultural, interactional, and individual planes. On the sociocultural plane, I documented actions set down by the larger culture, the tools, objects, and language set down by the larger culture of literacy and the actions and tools, objects, and language constructed through interactions in the subculture and subculture of literacy of Lee's classroom. On the interactional plane, I documented the actions associated with the social and cognitive process involved in the face-to-face interactions and the interactional context created through their interactions. On the individual plane, I documented individual's interactions with others and with written text.

While I was in the field, I also used the literacy event as an analytical tool to guide my ongoing analysis of face-to-face interactions. Using the combination of methods I had been able to bring together by uniting "task," "event," and "activity" into a single unit of analysis, the "literacy event," I analyzed the actions and the interactional sequences and operations Lee and the students engaged in to construct meanings and interpretations about school and literacy. In addition, I analyzed the texts that the students produced in those interactions.

After I left the field, I used the literacy event as a conceptual and analytical tool and carried out interactional, historical, and genetic analyses of the data. These forms of analysis made it possible for me to make assertions about (1) the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through face-to-face interactions, (2) changes in meanings and interpretations that occurred over time, and (3) the role culture played in shaping cognition.

In the following sections, I will describe the process I engaged in to document and analyze the literacy events in Lee's classroom.

Data Collection and Initial Analysis

Looking back at the process of inductive analysis I engaged in during information collection, I found that I had moved through five cycles of progressive problem solving. In each cycle, I used my model of the literacy event to develop questions to help me focus on specific features of Lee and her students interactions. In the following, I will describe the five cycles I progressed through while I was in the field.

Cycle One

Before I entered Lee's classroom on September 7, I reviewed the information I had collected during the TDOC Project to discover what I already knew about Lee's beliefs (individual functioning) and about the district and school (sociocultural context).

The questions guiding me during this cycle were:

1. What are Lee's beliefs about children, teaching and learning, literacy, and schooling?

2. What is the nature of the context in which Lee's classroom is situated?

To address these questions, I searched my fieldnotes; analyzed documents I had collected; reread the transcripts of our presentations and of the meetings during which we had prepared for those presentations; reread our journal entries; and reread articles we had co-authored. From this information, I developed assertions about Lee's beliefs. To confirm and disconfirm the assertions, I re-searched the data to look for patterns and key linkages across the data sources. To further test the assertions, Lee and I discussed her goals for the year. I asked her to share with me her current beliefs about children, teaching and learning, literacy, and schooling. Throughout the study, I continued to collect information and generate and test hypothesis about Lee's beliefs.

To begin to address my questions about the contexts in which Lee's classroom was situated, I reviewed the information I had collected about Lee's school district and school during the TDOC Project to look for patterns that would provide insights into the district and school's cultures. I added to the information by talking with Lee and the principal and by reading documents produced by the district. Throughout the project, I continued to collect information and to generate and test hypothesis about the district and the school.

Cycle Two

During September and October, I used participant observation and informal interviewing of the teacher and students to collect information about the social interactional context of Lee's classroom and to identify the literacy events (interactional plane).

Questions guiding this phase of my study were:

Main Questions:

1. How does the teacher put her beliefs about children, teaching and learning, literacy, and schooling into practice?

2. What are the children's beliefs and knowledge about reading and writing and schooling?

3. What is the nature of the classroom social network and social context in which literacy instruction is embedded?

4. What occasions do the teacher and students identify as literacy events?

5. Which literacy events do the teacher and students consider key to learning to read and write?

Subsidiary Questions:

1. What social networks exist among the children?

2. What interactional processes are in operation?

3. What are the classroom routines?

4. What participant structures organize the routines?

5. What does a typical day look like?

To address these questions, I focused on identifying features of the classroom social interactional context, the classroom social relations and the social organization of the classroom. To collect information about the social organization of events, I noted recurring patterns of activity-events-tasks throughout the day and the verbal and non-verbal cues the teacher and students used to establish routines, participant structures, and interactional processes. I observed whole group, small group, and one-to-one interactions to learn what roles the teacher and students played in each. I also noted interactions between the teacher and her students and the students and peers to gain insights into the participants' rights and obligations, who said what to whom, where, and when. Special attention was given to conflicts which arose in the interactions.

From these observations and analysis of documentary information, I developed notions of a typical day, of participant structures used to organize events, of role and status, of rights and obligations, and of interactional processes. To check my hunches about the typical day, I looked at the teacher's daily plans and those she left for the substitute, and I noted how she described a typical day to other teachers with whom she interacted during a half-day work session. I paid particular attention to the native terms she and the students used to describe the daily stream of events thus marking off typical and atypical classroom events.

From observations and informal interviews I also developed notions about the participant structures and interactional processes. To test these hunches, I looked for patterns across the events and looked for evidence in the documentary materials which would confirmed or disconfirmed the assertions I was beginning to develop.

To collect information about the classroom social relations, I used participant observation and wrote fieldnotes in which I recorded behaviors in the students' interactions with the teacher, with other students, and with me. The teacher and I discussed students' behavior in class and on the playground as well as their performance

on academic tasks and reading tests. To collect information about the students' beliefs and knowledge about reading and writing and about schooling, I looked at students' performance on reading readiness tests, at what Lee told me about her assessment of their development, and at the students' writing to gain insight into their knowledge of letters and words. I also noted what books they chose to read during reading center, and I observed the way they interacted with the books they had selected. To generate hunches about the classroom social relations and about students' beliefs and knowledge, I looked for patterns across these activities and for key linkages across the documentary materials. I tested these hunches by searching the information to confirm and disconfirm them.

To identify occasions which Lee and the students considered key literacy events, I observed patterns of behavior during activities-events-tasks involving reading and writing and noted the verbal and non-verbal cues they used to signal meaning. Because I had worked with Lee during the time she was developing her language arts program and was present when she discussed her ideas about literacy with other teachers, I was aware of many of her beliefs about reading and writing instruction. Using this information and the information I collected during her interactions with the children when they interacted with text, I gained insight into her perspective on the events she considered key literacy events.

To gain insights into the meaning the students were making of classroom events and which events they considered key literacy events, I observed them as they read and wrote and when Lee read to them. I noted their verbal and non-verbal cues in order to interpret what meaning they were making of events. I observed how they looked at books and whether they read, looked at pictures, moved from front to back or back to front. I also listened to hear if they discussed the pictures or stories with peers or the teacher or if they used phonetic cues to sound out words. I watched as they wrote texts and noted if they drew pictures, used invented spelling, asked peers or adults to spell words, or used a picture dictionary, or read what they wrote to others. To determine

which of these interactions they considered as key events in their reading and writing development, I asked them to describe occasions during which they believed they were reading or writing or learning to read or write.

To determine which activities-events-tasks Lee and the students considered key literacy activities, I analyzed the documentary information I had collected to find patterns across interactions and in their verbal and nonverbal behavior. I noted shifts from one event to another by looking at who participated in the event, where and when the event occurred, and on what the event focused. In addition, I looked at the words Lee and the students used to identify one event from another, including the native terms they used to refer to segments of the day. I looked for key linkages among the patterns that were emerging in the fieldnotes, interviews, and writing samples. I generated hunches about which events were key literacy activities and tested them by looking for confirming and discomfirming instances in my documentary material and in Lee and the students' actions and in what they said to me about the event.

By the middle of October, I was able to assert that Lee and the majority of the children considered four literacy events as key. These occasions were: book sharing which they called "reading corner," reading center, writing center, and silent reading. Book sharing was a key literacy activity which was embedded in a larger event, reading corner. It was set off from other classroom events by where it occurred in the room, when it occurred, who participated in the interactions, and the content on which it focused. During this event, Lee read books to the children which she or they had selected. In addition to discussing the content of the book, she also used the occasion to teach the children about the conventions of text and to share with them her beliefs and values related to reading. The children used the occasion to be close to friends and to confirm and disconfirm their theories about language and reading. They made comments about the books and asked questions about the content and conventions.

Reading center and writing center were also key literacy events and were embedded in the larger event, center time. During center time, six to eight children rotated in and out of three centers where they spent from twenty to thirty minutes and worked on the activities Lee assigned. These centers were marked off by location in the room, participants, participant structures, and academic content. In reading center, the children read whatever they wanted to read. In writing center, Lee asked them to write a story. She explained that they could draw a picture and write whatever they wanted. Not all children considered what they did during this time reading and writing. One child who was looking at pictures and telling a story aloud to himself during reading center, shrugged his shoulders when I asked if I could tape record him reading and said, "Sure, IF I could read." However, he told me that reading center was "book reading time" which suggested that he saw it as a key literacy event.

Silent reading was the fourth key literacy event. According to Lee, she had modeled this occasion on the concept of Uninterrupted Sustained Silent Reading. This event occurred on Friday morning and lasted as long as the children were reading and looking at books, from twenty to thirty minutes. Everyone was required to read or, if they preferred not to read, they were to put their heads down on the table in front of them. The children could sit where they liked and read whatever they wanted to read. Lee sat in a child's chair and read too. Although Lee and the students called it "silent reading," the children did not read silently. Most told stories aloud while they looked at pictures in books or read the words on the pages.

To further test the assertions I was making about the key literacy events, I compared these activities with others and talked informally with the teacher and students about the events. I asked them to identify the times when the teaching and learning of reading and writing were occurring. I asked the students to describe the day to me, asked what they did in certain places in the room, and listened to the words the teacher and students used to refer to classroom events and to signal meaning to each other.

I moved on to looking more closely at the interactions in the key literacy events and to see if additional key literacy events might emerge.

Cycle Three

During November and December I continued to collect information about the social interactional context (interactional plane), that is, the social relations and the social organization of the classroom, and about Lee and the students' beliefs (individual plane), and to test the hunches I had formed about them. I used participant observation, audio and video recording, and interviewing to study Lee and the students actions (interactional plane) during literacy events. I also began collecting samples of the students' writing and of Lee's records.

Questions guiding this phase of the study were:
Main questions.

1. How do the teacher and students socially organize key literacy events in terms of "participant structures"?

2. What role does the teacher play in the interactions in the key literacy events?

3. What role do the students play in the key literacy events?

4. Who controls the form and content of the interactions?

5. How is the academic content of the key literacy event organized and accomplished?

6. What meanings and interpretations do the teacher and students construct in the key literacy events?

7. How does the organization of key literacy events change over time?

Subsidiary questions:

1. How do participants' rights and duties vary from one "participant structure" to another?

2. Specifically, what rights and duties do the students have in the various "participant structures"?

3. Specifically, what rights and duties does the teacher have in various "participant structures"?

4. How is each "participant structure" negotiated?

5. Who initiates talk or interaction?

6. How is the academic content determined and organized?

7. By what means do participants signal meaning to each other?

8. How do the participants make sense of what goes on socially and academically in the key literacy events?

9. How do the meaning and interpretations the teacher and student construct through their interactions change over time?

To address these questions, I focused on the interactions to gain insights into the meaning Lee and the students were constructing about the literacy activities. I observed and documented the actions in the literacy activity to study the socio-cultural and psycho-linguistic structure of the literacy activity, the role Lee and the students played in those activities, and what meaning Lee and the students constructed in the key literacy events. Using Goffman's (1974) notion of the situational frame and Philips (1972) notion of participant structures, I observed the interactions in the key literacy events to examine how each activity was organized socially. I noted where the literacy activity took place in the room, when it occurred, who participated in the event, who controlled the selection of the tools, objects, language, and texts involved, as well as who controlled turn-taking and conversational topics. I also looked at the verbal and nonverbal behavior to learn who could do what, with whom, when, and where in the literacy event to gain insight into the participants' role and status and rights and obligations in the literacy event.

To examine how the literacy activity was organized academically, I observed the participants' verbal and nonverbal behavior when they interacted with and produced text. I noted what tools, objects, and texts were used; the language which was used including the instructions, content, and form; and the process in which the participants engaged.

To generate hunches about the social and academic organization of key literacy events, I searched for patterns in the documentary information and key linkages across the materials. Using "participant structure" and "situational frame" as analytic tools, I analyzed the literacy events. I began formulating and testing hunches about how the

participant structures and situational frames changed from literacy event to literacy event and about the roles Lee and the students played in each event and how they varied across events. I also began to form hunches about what Lee was teaching, what the students seemed to be working on learning, and what meaning they were all constructing in the learning events. To test these hunches and to develop assertions, I looked for confirming and disconfirming evidence.

By the end of December, I was able to assert that participant structures and academic content varied from literacy event to literacy event and that Lee and the students' roles, status, rights, and obligations also varied from literacy event to literacy event. Book sharing was a whole group activity. Lee controlled the content and the interactions, for the most part. She selected the books she read, focused on specific features of the text, and modeled reading strategies. She was responsive to the children's interests. On some occasions, the students changed the topic of discussion or brought books for her to read. Generally, Lee controlled turn taking and the children were not to speak unless Lee acknowledged them.

Reading and writing centers were small group activities. Lee determined the general rules for participation, but the children controlled the interactions in the centers. In addition, the children could select what they wanted to read and to write about, for the most part. They were required to read in reading center and to write in writing center and to remain in a specified part of the room, but within that area, they could sit where they liked and interact with their peers as long as they were not disturbing the rest of the class.

Silent reading was also a whole group activity. Again, Lee established the general guidelines for the event but the children had a range of choice in where they sat, with whom they interacted, and what they read. Lee read along with the children and sat in one of their places. I was the only person who did not have to read during this time.

Throughout the process of collecting information about the literacy activity, a tension arose which remained throughout my time in the field and into my analysis of the

data. I had intended to focus on individual students and to collect documentary material so that I could infer what individuals were learning about reading and writing. However, as I observed and documented the interactions in the literacy events, it appeared that the social relations the students had with each other and with Lee interacted with and shaped the social organization of the classroom and the key literacy events. The social organization of the literacy events also seemed to interact with and shape the academic activity in the literacy events. In addition, it appeared that what the students were learning individually interacted with and was shaped by the shared knowledge which Lee and the students seemed to be developing through their interactions.

On closer analysis, it appeared that participants were developing a shared set of meanings and interpretations about how to go to school and about what counted as reading and writing. Individuals' meanings and interpretations seemed to interact with and be shaped by this shared knowledge. To test this hunch, I looked for patterns in the documentary information to see if this was my perspective or if Lee and/or the children shared it. I noted at about this time that both Lee and I began talking about the students as a group. Near the end of October I had written myself a memo noting that the children seemed to be learning the ropes and coming to share a common idea about how to be a part of this classroom. In early November, Lee began talking about the children "coming together" and becoming a.community. She talked about her students in two ways. On the one hand, she talked about them as a class and made decisions based on what was good for the class or what the class needed to know. On the other hand, she talked about her students as individuals and made decisions based on individual needs. The students also appeared to be looking at themselves as individuals and as a group. They talked about "we" and "I" in talking about the class. With this in mind, I reminded myself that I was trying to understand what was happening in this classroom from Lee and the students' perspectives. At this point, I began to wonder if I had been operating on an underlying assumption that the place to focus was on the individual learner and his or her

interactions with Lee and the tools, objects, language, and norms set down by the larger culture, and that I had thereby neglected to take into account the role that the "crowd" or classroom community would play in learning in the classroom. I realized that if I were to focus on individual students, I might not capture the role which the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy played in individual learning. Therefore, I decided to continue to document both individual and group actions in the interactions in literacy events and to try to understand the shared meaning constructed through the interaction as well as at the meaning individuals constructed so that I could infer the construction of shared knowledge as well as the construction of individual knowledge.

In the next cycle of the study, I continued to focus on interactions and to generate hunches about the shared knowledge that was developing (sociocultural plane) as well as the meaning individuals were constructing (individual functioning). I hoped that by looking at both I could better understand how all children were developing into readers and writers and what they were learning.

Cycle Four

From January to March, I focused on the interactional sequences and operations (interactional plane) in the literacy activity to study how the teacher and students used verbal and nonverbal behavior to organize their pedagogical interactions within literacy events. In addition to participant observation and interviewing, I collected samples of student writing and made audio and video recordings of interactions in the key literacy events.

The questions guiding this phase were:

Main questions:

1. How do the teacher and students organize the interactional sequences and the operations within key literacy activities?

2. How does the teacher express her beliefs about literacy, teaching, learning, and students in the discourse?

3. How do students express the meaning they are making through their discourse in literacy activities?

4. What knowledge do Lee and the students construct?

5. What do individual students learn?

6. Over time, how do the interactional sequences and operations in the literacy activity change?

Subsidiary questions:

1. Who initiates the interaction?

2. Who selects the academic content of the interaction?

3. How do the interactions and operations unfold?

4. Who controls the interaction and operations?

5. What conflicts arise?

6. What repairs are made, by whom, how?

7. What literacy concepts, skills, and techniques are used?

8. How do the participants make sense and use the academic content?

To address these questions, I focused on the sequence of verbal and nonverbal behavior and on operations in literacy activity. I collected information about the way discourse was organized in the four literacy events that I had identified by December and in a fifth, skill lesson, which emerged in January. First, I observed the interactions and recorded the verbal and nonverbal actions in my fieldnotes. I tried to capture as much of the moment-to-moment conversations and the sequence of operations as possible. I analyzed my notes according to Mehan's (1982) interactional analysis to find patterns in the discourse and actions. I also analyzed my notes to find patterns in the organization of the literacy operations. To confirm or disconfirm that the patterns I had identified were representative, I made audio recording of key interactions. I transcribed the recordings to confirm and disconfirm the patterns I had observed. To confirm and disconfirm the patterns I had found in my observations of the literacy events, I video taped key literacy events and analyzed the tapes. I compared the patterns which emerged in the tapes with

those I had recorded in my fieldnotes. I continued to use this process to identify the interactional patterns in the literacy events.

By Mid-February, I could assert that interactional and discourse patterns varied from literacy event to literacy event. During instructional sequences in book sharing and skill lessons, the interactions between Lee and the children followed the pattern of Initiation - Response - Evaluation (I-R-E) described by Mehan (1982). Lee would ask a question and call on a student to respond. The student would respond, and Lee would then make an evaluative statement about the student's response. There were occasions during book sharing when the interactions followed a conversational pattern. Lee or a student might make a statement, and other students would build on the statement without being called on and without responding to questions Lee had asked. In reading and writing center and silent reading, the students engaged in conversational discourse. In the interactions Lee had with students one-to-one during reading or writing conferences, portions of the discourse followed I-R-E and portions were conversational. Interactions in skill lessons were teacher directed. Lee chose the content, controlled turns, and prescribed the acceptable verbal and nonverbal behavior. Although she remained responsive to the students, the students did not have the power to change the focus of the event as they could in other literacy events.

To gain more insight into how the students were experiencing the literacy events, I interviewed them to discover how they described reading center and what they did there. From the children's responses, I began to understand that they did not see the social and cognitive as component parts of an event but as one. They described reading in social terms. "I sit beside Ann and we read together." "We get a turn with Mrs. Mead. I sit beside her and I read...." When I asked what they thought might explain what was helping them learn to read, they tied the social and academic into one and also tied home and school into one. "I sit in a chair with my grammy and she reads to me." "Every night I read to my sister and brother on my mom and dad's big bed and then I read

the same stories to Mrs. Mead for my turn." The students also answered this question by using the term "we." "We get spelling lists and they help us learn new words." "We get turns with Mrs. Mead and she helps us learn new words."

At the same time the students were describing their learning experiences in school and at home in a way that indicated the social and academic were intertwined in their minds, I observed changes in the patterns I had identified in the interactions in the literacy events. I noted changes in the role Lee played in writing center. While she still asked the children to write on a topic they selected, she was specific about the length and the conventions of text she expected them to use. When they read their papers to her, she asked them to revise the papers to meet the criteria she had set in assigning writing center activities. Skill sheets sometimes replaced writing during centers and by the end of February, all centers were suspended and Lee was using direct instruction throughout the day.

Early in January, I had noted changes in the way the students interacted with each other in literacy events. In writing center, they appeared to spend less time writing and more time socializing. Some students did not finish their writing during writing center, and I noted more disagreements between the children. In looking more closely at the disagreements, I noted that the same students were involved over and over again. In searching for patterns to generate hunches about what was happening, I looked outside of the literacy events at the interactions in the classroom and on the playground and found changes in interactions there as well.

Lee's comments to me and to the other teachers suggested that she too had seen the change in the students' actions and that the changes she was making might be connected to her observations. In our conversations, she indicated that she believed events outside of the classroom were contributing to the students' behavior in the classroom. She noted that several students were having problems at home and that many were ill but were being sent to school anyway because their parents worked and could not

find day care for them. In addition, Lee noted that she was feeling tense. She said problems with individual students, concerns about her friend's illness, pressure from other teachers, and the time of year were all contributing to her tension.

Over the next weeks, I began to generate a hunch that the micropolitics of the classroom and the opportunities for learning to read and write interacted with and shaped each other. I began to explore the role social relations might play in shaping interactions in the classroom and in the literacy events.

I moved on to the next phase of data collection and tested and retested my hunches, and began to look more closely at what individual students were learning and at how they were making sense of the classroom social context. I collected more samples of the students writing, listened to and recorded what they said to each other and to Lee, and began to see if patterns developed in what the group knew and thought and how that as well as what was learned and taught might change over time.

Cycle Five

From March to June, I continued to use participant observation, audio and video recording, and interviewing to collect information. I also collected and analyzed documents. I tested and re-tested my assertions about the patterns of the interactions in literacy events. I focused on testing my hunches about and expanding my understandings of what the children were learning and how they were making sense of the literacy events. I continued to collect and analyze samples of their writing, I listened to and recorded what they said to each other and to Lee, and I looked at Lee's records.

During this cycle, I was guided by the questions that had guided me through the earlier cycles and by the following questions:

1. What role does Lee play in creating the social context in which learning is embedded in this classroom?

2. What role do the students play in creating the social context in which learning is embedded in this classroom?

3. How might social relationships interact with and shape what is taught and learned in this setting?

4. How do Lee and the students experience their interactions with each other?

5. What shared meanings and interpretations do the students construct?

6. What meanings and interpretations do individual students construct?

To test the assertions I had generated about how the children had experienced first grade, I introduced an activity that was designed to make their thinking more explicit. During the second week of April, I asked the children if they would like to write a book for kindergartners telling them what would happen in first grade. Together the students and I generated questions they thought kindergarten children might have about first grade. Several children interviewed friends who were in kindergarten to ask what they would like to know.

For the next two weeks during Center 2, the children each wrote a page to answer the questions:

1. What will the room look like?

2. What will be the best part of first grade?

3. What will you learn to do in first grade?

4. What are the rules in first grade?

After I had "published" their responses, they illustrated their writing and we collected the pieces into a book. From their writing and the comments they made while they wrote and illustrated their pieces, I gained insight into the students' perspective of what went on in Lee's classroom and what they valued.

To further test my assertions about what they had learned about reading and writing, I conducted two interviews of each child during May. One interview focused on reading and skills and the other on writing. For the interview on reading, I asked the students to bring their favorite book with them when they talked with me and to look at and comment on two skill work sheets and one skill test. To my surprise, all of the students wanted to read to me from the books they brought to the interview. With their

permission, I recorded them reading basals, trade books, and books they had published. This gave me an opportunity to compare the strategies they said they used during reading with the skills they used when they read to me during the interview. In most cases, they used more strategies than they had discussed.

The comments they made about the skill sheets and skill test showed that they saw a connection between reading, writing, and skills. These comments confirmed my hunch that they did not see the literacy events as isolated activities but as part of the larger process of learning to read and write and go to school. While I had sensed that this was the case, their comments showed me that they were consciously making connections.

In the second interview, I asked them to look through their writing folder with me before I helped them publish another one of their stories. Their comments about their writing gave me insights into how they saw their own development. Several children were amused by the writing they had done during the early part of the year. They laughed at their invented spelling and use of punctuation. From their comments, I gained insights into their current understanding of and value for the conventions of text.

To test the hunch I was generating about the role that the micropolitics of the classroom might play in what was taught and learned, I reviewed my fieldnotes and the transcripts of the audio and video tapes. I looked more closely at Lee's interaction with the children and especially at her interactions with Cody, Max, and Slade. I listened to what these children said about the classroom norms and routines and looked at their actions during events which Lee controlled such as skill lessons and during reading and writing centers where they had more opportunity to control and direct their actions.

By June 9, I had made and tested assertions about Lee's beliefs, the classroom social network, the social organization of classroom life, the social and academic organization of literacy events, and the shared and individual knowledge Lee and the students had developed. I had also developed hunches about the process Lee and the

students had engaged in to construct their shared and individual knowledge about school and literacy.

In the next section, I will describe the analytic process I engaged in after I left the setting and describe the decisions I made about reporting the findings.

Analysis

After I left the setting, I tested and retested the assertions I had made while I was in the field and looked for overarching patterns that might help me frame major assertions about what had happened in Lee's classroom. To test the evidentiary warrant of the assertions I had framed while I was in the setting, I systematically searched the entire data corpus and looked for evidence that would confirm or disconfirm the assertions I had made about Lee's beliefs, the classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the socio-cultural and psycho-linguistic organization of literacy events, and the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and the students constructed through their interactions. To convert the documentary resources to data, I read and reread my fieldnotes.

Throughout the multiple readings of my fieldnotes, I searched for analogous instances of phenomena that related to: (1) what was taught about how to go to school, (2) what was taught about reading and writing, (3) the social relationships, (4) the social organization of the classroom, (5) the literacy events, (6) student learning, and (7) the larger social context in which the classroom was situated. Using these categories of phenomena, I coded instances of actions that had taken place between Lee and her students during classroom interactions. I followed the same procedure to search for and code instances of comments on the significance of those actions in the transcripts of interviews, of presentations Lee had made, and of audio and video tapes and in Lee's journal entries and records.

At the same time I was searching the data corpus for instances of analogous phenomena, I also made note of discrepant cases. After I completed the general search, I examined the discrepant cases more closely and used them to help me test and reframe assertions I had made, generate new assertions, and gain insight into Lee and the students unique perspectives on what happened in the classroom.

Throughout the process of testing and retesting my lower level assertions, I looked for key linkages among the various items of data that would help me make generalizations about the process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing was carried out in Lee's classroom. In looking for key linkages, I wanted to find linkages that would connect up many items of data as analogous instances of phenomena and let me make major assertions that would address my overarching questions.

To guide me through this process, I returned to my overarching questions which I had modified slightly during the study. The modified questions were:

1. What is the nature of the process through which reading and writing were taught and learned in Lee's classroom?

2. What meanings and interpretations did Lee and the students construct and reconstruct through their interactions?

3. How did Lee and the students experience and interpret the interactions that occurred during the literacy events?

4. How did the meanings and interpretations they constructed change over time?

5. How did Lee's beliefs, the classroom social relations, the social organization of classroom, the literacy curriculum and the literacy activity, what the students learned, and the social context outside of the classroom interact with and shape each other?

6. What did the students learn about reading and writing and about going to school?

To address these questions, I looked for overarching patterns in the data and framed, tested, retested, and reframed general assertions about the patterns I discovered. Through this process, I discovered that it was difficult to frame general assertions about the phenomena because they had changed during the year. Not only had the meanings and interpretations Lee and the students constructed through their interactions changed

over time, but the social relations, the social organization of the classroom, and the activity, actions and interactional sequences and operations in the literacy events had also changed. What is more, the social aspects of classroom life and the academic appeared to interact with and shape each other.

To test these assertions, I conducted historical and genetic analysis of the data. To plan this cycle of analysis, I returned to my model of the literacy event. Looking at the model, I was reminded that to understand behavior, it is necessary to understand the history of behavior. Therefore, to understand the process Lee and the students had engaged in and the meanings and interpretations they had constructed in that process, I needed to study the history of that process.

To facilitate the historical and genetic analysis of the phylogenetic and ontogenetic phenomena and to help me manage the complexity of the levels of meaning I was trying to understand, I constructed time lines on which I organized the data relating to the larger social context (home, school, and community), the classroom culture, and the culture of literacy in the classroom in order to trace change over time in the meanings and interpretations.

I read and reread the data and looked for actions and comments that provided insights into how Lee and the students experienced and interpreted events across a category. To select phenomena to add to the time line, I looked for patterns that emerged and then selected examples that represented the pattern and provided insights into the construction of meaning or represented discrepant cases and exceptions to the pattern that had been developing. In selecting actions and/or comments to add to the time lines, I looked at the actions and comments and asked of each action or comment: On what does the action or comment focus? What is being taught and/or learned? What meaning and interpretation is being constructed? Whose perspective does the comment or action represent? When did it occur?

To construct the time lines related to the sociocultural plane, I plotted the phylogenetic phenomena related to the larger social context in chronological order on three time lines, one each for the general history of humans, the history of US society, and the history of cultural institutions (home, school, community). On a fourth and fifth time line, I plotted the phylogenetic phenomena related to the histories of the classroom culture and of the subculture of literacy in the classroom in chronological order.

To construct the time lines related to the individual plane, I plotted ontogenetic phenomena related to individual functioning and to the development of higher psychological functions in chronological order on two time lines, one for the history of individual children's development and one for the history of the development of higher psychological functions associated with reading and writing.

I read and reread each time line and noted changes in patterns. I noted shifts in focus and the dates on which they occurred. For example, I noted that Lee encouraged the students to read anything during reading center until October 20 when she told them she would give them stars for reading basal readers. This was an example of a discrepant case for the pattern that existed before October 20 but an example of the pattern that existed for the rest of the year. In this case, I developed a hunch that October 20 might be the end of one pattern and the beginning of another.

I made assertions about the patterns that I had found in each category, returned to the data to search for confirming and disconfirming evidence and discrepant cases to test the warrant of these assertions and to be certain that the assertions held for all cases in the class of data. To further test the assertions I made about the patterns of change I discovered, I analyzed the time line of each literacy event as Mehan (1982) had analyzed classroom lessons. In this case, I looked at the literacy events and the social context as an event and divided each into phases and sub-phases. I looked for transitions from one phase to the next and for actions and comments that signaled a shift. When I had

completed this process for each event, I once again searched the entire data corpus for confirming and disconfirming evidence.

To discover whether there might be an overarching pattern to the changes in the patterns I had discovered in the literacy events and the social context, I combined the time lines into a chart and looked across the lines to see if an overarching pattern had developed over the year. I found that there were several shifts in focus that occurred at the same time or about the same time across several levels. An event on one or more of the lines appeared to signal a transition or a shift in focus for the patterns that had been developing on the other lines. As I noted above, some events appeared as discrepant cases for a pattern that had been developing but they also appeared as examples of another pattern.

As I generated assertions about the pattern I saw developing, I tested and retested the reliability of the chart and the evidentiary warrant of the assertions by reading and rereading my fieldnotes and looking at the entire corpus of data to determine whether I had accurately represented the evidence for each entry on the chart and to confirm that my assertion accurately represented the overarching patterns in the process.

Through historical analysis across time and genetic analysis across planes, I found general patterns of change that were consistent across the levels of meaning. I asserted that the focus of interactions had changed several times during the year. As the focus shifted and the meanings constructed through the interactions on the interactional plane changed, meanings and interpretations on the sociocultural and individual planes also changed. Over time, the focus seemed to shift from a focus on social relations and the social organization of classroom life to a focus on learning. In other words, at times, Lee and the students seemed to focus on making meaning about how to go to school and at other times they focused on making meaning about how to read and write.

After framing, testing, retesting, and reframing assertions about the overarching pattern of change, I confirmed the following pattern: The meanings constructed through

face-to-face interactions from the first day of school to October 19, focused on the social context. In the period October 20 to January 7, meanings constructed through interactions focused on the teaching and learning of reading and writing. From January 8 to April 1, Lee and the students appeared to construct meaning about both the social context and about reading and writing. However, Lee and the students did not always seem to construct the same meaning about the same interactions. From April to June, the meaning constructed seemed to focus on reading and writing but individuals' interpretations of events varied in some cases.

After I had tested and retested my assertion about this pattern, I asserted that the year had unfolded in four phases. During Phase I, September 8 to October 19, the focus was on creating a classroom social context that would support students' learning. Using her beliefs about children, children's literacy, the value of community, and her desire to develop a pedagogy that would be responsive to children and give them an opportunity to use their natural ways of learning to learn in school, Lee taught the children what they needed to know to go to school in her classroom and introduced them to her values and beliefs about reading and writing. The students, for the most part, showed her that they understood what they needed to know to act competently in the classroom and what they knew about reading and writing. Through their interactions, Lee and the students constructed a shared understanding of the classroom norms and routines and began constructing shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of others (Goodnough, 1964, 1976) and the students began internalizing these shared standards and values and beliefs.

During Phase II, October 20 to January 7, the focus shifted from creating a classroom social context to using the social context to support the teaching and learning of reading and writing. In whole group and one-to-one interactions, Lee began teaching the children the skills and techniques she believed they needed to know to become readers and writers. At the same time, she worked to maintain the social context and to

make individual students aware of her expectations for their behavior. For the most part, she taught the skills and techniques for comprehending and composing written text in context when she shared a book with the children or when she conferenced with them individually during reading and writing conferences. The children, for the most part, showed that they wanted to learn to read and write, and they showed Lee that they were beginning to understand the skills and techniques she was teaching them. Together, Lee and the students began to develop a shared set of values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing (Smith, 1983) and the students began to internalize the concepts Lee was teaching them.

Throughout Phase III, January 8 to April 1, Lee focused on both social and academic concerns. She struggled to balance the social and academic needs of individuals with the social and academic needs of the group and to find a balance between muting and asserting her authority as she worked to maintain order and to give the children an opportunity to use their creativity to take responsibility for and ownership of their own learning. Most of the students continued to develop as readers and writers, but a few students experienced social and academic problems that interfered with their learning. Through their interactions during this phase, Lee and the students struggled over whose agenda would be carried out. By the end of this phase, the majority of students seemed to share Lee's agenda and to see school as a place where learning should take place, but others did not.

Finally in Phase IV, April 11 to June 9, when the majority of students worked as a group and focused on learning, Lee focused on the needs of individual students and worked to bring them into the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy. At the same time, she worked to maintain an environment which supported the further development of all of her students in order to "get them as far as they could go" before the end of the year. The majority of students showed through their actions and comments that they valued reading and writing and that they wanted to improve the skills and

techniques they had already developed. Through their interactions, Lee and the students used their social relations to support learning.

Reporting the Findings

At the same time I was analyzing data and looking for overarching patterns, I was also beginning to think about how I might report my findings. I had originally assumed that I could report what I had learned about the social context in one chapter, what I learned about the social and academic organization of the literacy events in another, and how individual students had experienced the process and what they had learned in yet another. However, it became clear as I searched for and found change across the social and cognitive aspects of the process that my original plan for reporting the findings would not capture the insider's perspective or accurately represent the process as it unfolded.

To help me think about how I could describe the process from the insider's perspective and address the notion of descriptive adequacy, I returned to the literature I had read to help me frame the problem and develop the theoretical framework for the study. As I reread this literature, I concluded that literacy functioned as a social and cognitive process in this classroom. The teaching and learning of reading and writing were deeply embedded within and intertwined with the social relationships and social processes of classroom life and were not merely cognitive processes. Learning to read and write in this classroom was a gradual process of acculturation that was embedded in interactions that were part of the social processes of classroom life. Both Lee and the students played an active role in shaping social relationships, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy activities, and what was taught and learned.

Through their face-to-face interactions, Lee and the students created the context in which meanings and interpretations were constructed. The context created through one

set of interactions created the context in which the next set of interactions occurred. Through a dynamic process in which webs of meanings and interpretations were created and recreated through these face-to-face interactions (Geertz, 1973), Lee and her students created a classroom culture, shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of others (Goodnough, 1976, 1964), and created a classroom culture of literacy, a shared set of values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing (Smith, 1983). The meanings and interpretations constructed on the interpersonal plane were then internalized on the interpersonal plane (Vygotsky, 1978).

To provide the insider's perspective on this process, I decided to report the findings as a natural history of the acculturation process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing unfolded during the year. Using this approach, I could present the individual and social as interacting systems and show the process by which culture had shaped cognition. Therefore instead of focusing on the natural histories of individual learning, I decided to focus on reporting the natural history of the class and to describe the gradual process of acculturation through which the teaching and learning of literacy was carried out in Lee's classroom.

Because I had viewed learning as interaction between the individual and the environment in real time, I assumed that, with modifications, the criteria for descriptive adequacy would be similar to the criteria Erickson (1982) established for reporting the natural history of individual learning. I assumed that an account of the natural history of learning in the classroom should include: (1) a specific account of the actions of the individual learner and of the teacher; (2) a specific account of the relevant features of the environment including the sociocultural context, the interactional context, and individual functioning; and (3) a specific account of change in the social context, in interactions, and in meanings and interpretations across time from before learning, through learning, and

after learning from both the teacher and students' perspectives (adapted from Erickson, 1982).

Taking these goals and criteria into account in reporting the findings I will describe the dynamic process through which Lee and her students created and recreated the social context in which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were embedded. To account for relevant features of the social context including the intentions of the teacher (Erickson, 1982), and to demonstrate how Lee's beliefs, classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, and what the students learned about going to school interacted with and shaped each other, I will describe the dynamic process through which Lee and her students constructed and reconstructed the system of social relations in which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were embedded.

To capture the dynamic nature of the process as it was experienced by the insiders and to show specific change in individual-environment interactions across time (Erickson, 1982), I have organized the findings into four chapters. Each chapter focuses on one of the four phases of the year which I identified through historical analysis of the meanings created and recreated on the sociocultural, interactional, and individual levels. To account for what happened before, during, and after learning in each phase (Erickson, 1982) and to demonstrate how the meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions in one phase created the context in which they created and recreated meanings and interpretations in the next phase, in each chapter I will report findings about (1) the meanings and interpretations Lee and the students held before each phase began, (2) the interactional process through which meanings and interpretations were constructed and reconstructed during each phase, and (3) the meanings and interpretations held by Lee and the students after the phase ended.

To account for both Lee and the students' perspectives, I have further organized each chapter around the roles each played in the interactions through which they

constructed meanings and interpretations about going to school and about reading and writing.

In the following four chapters, I will present case studies of each of the four phases that Lee and the students moved through as they constructed and reconstructed a shared and individual meanings and interpretations about the culture of the classroom, the classroom culture of literacy, and about the reading and writing processes. Taken together, these four chapters provide a case study of the process through which reading and writing were taught and learned in Lee Mead's first grade classroom during one academic year.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONSTRUCTING A CLASSROOM CULTURE: DEVELOPING SHARED AND INDIVIDUAL MEANINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS ABOUT SCHOOL THROUGH FACE-TO-FACE INTERACTIONS

I began this study with a desire to understand how reading and writing are taught and learned through interactions that take place within the context of school classrooms. I wanted to learn how Lee and the students experienced their interactions with each other, what meanings and interpretations they constructed and reconstructed through their interactions, how those meanings and interpretations changed over time, and what the students learned. From a prior ethnography of Lee Mead's thinking and practice, I had become especially interested in studying how her beliefs, the classroom social relations, the social organizations of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, what children learned and the larger context in which the classroom was situated interacted with and shaped each other.

From analyzing the data, I found that learning to read and write in this classroom was a gradual process of acculturation that was embedded in interactions that were part of the social process of classroom life and that the teaching and learning of reading and writing were deeply embedded within the classroom social relations and were greatly influenced by the social context of school. Shared and individual meanings and interpretations constructed on the interactional plane interacted with and were shaped by

(1) the larger context in which the classroom was situated, and (2) the individual meanings and interpretations individuals brought to the interactions.

During the first six weeks of the school year, Lee and her student's interactions focused on constructing and reconstruction shared and individual meanings and interpretations about the culture of school. Together, they constructed a classroom culture which was a subculture of their school's culture and of the larger culture of schooling in the United States. In addition to this shared meaning, Lee and the students constructed their individual meanings and interpretations about classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, and the literacy curriculum.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I will describe the process Lee and her students engaged in during the first phase of the acculturation process to construct a classroom culture and individual meanings and interpretations about school. To capture the dynamic nature of the process and to illustrate how the meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions created a context in which they constructed and reconstructed meaning and interpretations in subsequent interactions, the chapter presents (1) the goals and motives Lee had when this phase began; (2) the interactional process through which Lee and her students constructed and reconstructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations during the phase; and (3) the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students had constructed when the phase ended.

First, I provide a brief overview of patterns which emerged in the interactional context during the first phase of the acculturation process. In the second section, I discuss Lee's beliefs about children, children's literacy and literacy learning, the importance of community, and pedagogy before the year began and show how she used those beliefs to begin to shape the classroom social context and literacy curriculum before

the year began. In section three, I describe how Lee communicated her beliefs to her students through her interactions with them and how they responded. To more clearly account for nature of the meaning Lee and her students constructed through their interactions and to represent both Lee and her students' perspectives, this section is subdivided into sections each of which focus on a specific category of meaning. Within each category, I describe Lee's role and the students' role in the interactions. In section four, I discuss the meanings and interpretations Lee and the students constructed throughout the phase. In section five, I summarize the shared meanings Lee and her students constructed during Phase I to construct the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy.

Overview of the Patterns Which Emerged in the Interactional Context During Phase I

Phase I began on September 8 and ended on October 20. The primary focus was on developing a classroom culture that would support learning. During this phase of the acculturation process, Lee and her students began establishing norms and routines, building relationships, and establishing a classroom culture and a classroom culture of literacy. Before the students came into her classroom, Lee used her new beliefs about children, children's culture of literacy, and the value of community to develop a literacy curriculum and literacy activities and to begin to create a social context that would support the students learning. Through her interactions with her students, Lee communicated what they needed to know to act competently in the classroom and what counted as reading and writing in this setting. Through their interactions with Lee and with each other, the students showed Lee that they understood the classroom norms and routines. Together, Lee and the students began constructing shared standards for perceiving, believing, behaving, and evaluating the actions of others (Goodnough, 1964,

1976) and a shared set of values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with reading and writing (Smith, 1983).

Meanings, Motives, and Goals Held Before Interactions Began in Phase I

Lee's Beliefs

The beliefs Lee had developed through her years of preparation to become a teacher, through her past experiences as a teacher, and through her participation in the TDOC Project played a significant role in shaping the context in which the first six weeks of interactions in her classroom were carried out. In this section, I will describe how those beliefs shaped the context for learning she developed before her students entered her classroom on the first day of school.

As I noted in Chapters One and Three, during the three years she had participated in the TDOC Project, Lee had developed a new understanding of children, an understanding of children's literacy and literacy learning, a heightened appreciation of community, and a desire to develop a pedagogy that was responsive to children when the year began. When the study began, one of Lee's primary goals for the year was to develop a pedagogy that supported children's natural ways of learning. She said that she was determined to develop a pedagogy that gave children a role in creating the social and academic context, and that while she believed it was necessary for her to establish rules and routines to make the community operate in an orderly manner and to develop a curriculum that would bring the students into the larger culture of literacy, she also believed that there should be ways for the students to use their natural creativity to learn to read and write.

In her presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association Meeting the spring before this study began, Lee articulated her goals for the coming year: "Our classroom goals (for the next year) are to continue learning about how children learn and how we can develop activities and materials that best enable them to expand their potential" (Curtis, 1987, pp. 5-6).

Before she and her students came together on the first day of school, Lee began putting her new beliefs into practice. Building on her new beliefs, her knowledge of the larger culture in which her classroom was situated, her prior experience with children, her curriculum work, and her goals for the year, Lee made decisions about what to teach, how to organize time and space, how to manage the classroom, how to develop relationships with the children and their parents, and how to create a context in which her students would learn. The decisions she made related to the what, when, where, and who of the social context.

What: The Curriculum

Lee and Ann worked long hours during the previous school year and the summer to design a curriculum that would promote literacy and numeracy. As part of that work, Lee had made decisions about what she wanted the students to learn, about how she would organize the time and activities to facilitate that learning, about the role she would play in students' learning, and about the role she expected students to play. She believed that children wanted to learn to read and write and that they could use play to help them become readers and writers. She wanted all of her students to come to see themselves as readers and writers, to see reading and writing as meaning making activities, to read at or above second grade level, and to master a variety of composition and comprehension strategies and skills. She wanted all of her students to come to see themselves as readers and writers, to see reading and writing as meaningful and meaning making activities, to read at or above second grade level, and to have mastered a variety of composition and

comprehension strategies and skills. She believed that learning to read was the most important thing children would learn in first grade and that learning to write would support their learning to read.

In developing the language arts curriculum, Lee and Ann took into consideration what they knew about students, about their own roles in the classroom, and about what to teach and how to teach it. They were guided by larger cultural influences - the tools, materials, symbols and norms associated with literacy acquisition and teaching. They also took into account their own district and school culture. They knew the second grade teachers used a basal reading series and that they expected students to be reading in level 7 of the basal and to have mastered the skills which the basal introduced in the first 7 levels before they moved on to second grade. They also knew that the second grade teachers valued correct spelling and expected students to be familiar with the conventions of text such as space between words, a capital at the beginning of a sentence, and end punctuation at the end.

For the most part, Lee agreed that first graders should learn the skills emphasized in the first seven levels of the basal program and the conventions of text, but she did not share the second grade teacher's faith that moving students through the basal series would automatically help them learn what they needed to learn to become readers and writers. In coming to a new understanding of children and their literacy, Lee had come to believe that learning is developmental and that students need to read and write for a variety of purposes, in a variety of activities in order to learn to read and write. Further, she believed that her role was to support their learning by creating occasions where they could read and write and receive feedback. She assumed that children would learn at different rates and in different ways and that it was important to provide a variety of learning occasions. These would include, among others, direct instruction, teaching skills in context, book-sharing, reading trade books and basals, and writing on unassigned and assigned topics.

To achieve their goal for the year, Lee and Ann developed a plan for the year, part of which was a new language arts curriculum. Figure 8 is a copy of the curriculum chart which Lee and Ann assembled during January, mid-way through this study. Prior to that, they worked from plans they had developed for each content area. The chart was especially helpful to me because it not only reflected what they planned to teach but it also illustrated the planning process I observed them following the previous year and during the summer. In developing the language arts curriculum, they had first identified the subject areas to be taught. Then they had divided the year into months and filled in units or activities traditionally covered during a specific month. In some cases these activities were dictated by seasons or school curriculum and in others by their beliefs about the developmental nature of learning. For example, the activities listed each month for health came from the school health curriculum while the activities under book publishing arose out of their developmental view of literacy learning.

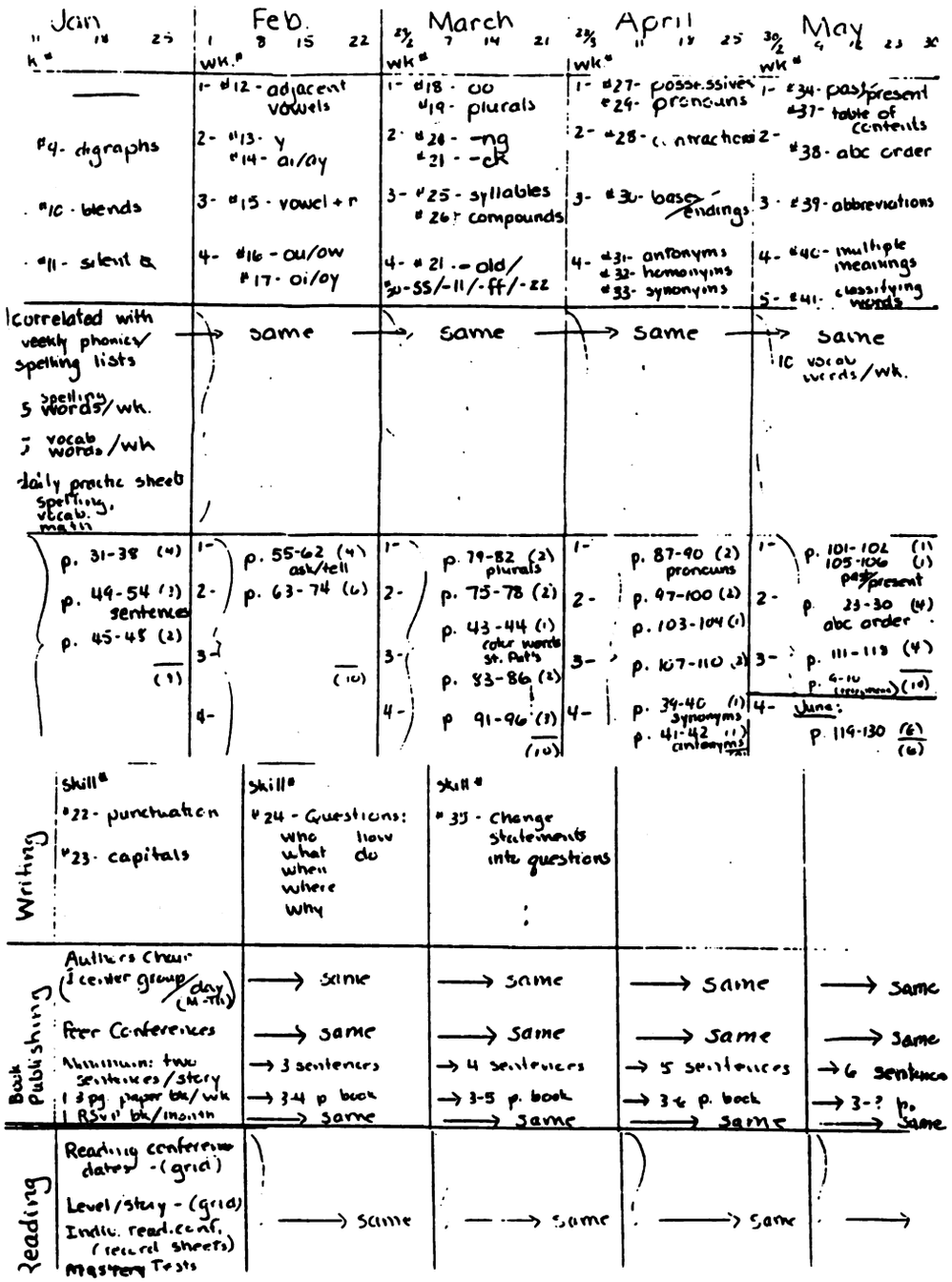

Jan
Feb.
March
April
May
wk.#
#4- digraphs
#10- blends
#11- silent e
1- #12- adjacent vowels
2- #13- y
#14- ai/ay
3- #15- vowel + r
4- #16- ou/ow
#17- oi/oy
1- #18- oo
#19- plurals
2- #20- -ng
#21- -ck
3- #25- syllables
#26- compounds
4- #21- -old/
#30-55/-11/-ff/-zz
1- #27- possessives
#29- pronouns
2- #28- contractions
3- #30- base + endings
4- #31- antonyms
#32- homonyms
#33- synonyms
1- #34- past/present
#37- table of contents
2- #38- abc order
3- #39- abbreviations
4- #40- multiple meanings
5- #41- classifying words
correlated with weekly phonics/ spelling lists
5 spelling words/wk.
5 vocab words/wk
daily practice sheet: spelling, vocab, math
same
10 vocab words/wk.
p. 31-38 (4)
p. 49-54 (3) sentences
p. 45-48 (2)
(9)
p. 55-62 (4) ask/tell
p. 63-74 (6)
(10)
p. 79-82 (2) plurals
p. 75-78 (2)
p. 43-44 (1) color words St. Pat's
p. 83-86 (2)
p. 91-96 (3)
(10)
p. 87-90 (2) pronouns
p. 97-100 (2)
p. 103-104 (1)
p. 107-110 (2)
p. 39-40 (1) synonyms
p. 41-42 (1) antonyms
p. 101-102 (1)
105-106 (1) past/present
p. 23-30 (4) abc order
p. 111-113 (3)
p. 6-10 (table of contents) (10)
June:
p. 119-130 (6)
(6)
Writing
Skill #
#22- punctuation
#23- capitals
#24- Questions: who what when where why how do
#35- change statements into questions
Book Publishing
Authors Chair (center group/day (M-Th))
Peer Conferences
Minimum: two sentences/story
1 3 pg. paper bk/wk
1 RSVP bk/month
same
3 sentences
4 sentences
5 sentences
6 sentences
3-4 p. book
3-5 p. book
3-6 p. book
3-? p.
Reading
Reading conference dates - (grid)
Level/Story - (grid)
Indiv. read. conf. (record sheets)
Mastery Tests

FIGURE 8

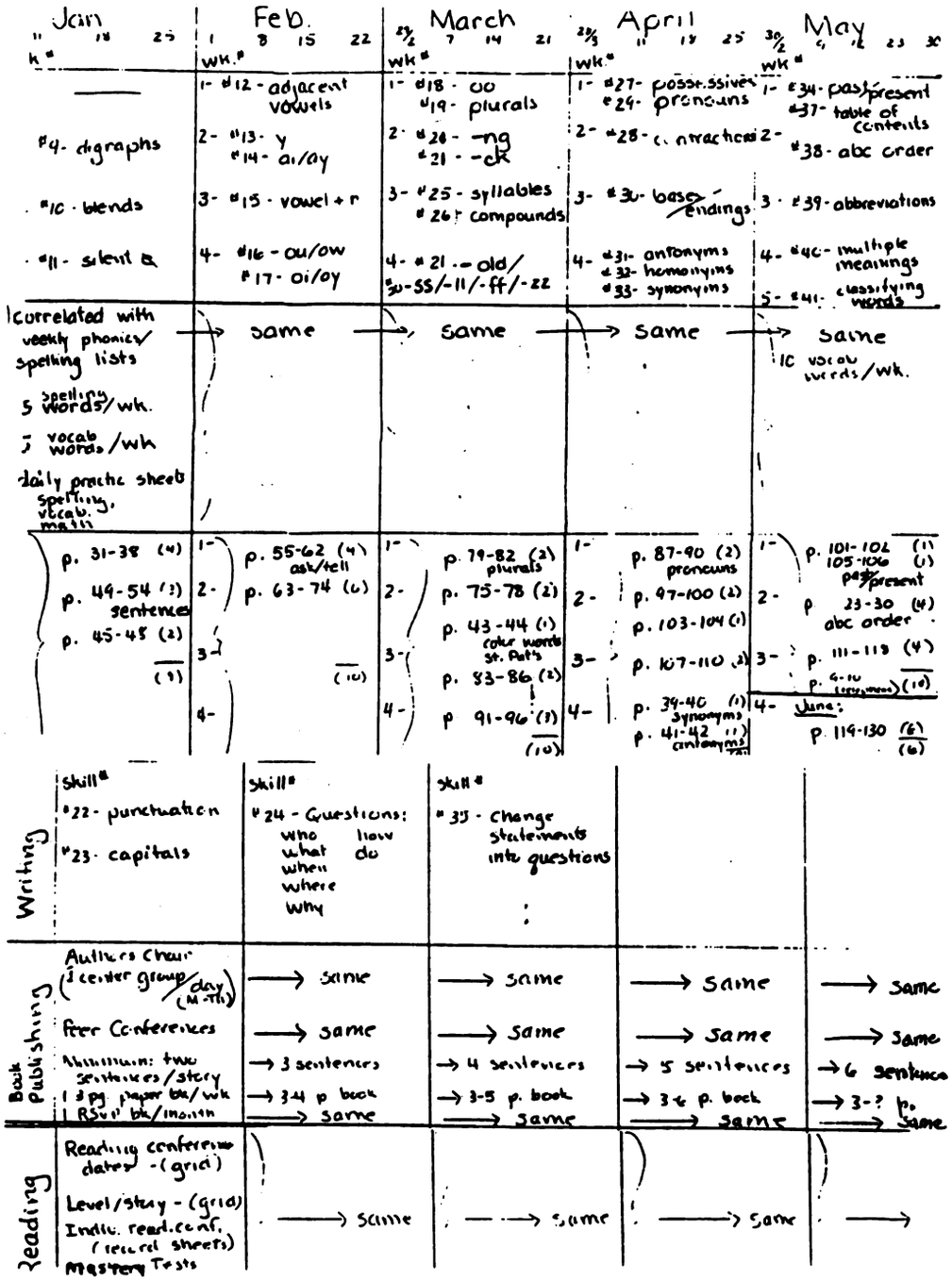

Jan
Feb.
March
April
May
wk.#
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#10- blends
#11- silent e
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2- #13- y
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#19- plurals
2- #20- -ng
#21- -ck
3- #25- syllables
#26- compounds
4- #21- -old/
#30- -ss/-ll/-ff/-zz
1- #27- possessives
#29- pronouns
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past/present
p. 23-30 (4) abc order
p. 111-113 (4)
p. 4-10 (table of contents) (10)
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Writing
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Book Publishing
Authors Chair (1 center group/day (M-Th))
Peer Conferences
Minimum: two sentences/story
1 pg paper bk/wk
RSvd bk/month
same
3 sentences
3-4 p book
4 sentences
3-5 p. book
5 sentences
3-6 p. book
6 sentence
3-? p.
Reading
Reading conferences dated - (grid)
Level/story - (grid)
Indiv. read. conf. (record sheets)
Mastery Tests
same

FIGURE 8

In establishing the monthly and weekly objectives for the language arts curriculum, Lee and Ann had looked at state and district objectives for first grade, at standardized tests which assessed students' reading levels, and at the district-selected basal reading program to establish what skills to teach and when. Using their past experience and beliefs, as well as what they found in these various sources, they had established monthly goals for reading and writing. These included specific goals related to skills or more general goals related to activities. For example, Lee and Ann specifically planned to teach skills #22 (punctuation) and #23 (capitals) during January. More generally, they planned to involve the students and parents in a reading program developed by Pizza Hut during the months of October, November, December, January, and February.

In addition to this month by month plan, they had decided how they would organize instruction on a week to week basis. Together they planned the general kinds of activities they would establish and individually they planned when these activities would occur. They decided that they would have a language arts block in the morning and that it would consist of centers and whole group book sharing. Once a week, students would engage in silent reading during which time teacher and students would silently read to themselves. Book sharing would involve the teachers reading books to the whole class during which time the teachers would "teach" the students to read the books by making them familiar with the story and by giving direct instruction on comprehension, decoding skills, and the conventions of text such as presentation and layout and surface features. During center time, students would move among three or four centers, two of which would be reading center and writing center. The third and fourth centers would focus on other language arts activities or on other content areas such as math, science, or social studies.

In reading center, Lee planned to have her students read books, alone or with each other, and to have individual conferences with each child on a regular basis. In these

conferences, she planned to assess students' progress by listening to them read stories they had already practiced on their own or with others, and she planned to teach students to read new stories and the comprehension and decoding strategies and skills appropriate for the child's developmental level. In writing center, she planned for students to write stories on topics they had chosen using invented spelling. When they had finished their stories, she planned for them to read the stories to her and to share them with each other. Lee planned for students to "publish" their stories later in the year and to place some stories in class books which the students could share with each other. These books would be a collection of the students' writing on a given day or topic, stapled together with a construction paper cover and back. Later in the year after the children had come to see reading and writing as meaning making activities, Lee and Ann had planned to make skill instruction part of the language arts block. Until then, they intended to teach skills in the context of book sharing time and reading and writing centers.

When: Time

In addition to planning the literacy curriculum and the activities they would use to put it into operation, Lee and Ann each planned how they would organize the day.

Taking into consideration the number of days mandated by the state, the number of contact hours in a day determined by their contract, and time for special areas such as gym and music, Lee and Ann made decisions about how to organize the day. Divisions in her daily planning book showed her plan for each day of the week. Figure 9 shows Lee's plan for the week.

Weekly schedule

9:05 Meet class at back door

9:10 Open: Pledge, attendance, lunch count, calendar

9:30 Centers/Reading

11:20 Recess: Walk class to door

11:40 Meet class at door

11:45 Language Arts - Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday

Math - Tuesday

12:30 Lunch

1:00 Meet class at door, bathroom, drinks, quiet time

1:10 Math on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday

Art on Thursday

1:35 Tuesday - Physical Education

2:10 Wednesday - Music

1:35 Library

2:10 Folders

2:30 Recess

2:55 Story sharing, workbooks, review

3:10 Chairs up, class jobs, clean room

3:20 Dismissal bell

Figure 9. Weekly schedule

While the schedule was not detailed, it did reflect several of Lee's beliefs. Though the daily routine varied slightly from day to day to accommodate special activities, the amount of time given for language arts activities each day - 2 1/2 to 3 hours - reflected Lee's belief that learning to read was the most important thing children would learn to do in first grade. By planning time for centers and story sharing, Lee showed that she valued giving students time to interact with and learn from each other. Her use of terms such as open, centers/reading, folders, chairs up, class jobs, and clean room, suggested that she would use routines to help organize classroom interactions and showed that she planned for the day to unfold in an orderly manner.

Where: Space

In addition to using her beliefs to develop the curriculum and a weekly schedule, Lee also organized her classroom to help her meet her goals. The decisions Lee made about how to use the space and materials in her classroom showed that she valued order, that literacy and math were the focal part of the curriculum, that she felt responsible for the students' social development as well as their cognitive development, and that she had a goal to build a community where the members worked collaboratively.

The map of Lee's classroom in Figure 10, shows how she organized the space and materials in her classroom.

Map of Lee's Classroom

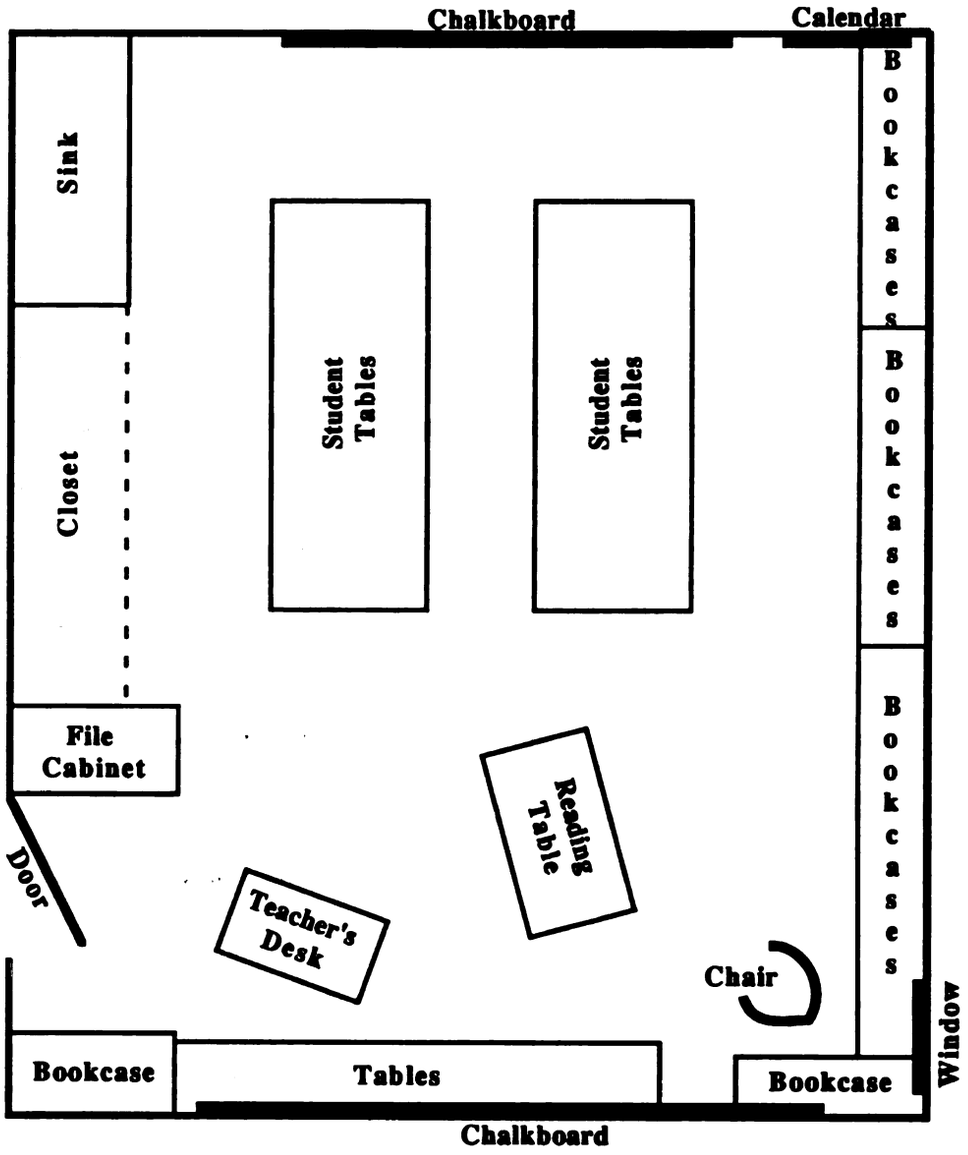


Figure 10

To promote interactions among the children and create an environment where cooperative learning could occur, Lee pushed together six of the tables in the room to make two larger tables. She arranged chairs around the tables by placing them at intervals which corresponded to the storage bins under each table. She placed the seventh table, to be used for reading center, in the space between her desk and the window opposite the classroom door. Lee put materials on shelves within the children's reach, and prepared bulletin boards that would support classroom activities.

Around the door into the classroom from the hall, Lee organized the space as a sort of office for herself. She had placed her desk at an angle near the door so that it would be convenient for conducting classroom business. She kept her plan book and notes to send home and from home here, and this was where she sat to collect work students had done at home and to chat with them as they came into the room in the morning before the bell rang. She had hung the lunch menu on the closet door where she could read it to the students while she sat at her desk and did the lunch count and took attendance. On a bookcase behind her desk reaching nearly to the ceiling, Lee had organized her professional library and the materials she planned to use during the year. The shelves were filled with books, notebooks, and files marked "Parent Education," "Classlists," and "Skills." To the right of the door, she had placed her filing cabinet at a right angle to the closet.

Lee had organized the end of the classroom nearest the door for literacy activities. To the left of the bookcase behind her desk, Lee had organized materials on a long table. At one end, she had stacked workbooks. On the other end, she had placed a record player, a tape recorder, and a plastic tub filled with plastic bags containing a book and a cassette or record. In the middle of the table, Lee had organized a check-out center where students could check out books to take home from the classroom library. It consisted of scraps of paper torn into 4x4 inch squares, an empty clear plastic box, and a cardboard

box under the table filled with plastic bags sporting a variety of store logos for carrying the books from and to school.

The two bulletin boards on the wall behind her desk reflected Lee's belief that she was responsible for the children's social as well as cognitive development. On the bulletin board labeled "Helping Hands," she had placed words indicating the classroom jobs she planned to assign to the children to help them become responsible members of the classroom community. Under the words, "Salute," "Attendance," "Closet," "Fish," "Plants," "Projector," "Lunch Basket," she had tacked a paper pocket in which she would place students names to indicate who had been assigned which job.

The other bulletin board closer to the window was covered with quotations such as, "You have only failed, when you have failed to try." "To know is nothing at all. To imagine is everything." "I have no faults. Just imperfect character traits." There was also a cartoon drawing of an ant pushing an elephant up a hill. The caption read, "If at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again." From conversations Lee and I had had in the past, I knew that they reflected the philosophy Lee hoped to instill in the children and that she planned to read them to the children and talk with them about how they represented her beliefs. Above the backboard between the two bulletin boards, Lee had hung the letters of the alphabet with a letter person card under each letter to remind the children of the letters they had learned in kindergarten.

Lee had organized the corner by the window as a place where she could hold class meetings and share books with the children. The wooden bookcase in the corner by the window showed that Lee valued a variety of reading materials. It was filled with books arranged in what appeared to be categories or collections. Basal readers, ALPHA comic books, ALPHA readers, Bill Martin Easy Reader books, alphabet books, and more were neatly organized on the shelves. To the left of this bookcase and on the adjoining wall were built-in book cases filled with trade books, easy reader books and games in boxes. She had placed an adult sized chair in front of this window, at an angle in the corner.

Lee had organized the space under the other window around math activities. The long wall with the window ended at the other end with another window. The bookcases were filled with plastic tubs of various objects including unifix cubes, plastic gems, blocks, rubber bands, pattern boards, and tile shapes all of which were used in the Math Their Way Program. On the adjacent wall, she had labeled another bulletin board "Calendar." Under the word "September" she had hung a calendar and under that a weather dial that could be turned to sunny, rainy, windy, snowy, cloudy. Under that there were two plastic cups pinned to the wall and a graph marked "Temperature - September." Next to this was another large expanse of blackboard with the numbers 1 through 10 in both words and numerals written above it. Finally another bulletin board completed the wall.

The rest of the room consisted of a long counter and a sink with a drinking fountain. An empty aquarium sat in the corner of the counter waiting for the goldfish Lee would bring in a few weeks from a pond her grandfather had in his backyard.

To the left of the sink there was an open closet with hooks and a bar running beneath. Above this were shelves with boxes labeled "Party Supplies," "Art Material," "Paper," "Extra Clothes." Finally, on the wall next to the door there was a filing cabinet jutting out into the room. To the left of the door on the same wall was another door which opened onto the teacher's closet.

Who: Classroom Norms and Social Relationships

In addition to planning the literacy curriculum and deciding how to use the time and space, Lee also considered the norms and rules she would establish to teach the children how to go to school and the kind of social relationships she wanted to build with the children and their parents.

Lee believed that the "hidden curriculum" should support students' learning. While Lee believed it was important to give students responsibility and ownership of

their own learning, to arrange for them to work collaboratively, and to allow them the freedom "to act like children," she also believed that it was necessary to maintain order in the classroom to insure that each individual's rights and opportunities were protected. Over the years, she had developed a set of norms for controlling noise, turn-taking, and class participation.

One set of rules related to being a good listener. Lee used a number of signals to tell the children that it was time to stop talking to each other and to listen to her. One way she got the student's attention was to switch off the lights. Another way was to state in her "teacher" voice - her voice dropped at the end of the final consonant and she enunciated each sound - "T-I-Me to LI-STEN."

Another norm related to the appropriate voice level. Lee taught the students the following technique to check their voice level. When the noise level increased, Lee would raise her voice and ask, "Do we have a rule that says 'No talking when you are working?'" Before the children could respond she would continue, "No. You may use your quiet voice when you work. Let's practice." Lee would then hold up her hand with her fingers extended and in a soft voice, almost a whisper, she would count, "One, two, three..." Each time she said a number, she put down a finger. The children would join in on "two" and continued to count with her in whispers.

A more complex set of rules related to getting a turn to talk. The norms for turn bidding varied from activity to activity, but again Lee was explicit about the rules. During an interaction involving the whole group when Lee was standing and the children were seated as in the opening, Lee would frequently make a statement and leave a slot open for the children to respond in unison. For example, she might say, "This is day-ay-ay .... of school," leaving a slot for the children's response. Lee signaled with her inflection, rising at the end and the elongation of the final sound, that the children could call out the answer.

In cases where she planned to call on individual children to respond, she would ask a question, pause, look around the room at the children, and call on someone. Sometimes she would state, "Raise your hands if you know the answer." Other times she might say, "Don't raise your hands. I already know who I will call on." When the interactions were more conversational, such as a discussion of a book she was sharing with them or when they had moved into a student-initiated activity, side conversations were permitted, and the children took turns conversing with Lee or each other.

Lee also promoted norms that encouraged the children to take responsibility for their own actions. When students asked if they had to do something she had assigned such as write a card for Mickey Mouse's birthday, she would respond, "No, you do not have to do that. You have a choice. You may make the card or you may put your head down." Lee said that she felt it was important to give children choices so that they "would learn to be responsible." She frequently reminded the children that one of their most important jobs in first grade was to "take care of yourself." This included such things as picking up after activities, hanging their clothes in the closet, dressing themselves to go outside, and solving small problems that developed between them and other children.

In addition, Lee had developed a clear sense of the role she wanted to play in students' learning and a sense of what role she expected students to play. She believed that the social relationships she developed with the children and which they developed with each other were an integral part of creating an environment that would support learning. In planning for the year, she planned ways to build positive relationships with the children. In planning the daily schedule, she allocated time before the opening for the children to line up beside her desk to take a turn talking with her. At recess time and before and after lunch, she planned time to interact with the children.

Lee also planned activities that would help her establish a relationship with the children and their parents. During the summer, she sent each of the children a letter

welcoming them to her classroom. In the letter, she addressed each of the children by name and said how anxious she was to meet them. She asked them to draw a picture of "their best summer fun" and bring it to school with them on the first day to share with her and the class.

Constructing Meanings and Interpretations about School and Literacy Through Face-to-Face Interactions During Phase I

During Phase I, Lee and her students' face-to-face interactions focused on establishing a social context that would support students' learning. In this section, I will describe the interactional process Lee and her students engaged in to establish classroom norms and routines, social relationships, and literacy events.

Beginning on the first day of school, Lee taught the students the classroom norms and routines. She planned activities that would help her get to know them and would help them get to know each other. In addition, she showed them that she valued books, that believed all of them would learn to read and write, and that she was responsive to children's ways of reading and writing. She told them that if they did not know how to read, they could pretend to read and that they could teach each other to read. When she asked them to write a story, she said they could communicate their ideas in whatever form they chose.

The children responded to Lee by showing that they wanted to learn to read and write. During book sharing they participated in discussions of the books Lee read to them. Later in reading center or silent reading, they tried to learn to read the books she had read by reading with a friend or by pretending to read. In response to Lee's efforts to give them a role in shaping the classroom social context, the students showed they were interested in playing an active role in shaping the classroom culture. While most were willing to conform to the norms and routines Lee had introduced to them, it became clear

on the first day that some students' agendas were not the same as Lees and that some relationships would be more problematic than others.

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About Classroom Norms, Routines, and Social Relationships

Through their face-to-face interactions, Lee and her students constructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations about classroom norms, routines, and social relationships. Both played an active role in this process.

Lee's Role

During the first weeks of school, Lee taught the students the norms and routines she believed were necessary in order to establish a social context that would support students' learning. Her interactions on the first two days of school illustrate the explicit manner in which she communicated the norms and routines to her students.

On September 8, Lee and her students participated in the opening rituals of the first day of school. The children arrived in cars or on buses and surged into the hallways. Individually or accompanied by parents, siblings, or friends, they looked for their assigned classrooms. The school which had been so still during the summer sprang to life. Lee stood inside the doorway to her classroom and greeted her students and those parents who had brought them to school. Students and parents of students who had been in her class in previous years also stopped by to say hello and share their summer experiences. But at 9:20 when the bell rang and Lee pulled the door of her classroom closed, she and her students began to create a classroom culture.

After Lee closed the door, she walked to her desk and glanced at a sheet of paper. At 9:23, she walked from beside her desk to a spot halfway between the door and the opposite wall near the reading table and began to teach the students the complex set of

rules for getting a turn in her classroom. The norms for turn bidding varied from activity to activity, but Lee was explicit about the rules. In cases where she planned to call on individual children to respond, she would frequently ask a question, pause, look around the room at the children, and call on someone. Sometimes she would state, "Raise your hands if you know the answer." Other times she might say, "Don't raise your hands. I already know who I will call on." During an interaction involving the whole group when Lee was standing and the children were seated as was the case in the opening, Lee would frequently make a statement and leave a slot open for the children to respond in unison. In this case she said, "This is roommmmm ...." Her inflection rose, she elongated the final sound, and she left a slot for the children to fill.

The students filled in the slot with a loud "ONE...O...SIX!" Lee smiled and nodded her head affirming that the children had used the appropriate interactional pattern of filling in the slot. Introducing the children to the opening routine, she continued, "In this room we do the same thing every morning. You'll learn: first, hang up your clothes in the closet; second do the pledge. Oh, do you know how to do the pledge?" The children nodded and responded with "Yes." Lee said quietly, "Good," and went on. "Third, put heads down. The same every morning." She went on to explain that while they had their heads down, she would take attendance and the lunch count and then they would move on to writing the number telling what day of school it was on a strip of adding machine paper that ran from the above her closet door along the wall above the children's closet.

On the second day, Lee took the students through the opening, checking to see if they had learned the routine she had introduced the previous day and adding the final phase, the calendar. When the bell rang at 9:20, Lee asked the students who had already hung their things in the closet and were seated, "What do we do first?" Most students responded in loud voices, "PLEDGE!" Everyone rose and said the pledge. When they

had finished, Lee said, "Next?" Without responding orally, several of the students put their heads down on the table in front of them. A few others followed.

Lee said, "Good!" Next, she introduced the children to one of the systems she used for rewarding and reinforcing positive behavior. She walked to the blackboard beside her desk, looked around the room, picked up a piece of chalk and began to write names on the board under a smiley face. She explained, "I'm writing down the names of people who put their heads down." "I want to smile at you," Lee said as she added the last name to the list.

After she had done the attendance, lunch count, and number line for the day of school, Lee walked to the calendar and began an interaction with the students that was to become part of the morning opening routine. During this interaction, Lee indicated that the students could call out the answers without raising their hands. At one point, she let them communicate their response by raising their hand to vote.

Standing by the calendar, Lee asked, "What month is it?" A few children called out, "September." Lee responded, "Right. What day is it?" The children called out days of the week. "Sunday." "Tuesday." "Wednesday." Lee repeated, "Wednesday," and said, "Wednesday is right," as she turned over a card with the word "Wednesday" on it. Next, she pointed to the word "Wednesday" on the calendar and asked, "What date is it?" Again the children called out several numbers and Lee selected the correct answer. "The ninth," she said as she pointed to the 9 on the calendar. She took nine sticks from a bundle of coffee stirrers on the chalk rail, counted out nine, placed them in one of the plastic cups attached to the bulletin board, and explained that in the future a student would count the sticks. Next she asked, "What is the weather today?" She leaned over and looked at the sky out of the window to her left. The children called out "Sunny," "Cloudy." Lee asked, "Which is it?

At this point, Lee drew all of the students into the discussion by introducing the concept of voting. "You get to vote. All those who think it is sunny raise your hand."

Hands shot up and Lee counted. "All those in favor of cloudy?" Again hands shot up and Lee counted again. "Sunny it is," she said as she turned the weather dial to Sunny.

Then Lee began a discussion of the temperature in which she allowed the students to call out their answers and acknowledged each contribution. "How could we know the temperature?" The children raised their hands or called out answers. Some called out, "Hear it on the news!" "Hear it on the radio." Lee responded to each suggestion with a comment such as "Yes, good." The students continued to make suggestions, e.g., "The newspaper." Finally Lee said, "I have a special place to look in the morning to find out the temperature. I see it on my way to school." Slade called out, "The bank!" Lee nodded and said with a big smile on her face, "Yes!"

Next, Lee introduced the students to a routine which she used to shift from one activity to another. She walked back to her desk and then to the chair in the corner by the book cases. The children twisted in their seats and followed her with their eyes. When she had arrived at the book corner, she said as she pointed to the children on the side of the table nearest to the door, "Patty's row may come up here and sit on the floor." When those children were seated on the floor with their legs crossed and hands folded, something they had learned to do in kindergarten, Lee called the next row and so on. Once all of the children were seated, Lee sat in the adult-sized chair and began to explain what would happen next.

Throughout the next two weeks, as new activities were added to the daily schedule, Lee led the children through the activity and either told them specifically how she expected them to interact and what she expected them to do, or modeled the expected behavior. Once a new routine had been added, Lee asked the children before they began the activity, "Now, what do we do?" The children either responded verbally or performed the routine, and Lee reinforced the correct behavior verbally or by writing names on the board under the smiley face. By 9/15 all of the students had learned the opening routine. Lee asked, "What do we do first?" The students responded, "PLEDGE!" "Second?"

"HEADS DOWN," they called out as they put their heads on the table. Each time it was time to move on to another activity, Lee asked, "Next?" and the children responded by calling out what they had learned Lee expected of them.

In addition to the norms and routines Lee taught the students during the opening on the first and second day of school, she also taught them the rules she had developed to maintain order. By praising positive behavior and by explaining what she expected, Lee made the students aware of her expectations for their behavior.

On the first day, Lee used praise to make the students aware of one of the methods she used for getting their attention. Lee first used the phrase, "Time to listen," on the first day of school to get their attention so that she could explain the name game. After the children had formed a circle on the floor, Lee said, "We are going to play a game some of you might know. It will help us learn each other's names. The game is called, 'Who took the cookie from the cookie jar.'" The children looked at each other and began to talk with each other about the game. Lee said, "Time to listen." Some of the children stopped talking and looked at her. Lee continued, "Olympia, you are really listening. I can tell when you are quiet and looking right at me." Later during the game, Lee interrupted to make a comment and the children stopped talking to listen to her. She said, "I didn't tell you to listen to me when I talk, but some people are doing it anyway." As she said this, she smiled at the children.

On the second day, Lee was more explicit about her expectations. When she joined the children at reading corner and had seated herself on her chair, she said, "Time to listen. All quiet by 20," and began to count. Most of the children stopped talking, looked at her face, and sat very still. All were quiet by the count of three. Lee nodded her approval and said, "'Time to listen' means hands still, feet still, look at me and listen."

Variations of this phrase were "Eye check" and "Room check." Lee explained that when students were looking at her, she knew they were ready to listen. She said, "I am looking at you to see if you are looking at me." "Room check" meant that in addition

to listening and looking at the teacher, the children were to put down anything they were touching. Several times each day, Lee called for "Eye check," "Room check," or announced, "Time to listen." During this period, she reinforced positive behavior and ignored negative behavior for the most part. She did ask individuals to "practice being a good listener" or whether their behavior was appropriate.

On September 10, Lee explained her reason for having rules. After she had asked the children to practice being quiet, she said, "Why do we have these rules?" Before they could respond, she continued, "There are lots of rules in this room to make you feel good. We have rules to make you feel good." On September 17, she told the students, "We can have fun in the class because you kids get quiet when I say, 'Time to listen.'"

Lee reinforced the rules throughout Phase I. On certain days, the focus seemed to be on learning and/or practicing these rules: Time to listen: 9/8, 9/9, 9/18; Practice being quiet: 9/9, 9/10, 9/16; Heads down: 9/16, 10/8; Room check: 9/9, 9/17, 10/8; Eye check: 9/8, 9/14.

On September 16, Lee asked the entire class to practice being good listeners. After the opening she stood at the board and began writing names under the smiley face. "Good listeners are .... We will be able to do so many good things today because you are good listeners." She wrote several names but most students were still talking. In a firm voice she said, "All heads down. I want to smile at you. It is boring to wait for you to get quiet. We will practice being quiet until I say 'Heads up.'"

On many occasions, she directed her comments to specific children. On the first day after they had interrupted her, Lee asked Max and Cody to "practice being good listeners." She asked them to put their heads down on the table until she said they could have them up again.

In addition to teaching students how to give her their attention, Lee was also explicit about how the children were to act when someone was having a turn. On September 10, Lee read Mr. M's Moods. When she finished she asked the students to

read to the class one at a time. Lee called on Jessica first. When Jessica did not begin to read immediately, other children raised their hands and said, "Me, me, me." Lee said, "It is Jessica's turn. Let her have her own thinking time." This was a phrase she repeated throughout the year when she gave students a turn and they did not respond immediately. When the students interrupted Lee with questions while she was explaining an activity to them she frequently said, "All right. I would like to talk uninterrupted for a few minutes. Then you can ask questions."

Lee also promoted norms that encouraged the children to take responsibility for their own actions. When students asked if they had to do something she had assigned such as write a card for Mickey Mouse's birthday, she would respond, "No, you do not have to do that. You have a choice. You may make the card or you may put your head down." On several occasions, Lee told me that she felt giving students choices showed them that she respected them. In addition, she said she felt it was important to give children choices so that they "would learn to be responsible for themselves." She frequently reminded the children that one of their most important jobs in first grade was to "take care of yourself." This included such things as picking up after activities, hanging their clothes in the closet, dressing themselves to go outside, and solving small problems that developed between them and other children.

In addition to teaching the students the classroom routines and norms, Lee also taught them the rules for using the materials in the classroom. During the first weeks of school, she made the students aware of the purpose behind her organization of the room and the materials she had placed there. She told them that the materials on the bookcase behind her desk were her "special" things and that they were not to touch them unless she gave her permission.

Lee also explained the rules for using the materials in bins on the bookshelves. On the first day during a discussion in the book corner about classroom norms, Lee said, "In first grade, you only play at recess." Max looked up at her and motioned to the

bookshelves where the games were kept and asked, "Then why do you have all these toys?" Lee replied, "We don't call them toys. We call them activities." She went on to explain that all of the materials in the classroom were there to help them learn and that they were not to play with the materials or take them off of the shelves unless they were part of a planned activity. The children looked around the room with serious expressions on their faces and some nodded their heads.

During the first reading center, Lee gathered the children around her in the book corner and explained that during reading center, they could take three books at a time from the shelves. She told them that before they took other books or moved to the next center, they were to put the books back on the shelf "neater than they were in the first place." She also talked with the children about how to handle the books to keep them clean and in good condition. She explained that these books were for everyone in the classroom to use and that everyone was responsible for taking care of them. Lee also told the students that they could select books with tapes from the plastic bin on the table behind her desk and listen to them on the tape recorder in the hall.

After she had read a book to the children in the book corner, Lee showed them how to "check out" books to take home. She showed them the 4 x 4 scraps of paper on the table behind her desk and the clear plastic box and explained that they could write their name and the title of the book on the scrap of paper, place the paper in the clear plastic box, and get a plastic bag from the box under the table to carry the book home to keep it dry and clean. She encouraged them to bring plastic bags from home that their families did not need to add to the bag collection.

To help the students develop a sense of ownership in the classroom community, Lee asked the students to help maintain the classroom. A mimeographed message by the classroom door conveyed the message Lee attempted to give students about being responsible for themselves. It read, "Your mother does not work here." When she introduced the children to the "helping jobs" on the first day of school, she explained that

everyone in the room was responsible for the classroom and that they would be assigned a specific job for the week which they would do as part of making this the best classroom in the school. The children traced their hands, cut out the shape, and wrote their names on it. Lee then assigned classroom jobs and placed the student's hand shape in the pocket stapled under the appropriate job description.

To encourage the children to take responsibility for keeping the room clean, Lee scheduled time at the end of the day for picking up and putting things away and also asked the children to put things away before lunch. She acknowledged their contributions by announcing to the class, "Nathan is being a good helper. He is picking up paper people dropped." "Cody and Patty were good helpers. They straightened the book corner for us."

Constructing Meaning about Social Relationships: Lee's Role

During the first weeks of school, Lee began building personal relationships with the students and with their families. In her interactions with the students and their parents, she displayed her desire to get to know them individually, to help them get to know each other, and to connect home and school.

Relationships with students. On the first day, Lee began building personal relationships with each child. When she met the children at the door, she welcomed them by name or asked them their names if she had not met them before. After she repeated their name, she told them how happy she was to have them in her class, where to put their things, and where to find a seat. She listened closely to anything they or their parents said and later wrote notes to herself on her clipboard to remember what they had told her.

Lee worked especially hard to build relationships with children who were having problems adjusting to school. On the first day of school just before recess, Lee noticed that Jason had tears in his eyes. She walked over to him, leaned over and spoke softly to him. When the others lined-up for recess, Jason stayed in his seat and put his head down

on the table in front of him. Lee walked the others to the door and returned. She walked over to Jason and asked if his headache was really bad. He nodded that it was. Lee asked him what he usually did when his head hurt so badly. He answered quietly. She asked if he would like to see if he could stay at school until after lunch and again he nodded yes. She told him that he might feel better after lunch and that if he did not, she would call his mother. Over the next two weeks as Jason adjusted to school, Lee soothed him, gave him crackers, and called his mother to come to get him when he asked her to do so. Lee discussed Jason's headaches with his mother. She learned that Jason's mother felt Jason was suffering from allergies as well as the stress of adjusting to school. Together, they developed a plan for helping Jason stay at school which involved giving him quiet time and crackers during recess.

Lee also helped the students get to know each other. On the first day, Lee led the children through activities that would help her get to know them as individuals and help them get to know each other. They played "Who Took the Cookie from the Cookie Jar" to learn each other's names. Later, as Lee handed each child their name tag, she asked each child to tell something special about themselves or to tell what they wanted to learn in first grade. As each child talked, Lee listened carefully. After each child spoke, she repeated what the child had said, asked a question, or made a comment. "Oh, you can read already!" "You caught seven fish?" "That must have been exciting!" On a sheet of paper on her clipboard, she jotted down notes to remind her of "the good things you've told me."

Throughout Phase I, Lee created shared experiences which helped her and her students get to know each other personally. On the fourth day of school, she shared the papers they had written for her during the summer. After she showed each paper and read what had been written on it or asked the author if they wanted to read their paper, she talked with each child about the picture and text. Each child told a little more about

his or her "best summer fun." Then Lee told the students she would make a book of the papers so they could get to know each other.

Near the end of the first month of school, Lee sent a note home asking parents to send her pictures of their child as a baby. She put these on the book corner bulletin board along with her own under the heading, "You must have been a beautiful baby! Guess who?" The children were to guess who the babies were and then check their guess by looking at the name under the picture. During the second month of school, Lee asked the children to create "Me Museums." These consisted of a shoe box on which the children pasted pictures of their favorite things. Inside they placed objects or pictures of things that were special to them. Each day during the month, one or two children per day shared their "Me" museum with the class. Later Lee asked questions such as, "Whose favorite food is hot dogs?" or "Who has a dog named Snoopy?" and the children were to remember what their classmates had told them about themselves and answer the questions.

Lee used books to stimulate conversations about shared experiences. On the first three days of school, Lee read the students books about three other children's first days of school. She encouraged the children to discuss their feelings about first grade and shared her own feelings with them. Through these kinds of book sharings, Lee gave the children opportunities to get to know her more personally. She frequently related what happened in the story to herself. For example, on the third day of school she read the book, A Mouse to be Free to the class. As she read, tears formed in her eyes. She stopped and told the children that the book made her so happy that she felt like crying. Pointing to her eyes she said, "Look. I have tears in my eyes." The children looked at her face with serious expressions on their faces. On another occasion, she related the story in the book to a childhood experience she had had. She told the children that when she was a little girl, she would pretend to read the book while she looked at the pictures. Lee was also willing to admit that she had made a mistake. When she would make an error writing

something on the board or doing an activity such as the calendar, she admitted her error and let the children correct her. She also helped them see that, like them, she was a learner. On the first day of school after they came back from music, she asked them to teach her the song about Mickey Mouse they had been singing when she went to pick them up.

Lee used these and similar experiences to build a sense of community. On October 1, someone asked her how the school stayed warm. Instead of answering the question herself, Lee took the students to the school boiler room and let them ask the custodian their questions. After he had shown the students the furnaces that heated one wing and could be gotten to only from outside, Lee let the children discuss what they had learned and told them they were special. She said they were the only kids in school who had seen the furnaces and noted that Jim must really think they were special.

Relationships with parents. Just as Lee used a variety of ways to build relationships with her students in school, she also sought to develop relationships with the students' parents and to help the students make connections between their school and personal lives. Her first contact with the parents as a group came on September 24, when the school held an open house for parents. Lee said she looked forward to this event at which she shared with parents her philosophy of education and plans for the year. To prepare for the event, she asked the children to trace their bodies by lying on the floor while a friend drew around their figure. Then the children cut out and colored their image to look as much like them as possible. These cut-outs were taped to the chair the child sat in so that when the parents arrived, they were greeted by a roomful of paper children. Lee also had the children arrange samples of their "best work" on the table in front of their cut-out so that parents could see what they had been doing in class.

In addition to meeting the parents, talking individually with them about their child, and sharing with them the plans she had made for the year, Lee talked in more detail to parents who had concerns. She learned that Megan's parents were upset that

Megan had not been bringing home the dittoes they expected to see. They talked with Lee and me about how they thought children should be taught to read and questioned Lee about her reading program that did not rely on drill and workbooks. Lee patiently explained that the current research with which she had become familiar showed that the approach she was using was more in keeping with children's natural way of learning language. In addition, Lee agreed to have Megan tested to assess her reading level and the areas in which she might need additional support.

After the discussion with Megan's parents, Lee decided that it was time to begin sending parents the articles she and the other first grade teacher had been collecting which talked about the research on which they had based their new language arts curriculum. She said that she felt it was important to let parents know what she was doing in school so that they could continue to support the children's learning at home by using similar approaches. The following Friday, Lee sent the first of many articles home to parents with her weekly announcements. These included articles from the popular press and education journals. Some of the titles were: "How Can I Turn My Child Into a Bookworm," "17 Keys to Better Reading," "Developing Reading Skills with Very Young Children," "First Months of Reading - Stage I" "What's Really Happening - Developmental Learning," "Positive Feedback," "Kids Learn to Write Well If They Don't Fear Errors," and "Appreciating Creativ Splng."

Lee encouraged parents to become a part of the classroom community by volunteering to help with special projects such as cooking breakfast for the health unit, driving children on field trips, or helping to publish books. Lee maintained personal relationships with parents which had begun when one of her student's older brothers or sisters had been in her classroom. These and other parents phoned her or stopped by to discuss their child or fill Lee in on something that was happening at home. Lee encouraged these interactions and said the information she learned from parents helped her understand the children's behavior a little more. I was surprised with how much

personal information parents shared. For example, Cody's mother talked with Lee about her relationship with a man she was considering moving in with. Kelly's father told Lee that he was a recovering alcoholic and that he had been in a treatment program when school had begun. Ann's mother talked with Lee about her pregnancy and the difficulties she was having because she was not married to the baby's father and could not work.

Connections between school and home. To help the children make connections between reading in school and at home and to increase their opportunities to be read to and read, Lee decided to have her class participate in the Book-It program sponsored by Pizza Hut. The program encouraged children to read by letting each classroom set its own goal - Lee set a goal of seven books per students per month - and rewarding them with a pizza party at the end of five months if they met their goal. Lee said that the parents the previous year had reported to her that the program had changed their interactions at home. Many reported that before being part of the program, they had not read to their children or their children had not read at home. Participating in the program got them reading together. Lee hoped there would be similar results this year. She sent information to the parents and kept them apprised of the class progress. To keep track of the student's monthly progress, Lee hung a chart provided by Pizza Hut on her closet door. Each morning the children brought notes from their parents telling Lee what books they had read or had had read to them. Lee marked the chart and reported the progress.

Using relationships to support learning. Lee encouraged the children to use their friendships to support their learning to read and write. She let them choose their own center groups, and she allowed them to interact quietly with each other during silent reading and encouraged them to teach each other to read during reading center. Olympia, whose older sister had taught her to read before she came to school, read with Abby and Ann. She read stories to them and pointed to words as she read. Tony C. asked Michael G. how to spell words during writing center.

Constructing Meaning about Social Relationships: The Students' Role

For the most part, the children showed that they had learned the routines and norms Lee had taught them. When she said, "Time to listen," most of the children stopped talking and looked at her. The children reminded each other of the rules, worked together to clean up the room, and did their class jobs without being reminded. However, the children also responded to Lee's willingness to be responsive to their questions and interests and this led to modifications in the norms and routines Lee had planned to use to organize the social context.

Beginning on the first day of school, the students began to take a role in reshaping the daily schedule Lee had developed. They had questions to ask, things to share, a desire to interact with the teacher, and much to say about the topics Lee introduced. They introduced topics they wanted to discuss, brought books they wanted Lee to read to the class, and generally added to Lee's daily agenda. In keeping with her desire to develop a pedagogy that was responsive to children, Lee responded by letting the students play a role in shaping classroom events.

The children began to modify the routines within the planned activities on the first day. As the last group of children were joining Lee in the book corner and she was preparing to begin the activities, Max looked out of the window and said in a loud voice, "Wow! Look at that bird!" Lee turned in her chair to look out of the window and the children got up from the floor and crowded around the window. They talked excitedly as they watched a sparrow fly from branch to branch on a pine tree in the courtyard. Max said, "Birds go to school too!" Lee smiled and asked, "And what do you think they would learn?" She and the students discussed the possibilities for a few minutes before Lee asked them to sit down again so that she could begin the planned activities.

On September 15, Jessica brought her book about Smokey the Bear to school to share. After Lee read the book she had selected to share during the morning book sharing, she read Jessica's book. The children listened quietly and looked at the pictures

as she read. When she finished she began to lead a discussion of the book. "Why were they cutting down the trees?" The children raised their hands and Lee called on them to respond. Lee then told the children about a huge forest fire that was burning in the northwest. She pulled down the roll-up map hanging above the board and pointed to an area around Yellowstone National Park. She then pointed to Cody, Wyoming. She told the children that she had just come back from there and that while she had been in Cody, she had been able to smell smoke from the fires north of there.

Lee let the children's interests take over. Several children got up from the floor to look more closely at the map. Joel said, "Hey, there is Michigan," as he pointed to the map. Someone else pointed to Florida and said, "Florida. That is where my grandparents are!" For the next six minutes the discussion shifted from forest fires and Smokey the Bear to United States geography. The students discussed how far it was from Michigan to Florida; places they had been in Michigan and in the U.S.; where relatives lived. Lee listened, asked questions, and participated in the conversations that went on around the map. Finally, she called the children together again and moved on to her next agenda item.

Spontaneous and unplanned activities of high interest to the children frequently added to the amount of time Lee had originally planned for an activity. Consequently, Lee altered her original plan for the typical day. Instead of starting the opening at 9:00, she gave the students ten minutes to talk with her and began the opening at 9:20. To accommodate the students' questions and announcements during the opening and reading corner, she began centers at 10:00. When she discovered that the children could do the language arts activities on their own during centers, language arts was added to centers, and Lee expanded center time to lunch time (12:30) on most days.

In addition to learning the norms and routines, the students also developed relationships with Lee and with each other. The students actions showed that they felt at home in the room. On the first day and began to build personal relationships with Lee

and each other. They sought Lee out to share personal news with her in the morning or at recess. They brought her flowers or books to read. On the first day Kimberly brought her a book which a family friend had written. Lee thanked her and said she would practice reading it and then read some of it to the class. Jessica brought Lee flowers and a card thanking her for being such a nice teacher. Others brought messages they had written at home. Michael E. was the first to bring Lee one of the many "love notes" she received from the children. It was a picture of a boat with two people in it with the following writing around the picture.

TO MiSOKiLOS

ROW ROW

ROW YOUR

BUAT

GENLT

DOWN

THE

STREAM

Lee hung it on the wall above the blower fan. Others soon followed.

The children continued old friendships and began new ones. Olympia, Abby, and Ann had been friends in kindergarten and remained a trio. Tony R. developed a friendship with Joel, and they both became friends with Ethan. Ethan and Max told me they played together after school but they did not spend much time together in school. Jason and Jerrod began to work together during writing center and became friends. Ted and Nathan began reading together on the first day. When they had opportunities to choose new seats or center groups, they ended up together.

Even the children who did not seem to get along most of the time worked together on reading or writing. From the first day, Rob and Matt had problems with each other.

On the first day, Rob announced to me in a loud voice, "Cody flunked first grade. Did you know that?" Cody made remarks about Rob's clothes. These verbal insults continued for the first few months and I was surprised to see them reading together in reading center on October 8. They must have read my surprise on my face because they looked up at me, and Rob said in a matter of fact tone, "We read together because he can read words I can't and I can read words he can't."

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About Literacy and Literacy Events

In addition to engaging in interactions through which they constructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations about classroom routines, norms, and social relationships, Lee and the students also engaged in interactions through which they constructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations about literacy and literacy events. Through her interactions with her students, Lee introduced them to the occasions she had developed to support their learning of reading and writing. During the first week of school, she introduced booksharing, reading and writing centers, and silent reading. In the same explicit manner she had interacted with the students to introduced them to the other classroom norms and routines, Lee interacted with them to show them how to participate in the literacy events. Through her words and actions, she communicated her values and beliefs about reading and writing and some of the skills and techniques she believed they needed in order to learn to read and write.

Booksharing

Lee's role. Lee saw book sharing as an academic and a social event. As an academic event, it was an occasion during which she read and discussed books with her students, acquainted them with her values and beliefs about the importance and uses for

reading, and taught them about the conventions of text and the techniques and skills they needed to learn to become readers and writers. As a social event, it was an occasion during which she taught and reinforced classroom norms and established relationships with the children.

During Phase I, Lee showed in her actions and words that she loved to read books. As Cody had noticed, Lee had "lots of books," and she added more during the year by bringing in library books and additional books for the classroom library. On the third day of class she held up three Alpha books and asked, "Do you know why we are reading the Mr. M. books now?" She went on before they could answer, "I am reading these books for two reasons. First, Mr. M. wants me to. Second, we are having fun with Mickey Mouse and his names both begin with M. Oh, and a third reason. I LOVE to READ!" Lee always read with a great deal of expression and feeling. She got tears in her eyes when she read A Mouse to Be Free on September 10, and told the children the story made her so happy that she felt like crying. On September 23, while she was reading Morris the Moose, Lee read the words, "Ah Choo," and the children repeated them. Lee looked down at them and said as she laughed, "Good reading!"

Lee also saw book sharing as a time for teaching students how to read. Through direct instruction and modeling, Lee used book sharing to teach the children the conventions of text and techniques and skills she felt they needed to develop to become readers and writers. Each time she introduced a book, she began by pointing out features of the books layout and presentation. She began by pointing to the title and author's name and the illustrator if there was one listed. On the first day, Lee held up the book, Peter's First Day of School and pointed to the words in the title. "This is the title. It says, Peter's First Day of School. It is called the title. She then opened the cover and pointed to the first page in the book. "This is the title page." On the second day of school, Lee held up A Mouse to Be Free. She pointed to the title and asked, "What are these words called?" The children responded, "The title." Next she opened the book to the first page

and asked, "What is this page called?" The children responded, "Title page." Next she pointed to the names of the author and the illustrator. She showed them the author's picture on the back. Then she read the illustrator's name and said, "This is the illustrator. He liked the story so much that he wanted to draw the pictures for it." On September 16, Lee held up I Really Like Myself. She said, "I thought of you when I saw this book. It has two authors. Two friends wrote this book together. She turned the book over and said, "Here are their pictures on the back." On September 15 she showed the students a book which the principal had brought in to add to their classroom library and said, "There are lots of stories in this book." She turned to the table of contents, held up the book and said, "This is called the table of contents. This book has two kinds of titles. Title of the book.., " and she pointed to the cover, "and title for the stories." She pointed to and read several of the titles for the stories.

In addition to drawing the students' attention to the book's layout and presentation, Lee also drew their attention to surface features of the text such as punctuation and spelling. On September 11, she introduced My Country and began to read the book which had the text of the pledge of allegiance. After reading the first phrase, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America ...," she stopped and pointed to an asterisk above the word pledge. She said, "This mark is called an asterisk. It is made like this," and she drew one in the air. "When you see an asterisk on the page, it tells you there is a message at the bottom of the page." She went on to read the message. On September 15, she pointed to Mr. on one of the Mr. M. books. "Did you notice the mark here? It is a period. Mr. is really written like this," and she wrote mister on the board. "But most people write it like this," and she wrote Mr. "To show it is for short, put a period. When people look at the word, they pretend it says mister. It is called an abbreviation." Later the same day, she pointed out the spelling of the word tale in the title, The Tale of Tall Tooth. She said, "Tale can be spelled two ways; tale like this which means a story or tail like an animal's tail."

Beginning on the third day of class, Lee drew the children's attention to letter-sound relationships in some of the words she read. First, she talked with them about the sound Mr. M made and asked them to look at the letter and make the sound. On September 15, she focused on the letter T when they read stories about Mr. Tall Tooth. On September 16, she moved on to F, and they read Mr. F books. When they read Mr. H books on September 17, Lee asked the students to help her think of h words. As the children called out words, she wrote them on the board. When they ran out of words, Lee got the dictionary, turned to the section with h, showed it to the children and began to read h words. Max pulled a book off the shelf beside him and looked for h words in it. Others followed and soon several children were calling out words they were reading from the books, and Lee was writing them on the board. At the rate of one letter per day, Lee introduced the other letters and taught the children the letter-sound relationships.

In addition to teaching the students decoding skills such as letter-sound relationships, Lee also modeled comprehension strategies during book sharing. Before reading a book to the children, she would discuss what it was about and ask them if they had had similar experiences. On the first day of school before she read the book she had selected, she told the children, "This is about a little boy who goes to school and wants his mom to stay with him. He is afraid and doesn't want her to leave. But pretty soon, he feels all right about her leaving. Adults will help you at school, too. In first grade, you get to take care of yourself. How do you feel about your first day of school? Do you feel like the little boy in the story?" The children responded by sharing their feelings. Slade said, "I was nervous when I first went to school." Joel said, "I go to the baby-sitter after school." Lee followed this pattern of activating the student's background knowledge before she read stories. For Mr. M Has Moods, she said the book was about feelings and the children discussed the kinds of feelings they had, what their faces looked like when they were happy, sad, or afraid, and wondered if Mr. M would have the same moods. Lee suggested that they might look at the pictures to help them "read" the mood words.

At the same time Lee was teaching the children about the conventions of text and about the skills and techniques they need to learn to become readers, she was also teaching them how she wanted them to interact with each other in this literacy event and in the classroom in general. As I noted earlier, it was during book sharing that Lee taught and reinforced rules such as "Time to listen," "Eye check," and "Let her have her own thinking time." On the first day, Lee called the children to the book corner one table at a time and asked them to sit on the floor in front of her with their legs folded.

Lee also used this occasion to build relationships with the students and to give them an opportunity to express their ideas and feelings. She selected books that related to the children's feelings and experiences such as those about the first day of school and gave them opportunities to express their feelings and to develop a sense of community. When she chose books that she knew the children would find funny, she created a spirit of fun they could share with her and each other. By selecting easy to read books such as the Alpha and Bill Martin books, Lee helped all of the children feel that they were readers and part of the community of readers in the class. She encouraged the children to read the books during reading center, to read to each other, or to "teach a friend to read."

The students' role. From the first day, it was clear that the students had a number of ideas about the purpose and goal of book sharing. Their actions suggested that they saw book sharing as a time for being close to their friends. They frequently sat close to a special friend or touched each other as Lee read. When they were moved by a part of a story, they would look at each other and make a face or a comment. Sometimes, they talked with each other and Lee had to stop reading to ask for their attention.

Although Lee took major responsibility for organizing and directing activities in this literacy event - for the most part she controlled the topics and interactional patterns - she showed early on that she was willing to give the students a role in shaping the activities. The students responded by introducing topics, asking questions, and contributing to the discussion. During the discussions that followed the story reading, the

children showed that they were more than willing to take an active role in shaping this literacy event.

For the most part, the children showed that they understood that this was a time to be quiet, to listen to Lee reading, and to think about the book being read. They made comments related to the story, asked questions about the story or text, and related the story to their own lives. On September 15, Kimberly said, "I know what a table of contents is for. It tells you where to find the stories." When Lee read the words for the song "The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald," Max shivered and said, " It feels like it," when Lee read the words, "the winds of November come calling." Joel said, "An' the ship was covered with ice!" When Lee asked what "the ship was in peril" meant, Kimby said, "Very bad terrible danger." When Lee talked about how large the ship had been, Max said, "Geez."

However, on several occasions during Phase I, I noted in my field notes that the children had taken over the event. This happened on the days Lee read Jessica's Smokey book, September 15; a book about skin, September 17; and "The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald," October 8. As I noted earlier, the discussion of Jessica's book turned into a geography lesson. When Lee read the book about skin on September 17, the children frequently made comments while she was reading. As she paused to turn the page, Joel said, "If you pull off your skin, it will grow back!" Later Cody talked at the same time Lee was reading and said, "Speaking of scabs, I just happen to have one," and he held up his arm toward Lee. Lee stopped reading and said, "I know you kids are used to giving answers, but this is 'time to listen' until I'm done with the book."

The interactions on October 8, illustrate the interactional patterns which developed during book sharing. Although I did not have an audio tape of this event, I was able to capture much of the interactional pattern in my fieldnotes. The following vignette shows how the children took a role in shaping the book sharing activity. Through their interactions with Lee, the students showed that they understood how Lee

saw this event and how she expected them to act, but their actions also showed that they were determined to have a role in shaping the event's social structure and academic content.

Before she moved to the book corner, Lee told me, "After the sub report, I feel like being mean today." She asked the students to stand behind their chairs and told them that the first row to be ready would be the first to go to the book corner. When all of the children had arrived and Lee was seated and looking at the notes on her lab, Joel said without raising his hand, "I want to read the unicorn story again." Lee looked up but before she could respond, Cody added, "Let's vote." The other children started to talk. Lee said, "Time to Listen," and when they were quiet went on to say that they would not vote but would follow her plan to get ready for a special surprise. She told them that the other first grade teacher was going to sing a song to all first graders later that morning and that they were going to read the words now. Lee told them the song was about the Edmund Fitzgerald which had sunk in Lake Superior. The children looked at each other and began to talk. Lee continued to tell them about the ship sinking and they got quiet again. Cody got up from the floor while Lee was talking and walked to his seat. Lee stopped and asked him, "Is it okay for kids to go back to desk right now?" Cody said, "No," and he went on to explain that he was looking for a map of Michigan he had in his bag. Lee told him to come back, and she pulled down the map above the board. She pointed to the bay in Lake Superior where the ship had sunk and said, "Way up in the upper peninsula they have ..." Before she could finish, the children filled in the slot. "Mackinac Bridge." Joel said, "Yucky salt." Others talked to their friends and said, "Yea, yea. I did that too." "We went there."

Lee asked the children to be quiet so she could read. She began to read the words of the song and then stopped to describe how large the ship had been, "longer than two football fields". Max was lying across a table listening. He looked at Lee's face as she said this, shook his head and said, "Geez!" Lee continued to read and the students

continued to make comments. When she read, "the winds of November came calling," Max shivered and said, "It feels like it." Lee paused and Joel said, "an, a, an, a the whole ship turned to ice." Lee read "the ship and men were in peril." She stopped and asked, "What is peril?" Kimby said without raising her hand, "Very bad, terrible danger." Before Lee could read on, Slade started to talk about efforts to find the ship and plans to take the treasure from it. Lee realized he was talking about the Titanic and told the class he was talking about another big boat that sunk in the ocean. She let Slade talk a little longer and then read on. She stopped several times to ask the children to listen. Cody broke in to make a comment and Lee said, "All quiet does not mean some people get to talk a little longer." Lee quieted children by saying, "Room check." The children got down off knees, sat on their bottoms, crossed their legs, and looked at Lee. She said, "That is better. I think everyone in here can be still. That's part of your job in first grade." The children did not make comments or interrupt again. When she finished, she said, "Now we can talk about the story, and they began to ask questions and comments. Slade talked more about the Titanic and the others listened.

Reading Center

Lee's role. Lee believed that students learned to read by reading. She considered reading center the time each day when all of the students would have an opportunity to read books they chose to read. She felt it was her responsibility to fill the classroom with books the children would find interesting and then let them be free to select what they wanted to read. She hoped that they would try to read the books she read to them and taught them to read during book sharing, but during Phase I, Lee saw reading center as a time for children to interact with books. She realized that many of her students had had few opportunities to "play" with books at home and so she was happy to give them time to explore the classroom library and have fun with books.

She told me that during the first part of the year, she wanted the children to enjoy reading books and to begin to see themselves as readers. On a number of occasions, she signaled to the children that she considered anything they did with books as reading. When Ethan "pretend" read her a story on October 8, Lee told him pretend reading was reading. When Nathan read Abby a story on October 1, Lee told Abby that being read to was a good way to learn to read.

Lee communicated her beliefs to the children on the first day. She called half of the class to a combination reading/writing center and explained to them what they would do in those centers. At the end of shared books, Lee asked the students to return to their seats. When the children were all in their seats, she announced that the students at table 1, closest to the windows, would do books and plain paper while the students at table 2 would begin with unifix cubes. She told them that everyone would get to do both things. Then she asked table 1 to come to the book corner. When all had arrived and were sitting on the floor in front of her, Lee said,

> You kids get to do books first. This is called the book corner. Before you begin, we need to talk about how to take care of books. First, your hands need to be clean. You can look at books by yourself or share. You can look at the pictures. You don't have to know how to read to enjoy books. When I was a little girl, I loved to look at pictures in books. In reading center, you can pick your own books, three books each. Remember where you got the books so you can put them back in the exact place. Now, you may pick your books and take them back to your seat. I will bring you a plain sheet of paper you can write on or make a picture of what you want.

In addition to encouraging the children to interact with books in whatever way they were comfortable, Lee encouraged the students to work cooperatively in this center. She frequently noted that they could read anything they wanted and added, "But the best thing to do is teach a friend to read or have a friend teach you to read." She did not discourage them from talking quietly with each other or engaging in any activity she felt might help them learn to read. When Rob brought a stack of flash cards from home October 16, she suggested that the students might want to use them during reading center. She said, "You can help each other learn the words." To encourage their cooperative

interactions she praised them for working together or helping each other. Lee was especially pleased when a stronger reader and a beginning reader worked together. On October 16, she told Matt that she was pleased to see him teaching Ethan to read the alphabet book. She also encouraged Olympia, Abby, and Ann to read together because she knew Olympia was a reader and the other two were not. "You girls are getting good," she said one day as she walked by and they were reading in unison from one of the basals.

Lee also believed that it was important for the children to read basals so that they would be prepared for second grade, and she encouraged them to help each other learn to read the stories. On October 2, Lee introduced the students to the basal books during reading corner and encouraged them to read the stories in the books. She said that reading the basals would teach them new words. After she had explained the "Book It" program and the students had made comments and asked questions, Lee held up one of the basal readers. Before she said a word, Cody said, "Oh, I can read that book." Lee said, "Maybe you could teach a friend how to read it." Cody continued, "They go up to level three." Max added, "Yea, the words are...." Lee let him finish and began to tell the students about the basals. She explained that by reading each level, they could learn words to read the next level. She said, "These books teach you words." She went on to explain that each book was a collection of stories. She showed the children how to use the table of contents to find a story and then read two of the stories. "Now, you can read these stories at reading center.

The students' role. By their actions, the children showed that they valued reading, wanted to learn to read, and saw reading as a social activity. They cooperated with each other, taught each other to read, and used their time at reading center in the ways Lee had hoped they would.

From the first, the students saw reading center as a time for socializing with their friends and for learning to read. Books became part of their play with each other. Matt

and Ethan used the big book to make a "fort" where they read books together. Megan and Jessica pushed three chairs together and Megan sat on one of the end chairs with a book in her hands while Jessica lay across her lap and Megan read. Slade would lay on the floor on a carpet strip and read silently to himself. From time to time he would stop, lean over and show Michael E. on a carpet strip beside him a page from the book.

Reading and socializing were united. Some of the children used books to help them develop relationships with others. On October 12, Tony C., who was unusually shy, offered to help Michael E. read a book he was trying to read alone. They sat at the reading table huddled together over the book. At recess, they played together for the first time. Rob and Cody, who usually fought with each other, worked together to read a book they both wanted to read.

The following excerpt from my fieldnotes shows the variety of interactions the children engaged in during a single reading center and how the children used pretending and cooperation. On October 16, I wrote the following in my fieldnotes.

> Tony C. was sitting at the reading table reading a book to himself. His lips moved, but he did not make a sound. Beside him, Michael E. was trying to read Clifford to himself. I knew that he could not read the book because he had pretended to read it to me the two days before. Tony looked up and over at Michael. Quietly, he asked if Michael would like him to help him read his book. Together they read what words they could and filled in the rest of the story by constructing meaning from the pictures.
>
> On the other side of the table, Nathan was reading a book to Abby. He put his finger under each word as he read it to her and she watched closely and listened. When Nathan left to get another book, Abby asked if she could read to me. She read "Big books, Little books" and pointed out the patterns Lee had showed the children when she read the book to them.
>
> In the book corner, Rob was holding his flash cards one at a time and Ted was reading them. Then they changed roles and Ted held the cards while Rob read them. Matt and Ethan were snuggled down beside the bookcase trying to read an ABC book. Matt tried to sound out the words and Ethan made up a story to go with the pictures. They were laughing and smiling. Olympia, Ann, Jessica, and Megan arranged four chairs so that they were facing each other, and then they read quietly to each other.

The students responded to Lee's encouragement to interact with books in whatever way they could and many imitated her actions. On October 1, I noticed Kelly sitting on the adult-sized chair in the book corner, holding a book the way Lee held it when she read

to the children, opened toward the classroom. Kelly was looking at the book and I could hear her talking softly. When I moved closer, it sounded like she was reading. She saw me looking at her and said, "I'm the absent teacher." When I looked puzzled, she continued, "The teacher got sick and went home." She continued to pretend read the story Lee had read to the class during book sharing.

The children's actions also showed that they attended to Lee's modeling in book sharing and that they accepted Lee's goal for them to learn to read basals. On October 6, Abby tried to read Goldilocks and the Three Bears to me. She stopped and said it was too hard. Then she got a copy of the basal Lee had read at reading corner and began to read the story, "Little Books, Big Books." As she read, she pointed out that the story followed a pattern. Lee had pointed out the pattern when she read the story. Abby read the second page and pointed back to the first, "Look, a pattern. The same words." She ran her finger under the words books and books to see. "They use little here and big here," she noted.

The students actions and interactions during reading center followed these patterns throughout Phase I.

Writing Center

Lee's role. Lee believed that daily writing would support the children's reading development. Frequently during the previous year she had stated that she saw a direct connection between the students' growth in creative writing and their development as readers. During Phase I, one of Lee's goals was to have the children come to see that writing was putting ideas from their head onto paper. She said that she wanted them to see that writing was like talk only written down. It was a way to express an idea to someone. Lee also wanted the children to learn that writing could be used for a number of purposes. She gave the children opportunities to use writing to express feelings, report facts, use their imagination, interact with others, get something they wanted, and get someone to do what they wanted. In addition, Lee wanted the children to engage in

writing so that they would learn the conventions of writing. By writing daily and receiving feedback from her throughout the year, she wanted them to learn to write the letters of the alphabet, upper and lower case; to use the conventions of written text such as linearity and directionality, punctuation, space between words, conventional spelling of common words; to build and practice phonetic skills by using invented spelling; and to develop a sense of audience and a purpose for writing.

Lee felt that it was her responsibility to provide the children with a time, place, and materials for writing and that she should organize writing activities to give the students choices about what to write and an opportunity to get responses to what they had written. In addition, she believed it was her role to make students aware of the conventions of writing by drawing their attention to features of written text when she shared books with them and by teaching them about those features in the context of book sharing. She also believed that direct instruction on use of the conventions was appropriate once the children had learned that writing was meaning making activity.

During Phase I, her primary goal was to help the children come to see themselves as writers and to enjoy writing. She encouraged them to consider whatever they did during writing center as writing. She told them they could draw a picture, scribble write, or write letters and words. As with reading center, she was comfortable letting the children "play" with writing and experiment with writing materials. She wanted the children to learn to work cooperatively in the writing center, to support each other, and to become resources for each other. Talking at the writing center was permitted if the children used their quiet voices. She encouraged them to help each other spell words, think of ideas, and share what they had written with each other.

The students' role. From their actions, conversations, and writing, I inferred that the children saw writing center as a social and academic activity. Like reading center, and for that matter all of the centers during Phase I, the children saw writing center primarily as a social occasion. They saw it as a time to interact with their peers and to

"play" at writing. Most also saw writing center as a time for learning to write. They embedded their drawing and writing in their social interactions with each other. For the most part, they talked with each other as they drew and wrote. Their conversations were only minimally connected with their pictures and what they wrote on their papers. Sometimes a child would talk to the group about the topic she or he had selected to write or draw about and others would choose the same topic or even copy what the child drew and wrote.

On September 14, Jerrod drew a picture of a house and wrote:

SPRW(the S,P, and R were reversed)
MI

He read it, "my spook house." Joel copied the letters just as Jerrod had written them, and he arranged them on the page in the same way. On the same day, Cody traced his hand and wrote CiKiN (reversed N) under the picture. He read "chicken." The next day, Ann traced her hand and wrote:

I TERKE
W

She read it, "My turkey." Throughout the year, the children frequently drew pictures and wrote about the same topics. Rainbows were a popular subject. On September 15, Kelly wrote, RYBO RYN, and read it, "rainbow rain." The same day, Michael E. wrote, RMB, and read it "rainbow." On October 2, Tony C. wrote, ACKANE, and read "rainbow."

Silent Reading

Lee's role. Lee considered silent reading an occasion for students to read for pleasure. She said that initially she had envisioned this as a time when the students would read silently to themselves. However, in previous years she had come to realize that first graders tended to vocalize when they read and that the children naturally wanted to share the experience with each other. She found that the children could interact with each other quietly, nonverbally, and still have fun.

To set this activity off from reading center, Lee organized it around the following pattern. After the children had returned to their seats after book sharing, Lee would announce that it was time for silent reading. She would usually call up half of the class at a time to select books and when all of them had returned to their seats, she would take the book she was reading to a place at one of the children's tables, sit down and announce, "Time to begin silent reading." She would read her book, pause to look around the room, occasionally ask the students to remember the rules or to quiet down, or walk around the room to see what the children were reading. When she noticed that the majority of the children were no longer reading or looking at books, she would announce that silent reading was over. She would ask the children if anyone wanted to tell about a book they had read, listen to their comments, and then ask them to put the books back on the bookcase.

Although Lee was willing to give the children room to socialize, she did share with them the norms she expected them to follow during this activity. On the first day the class engaged in silent reading, Lee shared her expectations with the children. Just as she had explicitly taught them the classroom norms, she taught them how to participate in silent reading. When a child did not follow the norms, Lee tried to help them understand what she expected and what choices they had.

After Lee had finished making announcements and reading and discussing the student's summer papers, she put the papers down and looked up. Before she could begin to talk, Megan said, "We didn't do the Word Book." Lee looked at Megan and the others and said, "We are going to do silent reading now. Silent means, 'no talking.'" There was a murmur as students looked at each other with puzzled expressions. Lee continued, "You are going to tell me you don't know how to read. You don't have to know how to read to have fun with books." She went on to explain how they could look at the pictures or try to make up stories, or try to read words. Then she explained the rules.

> Here is the deal. We can have silent reading as long as you kids are good about it. The rule is you can pick three books from the reading corner and sit wherever you like. The rule is, you have to put the books back where you got them. If you finish with the books, put your head down. You can't play with things in your desk. You can trade books with other people near you, but you can't talk.

She then handed Max and Tony C. each a book and asked them to practice trading without using words. Max and Tony looked at each other with questioning expressions on their faces, and pushed books toward each other. The other children watched and some nodded their heads. Lee said, "Good. Now we will pick books. Remember, we can have silent reading as long as you are looking at books and there is no talking."

She asked the children to return to their seats and then called them up a table at a time to select books. Tony R. walked up with his group but returned to his seat without books. Lee noticed, walked over to him and talked quietly to him. In a voice I could hear she said, "You don't have to look at books, but you do need to get one to share with people at your table." Tony walked to corner, picked an Alpha comic and two other books and went back to his seat. He placed the books on the table and pushed them to the top of table.

Lee told the children that she would be taking pictures with her camera. At 10:07 she said, "You may begin." Ethan looked at pictures. Olympia pointed to pictures in a book and Abby looked at them and laughed. Max read softly to himself. Tony R. put his head down on the table. Michael E. read quietly beside him. At the end of Table 1, Cody pointed to pictures of planets and Joel looked at them and nodded. Lee walked over to Kelly who had finished looking at all of her books and signaled that she could trade with Nathan for one she had not read.

At 10:19 Lee said "Did you like silent reading?" Joel said, "I liked looking at the space book." Matt said, "I liked the science book." Cody held up a book and said, "I liked the part where Rex didn't do the trick." Ethan said, "I liked the dear dragon book." Kimberly said, "I liked the pigs in space book because they meet a lot of friends." I had

watched her read the book. She had put her finger on each picture and read. Lee commented that the book went with the muppets. A few more children added comments and at 10:24, Lee asked the children to put the books away. Kimberly walked to the book corner reading Pigs in Space as she walked.

On several occasions, Lee reminded the children of the rules for silent reading. At 10:03 on September 18, she said, "We are ready to begin silent reading. You can sit wherever you want. Be at your chair by ten. One..Two..Three...." On October 2, when she finished reading stories from the basal readers to the children, she announced, "It is going to be silent reading." She told the children that they could sit where they wanted. She let them select books and began silent reading at about 10:00. At 10:15, Lee asked the children to stop reading. "Boys and girls, stop reading for a minute. It is too noisy. Let's review the rules." She reminded them that they were to be quiet and that they could share books.

On October 16, she again reminded them of the rules. At 9:40, Lee announced, "Time for silent reading. Today you may choose as many as six books." The students chose books and found places to sit. At 9:45 Lee quieted the children and said, "Ready.... begin." At 9:50, Lee said, "Boys and girls, all heads down. Silent reading lasts as long as you are quiet and looking at books. Let's practice being quiet." After a few minutes she told them they could resume reading. That day, the children read for thirty minutes.

The students' role. The children saw silent reading as another occasion for having fun with books and socializing with their friends. In their interactions with each other and the books, they showed that they saw reading as meaning making and fun. They looked at pictures, pretended to read, showed their friends pictures of things they found interesting, and traded books. For the most part, they followed the rules Lee had set except they did whisper to each other or talk softly to themselves. Their actions on September 18 show how they integrated the social and cognitive.

By the time Lee had counted to ten, the children were in their seats and reading. Some read alone within close proximity to each other. Don read silently to himself as he put his finger under each word. Jerrod read Mr. T. Cody seemed to be reading The Lady and the Tramp which had no pictures, only words. When I stood near him, I found he was telling the story in book talk. Slade looked at the pictures in the nature book and tried to sound out the words under the pictures. Michael E. and Patty sat in the book corner with their chairs turned toward the window. They rested their books on the top of the bookcase under the window. I did not see them talk to each other.

Others like Abby and Olympia integrated meaning making with socializing. Abby was looking at a book and pointing to pictures in it. Olympia looked over at the book from time to time and then turned in her chair, moved closer to Abby and looked at the book with her. Tony R. and Joel also shared the meaning making experience with each other. Tony R. was reading Clifford. He looked at the pictures and talked to himself. "He is going to put on his hat now. He is ...." From time to time, he would touch Joel on the arm, turn the book toward him and show him the picture he had just read. They would laugh and go back to reading on their own.

Later Tony R. used a social relationship to support his cognitive development as a reader. When Max signaled that he wanted to trade for Clifford, Tony nodded assent but signaled that he wanted to read the book with Max. Max moved to the chair beside Tony and began reading the book to Tony in a quiet voice. He combined pretend reading - telling the story in book talk - with sounding out words. Tony looked at the pictures and at the words as Max sounded them out. From time to time he also looked into Max's face and smiled.

After Lee introduced the basal readers on October 2, many of the children read basal stories during silent reading and continued to use their social relationships to support their efforts to learn to read. On October 2, I noted that several of the children read basals while others read books Lee had read to them during book sharing. Olympia

and Abby sat beside each other, each with a copy of the same basal. Olympia read "Goldilocks and the Three Bears" softly. She put her finger under the words as she read. Abby followed along in her copy but seemed to focus on the pictures more than on the words. Don and Nathan sat beside each other and read from different copies of the basals. Nathan whispered, "I have level 5." Don nodded his head and pointed to the 7 on the back of the basal he was reading.

Others read the Alpha books Lee had read them or looked at information books. Tony C. and Michael E. sat beside each other with the nature book between them. "Let's find things with sharp teeth," Michael said. Ethan read Mr. M to me - I was never sure what to do during silent reading when the children wanted to read with me. I asked Lee and she said to let them, but to have them read quietly. Then he read Mr. T to himself. When I walked by him later, he pointed to a picture in the Mr. Z book. He said as he pointed to the words, "Look, it says 'zippers zip down,' but in the picture, the zipper zips up!"

Although the children were not silent, and they did move around the room, for the most part, it appeared to me that they shared Lee's agenda for this activity. They had fun, practiced reading, worked cooperatively with each other, and were quieter than they were at any other time. They displayed an interest in a variety of books, used a variety of strategies to "read" and make sense of the books, and at the same time, interacted with their friends. At the end of each silent reading period, a number of children shared what they had read. Their comments indicated that they enjoyed silent reading.

Meanings and Interpretations Lee and Her Students

Constructed Throughout Phase I

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations About Reading and Writing the Students Had Constructed Throughout Phase I

Throughout Phase I, the students constructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations about reading and writing. Through their interactions with Lee and with each other, they had developed meanings and interpretations about skills and techniques Lee believed were necessary if they were to become readers and writers.

Shared Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Reading and Writing

By the end of Phase I, the students had all learned (1) that reading and writing could serve a variety of functions in school and out; (2) that it could be entertaining, used to learn about things such as the skin; and (3) that it could be used to build a set of shared experiences with others. They believed that writing could be used to express ideas, to communicate information, to communicate with others like Jim the custodian and Mickey Mouse, to share information, and to tell stories. Most of what they wrote had been expressive writing of a transactional nature. They usually labeled their pictures or provided information that went along with their drawings. Some had written expressive pieces, such as the love notes written to Lee or their parents. Rob had written a piece with features of poetic writing when he had added voice bubbles and written dialogue to his picture of the sinking ship.

All of the children also seemed able to use their intuitive knowledge of books to invent stories to go with pictures. I heard several non-readers use book talk to "read." Kelly, Ethan, Kimby, Kimberly, Tony R., and Abby frequently used picture cues to make

meaning and invent stories, and they read the stories in book talk. Most of the readers also engaged in similar behavior with books they could not yet read. In addition to using the picture to make meaning, Nathan and Ted also used the context to read unfamiliar words. Rob and Cody used a variety of cues to try to read books beyond their reading level. Working together, they pooled their strategies to read books neither could have read on his own.

Individual Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Reading

Ted, Cody, Megan, Jessica, Max, Olympia, Patty, Robert (Rob), Nathan, Michael G., and Slade were all able to read. I had observed all of them reading sentences word by word, searching for cues, and had heard Cody and Patty self-correct. In addition, Lee had found in her assessment of their reading readiness that these students had begun to read.

I observed Abigail (Abby) and Matt matching voice and print. Kelly, Tony C., Michael E., Kimberly, Michael G., and Ann were working on it. They frequently asked Lee, the children who could read, and me, "What does that say?" as they pointed to words. They would then repeat the word and continue to read it on other occasions. Abigail, Matt, Kimberly, Ann, Tony C., Michael E., and Kelly were working on left to right progression. I observed all of them moving their finger under text from left to right. In fact, several times I thought they were reading until I noted the lack of voice print match. I did not observe Jason, Kimby, Ethan, Tony R., Joel, or Jerrod engage in any activity that suggested they were working on the left to right progression.

The same group of children who were working on left to right progression also seemed to be working on the concept of word and word-space-word. However, none of the children appeared to have mastered that concept in their own writing, not even the children who were reading.

All of the children had some concept of letter, but Jason, Ethan, Tony R., and Joel frequently could not remember how to write certain letters. Ethan seemed least familiar

with the letters and Tony R. knew some letter-sound relationships but did not know what the letters looked like.

Only the readers seemed to recognize words in context, but there was some evidence that Tony C., Abby, Matt, Kimberly, Michael E. and Kelly could read words such as the month and days on the calendar or key words such as pledge in text they had memorized or words under pictures in books such as those in the picture dictionary or the nature books.

Individual Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Writing

By the end of Phase I, analysis of the children's writing showed that they were working on a number of concepts about written text. The children displayed a range of behaviors and knowledge in their writing. Most of the children had a conception of letter-sound relationships and tried to use invented spelling. Those students who were reading and those who were working on left to right progression and word-space-word in reading seemed to understand the concepts of linearity, directionality, and space between words, but none of them were able to produce these conventions in their writing on a consistent basis.

While none of the students had achieved the ability to produce texts which possessed the characteristics of conventional text, the students used a variety of strategies to compose meaning on paper. They drew pictures, printed letters and combinations of letters, copied words from books, and/or copied words from environmental print.

Some children focused on drawing intricate pictures and wrote no letters or words on their papers, while others focused on writing letters and words and drew less detailed pictures. During this phase, Jason, Ethan and Joel usually drew intricate pictures but did not put letters or words on their papers. On September 15, Jason copied Mr. B. from the board where Lee had written it earlier in the morning. On October 1, he said that he was going to pretend he was writing words and he drew an intricate picture and "read" it to

me. Later I found that Jason, Tony R., Ethan, and Joel did not know the letters of the alphabet. Tony R. knew the names of some of the letters and even some of the sounds they made, but he did not know what the letters looked like. On September 15, Tony R. spelled dog aloud, "d-o-g," but said he did not know what the letters looked like. I observed Ethan, Tony R., and Joel looking at the alphabet above the board to find how to write most of the letters. They told me that they looked for the letter person who made the sound they wanted to write and then at the letter above the letter person card and copied it.

Most students wrote a single word or short phrase but a few like Jessica, Michael G., Nathan, and Rob wrote sentences. On September 14, Nathan wrote: MIHI DAD VO SAMAN POTWZ 44ONKDR which he read, "My dad caught a salmon forty-four and a quarter. On October 2 he wrote:

WOEROGOWN
Z (or a reversed S)OMWO

He read this, "We are going on a trip. Like most of the children, Nathan used primarily upper case letters. He also seemed to be working on understanding the concept of space between words or the concept of word. Michael G. worked on the concept of word and space between words in a different way.

Like many of the children, Michael fit the letters in around his picture. During Phase I, he wrote vertically down the left side of the page. On September 15 he wrote:

TIL
YOS
TIR
WH
PIO

He read, "This is my rainbow." On October 7, he seemed to be working on the concept of end punctuation. He wrote:

TOG POK UOULA HAL
OL
TH
WOheL
POS
TOL
LAE. AL
TL. POL
YIS DAiJO POSF

He had a hard time reading this but finally read, "Don't laugh. There is someone under the bus." When I pointed to the periods and asked, "What is this?" he responded by saying both were periods. I did not ask what that meant to him.

Kelly worked on the concept of space between words and periods on the same day. She wrote:

iOT ES.KD SMBT
i U . DrSG MW . ME
BS GDN

The periods were not placed as I have typed them above. They were halfway between the top and bottom of the letters in the middle of what would have been a line if the paper had been lined. When I asked Kelly what the marks were, she said, "Oh, I put those in there because I didn't leave enough space between the words. I thought it was interesting that both she and Michael had used periods on the same day and wondered if Lee had pointed them out during book sharing. I had been working with one of the other first grade teachers when Lee had done book sharing with the children that morning, so I do not know if she had talked about periods that day. I had observed her discussing the use of the period in an abbreviation during shared books on September 15 and again on October 1. Don used this concept on October 7, the same day Michael E. and Kelly added periods to their writing.

Don drew a large picture of a school bus with children and a school in the background. At the bottom of the paper, he wrote: Tr. OV When I asked him what his story was about, he turned over the paper and said he was going to write it on the back. I asked what the letters on the front said. He looked at the writing and read, "Turn over,"

and he added, "I used the period for a short cut." Lee had used the term "for short" in explaining the abbreviation of Mr. on September 15. She had said, "To show it is for short, put a period. When people look at the word, they pretend it says mister."

Many of the children used invented spelling. On September 14, Patty wrote: MISTr. When I asked how she knew how to spell it, she said, "I spelled it out. I sounded out the sounds!" On September 15, Jessica wrote: TAA (there was an h over the first A) FORiST IS SAV. She read, "The forest is saved." She said she remembered it from her book and sounded it out. The same day, Rob wrote: TES SCHOOL IS ON FIYR which he read, "The school is on fire." He said he knew some of the words from his flash cards, that he copied school from the poster, and that he had sounded out fire.

A few students were concerned with using conventional spelling from day one. Some of the readers could spell common words such as the and a few like Tony C. used environmental print to spell conventionally. Megan drew pictures of things she could spell. On September 14, she drew a cat and wrote: The Cat. She frequently used the picture dictionary and copied words from it to put under her pictures. Rob wrote BROTOASORIS on October 16 and said, "I used my flash cards to know how to spell."

Others copied environmental print. On October 7, Tony C. wrote:

THE SCHOOL BUS
FUrrU

He read, "The school bus is on fire." Cody listened as Tony read and said, "I told him how to spell the and fire." Tony told me he copied school and bus from the poster on the wall. But he realized that he had not written on on his paper. He asked me to spell it and when I suggested he try on his own, he paused a moment, frowned and then smiled. He got out of his seat and walked to the door. I saw him look at the light switch. When he came back to his seat, he wrote the word on in front of FUrrU." Abby also copied school bus from the poster but she wrote it SUBLOOHCS. She asked me to read her paper. I put my finger under each letter, moving from left to right, to sound out the word. After I

had made the sounds, she smiled and said, "Or you could read it this way," moving her finger under the letters from right to left.

The children wrote for a variety of purposes, mostly to label or describe the picture they had drawn, but they also wrote to communicate with others. On October 1, the custodian took the class on a tour of the boiler room and later showed them the auxiliary furnaces outside one wing of the school during recess after several children asked him how the school got warm on cold days. Lee told them that Jim, the custodian, liked them best, and that they were the only class he had taken on such a tour. October 16, Lee told the children that in Center 3, they would write a thank you card for Jim. She reminded them that Jim had taken then on a tour of the boiler room and had been bringing them pencils. She added, "I don't usually write words on the board, but I feel like I want to write Thank you and Jim so you will know how to spell them."

Many of the children wrote at home and brought Lee their writing. Rob brought a picture of two ships labeled Edmund Fitzgerald and Titanic on October 12. On the Edmund Fitzgerald there were two people, one labeled Cook and the other Captain. In a voice bubble over the cooks' head it said, "It's been good to know you." The Captain replied in his voice bubble, "I know." Michael E. brought Lee a stack of five sheets of paper on which he had written the titles of the books he had read for the Book-It program on October 16. Others brought her "love" notes and pictures which she read to the class or hung on the wall.

By the end of Phase I, a few were still working on learning the letters but all had moved beyond drawing a picture and writing no letters or words to drawing and writing something. Jason was the last to move from picture drawing to drawing and writing. On October 16, when the children were writing about school bus safety, he wrote:

OL
TH TOL

He read, "Be safe."

Meanings and Interpretations Lee Had Constructed Throughout Phase I

Lee began the year with a set of beliefs about child and children's literacy and learning, an appreciation for community, and a desire to develop a pedagogy that would give students a greater role in their own learning. Through her interactions with the students, she constructed and reconstructed meanings and interpretations related to these beliefs. In the following pages, I will describe how interactions with specific students within the classroom context and factors outside of the classroom in the students home culture or in the school culture shaped and interacted with the meaning she constructed throughout the first six weeks of school.

The Individual Versus the Group

Early on, Lee discovered that it was more difficult than she had assumed it would be to develop a community in her classroom. While most of the children learned the classroom norms and routines and began to function as a group, a few students did not appear to share Lee's agenda. Max, Cody, and Slade stood out as individuals in the group. In her interactions with them, Lee tried to develop personal relationships with them and to bring them into the classroom community, but Lee found that it was not easy to balance the needs of individuals with the needs of the group.

Max and Cody had been together in kindergarten but had been separated the following year because they were considered too disruptive when they were together. From their comments to me and to the other children, I learned that Max and Cody were aware that they violated school expectations for behavior. On the first day of school, Max told me he was surprised that he and Cody were in the same room. He said, "We're bad," and went on to explain that they had been together in first grade but had been so bad together that he had been moved to the transition room and Cody had stayed in first

grade. Cody told me later the same day that he was in first grade again because he did not do the work the teacher gave him when he was in first grade the year before.

Beginning on the first day, Lee had to frequently remind Max and Cody of the classroom and school rules. When either acted in ways she considered inappropriate, she talked quietly to them about the kind of behavior she expected. When either complied with her expectations, she was quick to note their positive behavior or to add their names to the smiley face list on the board. From the first day on, she reminded them to raise their hand for a turn to talk, stay in their seats during the opening, or practice working quietly. When Max used the wooden shape blocks in an inappropriate manner, Lee let the class vote to decide if people could use the wedge-shaped blocks to launch other blocks through the air. The children voted "no," and Cody commented, "If they voted yes, this would really be trouble."

On the fourth day of class, Lee asked Cody and Max to wait for her beside her desk instead of following the others out for recess. As they waited by her desk, they talked about what I assumed they thought Lee wanted to discuss with them. They told me they had been kicked off the school bus for using bad language and proceeded to tell me what they had said to the bus driver. When Lee returned from walking the others to the door, they turned around to look at her. She sat down at her desk and began, "I wanted you to wait so I could tell you all the times I saw you trying to follow the rules. I wanted to tell you I am proud of you. Never stop trying." Max whose head had been down and had come up gradually as Lee talked, looked into her face and then away as he said quietly with a smile on his face, "Geeee. It feels like you're our mom," Cody smiled too. After a moment of silence, Max touched the bell on Lee's desk and asked, "How does this bell work?" Lee smiled, turned the bell over and showed them the clapper. She explained, "The metal hits the side and makes the sound. Would you like to ring it?" Both rang the bell once and then went off to recess.

On September 17, Lee asked Max and Cody to wait by her desk again when the others went to recess. She had observed them throwing clay during centers. When she returned from walking the others to the door, she came back to talk to Max and Cody. "Tell me about the problem of throwing clay. We can keep it a little problem if you tell me about it." They both admitted that they had thrown clay. Lee continued, "What should we do about it?" Max said, "We should stop because it is naughty." Cody looked at him and said, "You mean bad." Lee asked, "If you were the teacher, what would you do with kids who had a clay problem?" Max and Cody responded, "Send them to the office," "Make them sit in the hall," " Ground them for a hundred years," "Make them do work after school." Lee listened without smiling and said, "I will tell you what I've decided to do. I will write down on this card what you did and then you will sign your name under what I write." Cody asked if she was going to show the card to their parents. Lee said she would not unless the whole card fills up with problems. She wrote on the card and they signed. Then Lee asked them to clean up the room and they walked around and picked up paper and clay. By the end of the first six weeks, Lee had tried a variety of approaches to deal with Max and Cody's behavior. She said that she wanted them to learn to be responsible for their actions without making them see themselves as "bad boys."

Slade was another child who experienced serious adjustment problems. His problems mostly related to getting along with the other children. He frequently got into fights on the playground and even in class. On September 14, he was given his first detention for fighting at lunch recess.

Throughout the first weeks, Lee tried to find ways to help Slade adjust. She told me about his home life and said she felt that he needed support. When she discovered during a class discussion that his father allowed him to stay up as late as he liked and that he frequently stayed up to watch late shows on television, she suggested that he could put

himself to bed at "a healthy time." Later she told me that he had proudly reported to her that he had set 9:00 for his bedtime and that he was going to bed at 9:00 on school nights.

Once after Slade had been in a fight on the playground and had been brought in by the recess monitor, Lee talked with him quietly by her desk. She began by telling him that he could not hit other children even if they did tease him. Her voice was stern as she looked into his face. Suddenly, the tone of her voice changed and she asked, "Has anyone ever talked to you about how to handle angry feelings?" Slade looked up and shook his head "no." In a tone more like the one she would use to talk with me than the one she usually used to talk to the children about their misbehavior, Lee talked with Slade about angry feelings. She explained that everyone gets angry but that they have to find ways other than hitting to get ride of the angry feelings. She shared with him that she used to run when she was angry and suggested that he might "count to ten" before hitting someone when he was angry.

Lee struggled to support Slade and maintain a relationship with him even when his behavior deteriorated. She found opportunities to praise him, to let him display his considerable knowledge about diverse subjects, and to help the other students interact with him in a positive manner. Although Slade continued to have problems, he did seem to respond to Lee's support. He rewarded her efforts by being helpful in a number of small ways. Without being asked, he would clean up the room. He would pick up paper, straighten the books, or hang up clothes. When Lee and he had made an agreement that he could engage in an activity such as play with blocks after he finished his work, he carried out the agreement and put the blocks away when Lee reminded him to do so. Together Lee and Slade planned how to keep him from fighting on the playground. Frequently, Slade would ask to stay inside when the others went out and Lee agreed. When his problems outside of the room increased, Lee made a special arrangement for the principal to discipline him. She explained that his behavior in the room had improved and that she was afraid that the relationship she was building with him would be

endangered if she had to discipline him for behavior over which she had no control. She said she had to maintain a positive relationship with him so that he could learn in her classroom.

In addition to working to build relationships with Max, Cody, and Slade, Lee also worked to develop ties between school and home. She talked frequently on the phone with Max and Cody's parents who began to share information about their families with Lee. Together Lee and the parents discussed how they might help Max and Cody adopt behavior more consistent with that which the school expected. Lee also talked with Slade's father even though she said it was difficult and unpleasant. He frequently yelled at her on the phone or told her she was not doing her job. She said that talking with him gave her insights into Slade's behavior and helped her understand that Slade needed other models for how to interact with people.

Through these interactions, Lee constructed and reconstructed her beliefs about children and about the role of community in her classroom.

Order Versus Creativity

Through her interactions with the students and with others outside of her classroom, Lee discovered that it was more difficult than she has anticipated to develop and implement a pedagogy that would give children more ownership of their own learning.

Lee began the year with a goal to give the students a larger role in shaping classroom activities. In mid-September, she began talking about her need to find a balance between maintaining order and giving the children room to use their own creativity to learn. During lunch, Lee and I shared what we had observed during the morning. Lee said she was pleased with the way things were going. She said that, for the most part, she was pleased with the way the students were handling the choices she had been giving them but that she was concerned about Max. She showed me his word book

and said, "Look at this. I want to give them choices but I feel like I need to maintain some standards. This is not his best work. He can do better than this." Following Lee's instructions, Max had drawn a picture on the first page of his word book and had written a word under it. However, he had used a brown crayon to write a single word on each of the remaining pages. He had not drawn pictures and Lee felt that his printing suggested that he had not given much thought to his work. She said that she was concerned. She said, "I want to teach them about conserving materials and doing their best work and not to just dash off something to finish it. I'm struggling with finding a way to do that without being critical." She asked me if I thought it would be wrong to have a standard for performance. "Would that squelch a children's creativity or take away their responsibility for their own learning? I feel like I have to let them know my expectations."

On September 23, the day before the parent open house, the issue of order and creativity emerged again. It had been an especially active morning. Lee had been absent the previous day and the children had been excited to have her back. During reading corner, one of Lee's former students had brought her tarantula spider to the room and the students had been fascinated. Lee and I had exchanged more than a few smiles while we listened to the children talk about the spider. Slade had said, "Tarantulas usually hang around railroad tracks." Joel had nodded and said, "Yea, they do. That is so they can jump on a train and go to other countries." Later, Lee had shared a book with the children and given them donuts in honor of the letter person, Mr. D. While they were working at their seats eating the donuts, Lee said to me, "Isn't it different when you look at the same behavior with a different perspective? Look at them. Two days ago this would have bothered me. I realize I feel better, they feel better if I allow some movement. We get so concerned about what parents would think, what other teachers would think if they walked in and saw this. This is all right. It's so nice to work where the administration feels its okay for kids to act like kids."

At the end of September during a meeting between first and second grade teachers, Lee once again realized that not all teachers in her school shared her beliefs about children, schooling, and teaching and learning. In addition, she was reminded that her students would be expected to follow a different set of norms in second grade from those she had been constructing with them in her classroom. The next morning during book sharing, Lee introduced the children to the basal readers and told them that reading the books would teach them new words so that they could read other books.

On October 8, the morning the children "took over" during the discussion of the song, The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald, Lee once again raised the issue of order versus creativity. After the discussion, Lee had asked the children to return to their seats. She looked at the paper on which she had written the schedule for the day and said to me as she walked toward her desk, "That wasn't supposed to take so long." When the students began working on a writing project, they kept asking Lee questions or making comments. The free-form interactional patterns that had developed during the earlier discussion continued. Children called out questions and comments. Lee turned to me and said, with her back to the students in a voice it was unlikely they could hear, "I'm overwhelmed by all of this today. I want to listen to everything, but I also want to balance order with openness and creativity. Sometimes lack of order gets in the way of creativity. You know the teachers who say don't smile until Christmas? Well, I feel that way."

Later when we talked about her comments, Lee said that she wanted the children to be responsible for their own learning but that she felt she needed to teach them how to be responsible. I was not sure I knew what she meant by these comments. I did know that in the past when she had talked about helping the students become responsible, she had equated being responsible with following classroom norms and completing assigned work.

On the following Monday, October 12, I observed interactions between Lee and her students that led me to infer that being responsible and being orderly were still connected in Lee's mind and that order meant conforming to the interactional rules she had made explicit to the students during Phase I. Lee must have noticed that while they were saying the pledge to the flag, many of the students were moving around, looking at each other instead of the flag, or not saying the pledge at all. When they had finished, Lee asked the students to "keep standing," and do the pledge again. She said that this time she wanted them to, "Stand quietly, hand on heart, and think about the words you are saying." When they had finished Lee said, "much better." The students sat down and put their heads down. More recently I had noticed that they did not do this but instead talked quietly with each other. I wondered to myself in my fieldnotes whether they sensed Lee's mood. Then Lee said, "You may leave your head down or if you can be quiet, you may visit while I do attendance." Several of the children left their seats and walked over to the corner window by the calendar to look at the plants that had started to grow. They seemed to be excited. Lee looked up and announced, "I would like everyone to go back to your seats now. I'll do room check in five." The children scurried back to their seats.

Later the same morning Jerrod was walking around the room wearing his sun glasses. Lee put her hand on his shoulder and said in a matter-of-fact tone, "You look so slick in those glasses, but there is a school rule that you can't wear sun glasses in school. You can put them in your desk and wear them outside at recess." For the rest of the morning, Lee continued to remind students of the rules and norms for interactions.

When she met with the other first grade teachers on October 14, her comments seemed to confirm my inference that for her order meant following the rules and norms she had established. While they were talking about how things were going in their classrooms, Lee said, "I want more order." She went on to talk about how she was struggling to reach a balance between order and creativity. She noted that her husband

ran his room almost like the military. Lee went on to say, "Lately, I've been more demanding. I feel better, and the kids are responding."

The next day, Lee continued to remind the students of the classroom rules. At 10:10, Lee sent the students back to their seats. She had reminded them of the rules several times during book sharing. Back at their tables, they were talking with each other but not in their quiet voices. Cody asked, "How long until lunch?" Lee was at her desk looking at her notes. She said, "All heads down!" After a few minutes she looked up and said, "Heads are going to be down longer. I want to feel like it is really quiet and still in here." After a few more minutes, Lee said, "Now it is feeling good." She walked to the board and said, "You need your Columbus and family dittos checked off to go to lunch." Alex walked up to her at the board. Without saying a word, she took him gently by the lower arm and walked him back to his seat.

By the end of Phase I, Lee had reconstructed her ideas about how to balance order and creativity.

Chapter Summary

By the end of Phase I, Lee and the students had established a social context that would support learning. During the six weeks of Phase I, Lee had taught the children what they needed to do to act competently in her classroom and what counted as reading and writing. The students had shown her that they were, for the most part, willing to conform to the classroom norms and routines. Lee and the students were also beginning to share a set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing. Reading and writing had achieved an important status in the community. Lee and the students spent a significant part of each day interacting with text. They were aware of who could and could not read. All of the students aspired to become readers and

writers. Furthermore, Lee and the students believed that everyone would learn to read and write.

The meanings and interpretations Lee and the students had constructed through their interactions during Phase I created a new context in which teaching and learning would be carried out in Phase II. As Lee and the students moved into Phase II, the interactional focus shifted from establishing a social context that would support learning to building a culture of literacy. In Chapter Five, I will describe the process through which Lee and the students constructed the classroom culture of literacy.

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BECOMING LITERATE IN A CROWD: A SOCIOCULTURAL STUDY OF THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF READING AND WRITING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A FIRST GRADE CLASSROOM

VOLUME II

By

Becky Wendling Kirschner

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONSTRUCTING A CLASSROOM CULTURE OF LITERACY: DEVELOPING SHARED AND INDIVIDUAL MEANINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS ABOUT READING AND WRITING THROUGH FACE-TO-FACE INTERACTIONS

Phase II began on October 20 and ended on January 7. During that period, the face-to-face interactions shifted from focusing on establishing a classroom social context that would support learning to focusing on building a classroom culture of literacy. Having worked with her students to create a classroom subculture that would help students become members of the culture of school during Phase I, during Phase II, Lee shifted her attention to working with her students to create a classroom subculture of literacy that would prepare students to become members of the larger culture of literacy. While she continued to work with the children to maintain an environment that would support learning, she focused on working with the students to create a shared set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I describe the interactional processes Lee and the students engaged in to continue to develop a classroom subculture and a classroom subculture of literacy. To show how meanings and interpretations changed over time during this period, I report (1) Lee and the students' goals when this phase began; (2) the interactional process

through which they constructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations during the phase; and (3) the shared and individual meanings and interpretations they had constructed throughout the phase. First, I provide an overview of Phase II by briefly describing the patterns that emerged. Second, I describe changes in Lee's beliefs and how they reshaped the interactional context. Third, I describe Lee and her students' shared and individual goals when Phase II began. Fourth, I describe the interactions Lee and the students engaged in during Phase II to create and recreate the classroom social context and to construct and reconstruct shared and individual meanings and interpretations about what one needed to know to become readers and writers. Finally, I describe the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed throughout Phase II.

Overview of the Patterns Which Emerged in the Interactional Context During Phase II

Throughout Phase II, Lee and the students' interactions focused on getting everyone reading and on maintaining a classroom environment that would support learning. Lee strove to maintain the norms for behavior that she had introduced to the children to in Phase I. In her efforts to develop a pedagogy that was responsive to students and gave them ownership of their own learning in Phase I, Lee had muted her authority over what the children did in reading and writing centers by giving them free choice in selecting books and writing topics, and she had asserted her authority in establishing classroom norms and routines. However, through her interactions with the students, she had become convinced her that with "these kids" it would be important to assert her authority more than she had originally planned to assure that learning would take place. Through her interactions with the students during Phase II, Lee worked to

find ways to let the children take ownership of their learning while maintaining the order she believed was necessary if they were to learn.

During Phase I, Lee had shown her students that she valued reading and writing, and she had begun to teach them the techniques and skills she believed they needed to become readers and writers. Through her interactions with the students in Phase II, Lee worked with the students to construct a shared set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing in order to teach them what they needed to know to become competent members of the culture of literacy. Using modeling and direct instruction in whole group and one-to-one interactions, Lee taught the students the skills and techniques she believed they needed to become readers and writers. Guided by the curriculum she had developed and by their individual and group progress, Lee raised her expectations for the students throughout this phase.

Meanings, Motives, and Goals Reconstructed and Held Before Interactions Began in Phase II

Shifts in Lee's Beliefs and in the Interactional Context

Shifts in Lee's Beliefs

In early October, Lee's thinking about pedagogy began to change. Events within the classroom context and within the school context shaped and interacted with her beliefs about how to structure the classroom culture and the literacy curriculum.

Through interactions with her students during Phase I, Lee had gained insights into her students' social and academic competencies. From testing the students on the skills they needed to become readers and from assessing the writing they had done during Phase I, Lee found that the students' knowledge varied greatly. She knew that while

some children were already reading, others still did not know all of the letters of the alphabet nor the skills they would need to become readers and writers.

Through her interactions with them and through observing them in interactions with others, she learned about their personal backgrounds, about their social relationships with each other, and about their ability and willingness to conform to the classroom norms and routines she had worked to establish. The students' actions suggested that the majority knew the routines and norms and were willing and able to follow them while others were still learning what they needed to know to act competently in the classroom. Lee also learned that a few students frequently violated classroom norms. Joel and Tony R. still did not seem to attend to signals Lee gave for moving from one activity to another or for participating in activities, but they seemed willing to comply when Lee drew their attention to her expectations. Cody and Max appeared to know the norms and routines but chose not to conform to them. Their comments suggested that they knew what Lee expected of them and how they were to act in school and that they valued violating the rules more than following them. Slade appeared to know how to act in the classroom and in school but to be unable to control his actions. Even though he knew that he would be punished for kicking or hitting other children, he did not appear to know alternative ways to deal with problems when they occurred on the playground or in the classroom.

Through her interactions with other teachers in her school, Lee was reminded that not all teachers shared her new beliefs about children, children's literacy and learning, the importance of community, and pedagogy. Lee knew that the second grade teachers expected students entering that grade to be able to read basal level 7, write legibly using the conventions of written text and conventional spelling, and behave in a manner consistent with the school norms.

Reflecting on what she had learned about her students' social and academic competencies to date, she realized that the majority of students had a long way to go before they would be ready to meet the second grade teachers expectations. Gradually,

Lee came to believe that she would need to assert more control over the students than she had originally planned if she were to maintain the order she believed was necessary for learning to occur in her classroom.

Shifts in the Interactional Context

In mid-October, Lee began to make changes in the interactional context. During a meeting with the other first grade teachers, Lee confessed that she felt a need to assert more control over the students actions. She said, "I am feeling like I want more order." Her tone suggested that she was uncomfortable about these feelings. The other teachers assured her that maintaining order in the way she did was not in conflict with her goal to be responsive to students and to accommodate their natural way of learning. The next day during a TDOC meeting, Ann assured Lee that given the difficult class she had, it was only natural that she would feel the need to assert her authority more than she had planned to do when the year began. Lee seemed to find her colleagues comments reassuring, and for a time, she seemed to experience less anxiety about asking the students to conform to her desire for order.

Looking back at the events which preceded the beginning of Phase II, October 19 emerged as a transition day. Lee's actions on that day suggested that she was working to reinforce the norms of behavior she and the students had constructed before she moved on to begin constructing the culture of literacy.

On Monday October 19, Lee told me that she had spent the weekend at school organizing the room and putting things into folders and that she had "gotten organized." I was not surprised by this news. I knew she had been concerned about the comments and questions the second grade teachers had asked after a presentation on October 15. In the past, I had observed that when she had been unhappy with the way things were going in her classroom or when she was concerned about her students' progress, she had acted

quickly to change things. Therefore, I was not surprised that she had gone into school over the weekend and was prepared to make changes.

That morning in her interactions with her students, Lee's actions and comments suggested that she was concerned about teaching her students "how to go to school" and that she would continue to give her students opportunities to use their creativity to support their learning as long as they conformed to the classroom norms she had been working to establish since the first day of school. She reinforced the rules she had taught them, pointed out that she had given them privileges students in other rooms did not have, and emphasized that they could keep those privileges as long as they followed her rules.

When the students came into the room at 9:05, they put their things away and formed a long line by Lee's desk. They all seemed to want to tell her about their weekends. When the bell rang at 9:20, Lee did not stand up to signal that it was time to do the pledge. She continued to listen to the children's news. At 9:30, when the last child who had been in line had talked with her, Lee stood up and said, "Pledge." The children stood, recited the pledge and sat down.

Lee stood by her desk and told the children she had something to say. She explained that in some classrooms students could not line up at their teacher's desks to tell things or walk around to look at things on the walls or in the room. She said, "Kids in this room get to do those things because when I say, 'pledge,' you can get quiet." Lee went on to remind the students to look at her and to listen when she said "Time to listen." She said, "I'll remind you of the rule. I'll say it now while everyone is looking at me. Then, I'll know you know the rule. 'Time to listen' means hands still, feet still, look at me and listen." She asked the students to help her think of other ways to state the rule so that they could remember. For the rest of the day, Lee and the students "practiced" the norms for the community of learners. From time to time, Lee would stop and ask, "Now what is our rule about that?" and the students would call out the rule.

Lee's Goals Before Phase II Began

The goals Lee held at beginning of Phase II, were shaped by the meanings and interpretations she had constructed through her interactions with her students and colleagues during Phase I. Her primary goal during Phase II was to "get everyone reading." While I had sensed that this was the case as I watched her interact with the students, she confirmed my hunch early in November. In a conversation with Lee on November 9, she told me that on the previous day Jerrod had "broken the code." She said that she had been working with him for several days to help him learn to read the first story in level 3 basal. Together, they had read "Books" five times. She said on the other days he had read, she had sensed that he had memorized the story and had not begun to read the sentences word by word. But this time, when he turned back to the first page of the story, he looked at the page for a moment, and then he pointed to the word book. In an excited voice, he said, "That says book! I can read it! It says book!" Lee said that the look on his face said, "Aren't I wonderful?" She added that it was not the first time that she had seen evidence that learning to read raised the students self esteem. She said that she wanted all of her students to experience the feeling Jerrod had experienced. Then she added, "I want to get them all reading!"

As I observed Lee working to reach that goal, I once again saw as I had seen the previous year and during Phase I that Lee saw a connection between classroom management and teaching children to read and write. In the same explicit manner she had taught the children the classroom norms and routines, Lee began teaching the children what she believed were the techniques and skills they needed to know to become readers and writers. At the same time, she continued to enforce classroom norms and routines to maintain order.

The Students' Goals Before Phase II Began

The children acknowledged and embraced Lee's increased focus on learning to read and write. Their actions during book sharing, reading center, and writing center suggested that they shared Lee's goal for them to become readers and writers. Although they continued to use play and personal relationships as their routes to learning to read and write, they focused more on learning and less on building relationships and playing. They used their social relationships to support their learning. More advanced readers taught the less advanced to read stories on a regular basis. Students took books home to practice their reading with parents, grandparents, and/or siblings. They worked on mastering the conventions of written literacy in their writing. While some students had problems accepting and/or living by the norms of the community, even they worked to become readers and writers.

Constructing Meanings and Interpretations about School and Literacy Through Face-to-Face Interactions During Phase II

Day One

On October 20, Lee began communicating her shift in focus and her goal to get all of the students reading to the children. He interactions with her students on the first day of this new phase illustrate the shift in the interactional context.

Throughout the day in her interactions with them, she showed them that the focus had shifted from learning about how to go to school and playing at reading and writing to learning to read and write. By changing the form and content of instruction during book sharing and the participant structure in reading center, by introducing new content into the other centers, and by holding the student more responsible for learning to read and

write during centers and for conforming to the classroom norms throughout the day, Lee showed the students that she believed it was now time for them to learn to read.

Lee gave the students the first indication that something had changed at 9:45 during book sharing when she got up from the chair in the book corner and announced, "Today you will begin to practice handwriting." She picked up a piece of chalk, turned to the board beside her, and printed a b and a d on the board. Abby said, "That looks like a bed! I can't tell the difference between them!" Building on Abby's comments, Lee said, "It does look like a bed, and you could remember the difference between b and d by remembering that the b is the head of the bed and the d is the foot. Max said, "If you really want to spell bed, you need another letter in the middle." Michael E. began saying b-e-d over and over. Then he voiced the sound, "E-e-e-e-exercise," and said, "E. The middle letter is e." Lee said, "Good thinking," and went on to explain in a matter-of-fact tone what the children were to do in the handwriting books she passed out.

I noted in my fieldnotes that her tone suggested that practicing handwriting was serious and that she seemed to be telling the students, "Now you are really going to school." From that point on in the interaction, the children raised their hands to ask questions or make comments. They did not call out as they frequently did in the reading corner.

By changing her posture and interactional pattern during book sharing, Lee showed the students that things were changing. The second indication that something had changed came when Lee announced that the students would sign up for new center groups. In the past she had merely asked the students to choose a center group. This time her comments suggested that in centers she would expect them to focus on learning, not on playing with books and writing.

At 10:07, Lee told the children that they could sign up for new center groups. She said, "Centers are learning time. Some friends are fun to play with at recess but are not

so good to work with. Pick a friend you can work with." She had not said this on the other two occasions on which they had picked groups.

When she introduced centers, Lee gave the students yet another indication that things were changing. On October 2, she had introduced the children to the basal readers. At that time, she had told them that reading the stories would help them learn new words. Now she indicated that she valued their reading basals and that she would reward them for doing so.

After the children had signed up for center groups, Lee called them once again to the book corner. When they were all settled, Lee explained that for Center 1 they could still read anything they wanted but that they could now take turns reading to her. She held up copies of the basal texts and said, "First graders in this district read these books. They don't get to read all of these," she said as she motioned to the bookcases beside her. The children looked at her and shook their heads. Lee went on to tell them that they could continue to read the books from the class library, but she added, "You will be reading these books in second grade. I want you to read as many of these stories as you can. I will give you a star for every story you read to me." Lee put down the basals and held up a sheet of paper divided into a grid. She explained the grid she had developed for checking them off when they read a story from the basal. (See Appendix X for a sample grid). She explained that she would give them a check for any story they read and a star for the story when they had learned to read it well. The children raised their hands to ask questions and Lee responded patiently.

Lee introduced another change when she introduced Center 2. Center 2 had always been writing center and the children had been able to write whatever they chose during this time.

After she had answered the students' questions about Center 1, she went on to explain what they would do in the other centers. Lee told the children that Center 2 would not be writing. She explained that for Center 2 they would do a ditto on which

they would practice writing numbers and the number words. I noted in my fieldnotes that Lee had just finished assessing the students' knowledge of numbers and number words the previous day, and I wondered if working on this sheet during Center 2 reflected her concerns about the number of students who still did not know how to read all of the number words or write all of the numbers.

When Lee introduced Center 3, she introduced still another new center activity. After she modeled how the children were to complete the ditto and answered their questions, Lee held up a copy of USA Today. "Center 3. USA Today. What do you get to do with the newspaper? First, put your name at the top of paper. You will take it home later. Second, find words you know how to read and highlight them with this special marker." Lee turned the paper around so she could read it, highlighted a word, and held it up for the children to see. "October," she said and then pointed to the word she had highlighted. "Here is "October. I can read October so I highlighted it." Abby was sitting right in front of Lee. She looked up at the paper, her eyes widened, and she turned to Olympia and said, "Oh my gosh!"

Abby's expression seemed to express how many of the children had felt about the announcements Lee had made that morning during reading corner. Their questions suggested that they were trying to make sense of the changes Lee had made. Their expressions, verbal and nonverbal, suggested to me that they sensed that Lee was asking more of them. They listened to her explain the change in reading center with serious expressions on their faces. They did not interrupt or ask questions until she indicated it was time for questions. Slade, who seemed especially sensitive to Lee's expectations, went through the rest of the morning with a slip of paper on which I watched him write several times. When I asked what he was writing, he explained that he was keeping track of how many times Lee said "yes" and how many times she said "no."

Interactions Focused on Reconstructing Meanings and Interpretations About Classroom Norms, Routines, and Social Relationships

Lee's Role

Throughout Phase II, Lee continued to use the same approaches she had used during Phase I to maintain an environment that would support learning. She held the students responsible for following school and classroom rules and norms and made individuals aware of unacceptable behavior. On November 2, Lee reinforced a rule she had introduced in Phase I, "desk check," and this time, she changed the consequences for not obeying it. At 10:16, Lee announced, "Desk check by 3." In the past she had given the student "to 10" to put their things away. This time she gave them to the count of three and instead of telling them all to put their heads down when they were not all sitting still and looking at her, she said, "I will take anything you are still touching." She walked around the room and took whatever the children were touching. She said, "You may have these back after I finish talking." After she finished making her announcements, she reinforced the students' positive behavior, "Nice eye check on these three rows," and punished the negative behavior. Cody and Max had not been looking at her while she talked. Without explaining, Lee asked Cody to move to the reading table, "where there is nobody to talk to." She asked Max to come to the front of the room to sit on a chair beside her.

Lee increased her efforts to maintain order in order to support learning by enforcing old norms and establishing new ones during the literacy events. On November 11, I tape recorded Lee reinforcing the behavioral norms for centers. Around 12:00, shortly after the students had returned from recess and had resumed center work, Lee announced, "Heads down.... It feels like I better tell you a couple center rules. Number one. Stay at your center. Don't walk around the room. Number two. Talk in your very quiet voice. Number three. When you are done, you may have your head down, help a friend, get free

paper, or read a fun book." When she finished making this announcement, the children began to talk with each other again but more quietly.

After she had praised the children for reading a variety of books on December 4, she said, "Let's put the books away neater than they were." On October 23, and again on December 11, Lee ended silent reading after less than twenty minutes. On both occasions, she reminded the children that they could have silent reading only as long as they were looking at books.

Lee continued to use praise to reward positive behavior and to point out unacceptable behavior. When it was time for the children to change centers, she reinforced the positive behavior she had observed by telling the students what she had observed or by adding names of "quiet workers" or "good workers" to the list on the board under the happy face. She also made the students aware of unacceptable behavior and showed them that the actions of individuals could interfere with everyone's learning opportunities. On December 11, she noted that while some people were reading, several individuals were not and that meant that silent reading would end for everyone. In this way Lee began to signal to the children that the actions of a few had an impact on what the group could do.

Throughout Phase II, Lee continued to reward behavior that conformed to the rules and norms that had been established in Phase I. She enforced the consequences she had established for behavior that did not conform. On December 1, when the students began to talk to each other in "outside voices" after the pledge, Lee asked them all to put their heads down. She continued to be firm and told them, "If you can't remember the rules, I'll help you." When it was time for them to move to the book corner, she used a manner of getting them to the corner which I had rarely seen her use since early in the year. Lee said, "Stand up behind your chairs." Row by row she called them to book corner.

When they had all arrived and were sitting quietly in front of her, Lee said in a firm voice, "In this room when you do things you know are wrong, you lose a recess minute." I had not heard this rule before nor had I seen her take recess time away from the children. The children did not ask questions or act surprised, and I assumed that Lee had explained the rule to them when I had not been present. The message seemed to be, if you play during learning time, you will give up scheduled play time to work on learning.

To reinforce individual positive behavior, Lee continued to keep a "star" list on the board. She modified the smiley face system of writing children's names on the board under a smiley face "when she caught them being good" (her words). For her revised system, Lee put a list of the children's names on the board and drew stars behind the names of students who followed the rules and norms. As a reward for their behavior, the children with the most stars were given rewards such as being called to book corner first or being able to line up first for recess or lunch. Lee also referred to the list when she needed a helper. On those occasions the person with the most stars got to help. When she selected a helper, Lee would announce, "Ann, you have two stars. Will you please get me two empty tubs?"

To encourage the children to "take care of themselves" and to enforce the rules and norms of the community, Lee introduced new events. On November 2, Lee introduced a new community building event, the popcorn party. She explained to the students that as a reward for working as a group to follow the rules they had been working to learn, she would reward the class with a popcorn party as soon as they had earned all of the letters that spelled popcorn party. The children asked what they had to do to earn letters. Lee explained that she would give them letters or half letters for following the rules, and she gave them some examples. "Well, you can earn a half letter if everyone hangs up their things in the closet and nothing is on the floor. Or, you could get a half letter if every head is down by three." She went on to say that she wanted to

reward them for taking care of themselves, and she encouraged them to help each other remember the rules so that the class could earn a popcorn party. "If you see a friend drop their coat on the floor, you can remind them to pick it up or you can pick it up. Then the class can earn a letter. You get a popcorn party for taking care of yourselves."

During Phase II, Lee began to deal more firmly with students who violated school and classroom rules. When Cody, Matt and Slade had a problem on the playground before school on October 23, when they had teased Slade and he had kicked at them, Lee told them that this was a serious problem. She explained that teasing and kicking were not permitted at this school and sent all three to the office to discuss their actions with the principal. The other students listened to Lee talk with Cody, Matt and Slade, and when she said they would have to go to the office, I noticed looks of surprise on some faces. The room was especially quiet that morning.

The students' Role

Throughout Phase II, the students continued to show that they knew the classroom norms and routines and had begun to develop a sense of community. Through their interactions with each other and with Lee, they also showed that they shared Lee's goals to get them all reading and to use their social relationships to support their learning.

The students' response to the physical environment provided one indication that they had come to see the classroom as a community. During the first week of November, Lee put a basket with two gourds in it on her desk as a November decoration. The next day, Megan added a fabric goose her mother had made. Others added a turkey and more gourds to the class's autumn decoration. The students also took responsibility for maintaining the classroom's physical environment. They regularly cleaned the room. On November 11, I heard Lee ask the students to clean up before they went out for recess. I had my head down to copy into my fieldnotes what Kelly had written during writing center. I had noticed paper all over the floor and desks. When I looked up, the children

were scurrying about picking up paper and putting books away. Lee worked with the children and reinforced their behavior by saying, "Cody is putting away books. Patty is putting away carpets," and so on. I was amazed by how well they all worked together and how concerned they seemed to be about cleaning the room. I looked down again to write myself a note about it, and when I looked up, there wasn't a scrap of paper anywhere. The room looked incredibly clean and orderly.

The students carried out their classroom jobs without being reminded. On December 1, while Lee took care of attendance and lunch count, Max and Nathan busily cleaned up the closet. They hung up clothes that were not on hooks or had fallen off, tucked mittens and hats into boots, and put the boots on the rack under the clothes. When I walked by and said, "Nice job," they smiled up at me and told me with what I interpreted as a sense of pride, "It's our helping job." A moment later, Lee announced, "Half a letter for the closet," and the children cheered. On December 8, Kelly wrote the date on the board before the bell rang. She said it was her turn. Jessica and Megan counted items the children were collecting for the Christmas baskets the school was preparing for families who could not afford a Christmas dinner. When they finished counting, they wrote the number of items on the board.

I also saw examples of the students using their social relationships to help support each other's learning during centers. On December 1, Lee asked the students to make a new calendar in Center 3. She put out a dittoed paper with squares on it. The children were to write the name of the month, the days of the week, and number the days in the appropriate squares. She had noted that they should begin the numbers on Tuesday because the month began on that day. During centers, I observed that Ethan was having a problem writing some of the numbers. He did not know how to write 12 or 13, and he looked at Matt's paper. Matt pointed to 12 and 13 and Ethan copied them onto his calendar. Joel also had a problem writing the numbers. He walked to the calendar corner and looked at the class calendar on the wall to check what he had written. He kneeled

down in front of the calendar and said, "I messed up." He started to erase his numbers and Tony R. came over with another eraser and helped him. At reading center, I noticed Patty holding flash cards with numbers on them while Olympia and Abby read them.

Near the middle of November, the students did something which suggested that they had come to share Lee's desire for them to focus on learning and to take responsibility for their own learning. On November 11, I noted a change in the what the students did after the pledge. Instead of putting their heads down after the pledge, the students finished work they had not completed the previous day or they wrote, drew and wrote on free paper from the bin at the front of the room, and interacted with books. They talked quietly to each other as they worked. Lee took the attendance, did the lunch count, made a few announcements and all the while, the children kept writing and drawing.

At recess, I described to Lee what I had seen. She told me that the students had made the change. She said that a few of the children had started to come in in the morning, sit down at their seats and start to draw or write while she talked to the students who had lined up at her desk. After the pledge, they had continued to work on their drawing or writing instead of putting their heads down. She said she did not ask them to stop because they were quiet, and she had been observing good things happening.

Reflecting back on what I had observed the students doing, I assumed that by "good things," she was referring to the students' working on reading and writing and supporting each other's learning. I had observed the children using the time to finish work they had not completed the previous day and helping each other. While I had been observing the change in the opening that morning, I had walked around the room to observe what the students were doing. I noticed Rob writing and stopped to look at his paper. He had written:

I LaK

TO

LRN

O

BAT

DiNOUSAUR

I asked him how he knew how to spell dinosaur. He said that Tony C. had told him. I asked Tony how he knew how to spell it, and Rob pointed to an open book on Tony's desk with a picture of a dinosaur and the word dinosaur written under it.

I also observed Joel and Tony R. working on their RIF cards. They too helped each other spell words and remember how to write letters. Cody was adding words to a picture he had drawn the previous day. Others were drawing, writing, or reading books while they talked with each other. All over the room, the children were making use of this time by helping each other and working on reading and writing.

In the following days, the students showed that they valued completing their work and following the rules. On December 2, they voted to finish the centers they had begun the previous day so that they could all finish their work. The children also took over reinforcing the rules. On December 2, Jerrod reminded Cody not to throw his school supplies around. He said, "Remember the rule about throwing things?" On January 6, when Lee was preparing to leave for a meeting and she was explaining to the substitute what the students should do for the rest of the day, Max asked the class to "use your quiet voices." When Lee had finished talking with the substitute, Max asked her to repeat his request. He said that the class was too noisy.

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About Literacy During Classroom Literacy Events

Throughout Phase II, Lee and the students turned their attention to constructing a culture of literacy. They continued to use their interactions in the literacy events that had been established in Phase I, book sharing, reading center, writing center, and silent reading, to signal to each other their knowledge of literacy. In addition, Lee introduced a fifth literacy event, skill lesson, during which she used direct instruction to teach the students the skills and techniques she believed they needed to learn to become readers and writers.

As Phase II progressed, Lee and the students signaled in their interactions with each other and with written text, that they were developing a set of shared values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and status associated with reading and writing and constructing a classroom culture of literacy.

Book Sharing

Book sharing continued to be a key literacy event during Phase II. In addition to being a part of the activities that took place during reading corner in the morning, Lee also began to share books with the children in the afternoon after lunch.

Lee's role. Lee continued to see book sharing as both a social and an academic event. She continued to use the event to build community, to reinforce and modify the interactional rules, and to teach the students the conventions of text within the context of sharing books with them. In addition, Lee increased her efforts to teach the children to read during this event.

The social interactional patterns in book sharing remained similar to the those established during Phase I. Lee continued to read books she felt the children would enjoy and to display her enthusiasm for reading as a way to build community. On December 1,

she read a Disney book about the first snow fall. She and the children discussed what they liked to do in the snow, and Lee got them involved in the text by using a different voice to read each character's dialogue. The children sat on the floor in front of her looking up at the pictures and at her face with smiles on their faces. While she encouraged the children to participate in the discussion and to enjoy the story, Lee gave the students fewer opportunities to "take over" as they had during Phase I.

In keeping with her goal to do more to maintain order, Lee showed the students through her interactions with them during this event that she expected them to focus on learning. Lee asked students who had not completed their assigned work to remain at their seats until they had finished the work. If students violated the norms during reading corner or book sharing to the degree that they disrupted the activity, Lee asked them to return to their seats and to stay there until they "were ready to listen."

Lee continued to use book sharing as a time for acquainting students with the conventions of written text. As she had done in Phase I, she began sharing a book by reading the title, the author and illustrator's name, and by pointing out special features of the book's layout such as the table of contents before she began reading the text. On December 8, Lee shared The Christmas Santa Almost Missed. In addition to drawing the children's attention to the title, author, illustrator, and usual features of the text, Lee also stopped to point out features of page layout. When she read the words, "Hurry! Hurry," which were not part of the text but were part of the picture above the text, she stopped and explained to the children what she had read before she turned the page. She pointed to the words and said, "The 'hurry' words are up here."

When she finished the story the children discussed it briefly. Then Lee asked if they wanted to hear it again. Instead of letting the students call out their response as she had done during Phase I, Lee said, "Raise your hand if you would like to hear the story again." Nearly all raised their hands. Lee began to read again and this time she pointed to the words as she read them. Some of the students read along with her. This time as

she read, she paused several times to draw the children's attention to the pattern in the story and to words and phrases that were repeated throughout the story.

In this more explicit manner, Lee taught the students to read the books she shared with them. On a number of occasions, she told me that it was her intent to use book sharing to teach the children how to read. She said that she read them easy reader books, basals, poems, and songs so that they would be familiar with the stories and the words and "feel like they were readers" when they tried to read during reading center.

Throughout Phase II when Lee read books during book sharing, she told the children that it was important to pay attention so that they could learn to read. She explained to the students that she was "teaching them to read" some of the books she shared. On December 8 when Lee read the students easy-to-read books, she told them, "You can learn how to read these books if you take them home or read them in reading center." Other times she asked them to reread the book she had just read in unison, and on these occasions she told them, "Now, you know how to read this book!"

Lee taught the students to read stories from the basal readers during book sharing. When she read stories from the basal readers to the students, she used the explicit manner of teaching I had observed her using in previous years when she taught children to read in reading groups. As she had done in reading group lessons, she began by activating the students' background knowledge about the story topic, then she introduced new words and taught the children skills or techniques they might use to decode words in the story, and finally she read the story.

On October 20 when she introduced the children to the basals, she read the first few stories in Rhymes and Tales. For each story, she read the title, introduced the characters' names and the words that appeared in the text. In introducing the first story in the book, "Books," Lee used the word strips I had seen her use to introduce the story in reading groups. She held up the words book, Linda, Jim, has. Then she read the first two pages of the story. She said, "First page, 'Books.' Second page, 'Linda had books. Jim

has books.' Lee then held up the word strips and arranged them to match the sentences in the story. She held up Linda and asked the students to read the word. Then she held up has and the students read that. Next she held up books and the students read it. Then, Lee held up all three word strips together and the children read, "Linda has books." She repeated this process for the rest of the story. The pattern was exactly like the one I had observed during reading groups the second and third year I had observed in her classroom. I continued to observe her teaching the whole group lessons during book sharing when she read basal stories.

In addition to teaching the children words, skills, and techniques in the context of reading basal stories and other books during this event, Lee also used direct instruction to teach skill lessons. At the beginning of Phase II, Lee continued to follow the pattern established during Phase I of teaching skills and techniques within book sharing. Just as she had read the students the Alpha books and had taught them letter-sound relationships within the context of sharing the books, she began to teach the students skills and techniques in the context of sharing basal stories with them. However, the interactional patterns changed and evolved during Phase II until some skill lessons were separate from the context of book sharing. By the end of Phase II, skill lesson had emerged as a distinct literacy event.

During this phase, Lee read from a variety of genre and encouraged the children to do the same. In addition to story books and basal readers, Lee read poems, Christmas and winter songs, and information books. She talked with them about the different purposes for reading like reading for fun, reading to learn to read, and reading to learn new things. On January 6, Lee read the students a book which she told them would teach them about a man named Louis Braille. After she had read the book, Lee and the students talked about what it might be like to be blind and how happy blind people must have been when Louis Braille found a way to make it possible for them to read. Lee showed the children samples of Braille and told them they would be able to touch them

during reading center. Then Lee talked with them about American Sign Language. After she and the children had discussed sign language and Lee had taught them to sign, "I love you," and a few other signs, she said, "There are so many ways to make messages. Writing, Braille, sign language." Some of the children raised the issue of animals talking. Slade argued that they could talk and talked about a television show he saw about a gorilla who used sign language. Lee smiled at him and asked, "Was it Koko?" She held up the book Koko and Her Kitten. Slade said, "Yea!" Others added, "Oh yea!" "I've seen that." Lee read the book and the children listened intently. Nathan leaned over and whispered to Michael E., "I wi-i-i-sh I had a cat so much." When Lee finished reading she again told the children they could read the book at reading corner and added, "We can learn lots from reading books."

Lee also began tying reading and writing together. When she made writing center assignments, she frequently used a book she had been reading to the children as a model for what she wanted them to do in their writing. On January 4, when she asked the children to write longer stories, Lee showed them sentences from a book to illustrate what she meant.

She also tied reading and writing together by introducing the students to a new kind of book, one written by a child. Michael G. had brought a book his sister had written. His sister had been in Lee's class in first grade and was now in fourth grade. Lee introduced the book in the same way she introduced all of the books she shared with them. She read the title and the author's name. Then she told the children about the author. She said that Emile had been a first grader in this same room and that she was now in fourth grade. Lee showed the children that Emile had eight pages in her book and told them, "You will be writing your own books in this class. Your books will have three pages. You can turn them into six page books if you write on both sides." The children looked at each other and at Lee with expressions which I interpreted as ranging from disbelief to excitement.

The students' role. The students continued to see book sharing as a social and academic occasion, but like Lee, they began to see it even more as an occasion for learning to read and learning about the conventions of text. Their selection of books during reading center and silent reading suggested that they came to share Lee's love of reading and her interest in different genres. Each of them selected a variety of genres to read from including basals, information books, and story books.

In addition, their actions in reading center, writing center, and silent reading showed that many of the students had been attending to Lee's direct instruction. I observed the students working on using the skills and techniques Lee had taught them. When the students worked in their handwriting workbooks, they also showed that they were trying to apply what Lee had taught them. They looked at the board at the letters she had modeled and muttered to themselves the directions she had given, 'Start on the middle line, drop down below the line ....'

In their interactions with each other and with Lee, the students showed that they shared Lee's belief that they could read and learn to read the books she taught them to read. I observed them reading and rereading the books Lee read to them during reading center and silent reading. Many of the children followed Lee's suggestion and took the books home where their parents helped them learn to read the books. Jessica, Jason, and Michael E. took books home on a regular basis and reported to Lee that their parents had helped them learn to read the books.

The children also began making connections between reading and writing. I observed them looking in books they had read or Lee had read to find out how to spell a word they wanted to use in their writing.

Reading Center

Lee's role. Lee continued to regard reading center as an occasion for students to learn to read. She believed that the children would learn to read by reading. To

encourage her students to read, she had created this occasion so that children would have at least twenty minutes per day to read. Throughout Phase II, Lee continued to encourage the students to read a variety of texts and to help each other learn to read stories. In response to her realization that the second grade teachers expected her students to be able to read basal texts, Lee also encouraged the students to take turns reading to her from the basal texts. To document that they had read basals and to monitor their progress, Lee developed a record-keeping system.

Through her interactions with the students, Lee communicated her goals and beliefs to the students. In making center assignments, Lee encouraged the students to read a variety of texts. When she shared trade books with the children in book sharing, she always encouraged them to read the books to themselves during reading center. She also encouraged them to work together to learn to read new stories. On December 1, Lee announced reading center by saying, "Center 1. Read everything. One of the best things you can do at reading center is to let a friend teach you a new story." On the next day she said, "Center 1. You may read everything you want to read. Oh, and one of the best things you can do is teach someone to read a new story." This patterns continued throughout Phase II.

While Lee encouraged the students to read with a friend during reading center, she also made it clear to the students that it was necessary to maintain an orderly learning environment so that she could work with individual students without being disturbed. On November 11, while I was tape recording Kelly reading, I recorded Lee talking to the students about how she expected them to act during centers. Around 12:00 shortly after the students had returned from recess and had resumed center work, Lee announced, "Heads down.... It feels like I better tell you a couple center rules. Number one. Stay at your center. Don't walk around the room. Number two. Talk in your very quiet voice. Number three. When you are done, you may have your head down, help a friend, get free

paper, or read a fun book." When she finished making this announcement, the children began to talk with each other again but more quietly.

Throughout Phase II, Lee made similar announcements. Several times during each center period, she would quiet the children or remind them to complete their work. In addition, when it was time for the children to change centers, she would reinforce the positive behavior she had observed by telling the students what she had observed or by adding names of "quiet workers" or "good workers" to the list on the board under the happy face. In this way, she signaled to the students that learning was their most important job during center time.

Lee's announcement that she would give the students stars for reading basal stories to her showed that she believed that the students would benefit from learning to read stories from the district-selected basal series. She had used the series for a number of years and had seen that students did learn to read by reading the basal stories and by learning the skills they introduced. In addition, she knew that the second grade teachers expected the students to have read those stories and to know the skills and techniques introduced in the stories. Although Lee did not demand that the students read the basal stories, she rewarded them when they did.

On October 20, the first day of Phase II, Lee communicated to the students that she valued their reading the basal stories. She told the children during reading corner that she would begin giving them stars for reading stories to her from the basal readers. She held up several books from the series and told the children that other first graders in the district read from these books and did not get to read books like those in their classroom library. Lee went on to tell the students, "You will be reading these books in second grade. I want you to read as many of these stories as you can. I will give you a star for every story you read to me." She showed them the grid she had developed for checking them off when they read a story from the basal and explained that she would give them a

check for any story they read and a star for the story when they had learned to read it well (See Figure 11).

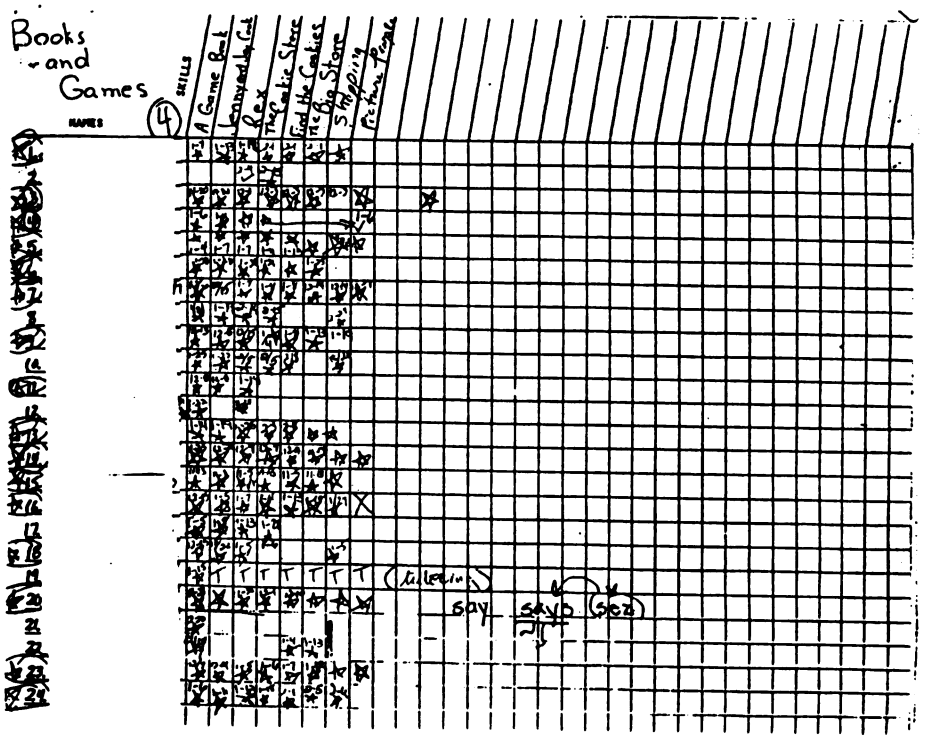

Books and Games
A Game Book
Computer Cat
Rex
Magic Store
Cool Ice Cakes
The Big Store
Shopping
Picture Place
say
says

FIGURE 11

During reading center on that day, Lee asked each center group if anyone wanted to read to her. Lee's records show that Matt was the only child who read a basal story to her. He read "Books" and received a star. On October 21, Jerrod received a check for reading "Books." On October 22, Olympia, Rob, and Abby read "Books." The other children continued to read from a variety of texts. Some did not select books from the basal series, some did, and some chose not to read to Lee. On November 1, Lee began asking children to take a turn with her.

To monitor turns and the students' development, Lee developed a record keeping system. In addition to the grid on which she recorded checks and stars, she kept another grid to record when individual children had turns with her. She also began keeping notes on her interactions with the children during their individual conferences. Figure 12 is a copy of the page of notes Lee kept on her interactions with Jason from November 9 to January 7. Her entry for Jason illustrates the kinds of notes she kept for all of her students during Phase II to record the date on which she met with them, what they read, what skills or techniques they worked on, and how she assessed their development.

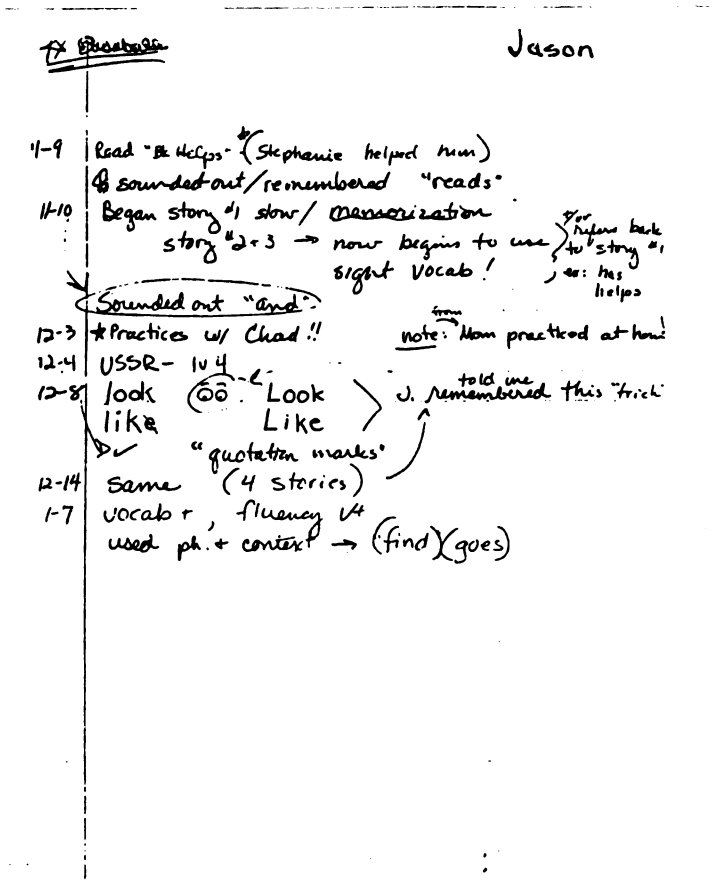

Jason
1-9
Read "Be Helpful" (Stephanie helped him)
sounded-out/remembered "reads"
11-10
Began story #1 slow/ memorization
story #2+3 → now begins to use sight vocab!
#or refers back to story #1
re: has helps
Sounded out "and"
12-3
*Practices w/ Chad!!
note: from Mom practiced at home
12-4
USSR- 1v4
12-8
look (oo) Look
like Like
"quotation marks"
J. remembered this "trick" told me
12-14
same (4 stories)
1-7
vocab +, fluency V4
used ph.+ context → (find)(goes)

FIGURE 12

Lee illustrated her goal to prepare her students to meet the second grade teachers' expectations that students know the skills and techniques introduced in the basal stories by focusing on those skills and techniques when she met individually with the students in reading center. In her individual conferences with the students, Lee frequently taught the students skills I had observed her teach during reading groups in previous years when she had used basal readers. In addition, she re-taught skills I had seen her teach during book sharing this year when she shared basal stories with the children. The interaction between Lee and Jason on December 9, illustrates a pattern which Lee used to teach the children in individual interactions what she had previously taught during reading group. In this interaction, Lee focused on teaching Jason a strategy for attending to internal letters in words as well as beginning and ending letters. She began by telling Jason that she would teach his a strategy if he needed it to help him read. She let him begin to read and only introduced the strategy when he indicated that he was unsure he had read the word <u>like</u> correctly.

Lee. The story of the pigs. Let's find that in the front. Here is the pigs on page...

Jason. twenty-six

L. twenty-six.
Have you ever practiced this story before?

J. Yes.

L. Have you? Ju know what girl this is looking at this book?

J. Meg.

L. You're right and Meg loves to read about pigs. She counts them. And .. Jim and Pat come over to her house and they all read books together and they all like the books. There are some new words in here that a lot of kids get stuck on and if you get stuck on them, I'm gonna tell you a trick about 'em.

J. What if I don't?

L. If you don't... that means you are such a good reader you don't need a trick.

J. The.. pigs, The pigs. Meg has...a book. Meg ..... likes?

L. That word is looks and that's the trick I want to show ya. Look over here. This is the word look and the word like. Both have an l and they both have a k. That's why it's easy to get 'em mixed up. Now the reasons, the way you can tell them apart is look has two o's in the middle, and I pretend those are two eyes that are gonna look at me. So when I see l and k with two o's that are gonna look at me, I know the word is look. I can hear L at the beginning and k at the ending. L-l-ook. How about like? In the middle, see if you can hear what's in the middle. I'll say it real slow, l-l-i-i-i-ke.

J. i-i-i-i-i

L. I-i-i-i.

J. I. Miss I.

L. Yes, you hear Miss I. Except you know what? She doesn't make her regular i sound. She changed and she says her name. I-i-i like. And the reason she changed is because Miss E is on the end of her word..

J. Is silent

L. Is silent and she tells her to change. Now if I write look and like again and change them to a capital L, they look like this. Can you read them now?

J. Look. Like.

L. Could you practice this and let Max read his story to me?

Lee's records of her conferences with the students, which she began keeping the first week in November, show that the students did take turns with her on a regular basis. Her notes of individual conferences with the children, showed that from October 20 to January 8, (approximately eleven weeks excluding vacation), Lee had between three and nine conferences with each child. The average number of individual conferences was 5.7 with a mean of 5.

The students' role. Throughout Phase II, the student's comments and actions suggested that they were coming to share Lee's perception of the purpose for reading center as an occasion for learning to read. It appeared that they had come to share Lee's

value for reading, that they believed they would all become readers, and that they were coming to share the set of skills and techniques she had been teaching them. In their interactions with Lee and with each other, the students read a variety of texts and to supported each other's learning. They also began to read basal texts on a regular basis.

During reading center, the children continued to read a variety of texts and genres. They continued to read the fiction and information books in the classroom library as well as the Alpha comics and easy to read books. Many of the children read the class books Lee had been making by putting together their writing on topics such as the trip to the pumpkin patch or on school bus safety. Most of the children also read from the basal readers for at least part of their reading center time. Typically, the children read from a number of books while they were at reading center.

The children also used a number of approached to further their own and others reading development. During the twenty to thirty minutes they spent at reading center, the children moved in and out of a number of interactional arrangements. It was typical for a child to read with a friend or friends for a time, take a turn with Lee or ask another friend to teach them to read a story, and practice reading on their own from a variety of texts during that period.

On November 2, I noted the variety of activities the children engaged in during reading center. I looked over at the reading center from the writing center where I was sitting. Max and Tony C. were sitting on a carpet strip on the floor reading one of the basal stories Lee had read during book sharing. Max seemed to be teaching Joey to read the story because he would read the words and Joey would repeat them. Slade was sitting at the reading table printing the title of the book in front of him onto a scrap of paper that looked like the paper from the check-out box. When I walked over to the table, he asked me to read what he had written. I told him it said, "The Great Green Turkey Monster," and he nodded and smiled to himself. When Jason finished reading "Books" to Lee, she asked Jerrod to read to her. "Will you read 'Books' to me again?" Tony had moved to the

table by now and was reading the story he had been reading with Max to himself. Jason and Max had moved to the bookcase and were looking at Alpha comics. This scene illustrates the variety of activities and interactions the children engaged in during their time in reading center.

The children followed Lee's suggestion and sought the help of friends and adults to teach them to read new stories. The children now seemed to use the relationships they had built with each other in Phase I to support their development as readers. Some children seemed to work together on a regular basis. Olympia, Abby, and Ann read together for all or part of nearly every reading center. As the strongest reader, Olympia modeled for the other two and offered them encouragement. When Abby overheard Lee ask Kimby to read "The Bears Cook" on January 1, Abby said, "Kimby's still on that story? I'm on 'Jenny and Jay Cook' in level 4!" Olympia said, "No you're not. You read that a long time ago. You are on 'Rex.'" They both smiled and opened their books to "Rex."

Max frequently spent part of reading center teaching Tony C. to read a story. Then Tony would go off on his own to practice. On November 11, I looked over at the reading center from the writing center where I was sitting and observed Max and Tony C. sitting on a carpet strip on the floor reading one of the basal stories Lee had read during book sharing. Max seemed to be teaching Joey to read the story because he would read the words and Joey would repeat them.

Don and Nathan also continued to read together. For part of a reading center they might look at a book such as Nature Encyclopedia and then read basal stories. Unlike some of the children who sat beside each other and read the same basal story at the same time, Don and Nathan read different stories but asked each other for help if they had a problem.

Rob and Cody, who still had problems with each other and frequently got into arguments or even physical fights, often read together for a time during reading center.

They would sit close together, one book between them, and read a story together. From time to time one of them would stop reading and the other would sound out a word and then they would go on. They usually worked together to read books from the class library rather than the basals.

In addition to following Lee's suggestion to read a variety of texts and to read together, the children also showed that they had accepted Lee's belief that reading basals and taking turns with her would help them become readers. The students worked to learn to read the basal stories and seemed proud of their accomplishments. On November 11, Dan read "The Pigs," "The Pig Play," and "Making New Words" from Rhymes and Tales. When I asked which stories he had read, he turned to the table of contents and said, "One, two, three as he ran his finger down the page. He had a big smile on his face.

Many of the children were also interested in taking a turn to read with Lee. On December 1, when Lee asked if anyone wanted a turn, Abby got up from the floor, walked to Lee who had seated herself at the reading table and said, "I do!" She picked up the basal reader, Rhymes and Tales, turned to "The Pigs," and read. Ann sat at the reading table with a basal reader open in front of her and waited for a turn.

On November 2, Jason read "Books" to Lee and then Jerrod read to her. After he had read the story he had selected to read, Lee asked, "Will you read 'Books' to me again?" She told me that he had read it before and that each time he read it he got better and better. Jerrod smiled proudly when Lee said that.

Many of the children took basal texts home to learn to read and to practice. On November 2, Jason was reading to Lee when I moved to the reading table. Lee was teaching him to read "Books." She pointed to the words as she read them, modeled using phonetic decoding, and pointed out that there was a pattern to the story. Jason appeared to listen carefully, and he repeated what Lee did.

On November 11, I was at the reading table when Jason read "Books" and received a star. Lee listened with a smile on her face as he read. When he finished the

story, she leaned closer to him, looked into his face, and said, "That's a star!" She marked a big star on the grid. Later Lee told me how proud she was of Jason. She said that he had been struggling to read the first three stories but that he had not given up. She said he had taken the book home every night and practiced with his mother.

Writing Center

Writing center continued to be a primary literacy event in Phase II. Lee increased her expectations for students in this event and asserted more control over how the students used their time and over what the students wrote. In addition to showing the students that she expected them to socialize less and write more, Lee also showed the students that she now expected them to work toward mastering the conventions of written text. When more and more of the children moved from labeling their pictures to writing short phrases to writing sentences, Lee began asking all of the students to write sentences. In this way, she used individual student's progress to construct new expectations for the group. At the same time she was raising her expectations for the students' behavior and growth as writers, Lee helped the students develop a sense of audience and purpose for their writing.

Lee's role. Through her interactions with the students, Lee signaled that she expected them to use their time in writing center on writing. On November 2, Lee reinforced the ideas that the students were to focus more on writing and less on socializing in writing center when she announced to the children that they would have to finish their writing center stories before they could go out for recess.

When she noticed that fewer students were completing their writing, Lee introduced a new accountability system on December 9, to encourage students to use their time wisely in centers and to complete their assignments. Before the children arrived, Lee wrote on the board:

Tuesday, December 8

stories	RIF cards	Santa letter

Under stories and RIF cards, Lee wrote the names of the children who had not completed their assignment from the previous day. She put a star under Santa letter to indicate that everyone had completed that task. After the opening, Lee walked to the board where the names were written and announced. "These people did not finish their work yesterday. Before they can join us at reading corner today, they must finish yesterday's work."

To explicitly teach the children the conventions of text she expected them to use in their writing, Lee drew the students' attention to the conventions of print during book sharing or reading conferences, and she reminded them that she wanted them to use the conventions in their own writing. To teach them left to write progression, she ran her finger under the words when she read moving it from left to right. To help the students develop the concept of word and of space between words, Lee often positioned her finger under an individual word and pointed out the space between words. In teaching handwriting lesson, she stressed directionality of the letters, b is the head of the bed and d is the foot.

Lee continually increased her expectations for the children's writing. She used the progress some students were making to set new standards for all of the students and used the students' own writing and the books she was sharing with them as models of her increased expectations. When the students began to move beyond the standards she had set, she raised her expectations for them again.

Throughout November when she announced writing center, Lee continued to remind the students to leave spaces between the words. Although she had begun doing this in Phase I, in Phase II she did more to reinforce the importance of leaving spaces. On November 11, when she announced centers, she said, "Center 2. Write a story. Leave

spaces between the words." When centers were over, she asked several children to read what they had written. When Cody read his story, "This is a apple tree," Lee held up his paper and pointed out that he had left space between his words.

On December 1, she raised her expectations again. When she announced centers, she said, "Center 2. Write a story. Make it interesting. Don't just write one word." Later she told me that she had noticed that the children were getting better everyday. Some students had started to write sentences and their handwriting was improving. On the next day, Lee announced, "Center 2. Write a whole sentence. We talked about how a sentence begins with a capital and ends with a period. And, it's neater writing." After centers, Olympia and Abby showed her what they had written. Lee said, "How nice. You have a capital at the beginning and a period at the end!" She held the papers up for the class to see and pointed out that Olympia and Abby had written whole sentences with a capital at the beginning and period at the end.

On January 1, Lee used books the children were reading to model what she expected them to do in their writing. She announced, "Center 2. For writing we will write a little bit longer story. 'I went tobogganing. It was fun.' Two sentences instead of one." Then she took a book from the shelf beside her and said, "Let me find a good example." She pointed to a sentence and asked the children to notice that the first letter was a capital. As she read on, she pointed to the first word in each sentence and asked the children to notice the period at the end and the space between the words.

On January 7, Lee asked Jason to read what he had written. When he finished she said, "Good, you have two sentences." Then she asked Kelly to read her story. Kelly read "This is my birthday cake and it is good." She had written:

THIS IS MY BRTH DAU
CAC AND IDT IS GOOD

Lee held up Kelly's paper and pointed to the space between the words.

In addition to asking students to begin to use space between their words, capitals to begin and periods to end sentences, Lee looked more closely at what the children were writing to assess their internalization of the conventions of written text. During most of Phase I, she had looked at their writing during centers and had recorded the topics on which they had written. During Phase II, she asked the students to read their writing to her before they moved from writing center to their next center. In these brief conferences, she reinforced the progress the student had made on a one-to-one basis and reminded the students of the conventions she wanted them to work to master. In this way, she gained a better sense of what the students were working on learning and on what they knew. She then used this information to guide her as she planned for instruction.

In addition to the notes she made about the children's writing when she briefly conferenced with them, she set up a system for keeping files of the children's writing so that she could assess their growth over time and study in more detail what individual students needed help with learning. When she realized during the first part of November that some students were still looking at the alphabet above the board to help them write some of the letters, Lee told the students that she would be covering the letters. On November 11, she covered the letters of the alphabet above the board with butcher paper and said, "You should all know your letters by now."

During Phase II, Lee also did several things to further develop the children's sense of audience and purpose in writing. First, she increased the opportunities for them to share their writing with the class by providing time at the end of centers for students to read what they had written to the class. She also asked them to read what they had written to her more frequently.

On November 2, she told them that they would be making a class book of their trip to the pumpkin patch and that she wanted then to write about the trip at writing center. She said they would make a book with the pictures she had taken and the stories the children wrote. When she announced on December 1, that it was about time to

change centers, she suggested that the people at writing center "share what you have written with your group," and she encouraged them to make what they wrote interesting.

On December 4, Lee announced that as a whole group writing activity, the class would write letters to Santa. She told them that the first grade teachers had gotten a letter telling them that if everyone wrote a real letter to Santa, they would get a real letter back. She said, "And it won't be a typed letter. It will be a real letter written in pen and if you ask a special question, he will answer it." She went on to explain that they would write the letter in three parts. "We will do it in three parts. One. Tell something you do that makes you deserve a present. Two. Make a good wish for someone else. Three. You may tell one thing you would like. Oh and something extra. Four. If want to, you may ask a special question." She explained again that this was something the whole class would do and wrote the words, Dear Santa on the board. "Remember to leave spaces between your words," she told them as she walked around passing out the paper.

The students' role. Through their actions, the students showed that they continued to see writing center as a social and academic activity. As they had done in the reading center, they also began to use their social relationships to help them develop as writers. During Phase II, they worked to master the conventions of written text that Lee was pointing out to them and teaching them in book sharing, reading center conferences, and skill lessons. They showed too that they were beginning to take ownership of writing by experimenting with making posters and books.

The students used their social relationships to support their writing development. Just as Abby followed Olympia's lead in reading, she also followed it in writing. On a number of occasions, I observed Abby and sometimes Ann also copying what Olympia wrote. On December 2, Olympia and Abby drew nearly identical pictures of a rainbow, flowers, grass and a girl (See Figure 13).



FIGURE 13

I had noticed that they frequently drew the same picture and wrote the same words. Rainbows had been a popular topic in November, and I had seen them draw similar pictures and label them with the same words. On this day I noticed that they were using the picture dictionary to find out how to spell words. On other occasions I had seen Abby or Ann get Olympia's file from the file box and look through it. When they found the story they wanted, they copied the words from Olympia's paper which they wanted to use on the story they were writing on that day. I suggested that they could sound out the words instead of using the picture dictionary. They did and wrote. Olympia who rarely talked to me or asked my help, wrote the words on her paper without help. I helped Abby sound out the words. When they were both finished and Olympia had reminded Abby to put a period at the end of the sentence, they took their papers to Lee to show her what they had written.

In addition to showing that they were working to master the conventions of written text, the children also showed that they were beginning to take ownership of their writing by selecting their own writing topics even on days when Lee asked them all to write on the same topic as she had on November 2. In addition, they began trying forms Lee had not suggested but had seen in the environment. On November 11, Max stapled four sheets of paper together into one large sheet of paper. He drew a head, body, arms, and legs and wrote: ACID at the bottom. When he finished he took it to Lee to show her. He said, "Look, I made a poster!" On January 7, after she finished her assignment in centers 2 and 3, Kelly made cards for members of her family. She carried them from center to center in a cigar box and when she saw me looking at the box, she opened it and showed me one of the cards. She said they were thank you notes which she was writing to thank her family for the Christmas gifts they had given her.

Silent Reading

Lee's role. Lee continued to consider silent reading as a time when the children could read for pleasure, but she also began to see it as another occasion for the children to practice reading. She allowed them to choose what they read and how they interacted with texts as long as they were quiet and did not disturb other's reading.

Lee continued to enforce the behavioral norms for this literacy event. After she had praised the children for reading a variety of books on December 4, she said, "Let's put the books away neater than they were." On October 23, and again on December 11, Lee ended silent reading after less than twenty minutes. On both occasions, she reminded the children that they could have silent reading only as long as they were looking at books. On December 11, Lee noted that while some people were reading, several individuals were not and that meant that silent reading would end for everyone. In this way Lee began to signal to the children that the actions of a few had an impact on what the group could do.

During Phase II, Lee became more interested in monitoring what the children read during this event. On a number of occasions, she told the children that she might "walk around a little during silent reading" to see what they were reading. Beginning on December 4, Lee recorded on a grid how many books the children selected for silent reading and what books they read. In her notes for that day she also put stars beside the names of children she had observed focusing on reading. On December 11, in addition to noting what the children read and how focused they were on reading, Lee also began to record what she was able to observe about the way the students interacted with the texts. For example, she noted that Kimberly used phonetic skills to decode words and that Kimby worked on learning letter-sound relationships while she read an Alpha book.

Lee's interest in what and how the children read was in keeping with the emphasis she had placed on getting all of the children reading during Phase II. In discussing the children's progress with me, group and individual, she frequently referred to what she had

observed the children doing during silent reading. She noted that she observed more of the children reading basal texts and that while some seemed to read stories they were in the process of learning, many selected basals in the more advanced levels. Lee inferred that the children's selection of the higher level basals was an indication that they were setting high goals for themselves and that they wanted to become readers.

Lee also continued to give the children time to share with each other what they had read during silent reading. On December 4,, she announced, "Silent reading is over. Will you hold up the most interesting books you read?" The students held up books and Lee asked, "Who read reading books (basals)? Who read RIF books? Who read Mrs. Kirschner books? (I had donated several books to the class library). Who read library books?" She praised the children for selecting a variety of books but seemed to send a subtle message that she was pleased to see them practicing basal stories. When she announced how many had read the various kinds of texts, she reported, "And nine people practiced reading basal stories!"

The students' role. Through their actions during silent reading, many of the students showed that they shared her goal for them to learn to read basals. In a note I wrote to myself on December 4, after silent reading had ended, I noted that many of the children had been reading basal texts. I raised the question, "Have they accepted the teacher's goal." At the time I was wondering if the children were coming to share Lee's belief that reading the basals would teach them how to read. Their actions seemed to suggest that they had. In addition, the shift from looking at books to reading books was apparent. I inferred that the children had begun working to become readers. They seemed to play less at reading and to do more reading.

The students continued to see silent reading as a social and academic activity, a time to read for pleasure, be with their friends, and learn to read. They continued to select a variety of books to read and look at during this time, but as Lee's records showed, more and more of the children began to read basal readers during silent reading. On

October 23, the first silent reading session after Lee began giving stars for reading basal stories, I noted that the children had selected a variety of books to read and were interacting with them in a number of ways. Some read books Lee had read to the class and practiced the skills she had taught them. Max read a Bill Martin book and Slade read, Mr. T Takes a Trip. Both were books Lee had recently read. Matt looked at a book about a rabbit family. When I sat down beside him, he pushed the book toward me and pointed to a picture of the rabbits around the dinner table. Shaking his head and tapping the picture with his finger, Matt said, "Twenty-two kids!" Ethan interacted with Creatures of the Wood. I could hear him using book talk as he turned the pages. When I walked by him, he looked up at me, pointed to a picture of a deer drinking from a stream and said, "That's the picture I drawed." I recognized it as the picture he had drawn during writing center earlier in the week. Slade moved over to look at the book with Ethan. When Ethan turned to a page with a picture of a mother bear and her cubs, read in book talk, "Here is a mother bear and her two babies," Slade said, "Cubs."

Most of the other children were engaged in similar interactions with books from the class library. Abby, however, read the flash cards Lee had made to help the children learn their color words. The children liked to read the rhymes such as "Blue, blue. Where is my shoe," and Abby read these quietly to herself for part of silent reading time. Michael G. was the only student whom I noted read a basal. He looked at one of the pre-primer books for most of silent reading.

On December 4, I observed that more of the children had selected basal texts to read during silent reading and that most appeared to practice reading from these. Lee's records showed that at least nine children spent all or part of silent reading time reading from basal texts. In my fieldnotes, I noted that Kelly, Matt, Michael G., Abby, Nathan, Jason, Olympia, and Ann were reading basal texts. Matt and Michael sat close together. "What's that word," Matt asked from time to time as he pointed to the page. Later, they looked at a magazine together, and he continued to ask Michael to read words for him.

Nathan, Jason, and Kelly sat near each other looking at basal texts. Each had a stack of pre-primers in front of them. Abby, Ann, and Olympia had copies of the same basal text, and from time to time, Abby or Ann would lean over, point to a word in the book they were reading, and ask Olympia, "What does this say." Once Nathan, who was sitting near by reading a different basal text, looked at Abby with a frown on his face and said, "Shut up. I'm trying to read."

Meanings and Interpretations Lee and Her Students Constructed Throughout Phase II

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations About Reading and Writing the Students Constructed Throughout Phase II

Throughout Phase II, the students constructed shared and individual meanings and interpretations about reading and writing. Through their interactions with Lee and with each other, they developed meanings and interpretations about the skills and techniques that Lee believed were necessary to learn if they were to become readers and writers.

Shared Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Reading

In some of their interactions, the children continued to play at reading. They pretended to be the teacher or played out scenes in which they engaged in reading-like acts. In others, they did reading. They imitated the skills and techniques Lee had been teaching them. When the first center period began on December 1, Patty, Olympia, Abby, Ann, Kelly, Ethan, and Michael E. moved to the reading center. Patty went to the adult-sized chair in the book corner and sat down. Abby and Olympia sat down on the floor in front of her. Patty took the stack of flash cards from the top of the bookcase. These cards belonged to Rob and he had announced during reading corner that the students could use them. She held up one card at a time and Olympia and Abby read

them. In a tone of voice which sounded like one Lee used to praise the students, Patty said, "Good reading," a phrase I had frequently heard Lee use.

Ann sat at the reading table waiting for a turn with Lee. I could hear her reading and sounding out words quietly to herself. Kelly and Michael E. sat at the table across from Ann. Each was reading a book from the class library.

When Lee sat down and Ann began reading to her, Patty, Olympia, and Abby moved to the reading table. A few minutes later, Kelly, Ethan, and Michael E. turned three chairs from the reading table around to face the window in the book corner. Each held a book on their laps. Ethan's book was upside down with the words facing away from him. Michael said, "We will look at Kelly's first." Kelly said, "No. We'll show our favorite page. I go first." She walked to the adult-sized chair in the corner and began to hold up her book. Then in a whisper that sounded to me as if she were giving stage directions she told Ethan and Michael, "We'll show the pages to each other first." They all opened their books and whispered to each other. I heard Kelly say, "Now we will show everyone our books." They got up, arranged their chairs in a semi-circle so that they would all be facing the empty floor in front of the adult-sized chair and held their books open to the space where students would have been sitting during book sharing.

But despite playing as reading, an analysis of Lee's records, showed that a majority of the children were reading and had begun to integrate visual cues and their intuitive knowledge of language to read sentences word by word, search for cues, and self correct. Sixteen of the children had read all twelve stories in the Level 3 basal and had begun reading stories in Level 4. Six of those had read all of the stories in Level 4 and one had started to read in Level 5. All sixteen had shown in reading aloud to Lee that they could read sentences word by word, could search for cues in the text to decode unfamiliar words and comprehend the meaning in the text, and could self-correct when what they read did not make sense.

Individual Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Reading

Individual development in reading varied widely. While the majority of the children had begun to read, a few were still working to become readers. Of the eight children still learning to read stories in the level 3 basal, Michael E. had read 9 stories out of twelve but the others had read less than five: Matt, 3; Ethan, 2; Slade, 4: Tony R., 3; and Joel, 4. Lee's records of individual conferences with Matt, Ethan, Slade, Tony R., and Joel showed that she had worked with them to teach them to use visual cues, to draw on their intuitive knowledge of language, and to integrate these two skills to help them begin to read. Her notes on her individual conferences with these students show what they were working on and what she did to support their development. In addition, they reflected her concerns about these children.

Her notes on her individual conferences with Matt indicated that she had worked with him to help him learn to read a trade book on November 10 and 11. On December 3, she had helped him develop the concept of voice-print match. By January 5, he had begun to use phonetic cues to decode and Lee had helped him work on building his vocabulary and fluency.

Lee's notes on Ethan showed that he had used his intuitive knowledge of language to read trade books to her on November 10 and 11, by inventing a story to go with the pictures and had used book talk on both occasions. On December 15, he had attempted to read the first story in the level 3 basal. Lee had noted that he seemed to have memorized the story and that he used the pictures and his memory to "read". She had noted that she worked with him to help him use the visual cue of voice-print match and to read the sentences word by word. On January 5, Lee had noted that Ethan was still having problems reading the same story, "stumbles w/ Lv 3/#1." On January 7, she had noted "better" for the same story.

Lee had noted that Slade had read the first three stories from level 3 to Lee by November 23. Lee noted that he had learned to read them in the transition room the year

before and was concerned that he had not read them with more fluency. On December 11, Lee had noted that Slade used phonetic cues to decode words and that his vocabulary and fluency when reading "The Bears," had been very good. On December 15, she recorded that he had read color flashcards to her. On January 6, Lee had noted that Slade read, "The Three Bears." Her notes said, "Sounds words out, slow but tries - needed Goldilocks pronounced."

Lee's records on Tony R.'s conferences with her show that on November 10, he chose to put his head down rather than read to her. On November 13 he had read the word book to her and said he knew it was book because it had two o's a b and a k. On December 3, Lee noted that Tony was developing a sight vocabulary. On December 10, she had written, "Doesn't know how to write letters - Knows sounds better than letters." Her notes showed that she worked with him on writing letters for the sounds he knew. Lee wrote again on January 5, that Tony was developing a sight vocabulary and "uses beginning sound to decode."

Lee's notes on her conferences with Joel include the word struggle for three of her five entries from November 11 to January 5. On November 11, she had noted that he knew the initial sound in Linda. "Knew Mr. L" but that he guessed the rest of the word. On November 13, she noted that he could read little when it began with a lower case l but not when it began with an upper case L. On December 10, Lee wrote that Joel was still trying to read the first story in level 3 and that he was struggling. Her entry on January 4 reflects her growing concern about his progress, "Doesn't remember vocab +/or story the next day!" But on January 5, she wrote, "Better!! (v + c)," suggesting she had seen an improvement in both vocabulary and comprehension.

Several of the children used book talk to "pretend read." Kelly was especially good at this. In fact, she sounded so much like she was reading that I had to look over her shoulder at the words on the page to be sure she was not making the voice word match. On October 20, I recorded her "reading" a trade book using book talk.

During reading center, Kelly asked if she could read to me. I said that she could. Kelly said, "I might pretend to read." I assured her that that was fine and asked if I could tape record her reading. She said I could and began to read the book, I Can Read About Dogs and Puppies. Kelly opened the book and turned the pages slowly. She looked at the pictures and then "read" the story. When she turned to a page with a picture of a caveman, she read in book talk, "Long, long ago..." She continued to "read" as if the text were written to the dog in the picture. "Don't fear men." Then she switched back to text addressing the reader. "Do you have a wolf? No, but I think my grandma had a wolf." On a page with a collie she read, "Here is a Lassie dog. Have you ever seen a Lassie dog? No, I know you never have. There never have been one around here." At times she ran her finger under the words as she pretended to read. Sometimes she "read" as if there was a dialogue between the people and the dogs in the pictures. On a page with a St. Bernard and puppies, she read the mother dog talking to her puppies, "I'll teach you how to stay safe. I'll teach you ...." On a page titled sporting dogs she read as if the text were addressing the dogs in the picture, "Don't fear ducks." For a picture of a German Shepherd, she shifted back to addressing the reader, "Will you watch my dog?" For a picture of a dachshund she read, "Have you ever seen a dog like this? It had short legs in front and big legs in back."

Most of the children had come to understand the match between word and orthographic representation. Ethan was the last to master this concept. On October 20, he asked me to read him an alphabet book. He said we could read it together. I had watched Lee read it to him and seen him practice reading it with Matt and by himself. We read together, each taking turns to read a page. When I pointed to a word to see if he had been reading the words or had been reading from memory, he looked at me, shook his head and laughed, "You just want me to do what you tell me to do," he said with an impish grim.

On December 9, I realized that he had just begun to understand the match between words and their graphic representation. Ethan asked me to read, The Great Escape to him. It was a book which had belonged to my son and I had given to the class library. The story was about alligators who lived in the sewers in New York City and on one page there were words printed in white in voice bubbles on a black page to show how dark it was in the sewer at night. When I read that page, I pointed to the words, "Get us out of here," "Turn on the lights," "Help," "Help," "Help." Ethan looked up at me and then at the page. I had just read the word "help," and he pointed to it. "That says 'help?'" I said it did and re-read all of the help words on the page putting my finger under each. Ethan looked hard at the page and then read, "Help," "Help," "Help." I remembered what Lee had told me about the day Jerrod read "books" for the first time and began to wonder if Ethan had just "cracked the code" too.

Shared Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Writing

An analysis of the children's writing showed that they had all mastered the sign concept and had begun to use graphic displays to stand for something. While all seemed to understand the concepts of linearity and directionality, none of the children could consistently apply these principles in their writing. The majority of students had begun to understand the concept of space between words but again, none were applying it consistently.

By January 7, all of the children had tried to use invented spelling and most were beginning to use conventional spelling to spell common words such as the and and. A growing number were showing an interest in using conventional spelling.

Individual Meanings and Interpretations Constructed about Writing

Individual variation in development was also the norm in writing. While none of the students used the conventions of written text on a consistent basis, some were closer

to mastering the conventions of linearity, directionality, and space between the words than others. Some had begun to master the concept of a sentence and had used a capital at the beginning and a period at the end. Others like Kelly and Michael G. were working on those concepts.

Only two of the children did not write words on their pictures on a consistent basis and did not use invented spelling. Ethan consistently drew pictures and copied words from books or the picture dictionary. When Lee asked him to read what he had written, he was unable to do so.

Jason had continued to draw intricate pictures and to copy words from the environment such as dates from the board or words from posters. On January 7, I observed him write words on his picture which he told me he "sounded out." On that day her wrote: A P/RMB. He read, "A rainbow." I had not seen him use invented spelling before. He said he had put in the / to show he needed a space. After he and Kimberly read their papers to each other, Kimberly said, "I'm going to write, 'A bear is in the tree.'" Jason said he was going to add, "This is me under the rainbow." He wrote:

thiis MUD
UDRxA

His writing suggested that he had begun to use invented spelling and to work on leaving space between the words. I found it interesting that he copied the words this and is from a basal story he had been learning to read which may explain why he used lower case letters for those words and not the others. Clearly, he had begun to work on a number of concepts simultaneously.

The children became more interested in conventional spelling. Many used the picture dictionaries and copied words from them onto their papers. Others, used invented spelling and then asked Lee or me to tell them if they were right. On November 2, Cody wrote:

Tisis THE GRAT
PUCK
in

He read, "This is the great pumpkin," and then asked me if he had spelled it right. I wrote the words using the conventional spelling and he said, "Ummmm. I got lots of the letters. I thought I just spelled my name right!"

A number of the children began to use conventional spelling to spell common words such as the, me, mom, dad. They sought each other's help with spelling on a regular basis. It was not unusual for much of the talk at writing center to revolve around spelling. On January 7, Tony C. and Kelly were discussing what they were going to write on their papers after they drew their pictures. Tony read what he had written to Kelly and asked as he pointed to a word, "Is this how you spell...?"

Others like Rob, used sources such as his flash cards to find out how to spell words. Several of the children began looking in the basal books they were reading to find words to use in their writing. Jason and Michael E. frequently copied words Lee had written on the board onto their papers. On November 2, Michael copied the words, pumpkin and popcorn from the board.

In addition to working to make their spelling conventional, the children also showed that they were working to master the conventions of written text which Lee had pointed out to them or taught them. Samples of the children's writing on November 2, showed that they were working to master the concept of space between words. On that day, Lee had told them they would be making a book about their trip to the pumpkin patch and Halloween. She had reminded them to leave space between their words.

Amy wrote:

I TRte
TONY AN
MAndY A I

She read this, "On Halloween I went trick or treating with my brother Tony and Mandy and I." She pointed to the space she had left between the words.

Rob continued to work on space between words, directionality, and page layout. He wrote beside the picture he drew:

MY DA
C(backward)K AREG'
MY
POKEN

He read, "My dad carried my pumpkin."

Nathan also continued to write beside his picture.

WE
WT
TO
BL
E

He read, "We went bowling."

Olympia moved closer to conventional form. She wrote:

I MAD MY
PHKN
Halloween

She read, "I made my pumpkin on Halloween." I had observed her copying the word Halloween from the board.

Michael G. used a combination of conventional and invented spelling and worked on spacing.

THE is
Piooe RAeDReoo
iZ DiNe

He read, "This is President Reagan. He is dead." I had noticed that he wrote this as the is on a number of his other papers and that he continued to do so until the first part of January when he wrote this.

The children also tried to write longer stories after Lee asked them to do so on December 2. As the following samples show, they had begun to master leaving space between the words. Some had begun to use a capital to begin a sentence and a period at the end.

Slade wrote: I am in the hous (no period). He sounded out the words, left space between the words, and wrote in lower case letters except for I which was the first word of the sentence.

Ann wrote:

I AM BAE WiTH MY
BABE SIRTR AN MY
DOG AN Jenny.

She read, "I am playing with my baby sister and my dog and Jenny." She left space between the words, began with a capital and ended with a period. She used one lower case letter, i, and unlike Nathan and Rob, she put more than a word or two on a line.

Jessica wrote:

ME ANd MY FRENDS PLUY
OWT Siodu

She read, "Me and my friends play outside." She left space between the words and also used a combination of upper and lower case letters and conventional and invented spelling. Like Ann, she put several words on a line.

Max wrote two sentences and used a period at the end of each even though he did not place them in the conventional place. He also left extra space between the first and second sentence:

MY DAD is gowg' Hom frum
WK. MY DaDwk intl o NiNe At Nit
iN 5 inmng

He read, "My dad is going home from work. My dad works until at night in 5 o'clock in the morning." He frowned as he read this and shook his head. He explained that his dad

left at 9:00 at night and got home at 5:00 in the morning. Although he did not succeed at making a voice - print match, he did leave space, use both conventional and invented spelling and a combination of upper and lower case letters.

Kelly showed with her comments and her writing that she was trying to make sense of Lee's instructions to write a longer story, leave space between words, begin with a capital and end with a period. She wrote:

IMU GO IN TO
ce SATU an(crossed out) aud IMU
I MU GO IN TO
Git A PUSH it.

Kelly read, "I'm going to see Santa and I'm going to get a present." When she finished writing the letters and before she made the period, she pointed to the end of the sentence and asked me, "Do I need a little something at the end?"

On January 4, Kelly showed that she understood and could use a convention Lee had introduced during Phase I and had reinforced in a skill lesson in Phase II. Lee had asked the children to write a longer story and Kelly wrote:

I WN to DEDi MAN'S
HeAIU AND I SLEDID THIER.
AND I HAeD FUN.

She read, "I went to dead man's hill and I slided there and I had fun." I noted in my fieldnotes that she had read as if the first period were not there. When I asked what the little mark in MAN'S meant, she said it meant there was just one man's hill. She said, "If I didn't put the mark in it would mean there was more than one mans. Like two mans."

What she wrote on January 7, showed how the children worked to master a convention, used it and then reverted when they worked on another feature of writing. In this case, it appeared that Kelly was working on writing a longer story. She wrote:

THIS IS A
PRD
RABOOW YOU
MIT NOT LIK IT

Kelly read, "This is a pretty rainbow. You might not like it." Although she did not use periods, she did leave extra space at the end of the first sentence.

Meanings and Interpretations Lee Had Constructed Throughout Phase II

Throughout Phase II, Lee constructed and reconstructed meanings related to her beliefs about children, children's literacy, community, and pedagogy through her interactions with her students and with other teachers in her school. In the following pages, I will describe the meanings Lee constructed throughout Phase II and the process she engaged in to construct those meanings.

The Group Versus the Individual

Throughout Phase II, Lee constructed and reconstructed her beliefs about community. She had continued to work to balance the social and academic needs of the group with the social and academic needs of individuals during Phase II. That task had become less difficult during this phase after the students began working as a group.

In a journal entry on November 2, Lee wrote that she was pleased with the way the students were working in the centers and following the community norms. She noted that they were beginning to act like a group. She wrote, "I feel like they are really coming together. They are working better and better. Kids are beginning to work as a team/family." Above team/family she wrote "culture" and put it in quotation marks and underlined it. She went on,

- quiet each other down
- help, share, co-operate
- "announcements" - ask each other for help
  - communicate
  - take resp. for resolving own problems
- believe Jim likes them best (pencils, boiler tour)
- believe they get better everyday in everyway
- believe I am proud of them and brag about them because they are worthy of it

Once Lee knew that the students as a group were adjusting to the classroom social environment, she was able to turn her attention to supporting their learning and to attending to individual student's academic needs.

From the records she kept on the students reading basal stories to her, Lee knew that most of the children were progressing through the level 3 basal text and moving on to others but that Cody had not immediately taken turns to read to her and Joel had struggled to learn to read the first story in the book. Her records showed that by November 4, every child except Cody had tried to read "Books" to her and that he did not begin reading basal stories to her until December 3. Joel was the only child who did not get a star for reading "Books" by December 3. From her records Lee also knew that by January 7, eight of the twenty-four students had not finished reading the twelve stories on the Level 3 basal text. Kimby had read only four of the twelve; Tony C., 2; Michael E., 9; Matt, 3; Ethan, 2; Slade, 4; Tony R., 3; and Joel, 4.

On January 7th, Lee expressed her concerns about the children still working on the first stories in level 3. She said that she though Matt was beginning to make progress but that Slade, Ethan, Tony R., and Joel had not seemed to be making much progress. Joel and Tony R.'s lack of progress were especially a concern to her. Right after she had assessed their knowledge during Phase I, she had arranged for Tony R. and Joel to work with a tutor. Given the special attention they had gotten, she was concerned that they had not made more progress.

Lee's greatest concern, however, was for Slade. She said he should be doing so much better given that he had read the same books in transition room the year before. She noted that his behavior was part of his problem and that it was becoming a problem for the whole class. In the same conversation, she said that Max and Cody also were not doing as well as they should be. Lee said she felt their behavior was responsible for their slow progress. During Phase III, Lee's concerns about individual students and the impact

their behavior and literacy development had on the community of learners and the culture of literacy emerged as a central issue.

But at the same time she was concerned about certain students individual growth, Lee was also impressed with the progress others were making. She noted that the children were "teaching us what they can do," and she said that she had learned to monitor their progress to insure that she was not "limiting their potential." On January 6, after Max, Rob, and Michael G. had stapled paper together to make books and Michael G. had brought a book his sister had written to class for Lee to share at book sharing, Lee said the children had shown her that it was time to increase her expectations for them.

Order Versus Creativity

Throughout Phase II, Lee had also continued to work to develop a pedagogy that would accommodate the children's agenda and her own. Given the experiences she had had during Phase I, she had asserted her authority more during Phase II. Through her interactions with the students, she had learned that the majority of the students shared her agenda to get them all reading and that most had begun to use their social relations with her and with each other to support their learning.

As the students had assumed more responsibility for their behavior and their learning and began acting like a group, Lee felt more comfortable giving them a role in shaping interactions during book sharing. On November 12, Lee read the students a book about the human skeleton. She had borrowed the book and a real human skeleton from a friend who did educational programs for children at the university. The interactional pattern that developed was much like the one that had developed on the day she had read the words from "The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald," but Lee seemed to be more comfortable giving the students control over the discussion.

The children interrupted her to ask questions and to call out comments. When Lee began to read the section on the ribs, Max said "ribs protect the heart." Lee stopped

reading and let him share what he knew about the ribs. A few minutes later, Joel asked, "Does your brain send a message to your mouth to yawn?" Again, Lee stopped reading and talked about how the brain functioned. She answered questions and then went back to reading from the book. Tony R. called out, "I've got a question." Lee said, "Wait a minute. I've got three pages left. Remember your question." When she finished reading, she called on the Tony and the other students who had questions.

Someone asked how many questions she would answer. Lee often told them, "I'll take two more questions and then we will have to move on. If there are other questions, you can ask me at recess." However, this time she said, "We can take questions as long as everyone is listening." The kids were really excited and had lots of questions. Lee answered each patiently and listened carefully to what the children had to say. Max asked, "Why does it say there are 206 bones and I can only find 200?" He had been looking closely at the skeleton beside Lee. Jason said that he had fallen off a table and needed stitches but had not broken a bone. Cody said that the leg is like the arm and has the same kind of bones. Lee looked at the skeleton and asked him to point to the bones that looked the same.

At 10:35, Patty raised her hand. When Lee called on her, she asked, "Can we start centers now?" Lee said centers would begin when everyone had had an opportunity to have their questions answered.

Chapter Summary

By the end of Phase II, Lee and the students had begun to share a set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques and statuses associated with reading and writing. As a community of learners, Lee and the students continued to share the values associated with reading and writing that they had constructed in Phase I. They valued reading and writing as meaning-making activities which served a variety of functions in their lives in

school and out. Lee and the students continued to share beliefs about reading and writing which they had constructed in Phase I. They all believed that everyone would learn to read and write and that they would use the ability to read and to write in a variety of ways both in school and out. In addition, they shared the belief that to learn to read it was necessary to practice and to seek help from adults or others and that reading stories in the basal readers would help them become readers. All of the students had shown a desire to learn the skills and techniques Lee modeled and taught in book sharing, reading center, and skill lessons. While some were successfully using these skills and techniques when they read, others were still working on developing them and on becoming readers.

CHAPTER SIX

RECONSTRUCTING THE CLASSROOM CULTURE AND THE CLASSROOM CULTURE OF LITERACY: DEVELOPING SHARED AND INDIVIDUAL MEANINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS ABOUT SCHOOL AND LITERACY IN THE PRESENCE OF COMPETING AGENDAS

Phase III began on January 8 and ended on April 1. In many ways, it was the worst of times and the best of times. It was a time when the classroom social context Lee and the students had been constructing periodically ceased to function to support school learning. However, it was also a time when most of the children made significant progress toward becoming readers and writers. When the phase began, Lee had high expectations for what the children could learn between winter and spring break. However, during the first few weeks of the phase, it became evident that individual students' problems and shifts in the students' agenda would interfere with Lee's plans. Throughout Phase III, Lee struggled to maintain a balance between order and creativity and to find a way to address the social and academic needs of individuals and at the same time continue to nurture the social and academic needs of the group. Consequently, events during Phase III illustrate most dramatically how Lee's beliefs, the classroom social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum and literacy activities, what the children learned, and factors outside of the classroom interacted with and shaped each other.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I describe the process Lee and her students engaged in during Phase III to maintain and modify the classroom social context and to further expand the classroom culture of literacy. First, I provide an overview of the interactional patterns that emerged in Phase III. Second, I discuss Lee and her students' goals before the interactions in Phase III began. Third, I describe the interactional process Lee and her students engaged in to reconstruct shared and individual meanings and interpretations about school and literacy in the presence of competing agendas. In discussing this process, I focus on showing Lee's efforts to maintain the order she believed was necessary in order for learning to occur in her classroom and the students' response to her efforts. Finally, I discuss the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students had constructed throughout Phase III.

Overview of the Patterns Which Emerged in the Interactional Context During Phase III

From the beginning of the year, Lee had seen the social and academic as intertwined. She had first worked to establish a social context that would support learning and then had worked to use that social context to get all of the children reading and writing. Throughout Phases I and II, she had struggled to develop a pedagogy that would be responsive to children, take their agenda into account, and give them ownership of their learning. When individual student's agendas had conflicted with hers, she had tried to bring them into the classroom culture by establishing a personal relationship with them and by using a system of rewards and punishment. During Phase III, when more and more of the students' agendas appeared to conflict with hers, Lee asserted her authority.

Lee began Phase III with an eye to the end of the year and to the classroom cultures the children would enter the following year. Her plan was to focus on teaching the students what she believed they needed to know to fit into the school culture and to become part of the culture of literacy. The majority of students conformed with her plan, and they worked to internalize the shared set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing which the class and Lee had been constructing. Kimberly, Nathan, Ted, Patty, Olympia, and Megan seemed especially comfortable with the new standards Lee introduced. They resonated to the elements of the more traditional culture of school which Lee introduced into the social and academic tasks.

However, for others like Slade, Max, and Cody, the elements of the traditional school culture seemed to trigger efforts to preserve their own agendas rather than join Lee and the others in constructing a more school-like community. They struggled to take the community toward more rather than less student creativity, toward more rather than less control over their actions.

Lee responded to their efforts by asserting her authority. While at times it appeared that she had abandoned her goal to develop a pedagogy that was responsive to children, there was ample evidence that that was not the case. Through her interactions with the children, comments to me and to other teachers, and entries in our interactive journal, Lee showed that she was still trying to take the children's natural way of learning into account at the same time she was trying to address the social and academic needs of individual students. Lee's actions also showed that she felt a tension between putting her new beliefs about children and children's literacy into practice and meeting what she considered were her responsibilities to plan for and be accountable for children's learning. During the fourteen weeks of Phase III, Lee struggled to balance order and creativity and individual and group needs.

Shifts in Lee's Beliefs and in the Interactional Context

Shifts in Lee's Beliefs

Through her interactions with her students during Phase II, Lee gained insights insights into her students social and academic competence. From conferencing with her students about reading and writing, she knew that she had not achieved her goal to "get them all reading." Lee knew that eight of the twenty-four students had not finished reading the stories in the level 3 basal and that Joel, Tony R., and Ethan were still trying to learn to read the first three or four of the twelve stories in the collection. She was especially concerned by their slow progress because she knew that the end of February was the traditional time for reporting who would be retained. From her interactions with the second grade teachers, Lee knew that they expected students to be reading in level 7 of the basals when they entered second grade and that they expected students to be able to display their knowledge of the skills introduced in the basal readers on worksheets rather than in the context of reading and writing. In addition, she knew that the children would be expected to work independently instead of collaboratively.

Although Lee had expressed on a number of occasions in our conversations, in TDOC meetings, and in presentations that she was convinced that the way she was teaching, organizing her classroom, interacting with students, and organizing her literacy curriculum were the way to teach and that kids were benefiting, she was aware that the children would be judged by standards different from the ones she had set for them. Therefore, Lee knew that she needed to prepare the children for the more traditional setting they would enter in second grade and to bring all of the children to the level the second grade teachers had established before she could send them on to second grade.

Given these realities, Lee knew that while she had been able to focus on her goals of creating a community, implementing her beliefs about developmental learning, and creating a culture of literacy during Phases I and II, she now had to look at the larger culture of the school and consider what counted as reading and writing and competency in going to school.

Shifts in the Interactional Context

Events during the early part of December suggested that Lee and Ann were about to begin implementing another phase of their literacy curriculum and that their plan to engage the children in more school-like tasks after winter break would once again change the interactional context.

On December 9, Lee and Ann met to begin developing skill lessons and spelling lists which they planned to implement after winter break. During that meeting, they talked about their plans for the rest of the year and their hopes for helping all of their students, even those who were not yet readers, become readers and writers by the end of the year. Lee noted that she felt they had the language experience part of the curriculum in place and that it was now time to implement the skill portion of the curriculum.

During the summer they had looked at the programs they had used in previous years, including Wisconsin design, Alpha, and the Holt, Rinehart and Winston basal series. Drawing on these programs and their own past experience, they had decided which skills to teach and had organized them in what they considered an appropriate sequence. (See Figure 14 for a list and sequence of the skills). They had then begun to assemble a folder for each skill and to gather from the various programs dittos, worksheets, and games which the students could use in centers to practice the skills. Now, using an article that had appeared in Reading Teacher on words most frequently used in children's books, Lee and Ann developed spelling lists and coordinated them with the list of skills they planned to teach.

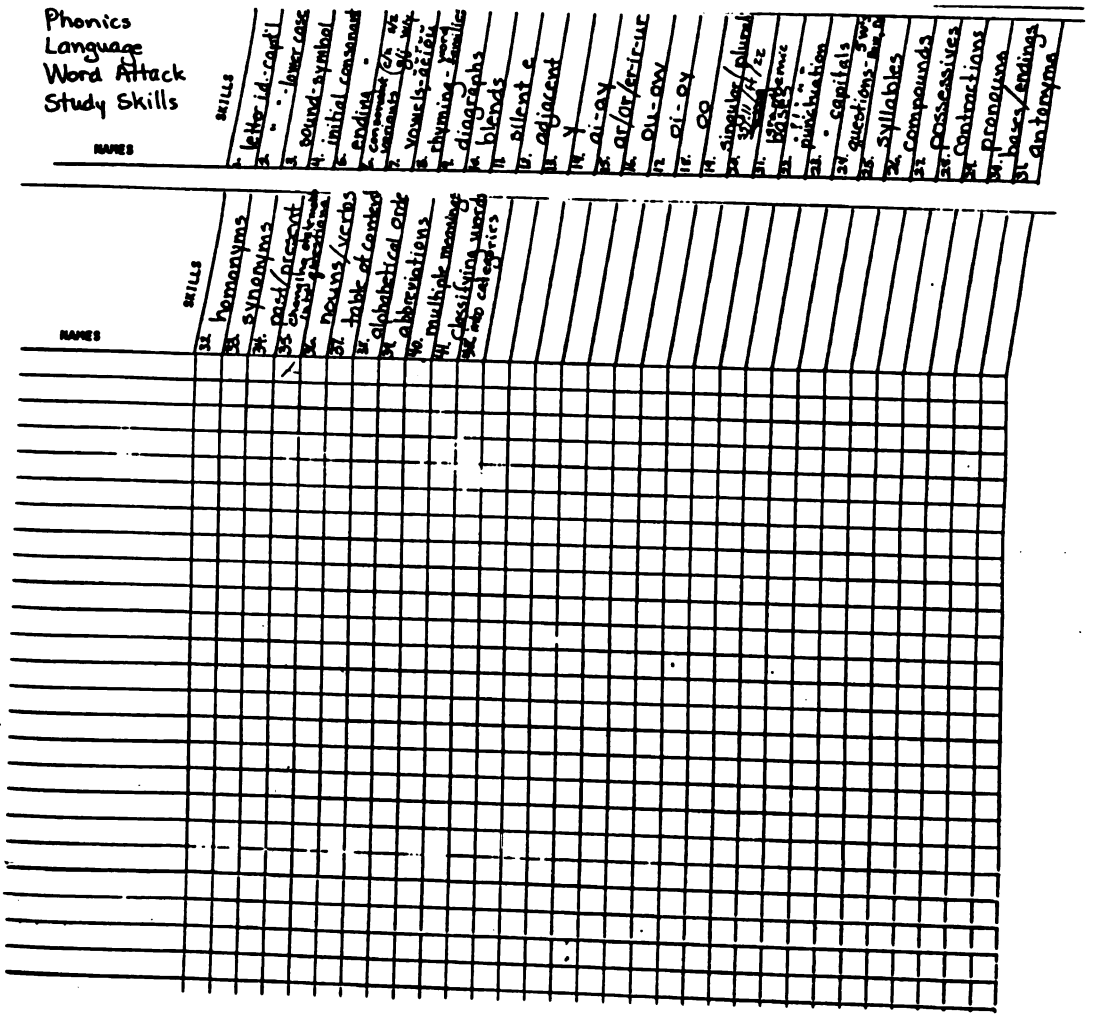

Phonics
Language
Word Attack
Study Skills
NAMES
SKILLS
1. letter id.-capt.
2. lower case
3. sound-symbol
4. initial consonant
5. ending
6. consonant
7. vowels
8. rhyming - family
9. diagraphs
10. blends
11. silent e
12. adjacent
13. y
14. ai-ay
15. ar/or/ar-ur
16. ou-ow
17. ei-ey
18. oo
19. singular/plural
20. 123
21. punctuation
22. capitals
23. questions
24. syllables
25. compounds
26. possessives
27. Contractions
28. Pronouns
29. base/endings
30. antonyms
31. homonyms
32. synonyms
33. card/record
34. Dewey Decimal
35. nouns/verbs
36. table of contents
37. alphabetical ord
38. abbreviations
39. multiple meanings
40. classifying words into categories

FIGURE 14

When they returned from winter break, both Lee and Ann were excited about putting their new program into practice. They believed that the skill lessons and spelling tests would support the students' reading and writing development. On January 1, Lee began to raise her expectations for her students during writing center and to model explicitly the conventions she expected them to display in their writing. She told the students, "For writing, you will write a little longer story. 'I went tobogganing. It was fun.' Two sentences instead of one." She looked for an example in one of the books the students were reading. "Let me find a good example." She picked up a book and held it up so that the children could see it. "Notice that the first letter is a capital letter." She pointed to the first word in a sentence. "There is a period at the end." She pointed to the period and added, " And there are spaces between the words." She ran her finger under the spaces.

On January 7, Lee observed in the other first grade classroom. When she returned, she expressed her concern that she might not be expecting enough of her students. She said she wanted to ask more of them in terms of their behavior and their academic work. After school that day, Lee and Ann stayed after school to prepare the first skill sheet for the students and a letter to the parents explaining the spelling and vocabulary lists they would be sending home with the children. On the morning of January 8, Lee began the skill lessons.

Lee's Goals Before Phase III Began

The goals Lee held before Phase III began were shaped by her desire to get all of her students ready for second grade and her current beliefs about children, children's literacy, community, and pedagogy. Her goal was to continue to work with the students to construct and extend shared and individual meanings and interpretations about reading and writing, but now, Lee raised her expectations for the students' performance in all of

the literacy events. She communicated these new goals to her students through her interactions with them in which she made explicit connections between the concepts, skills, and techniques the students were learning in each of those events or when she suggested to the students that they might write about topics that were raised during book sharing. In reading center both she and the students noted when the words they were reading were the same words they had had on their spelling or vocabulary lists. When the children were decoding words during their turn with Lee in reading center, Lee often referred to phonetic rules she had taught in a skill lesson. When the students asked her to spell a word they had already had on their spelling or vocabulary lists, Lee referred them to a large chart she had hung on the wall above the bookcases on which she wrote the spelling and vocabulary words from their skill lessons. In asking them to incorporate a new element into their writing, Lee used the books she read during book sharing or the basal readers to find examples to show the students what she was asking them to do.

Lee also made her goal explicit by raising academic and social expectations. She made the students more accountable for completing center work by listing on the board who had not completed their work the previous day. She monitored individual development by keeping notes on individual reading conferences. Using checklists and grids, she kept track of what the students were reading and writing. In addition to the star system she had developed to reinforce individual positive behavior, Lee had introduced the popcorn party to reinforce positive group behavior.

The Students' Goals Before Phase III Began

When Phase III began, the majority of students had learned the classroom norms and routines and had shown that they were willing to work with Lee to maintain a social context that would support learning. In addition, most students had begun to read and to use some conventions of written text in their writing. There were, however, a number of

students who had not learned what they needed to know to read and write on the level Lee expected. Joel, Tony R., and Ethan were all still struggling to read the first stories in the level 3 basal. In addition, Slade, Max, and Cody had not shown that they intended to live by the classroom or school rules.

Given their different levels of internalization of the shared meanings and interpretations associated with the social organization of the classroom, classroom social relationships, and the values, beliefs, skills, and techniques associated with reading and writing, it was not surprising that the students did not have a set of shared goals when Phase III began. While most students shared Lee's goal that they master and apply the concepts, skills, and techniques she taught them during skill lessons, book sharing, and reading and writing conferences so that they would become readers and writers, many students seemed to set goals for themselves that conflicted with Lee's goals. Having learned to read, several students seemed to turn their focus back to socialization and away from academics. Max and Cody seemed to be working to establish roles for themselves in the classroom that were oppositional to Lee's goals for members of the community. Slade appeared to be working to reconcile the view of the world he had built from what he learned at home with the view of the world he learned at school.

The difference between Lee's goals and her students' goals created tensions that emerged as conflicts during face-to-face interactions in Phase III.

Constructing Meanings and Interpretations about School and Literacy Through Face-to-Face Interactions During Phase III

Day One

Lee began communicating her goals to her students on January 8, the first day of Phase III. On that day, Lee made a change in the daily schedule and in her interactions

with the students which signaled to them and to me that she would be expecting even more from them academically and socially than she had in the past. Patterns emerged in her interactions with the students during a new literacy event, skill lesson, and during silent reading, which showed her students that Lee's new agenda was to teach them the skills and norms they needed to know to become better readers and writers and to act appropriately in school.

In the following two sections, I will describe the patterns which emerged through Lee's interactions with her students during skill lesson and silent reading on January 8 and show how each of the new patterns continued in each literacy event throughout that phase. Lee's interactions with the children on the first day of this new phase during the skill lesson illustrate how Lee altered her role during this phase in her efforts to prepare the students for the school culture and the larger culture of literacy. Lee's interactions with two of her students during silent reading on the first day of this new phase foreshadow the conflict that arose during Phase III between Lee's goal to focus on learning and the children's goal to set the agenda.

Day One Skill Lesson: The Introduction of New Goals and New Roles

During the skill lesson on January 8, Lee showed her students that she would explicitly teach them the skills and techniques she had been teaching them during book sharing and reading and writing conferences. What happened during this event and introduced the students to new interactional patterns and goals.

On January 8, I arrived later than usual that day, at 9:40, and was surprised to see Lee at the front board teaching a lesson on plurals. The typical daily schedule had been for Lee and the students to finish the calendar at about this time and move to the book corner. In the past when Lee taught a lesson like the one I saw her teaching, she taught it in the context of sharing a book or after book sharing to prepare students for a task they

would work on in one of their morning centers. But, this was Friday. On Friday, Silent Reading always followed reading corner. If they did centers on Friday, they always did them after Silent Reading.

I was puzzled. In my notes I wrote, "T explaining centers?" I sat down at the reading table and listened as Lee introduced the students to the concept of plurals. Then she held up a sheet of paper and explained that it was their homework. She said that they would take a sheet like this home every Friday and that each Friday they would get a new list of spelling words and a new skill; that during the following week, they would have practice tests and a final test on the spelling word and skills. She showed the children a letter attached to the ditto which told their parents about the new activity and asked them to help their son or daughter practice the words and skills.

I wrote in my notes, "No, not centers - a skill lesson!" I knew that Lee had been working to develop skill lessons, but I realized from my reaction that I had not anticipated that she would use a direct instruction format to teach them. I had become so accustomed to her teaching skills in context that I was surprised to see her use this approach. She had changed the time, place, interactional format, and the content. Although she had taught skills before outside the context of book sharing, she usually taught them in context, in preparation for a center activity, or in response to a student's question. In the past, she had not taught spelling or given the children homework. The children seemed to sense that this was a new and very serious event. As they had done months before when Lee told them she would give them stars for reading basal stories on the first day of Phase II, they tried to make sense of this new activity. When they began to ask questions, Lee told them to raise their hands and wait until she called on them.

As I observed these interactions, I sensed that Lee had shifted the focus once again. The change she had made in the format of the skill lesson and her verbal and nonverbal interactions with the students suggested to me that she meant to communicate this shift to the students. She seemed to be telling the students that once again, she had

raised her expectations for them and that she believed they were ready to work even harder at learning to read and write.

Lee confirmed these hunches with the comments she made to me during the next few minutes. While the children selected books for silent reading, Lee talked with me about the things she had been doing to organize the language arts program so that she was sure to teach the children what they needed to know. She told me how excited she was about adding skill lessons to the literacy events and showed me the letter to parents and the worksheet she had been telling the students about when I arrived. She showed me the form she had developed for recording individual reading conferences (Figure 15) and explained that she planned to have more conferences with the children and to keep records of their progress. I began to sense that not only had she raised expectations for the students but that she had also raised expectations for herself. Again, her next comments confirmed that hunch.

Lee went on to say that she and Ann had stayed after school the night before and had developed a curriculum chart for the rest of the year. When I asked what motivated them to do this at this time, she explained that her student teacher had had an assignment to develop a year-long curriculum chart for science, and that she had thought it would be a good idea to formalize their curriculum plans in all of the subject areas. Lee said she was surprised that she had never thought of doing that on her own or that neither the school system nor principal had ever suggested they do it. She said, "I've taught for

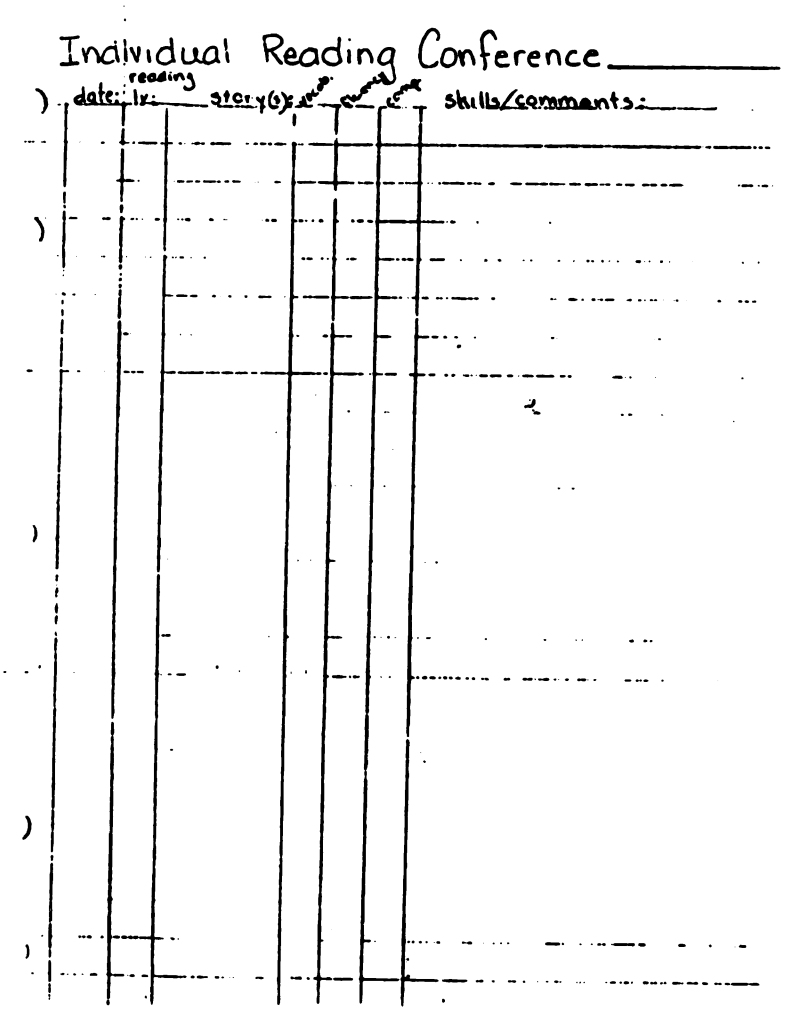

Individual Reading Conference
date:
reading lv:
story(s)
skills/comments:

FIGURE 15

fifteen years and never thought of it! I'm sure it will help me teach better! Now, I want to put together the plans I've made for individual subjects on one chart and see how everything relates."

Lee continued to use the interactional pattern she introduced on the first day of Phase III to teach the skill lessons and to show the students that this was an important literacy event. During Phase III, skill lessons became a significant part of the daily schedule and continued to be a key literacy event. Although Lee continued to teach skills in the context of book sharing and reading and writing conferences and the students continued to work in their language arts workbook and handwriting workbooks, Lee and the students began to refer to skill lessons as those lessons Lee taught in the morning after the opening.

Lee's actions during the skill lesson showed her students that she considered skill lessons important. First, she explained to the students that she was sending a letter home with the first list of words in which she was asking parents to help them practice the words at home. Second, she told the children that she would give them two tests. One would be a practice test and the second would be a test on which she would give them a grade. Both of these conditions were unlike anything else Lee had done. She had asked parents to help the students read book for Book-it and to help with field trips or with misbehavior but she had never written to parents asking them to help the children practice learning things she taught them in class. Furthermore, Lee had never tested the children over something she had taught. She had given the children tests at the beginning of the year to assess their reading readiness, but they had not gotten a grade on those tests.

Lee's Role

Throughout Phase III, Lee continued to show the students that skill lessons were important. First, she reinforced what she taught in the skill lessons during centers when she assigned dittos or worksheets in Center 2 or 3. In addition, Lee gave the students a list of spelling and vocabulary words each Friday to take home to study with their parents. Each Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday morning before opening, Lee gave the students a practice sheet on which they practiced writing their spelling words and from which they read the vocabulary words to a partner. Figure 16 is a sample of a practice sheet. On Wednesday she gave them a practice spelling test and on Friday, a final test over the spelling words. In addition, each student read the list of vocabulary words to Lee.

She also communicated that skill lessons were important by the amount of time she scheduled for them. First, she added them to the morning schedule after the opening and before reading corner. Children who had not completed their practice sheets were not permitted to join the others at reading corner until they finished their morning worksheet. In addition, Lee scheduled time to practice the skills during one of the centers. On February 4, she announced to the children that she was adding a fourth center in which they would practice their spelling and skills.

On February 23, Lee and the students worked from after the opening until recess in whole group on skills, from about 9:40 to 10:45. First, they discussed r and how it changed the sound of a. She asked the students to suggest words with ar in them. Then she asked riddle-like questions to get them to think of even more words, "This is what peanut butter comes in." The students answered the riddle and Lee wrote more words on the board. "A dog goes ....?" After they had generated a long list of ar words on the board, Lee said, "You're ready for some riddles now," and she passed out a ditto which

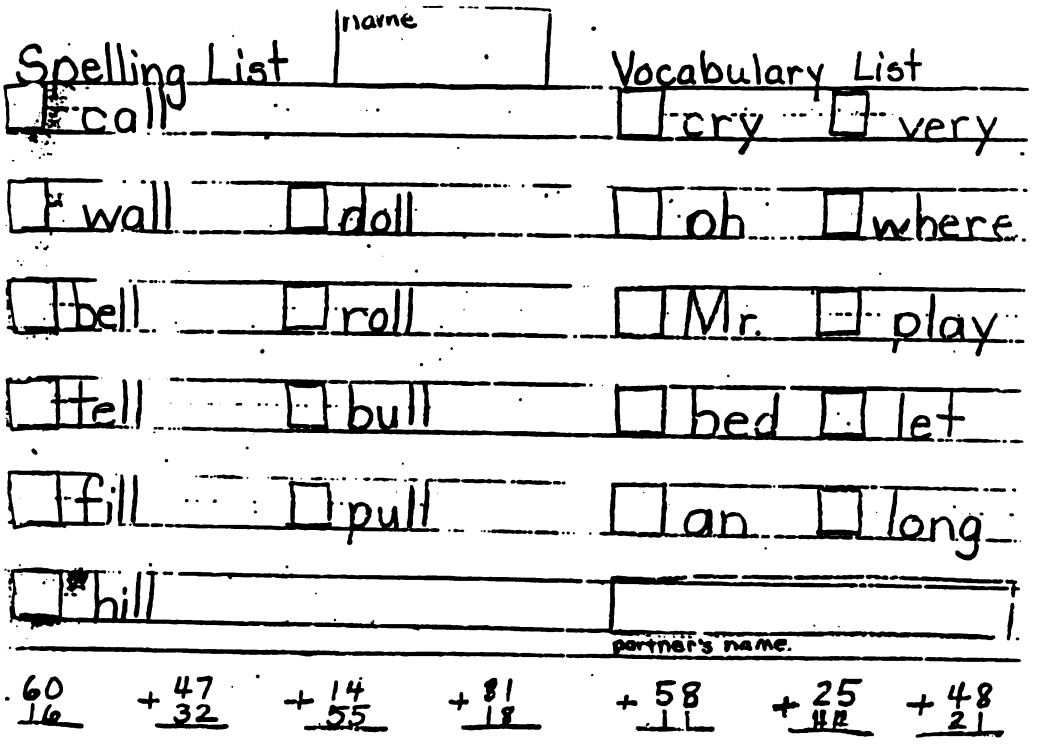

name
Spelling List
call
wall
doll
bell
roll
Mr.
play
Hell
bull
bed
let
fill
pull
an
long
hill
partner's name.
Vocabulary List
cry
very
oh
where
60 16
+ 47 32
+ 14 55
+ 81 18
+ 58 11
+ 25 48
+ 48 21

FIGURE 16

she and the students completed together. I noted that the ditto had come from the basal series workbook. At the top it said Level 7 "The Small Lot." I realized that the story "The Small Lot" was in the Level 7 basal. When the children and Lee completed that ditto, Lee passed out a second ditto with more riddles. In a tone that sounded like a protest, Slade asked, "Why do we have to do more riddles?" Lee turned toward him and said in a cheerful voice, "So you will get smart!" She read the riddle and called on someone to fill in the blank. She and the children laughed at some of the answers and Lee said, "This sheet is kind of funny, isn't it?" Finally, they did a page in their language arts workbook on the ar sound in words. Book sharing did not take place until after recess.

A similar pattern emerged on March 1. At 9:35, Lee and the students read the spelling and vocabulary words together. Then someone reminded Lee that they had forgotten to do the calendar activity that was part of the opening. After they did that, at 9:42, Lee said, "Time to listen," and she introduced the letters o and u and taught the children the sounds associated with those letters. At 9:46 she announced, "Today we are going to do a ditto." Before she went on, she stopped to remind several students that it was time to listen and that this was important. She then went on to guide the students through completing the ditto. At 9:55, she passed out a second ditto and they completed it. Without asking the students to move to the book corner, Lee announced centers. Centers began at 10:10. There had been not book sharing and in Center 2, writing was replaced by skill worksheets.

Lee also made the students aware that she expected them to do well on the skill tests and practice sheets. This meant that she expected them to use their best handwriting and do everything on the sheets. On February 16, she reminded the children that it was important to do morning worksheets as soon as they came into the room in the morning. On February 24, she walked around while the students were taking a practice test and looked over their shoulders. From time to time, she reminded them that there was to be

no talking or looking on each other's papers, "No talking, please." She touched the children's heads or shoulders as she walked by and looked at their papers. She said, "I also like to walk around and see how neatly you are writing your words." Later that day she told me that she had raised her expectations for the children's performance on the tests and practice sheets. "I'm getting stricter on these," she said, motioning to the stack of tests in front of her. "To get a star at the top and the bottom, their name has to be in the box, they have to have written the words well, the boxes have to be checked off, and the math has to be right. It has to be almost PERFECT!"

Another way Lee signaled to the children that the skill lessons were important was with the lesson format she used. The skill lessons were taught through direct instruction and Lee controlled turn taking and enforced the quiet listeners rules. Children who talked out or played with things in or on their desks were reprimanded. Throughout the activity, Lee reminded them that this was important and it was time to listen, be a good listener, and talk during their own turn. I observed similar interactional patterns in the skill lessons on February 18 and 29 and again on March 2, 4, and 22. Lee would begin by asking the students to read the spelling and vocabulary words with her. Then she would introduce the new skill. Next, she and the students would complete a worksheet or ditto together. She always called on students to give answers or asked the students to repeat words or sounds after her. Throughout the activity, she reminded the students of the interactional pattern she wanted them to use.

In these ways, Lee signaled to the students that skill lessons were important and that she expected them to do their best work on the tests and practice sheets. After the final test, Lee put the names of the students who had gotten stars on their paper on the board, and she frequently read the names aloud to the class. On March 18, Lee told me that she was concerned with the drop in the student's scores. She said she was not sure if it meant they were not studying or that the words were getting harder. She shared her observations with the children and told them that she expected them to do better.

The Students' Role

The students' reactions showed that they understood that Lee considered skill lessons important. When I asked them to explain to me what they were supposed to do on January 12, all of the students I asked were able to tell me that Lee had given then a list of words to practice at home with their parents and that they had to do a practice sheet every morning. They explained that they were supposed to write each spelling word twice and were to read each vocabulary word to a partner. Their partner was supposed to check their spelling, check off each word they had read correctly, and sign their name. Then they had to do the math at the bottom and give their papers to Lee.

The way they approached the tests and the skill sheets during whole group lessons also suggested that most of the students considered this serious. In fact, they used the words hard and work to refer to the tasks associated with the skill lessons. On February 26, their actions during the final test suggested that they took the task seriously. At 10:05, Lee announced that it was time for the spelling test. The children moved to their favorite test taking places. Lee announced, "Time to begin," and began pronouncing the words. I observed the children sounding out the words quietly to themselves. Everyone appeared to be focused on spelling the words. Some of the children stared into space and moved their lips. Others bent over their papers and wrote, sat back and looked at what they had written, erased and wrote again. When Lee walked behind Tony R. and said, "Nice work," he looked up at her and with a big smile on his face he asked, "Did I get them all right?" After the test, several of the children asked Lee if she would tell them how they had done on the test.

In addition to taking test taking seriously, the children also showed that they were making sense of the skill lessons and using what they learned to support their reading and writing development. I observed Ethan closely during the skill test on March 1 and noted that he sounded out words as he searched for the correct answer. On the second ditto, he went ahead of Lee and finished the entire page on his own and got all of the answers

correct. Later he pointed out one of the words from the ditto in a story he was reading during reading center. Others stopped frequently when they were reading to point out spelling or vocabulary words to Lee, or me, or each other. Abby, Ann, and Olympia did this often when they were reading together, as did Rob and Cody. On March 22, Abby stopped reading and said to Ann as she pointed to a word in the story, "Here is one of our spelling words!" I also observed Tony C. looking at the chart on the wall to spell words he wanted to use in his writing.

The students also showed that they valued the skill lessons and spelling lists. During book sharing or reading center, students frequently pointed out words they had learned from their spelling list or skill lessons. When Lee was sharing a book with the group on February 3, Jessica pointed to the word thin in the book Lee was reading and said with excitement, "That was one of our spelling words!" Lee looked at it and replied, "Was our spelling word thin or then? How are they alike?" The children called out, "Th," "n." Lee nodded and asked, "What is different?" Again the children called out their answers, "i" and "e." Lee looked over at me with a smile, "They are getting so smart."

On February 4, the children showed their heightened interest in spelling. While Lee was explaining that she had made the class song book so that they could learn the songs and then read them, someone asked a question that led to a spontaneous skill lesson. Lee had put the words to "This Old Man" on the board and was teaching the children to sing/read the song. She pointed to the words as she sang. Someone asked why she had put a k in the word knee. Lee looked at the word and laughed, "That is a hard one to explain." She went on to explain to the children that many words began with a silent k. Someone asked if it was like a silent e, and Lee said it was a little different. Together she and the children thought of words that might begin with a silent k. She wrote a list on the board and when they could not think of any others, Lee asked, "Where can we find more?" The children called out, "Dictionary!" Later Lee told me how

pleased she had been that they had noticed the silent k. She said the lesson had not been something she had planned but that it had been fun, and she was pleased to see the skill lessons and spelling lists were making them more aware of words and spelling.

Day One Silent Reading: Introduction of New Standards for Behavior

Lee's actions during silent reading on January 8, showed that she intended to use even stronger measures to maintain order during literacy events. The children's actions showed that they would continue to try to take over in literacy events, and Cody's actions showed that he would continue to try to use the literacy events to accomplish his own agenda. Lee's reaction to Cody's actions showed all of the students that she intended to maintain order in the literacy events to insure that all students would use that time to further develop literate behavior.

When the children were ready to begin Silent Reading at 10:00, Lee said, "All right. We are ready to begin Independent Reading. Then in a firm and friendly voice she reminded them of the rules, "Talk in quiet voices, share books, stay at your seats." At about 10:05, Cody and Max started laughing and talking loudly. Lee did not interrupt Independent Reading to ask them to be quiet. Instead, she walked over to where they were sitting and whispered something to them. They got out of their seats and followed her into the hall. When they returned, Cody picked up the book he had been reading and brought it to the reading table where I was sitting. He read silently to himself for a few minutes and then looked over to where Lee was reading. I followed his glance and noted that Lee had her head down. Cody turned to a page with a picture of a man scratching his head. He turned the book toward Don who was sitting on the other side of the table, pointed to the picture, and laughed. Don did not respond.

Cody got up and carried the book to the table where Max was reading. He leaned over, put the book on the table, pointed to the picture, and he and Max laughed. Lee

looked up and frowned at Cody. Without saying anything, Cody returned to the reading table. Back at the reading table, Cody turned the pages of the book. When he turned to a page with a picture of a frog with the word croak printed by its mouth, he began reading over and over, "Croak, croak, croak,...." I looked up from writing notes and saw Max sitting at the end of the reading table, laughing.

Lee looked up, walked over to the reading table, and said in a stern voice, "Cody and Max, you may not sit together during work time. Max, bring your book and come with me. Cody, sit in the chair beside Rob." Max sat beside Lee and read, and Cody sat by Rob and read quietly with him until Independent Reading ended at 10:40.

Lee's interactions with the group and with Cody and Max showed how she planned to balance order and creativity during Phase III. In changing the name of the event from "silent reading" to "independent reading" she showed that she was still trying to be responsive to the children's literacy. In disciplining Cody for his behavior, she showed that she planned to maintain order as she had in the past, by responding to individual student's misbehavior. However, Lee's actions also showed her growing concern for preparing the students for the school culture. She changed the name of the literacy event so that the students would understand that what they were doing was not what other teachers would expect them to do when they asked them to engage in silent reading. In monitoring and responding to Cody's behavior, Lee showed that she was determined to assert her control to maintain a learning environment that would maximize the students' opportunities to learn.

The combined focus on the social and the academic and on the group and on the individual continued through out Phase III. As she had in the past, Lee struggled to balance order and creativity and the social and academic needs of the individual with the social and academic needs of the group. In the early part of Phase III, Lee tried to use the same approach she had used throughout Phase II and during independent reading on January 8, to maintain order. She reminded the children as a group of the classroom

norms and held individual students accountable for their misbehavior. However, when this approach no longer worked, and the students' behavior in the literacy threatened to interfere with learning, Lee asserted her authority.

Throughout Phase III, Lee muted and asserted her authority as she struggled to maintain a balance between maintain the order she believed was necessary for learning to take place in her classroom and her desire to give the students the freedom to use their natural ways of learning to support their learning. In the next section, I will describe the pattern which unfolded in Phase III as Lee tried to maintain and modify the classroom social context.

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About Classroom Norms, Routines, and Social Relationships

As I noted above, there seemed to be a rhythm to Phase III, an ebbing and flowing of Lee's authority as she struggled to maintain a balance between her agenda (order) and the children's agenda (creativity) and to balance the needs of individuals and the needs of the community. Through historical and interactional analysis of the events which occurred in Phase III, I found subphases within this larger phase. From January 8 to February 2, she and the students worked together to maintain the social context while Lee took steps to deal with the needs of individual students. From February 3 to February 10, Lee seemed to assert her authority over all aspects of the community, both social and academic, and to try to repair weak spots which developed when she shifted her attention to individual student needs. From February 11 to February 22, Lee and the students once again appeared to be working together to modify and repair the social context. During the period from February 23 to March 3, Lee seemed to lose faith in the community's ability to support learning. She took control of the students' social and academic actions and made significant modifications. After March 4, and until the end of Phase III, Lee's

faith in the community seemed to return and she muted her authority once again. In the following section, I will describe each of the sub-phases of Phase III.

Working Together to Maintain a Classroom Social Context That Would Support Learning

From January 8 to February 2, Lee continued to follow a pattern that had developed in Phase II. In her comments and actions, Lee communicated to the students that she expected them to use their social relationships to support their learning and that they were to use the time during centers to work on learning to read and write. On January 12, Lee stressed the community norms of collaboration and completing assigned work when she announced centers. She said, "Center 1. Read everything. Practice reading a new story to a friend." After she had explained the other center activities, she reminded the children that she would hold them accountable for completing their work. She pointed out that some of them had to finish work from the previous day and suggested that today they help each other remember to make good use of their center time. Before she told them they could go to their centers, she reminded them of a new class rule, "When you finish centers, you may put your head down, get a book, and go back to center. You may not get math tubs out."

As she had on the first day of this phase, Lee held individuals accountable for behavior that did not conform to the classroom norms. During lunch recess, Lee wrote the names of students who had not completed their center work on the board. When they returned after lunch, she handed them their unfinished work, pointed to their name on the board, and told them they would have to complete the work before they could join the class at the book corner.

Lee continued to reinforce the group's positive behavior by rewarding the students for behavior that supported learning and by giving them a voice in shaping classroom events. On January 21, Lee rewarded the students for their positive behavior by giving them a popcorn party and by letting them vote on how they wanted to organize the day.

They had earned all of the letters they needed for a popcorn party, and she gave them popcorn to eat while they did their morning work. When they moved to reading corner, Lee said they could vote on whether they wanted her to read a book on Martin Luther King, Jr., or open the book club box. They voted to listen to the book first and then open the book club box. At 10:35 after they had opened the box and Lee had read two of the new books, Lee asked, "What should we do next?" The children chanted, "Movie, movie, movie." They had noticed that the projector was in the room when they had arrived in the morning, and Lee had told them they would watch a science movie later that day. After they watched the film, "My Wonderful Body Machine," and discussed it, Max asked if they could see it again. Lee asked the class to vote and they voted to watch the film again.

Most of the students responded to Lee's renewed focus on order by adhering to the classroom norms. They used their social relationships during reading center to learn to read, completed their other work, and even reminded each other of Lee's expectations. Some students went even further to help Lee maintain the order she had shown them she wanted. On January 28, Patty went beyond reminding Rob and Slade of Lee's rules. She stepped into their argument and stopped it.

When it was time to clean up the room and go out for recess, Slade carried a math tub to the bookshelf. Rob was already in the corner by the shelf putting other materials away, and they began shoving each other. Patty saw what was happening. She stepped between Rob and Slade. Rob stepped back. I noted in my fieldnotes that he looked like a bird with its hackles up. His face was red and his fists were clenched. Patty took him by the arm and said, "I'm going to take you to the teacher. You don't do things like that. It only gets you in trouble. I know you are mad at him. He is jealous of you."

Rob responded with his chest thrown out, "Yea. He thinks I'm handsome and strong!" Patty looked at him and said something like, 'And he is jealous because you don't cry when people sit in your seat.' Slade stood by the bookshelf listening to Patty

and Rob talk about him. Rob said, "Slade is a jerk." Patty shook her head and added as they walked toward the door, "No one wants to play with him. I don't even want you to go over there on the other side of the school again where he plays. I'll tell on you."

While Lee and the students worked to maintain order, Lee began addressing the social and academic needs of individuals. Rob, Slade, Cody, and Max had the most difficulty conforming to the classroom norms. Rob, Cody, and Max's names regularly appeared on the list of those with unfinished work. Lee reminded them to complete their work during centers and asked them to complete unfinished work before they came to reading corner or went out for recess. When Cody and/or Max interrupted classroom activities, Lee frequently reprimanded them and asked them to return to their seats or sit in another part of the room as she had done on January 8 during Independent Reading.

On January 22, Lee told me about a disciplinary system she had developed for dealing with Slade's behavior. Slade frequently got into trouble on the playground. Lee told me that she and the principal had worked out a plan which she said she hoped would make it easier for her to maintain a positive relationship with Slade and, at the same time, address his need to learn to control his actions and follow school rules for behavior. The plan was for the playground supervisors to send Slade to the office to talk with the principal about problems he had outside of the classroom. Lee would continue to work with him to improve his behavior inside the classroom. She said that that morning the playground supervisors had reported to her that Slade had hurt several children on the playground before school, and that she had asked them to take him to the office to discuss the problem with the principal. Lee said she hoped the new plan would work and would give her a chance to reinforce Slade's positive behavior rather than deal with behavior over which she had no control.

Lee's determination to maintain order and her growing concern that some of the student's behavior was interfering with other students learning became even more evident when she went on to explain the new approach she had decided to use when the students

did not conform to the classroom norms. After she described the system she had developed for Slade, she went on to say that she had also developed a new system for reminding students of the classroom norms. She said that when individuals did not conform to classroom norms, she told them that they could not be in the room unless they followed the rules. If they continued to misbehave, she told them that being in the room was a privilege, not a right, and if they could not follow the rules, they could not be in the room. She said she wanted them to understand that being sent out of the room was their loss and that they had a choice to follow the rules and stay in the room or misbehave and spend time in the hall or in the office. So far, she said, no one had been sent out of the room.

When I arrived at 10:30 the next day, on January 23, Lee and Slade were in the school office together. Lee told me later that she had been discussing with Slade what sentence he would write to help him think about his behavior. She said that she had told him that he could come back to the room when he finished and was ready to be in the room. Slade returned to the room at 10:55, gave Lee the paper on which he had written, got a large stuffed dog from Lee's closet, and sat down at reading center with a stack of books in front of him and the dog on the chair beside him. For the rest of the day, he worked quietly, carrying the dog with him and hugging it from time to time.

Throughout this period, Lee worked to maintain a positive relationship with Slade and help him learn to live by the community rules. On January 28, after he had finished his work in Center 4, Slade had gotten out the math tub with the geo boards and was playing with them. Lee walked over to him and said quietly, "I'm giving you a star because you are at your center and quiet. But you are not allowed to have tubs out. If you put them away, you can have two stars." Slade looked up at her, picked up the tub, and walked toward the bookcase where the math tubs were kept. A few minutes later, I heard Lee talking with him again. I looked over at the table where they were talking and saw that Slade had kept some geo boards at the table and was playing with them. Lee

told him in a firm voice, "You can put those away or I will have someone else put them away. Slade said, "No fair. No one gets to do nothing in here." He had a frown on his face, but he started to stack the boards. Again in a firm but friendly voice, Lee said, "I know you don't want to do it, but that is our center rule." Slade put the geo boards away and got a book which he read quietly until he moved to his next center and began working on the assignment.

Lee and I had been exchanging journal entries from time to time during the year. She and I decided to try to write more frequently in the new year. In addition, I was determined to write myself memos on a regular basis as I focused on getting the insiders' perspectives on the events I saw unfolding. On January 14, Lee wrote me an entry which began to help me understand her perspective and make sense of the events I observed during January.

I had realized that Lee was concerned about Slade's behavior, but her entry made me realize for the first time just how concerned she was and what a personal toll dealing with his problems was having on her. She began the entry talking about the incredible week she had had working on the curriculum chart and said,

> It has really helped pull things together - correlate, organize, intensify!! I'm not certain that we'll make it all a reality this school year, but the prospects are motivating, exciting, and satisfying! We are far - beyond where I had imagined!
>
> My toughest decision right now is what to do for everyone in this class regarding Slade's behavior situation. I have had a referral form for him for 1 1/2 months but put off turning it in (for possible placement in emotionally-impaired classroom) Factors that I continue to weigh and consider:
>
> - I believe it's best for Slade to stay in this class (self esteem, confidence, etc)
> - Several other specific individuals (Max, Cody, Rob) give Slade an especially tough time (vice-versa!) They place excessive demands on Slade's personal coping skills. I believe that Slade's placement in an EI class would be an inappropriate consequence of their volatile combination with each other.
> - I need to consider the needs of the remaining individuals in the class and of our classroom as a unit. Slade's problems detract alot of my time and attention away from others (socially and academically) who deserve an "equal education." (ex. 1/2 hr. phone conversation with Ms. V. Nathan has been upset, crying, not wanting to come to school because "bad boys do bad things.")

- My stress level has been high!
- It is not possible for one adult to meet all of the social/emotional/academic needs of all the individuals. Where do I stop??
- I want to visit the EI room. It could possibly be a better situation for Slade.
- Having Slade in class gives others a chance to learn real-life skills of getting along with all kinds of people
- What else could I consider in this decision????

In my response, I told Lee that I too had been concerned about Slade, Cody, Max, and Rob's behavior and had been feeling like a failure as an ethnographer for being so judgmental. I told her that I had written a memo to myself on January 7, in which I had recorded my feelings, and I shared one part I had written, "How can T succeed with kids like Max, Cody, Slade, and Rob in the class? They take so much time, attention."

I wrote in my journal entry to her,

> When I got your entry, I was surprised that we'd been thinking so much alike. But I was unaware of the personal toll needing to think about all this places on you. For me, it was a concern, but your entry illustrated to me how deeply you think about these issues, and how you struggle constantly - and I mean that - with these problems. I wasn't surprised that you had thought so much about Slade, but what "thinking about Slade " meant to you and means to you has become more clear for me. In fact, reading your entry has helped me look at your classroom differently. Your question? lament? "Is it possible for one adult to meet all of the social/emotional/academic needs of all the individuals," has become one of my research questions. How does this teacher manage to meet so many of the social/emotional/academic needs of these 24 individuals? How is it possible that she is succeeding with kids who for all the world look like they don't want her to?
>
> I know we've talked about some of these things, but your journal entry made me feel "connected" with what being a teacher means to you, Thank you for sharing that with me. The fog is lifting. I might understand something at last!

In retrospect, I realize that I did not understand very much about Lee's perspective at that time but that for a moment, the fog had cleared, and I had understood a little better how she experienced teaching. Looking back at her entry, I realized that she had not asked a question but had made a statement, "It is not possible for one adult to meet all of the social/emotional/academic needs of all the individuals." The question she had asked was, "Where do I stop?" I had missed that.

Part of the reason I missed that, aside from the fact that I was just beginning to see teaching as Lee saw it, was that I had been observing Lee doing what I had interpreted as working to meet all of her students' individual social/emotional/academic needs. In the memo I had written to myself on January 16, two days after Lee had written her journal entry but before she gave it to me, I had noted that Lee seemed to feel a tension between doing what she believed was good for children and what she felt she was supposed to do. I reflected back to a comment she had made to me on September 23. She had been ill the previous day and had seemed especially relaxed with the children all morning, giving them time to look at and talk about a spider one of her former students brought to show her, reading a Morris the Moose book, and giving the children donuts to eat after she had introduced the letter D. While the children ate the donuts, they talked with each other and worked. Lee had turned to me and said,

> Look at them. Two days ago this would have bothered me. I realize I feel better, they feel better if I allow some movement. We get so concerned about what parents would think, what other teachers would think if they walked in and saw this. This is all right. It is nice to work where the administration feels okay for kids to act like kids.

I wondered how the feeling she had expressed on that occasion might be related to the concern she had once again begun to show about order and discipline.

During this same period that Slade was having increased problems, Lee told me that she had seen an improvement in Max's behavior. During the morning of January 22, I noted that Max was quieter than usual and that he had been doing his center work. Just before lunch, Max came to me with a handful of pencils and told me he was going to give them away. He said that Lee had told him it was all right. Lee overheard him and told me, "We have a rule that you can't give things away, but Max has so many pencils and some people don't. I told him he could share." Max smiled and walked around the room giving pencils to those students who wanted them.

However, while Lee had been working to bring Slade into the group and to address the behavior and academic needs of individuals, the children as a group had

begun to focus on their children's agenda, play and friendship. Consequently, they did not complete their center work, and the list of names on the board for unfinished work grew day by day.

The end of January and the beginning of February were an especially stressful time for Lee. In addition to the increased problems some of the children in her class were experiencing, events in Lee's personal and professional life added to the tension she was feeling. On January 28 she had learned that the experimental cancer treatment her friend was undergoing had not been effective. Lee also knew that she would soon be asked to give some indication of who she would retain at the end of the year, and she was still concerned about the progress several of her students were making. I had received permission from the university human subject's committee to use the tapes Lee made of her classroom, and she had asked me to once again video tape in the room. In addition, because I had intensified my efforts to understand her perspective, I began asking her more questions about her thinking. As they had in the past, my questions made her reflect even more than usual on her practice and question what she was doing.

On February 2, other students' individual problems attracted Lee's attention. I had arrived early and was in the room before Lee picked up the students at the back door. Before the bell rang for the students to come into the school and after Lee had left to get the children, Max and Cody burst into the room laughing. They told me that they had been in the school for half an hour "before kids were supposed to be in the building. They talked to each other about how clever they had been to come in when the safeties came in to get their vests. I did not respond. I had been trying to see things from the children's perspective and in order to do that, I had been trying not to make comments or intervene. To remain outside of the action, I usually wrote notes on my yellow paper which was my sign to them that I was "doing my work" and could not be interrupted. While they talked to each other and to me, they shot rubber bands around the room and used bad language. I acted as if I did not notice and continued to set up the video

equipment. Later I wrote about this event in my fieldnotes and noted that it had been really hard not to do something about their actions. They sat down in their seats when they heard Lee and the others coming up the hall.

When Lee came into the room with the other students, she noticed that they had been in the room before her. But, before she could say anything to them, the principal came into the room and told Lee that she had Slade in the office. She said that the playground supervisors had brought him in and had reported that he had been kicking, punching, and biting people on the playground before school. Lee shook her head and with a sad expression on her face and in her voice she said, "I don't want him in the classroom." The principal nodded and left.

At recess, while the children were outside, Lee talked about how upset she was about Slade and then asked me what I knew about Cody and Max being in the room early. I told her what I had seen and overheard. I also shared with her how I had felt about not intervening in their actions. She said she understood that I needed to gain their trust if I was going to be able to observe their natural behavior. I began to wonder what message I might be sending the children. What might they make of an adult who did not comment on their misbehavior when it was so blatant and what might I be doing to add to Lee's stress?

Despite the problems which had greeted her first thing in the morning, Lee continued to work that day with the children to maintain the community and to help them focus on learning to read. Before making center assignments, she asked them to help her do her most important morning job - reading. She told them they could help by solving little problems before they became big problems. She said that today she wanted to listen to as many people read as possible and that for today, she did not want them to interrupt her even to read the stories they wrote in writing center.

That morning, I observed the children's interactions during centers and observed that the while some students did do their work and solved small problems with each

other's help, others did not. Because I had focused the video camera on the reading center, I was able to revisit the scene later. In reviewing my fieldnotes notes and viewing and reviewing the video tape that afternoon, I focused on the group that Lee most frequently spoke to about their behavior and looked for patterns in the interactions with each other. I noted that Kimberly, Jerrod, Rob, Cody, Max, and Jessica came to reading center as a group. Lee had asked Max to read to her which the tape showed him doing. On the other side of the table and at the edge of the frame of the picture, Cody was sitting by Kimberly. Each had a book in front of them and on the tape it looked like they were reading, but in my notes I had written that Cody has said to Kimberly, "You're the mom, I'm the dad." For the remainder of the time in reading center, the members of this group read with each other, on their own, and with Lee. They talked with each other, but for the most part their talk focused on what they were reading.

When they moved to writing center at 10:27, I overheard them talking while they wrote. The first topic of conversation was raised by Cody who asked, "Who farted?" While Kimberly got her writing folder and went back to her seat the others talked and laughed about the topic Cody had raised. I noted that Kimberly and Jessica drew and wrote. Kimberly read her paper to Jessica, "This is a rainbow." She put the period at the end of the sentence with emphasis. Jessica talked to me about what she was writing.

The others did not begin writing for some time. Max played with math shape blocks. He launched smaller blocks across the table with a wedge-shaped block. Cody leaned over to talk to Tony R. in Center 3 and asked, "How do you get a squirrel?" Before Tony could respond, Cody said, "Sit in a tree and act like a nut." He continued, "What do you call hard water?" .... "You call it ice." Max talked with Jerrod about putting things in his pants and sticking them out his zipper. Rob looked up from the picture he had begun to draw and laughed.

The video tape of reading center captured Lee looking up frequently to survey what was happening in centers. Between turns with individual children and between

centers, she reinforced positive behavior and reminded the children of the rules. She did not interrupt any of the children who were reading with her to quiet center groups, something I had seen her do in the past.

Lee Asserts Control to Maintain a Social Context That Will Support Learning

On February 3, I realized that Lee had been aware of what was going on in centers and that she had decided to do something about it. Her actions that day reminded me of the way she had reminded the whole class of the classroom norms on October 19, the day before she told the children she would give them stars for reading basal stories to her. Instead of focusing only on the children who misbehaved, Lee reminded the whole class that she expected them to help her maintain a classroom context that would support learning.

When I walked into the room on February 3, I sensed the change and noted that the children seemed to sense it too. Lee was standing at her desk looking through a pile of papers while the students walked row by row to the book corner. When they were all seated, Lee explained that she was looking for a paper with her day's plan on it. She said, "I am mad at myself for misplacing it!" The children looked at her with serious expressions on their faces. Max said, "Don't get mad at US!" Lee looked up and without smiling replied, "I won't." Although she did not seem angry, her voice was firm and her directions precise when she explained center assignments.

She began by telling them that she wanted them to listen carefully to her directions because almost every center was something new. At first, she spoke to individual children about their behavior. When Cody and Max stopped listening to her and began talking to each other, Lee told them, "Cody. Go sit by my chair. Max. Go sit by Tony's C's chair where there is nothing to touch." When several children talked at the same time, Lee began to remind the whole class of the rules.

After she had quieted the students several times with, "Time to listen," and they still talked to each other while she was explaining how to make the book she wanted them to make in Center 3, Lee sent them all back to their seats. "All right. Everyone. Back to your seats. You need to practice being quiet and still. I don't want to waste my time. I'll waste your time."

When the children had had their heads down for several minutes and were quiet she explained that the books they were going to be making in Center 3 were reading, writing, numerals, and that on the last page there was a test. "You will keep these in your desks and you can practice reading them."

Lee continued to monitor the students behavior while they worked in centers. When she sent them to their center groups, she did not go directly to the reading table, which was her usual pattern. Instead, she walked from center group to center group and helped the students begin their assigned work. She told the group at writing center that she wanted them to transfer their old papers to a new file. She handed them blue construction paper and said, "Write your name on this and put all of your old writing in it. Put the blue files in this tub and refile your folder in the correct order. She picked up Michael G.'s file and modeled exactly what she wanted the children to do, step by step. I had never before seen Lee structure an event at writing center in this way. Each time new centers began, she repeated the procedure. First she modeled for the writing center what they were to do and them she modeled for Center 3 what they were to do.

From time to time she also left the reading center to walk around to look at what the students were doing in center groups. At one point, she walked over to look at the work Max had been doing in Center 3. She looked at the book he was working on and told him he had not been doing a good job. Lee said, "This is not okay. It is not your best work. Do you know why we are making these?" He shrugged his shoulders, and Lee continued, "These books are important. They will help you learn to read and write

your numbers and number words. There will be a test at the end of the book." Max and the children near-by looked at Lee and then back at the books they were making.

That morning I had positioned the video camera on the writing center. As I observed the same group of children I had captured on video the previous day at reading center, I observed and later saw on tape that some of the children spent little time writing and most of their time interacting with each other. Lee had asked them to clean their folders before they wrote and some of the children did not begin writing a new piece on that day. Joel finished looking through his folder and then talked with Tony R. about a show he had seen on television. After a while, he touched his writing paper and said, "I should get started on this." Cody spent the entire center organizing his papers in his folder. He made a cover for his papers out of construction paper, stapled the papers together, and said, "It's a book." The tape and my notes showed that the children did very little writing that day.

An argument erupted between Cody and Jerrod while they were in Center 3 working on a writing project Lee had assigned. Both of them tried to sit beside Kimberly. Jerrod said, "I'm dad." Kimberly looked up and said, "I'm mom and you're dad," pointing to Cody. Jessica asked Kimberly if she could use her crayons. Kimberly said, "Don't you have your own? Everyone has been asking me, and I might say, "no." I've had it up to here," and gestured by putting her hand over her head. Jessica moved over to sit by Kimberly so she could reach the crayons. Jerrod objected. Kimberly said, "She is my oldest daughter. She can sit there." In a playful voice Jerrod said to Kimberly, "I want to be grounded. I like to be grounded."

While this was going on, Cody was working on his assignment. Kimberly turned to him and touched his arm. Cody yelled, "You made me screw up!" Jerrod said, "Michael G. is the dad." Cody returned to his work but Jerrod continued to talk with him.

Given how I had seen Lee interacting with the children that morning and what I had observed happening in writing center, I was not surprised when Lee told me at recess

that she was feeling frustrated. She said she felt that the children's behavior was "building up her stress." She went on to say that she was concerned about the work Cody and Max were doing. "Look at this," she said as she pointed to a book Max had been working on. She said that she would like to scream but felt that with these kids she needed to set an example so she shouldn't scream.

Then she showed me a copy of a "Cathy" cartoon she had seen in an education association newsletter. In the first frame, Cathy was in a classroom with a teacher who was sitting behind a desk. A little girl was standing on one side of the desk, and Cathy was standing on other. Cathy said, "You've been a teacher in this classroom for 18 years. Isn't it exhausting?" The teacher replied, "Yes..." In the next frame she continues. "I have a Ph. D. in education and barely make $20,000 a year... I have to work a part time job at night and pray I'll find summer employment just to squeak by... But I love it, Cathy." The next frame showed the teacher standing with her hand on the little girl's head and Cathy standing beside her. The teacher said, "I look at young faces like Becky's and know these kids are learning something from me they'll remember all their lives..." In the final frame the little girl raised her hand and said, "Never pick a career in teaching !!" The teacher responded, "I quit."

Lee said the cartoon expressed what she was feeling. She went on to say that she was feeling tense. She said she had to spend the previous afternoon calling parents to talk with them about their children's behavior. Then she said, "And I don't feel good about the noise in centers. I know it may be productive noise but it doesn't feel good to me."

I did not comment, but I noted in my fieldnotes that I too was concerned about what I had seen happening in centers and wondered if I should have described what I had observed to her. After recess, Lee once again had the students sit at their seats and practice being quiet. At 11:54 she said, "Keep your heads down. I know you can always be this quiet. You have to watch your quiet voice."

That afternoon during a TDOC meeting, Lee talked about her concern about the student's behavior. But in discussing what she planned to say in a presentation we were preparing to make at a national meeting, Lee went on to say that she was still convinced that the way she was teaching, giving the children responsibility for their own learning, was "THE way to teach." Then she said something I had heard her say before in similar conversational contexts, "This is just a difficult group of kids." Ann agreed and discussed the number of children in the group who had problems. Her colleague said, "I don't know how you do it." Lee said, "Just think what they would be like if I were teaching the old way!" She added thoughtfully, "But, maybe they do need more structure."

The thoughts Lee expressed about believing it was important to give children responsibility for their own learning and her sense that this group of children might need more structure were familiar to me. I had not heard her express these ideas in words before, but I had been watching her live it.

On the next day, February 4, Lee put her thoughts into action. She continued to assert her authority over the students social interactions and academic tasks and to make her expectations explicit. Instead of asking the students to move to the book corner after the opening, Lee told them to remain at their seats, complete their morning work (skill and spelling sheet they did for practice each morning), and any work they had not finished the day before. She directed their attention to the board where she had written the names of people with work to finish. She told Cody to notice that his name appeared under three of the four headings. When the students asked if they could change seats, Lee said they could but only after they had completed their work and then only if both people agreed to the move.

At 10:08, Lee announced, "Hand in your practice sheet even if you are not done. Stand up behind your chairs." The children talked to each other as they stood up. Lee asked them to be quiet, "Quiet, please," and she began counting. Megan was still sitting at the table writing. Slade leaned over and said to Megan as Lee counted, "She is

waiting." Cody told Tony R. to put his pencil down. By the time everyone was standing and quiet, Lee had counted to 29. She wrote the number on the board and said, "This is how long you will wait when it is time for recess," and then continued, "This is the way we are going to do this. Walk up here and put your practice paper on a neat pile and then return to your seats." For the rest of the day she orchestrated the children's activities in this manner.

Working Together to Maintain a Classroom Social Context That Would Support Learning

By February 11, the students had once again focused on learning to read and write and Lee once again muted her authority over their behavior. She reinforced positive behavior and reminded the students of the norms. Between February 11 and 22, Lee returned to the pattern of dealing with individual problems and giving the class more freedom. To reinforce positive behavior, she put a "star list" on the board. She told the students that when she "caught" them following the rules, she would write their names on the board and give them a star. The student with the most stars was the student she would pick for special jobs. On February 16, Lee announced, "Kimby, Ann, Abby, and Jessica. I looked around, and it felt like you kids were really listening." She turned to the board and began making stars beside the girl's names. "Raise your hand if I said your name." As a reward for doing good work, Lee allowed the students to stamp their papers with a rubber stamp. "These people may come up and get a Valentine stamp. Kelly, Megan, Olympia .... Come to the reading table and stamp your papers."

Lee continued to put the names of students with unfinished work on the board as well. On February 16 at 11:54, she announced to the class, "Some people did not do their morning work. It is very important to do it as soon as you get to school. Take it home and bring it back tomorrow." She wrote names on the board under the heading Morning Work 2/16. "I will take your name off when you bring your work back tomorrow."

The students showed Lee that they understood and could follow the rules. On February 16, when she explained Center 3 where the children were to complete a math ditto, Lee said, "If you finish, you can play with blocks, do a math game with a friend. Would it be all right to play with blocks before you finish?" Some kids said, "Yes," but laughed. Then Lee and the students said together, "NOOOO!"

In addition to following rules, the children also tried to resolve problems they had with each other and to mediate others' disagreements. On February 13, Rob went to Lee to complain that Jerrod was bothering him and had choked him. He told her that he felt like hitting Jerrod. Before Lee could respond, Jerrod walked up to Rob and with a big smile on his face he said, "Give me five!" Rob looked surprised, but he smiled, gave Jerrod a high five, and they walked away together arm-in-arm. Lee looked at me, shrugged, and smiled. Later she told me that more and more, the children had been solving their problems without her help.

On February 18, Patty once again intervened when Slade and Rob had a problem. However, this time she supported Slade not Rob. Lee had gone out for recess duty, and I was in the room with children who had to stay in for recess to finish work. I heard Patty say, "You're just trying to get Slade in trouble." Joel said, "How do you know he did it?" Patty replied, "Yea?" Before Rob could respond, Cody said, "I know why people do that to Slade. It's because he is mean to people." Patty objected and said, "That's not true. Slade is not mean." Rob walked toward Slade making menacing gestures with his clenched fists. He said, "I'm getting really mad."

While this conversation was going on, Slade was sitting at one of the tables, his hands folded in front of him. He did not defend himself or respond. The others talked about him as if he were not there. But as the tide shifted, and he got more support from Patty and Joel, Slade started making comments like, "Yea." He began throwing pieces of a pencil at Rob. I was just about to intervene when Patty said, "Slade, I will have to report this to Mrs. Mead. Joel and Cody added, "Yea." Slade frowned and sat down.

Rob exhaled loudly, walked to the closet, grabbed his coat and walked out the door. I was amazed that peer pressure had resolved this conflict.

Lee continued to work with Max and Cody's parents to find ways to help Max and Cody live by the class norms. On February 18, when Max asked if he could sit beside Cody to draw a picture, Lee said quietly, "Your parents said they didn't want you to do that, remember." Later she told me his parents had asked her to separate him from Cody during work time.

During this period Lee and I gained an insight into Max which surprised us and suggested that he was more concerned about his behavior than we might have imagined. On February 16, Max and Cody stayed after school to wait for Lee to write their behavior notes for their parents. While she wrote, they bragged to me that they had been kicked off the school bus because they called the bus driver a pig and made fart sounds. After a few minutes, Max slumped down in a chair. Staring in front of him in a soft voice very different from the boastful voice he had been using seconds before, he said, "We're probably going to fail first gra-a-a-de again." Lee looked up and asked, "Why?" Before he responded she added, "You've learned too much." I later asked Max why he thought he would fail, and he said, "Because we say bad words."

After Max and Cody left the room, Lee and I discussed what Max had said and the way he had said it. Lee said she had been surprised but added that she had seen evidence that Max was trying to follow the rules. She said that she was concerned about the image he had of himself and shared with me that his mother had told her that she had had problems in school and did not want the same thing to happen to Max. We agreed that Max was a delight most of the time, that his energy was wonderful, and that we both admired his spirit. Lee told me that she was sorry that she had to discipline him so often, but noted that he would not be able to act the way he sometimes did when he moved on to second grade.

Throughout this sub-phase, Lee continued to remind the students to do their work and follow the rules. On February 18, she told me when I arrived, "This day is different from any day we've ever had. It is a catch up day." I noted that the students spent the morning doing their morning work, being checked off on their morning work, having sharing time, and doing math. Lee told me later that she wanted to give all of the children a chance to catch up on the work they needed to do and to reinforce the importance of completing what they started.

During reading corner, Lee reminded the students of the rules for participating in that event. First when she shared news with them about the visit she had made to the post office to get information about stamps they had asked her to get and later during book sharing, Lee interrupted what she or the children were saying to put stars by the names of students who were being good listeners. Before lunch, she walked with a clipboard in her hands to the closet and announced that she was doing "a closet check." She told the children that she was putting checks by the names of children who had not picked up their things.

Lee also gave the students a role in shaping what they would study. Several children had expressed an interest in stamps and Lee had told them that she would try to find out something about stamps so they could all learn about them together. On February 18, Lee told the students that she had gone to the post office to get some books on stamps for the class and that a woman from the post office would be coming to their class to talk about stamps. The children seemed to be excited by the prospect. They and Lee had a long conversation about what they already knew about stamps and about what they wanted to learn. The interactions reminded me of the times I had observed the class during the autumn when they had sounded like a family around the dinner table.

Lee Asserts Control to Maintain a Classroom Social Context That Will Support Learning

I was ill for a few days and unable to observe in Lee's room. When I returned on February 23, I was surprised to see how the interactional patterns had changed. When I walked in the door that day, Lee was once again being firm with the children. During the next few days, I noted that she seemed to be asserting her authority as she had between February 3 and February 10. She changed the way time and space were used in the classroom. In addition, she took steps to intervene in the social networks the children had developed. During this brief period, Lee seemed to lose faith in the community's ability to support learning, and she stepped in to orchestrate learning events in a way I had not seen her do since the first year of the TDOC project.

While the children worked on their morning work, Lee told me that she was concerned about their behavior and progress. She noted that even children who had not had behavior problems before were beginning to have problems. She said, "I've set a new standard for myself. Stop the noise before it starts." I knew from our previous conversations that her definition of noise had changed and that she was not referring to the conversations the students had about their work. "Noise" had come to mean talk that was so loud that it became necessary for her to stop working with the students in reading center and ask for quiet. I also knew that she felt there was a level of noise that suggested the students were not focusing on learning tasks.

Lee went on to describe some of the problems the children had been having. She noted that Slade had been spending more and more time in the office and that Cody had been causing problems with the school supplies he carried in his book bag. She explained that instead of keeping it at his desk, he now had to take out what he wanted and leave the bag on her desk. She added that Megan, Ethan and Jerrod who had rarely had problems were now having problems. Jessica's mother had called to tell Lee that Megan had been saying things that upset Jessica, and Ethan and Jerrod were getting into trouble on the playground and in the room.

During the morning I observed that some of the children she had mentioned were having problems. Slade was in a bad mood. When I started to sit in the chair beside him, he told me to keep away from him. When the students were saying the pledge, Lee asked Cody and Slade to move away from each other. Max said "How bout they change dexez?" When Lee was reading the menu, she stopped and asked, "Excuse me? Who is talking?" Max said, "Ethan." Lee asked if Ethan was talking about his shoes, and Max nodded and said, "That's right, " and turned back to his work. Later, I noticed that Cody had gotten his book bag from Lee's desk and that Slade and Cody were fighting over a ruler which Cody said Slade had stolen from his bag. After recess, the principal brought Cody into the room and told Lee that Cody, Slade, and Ethan had had a problem on the playground. She asked if she could take all of them into the hall to discuss the problem. I had observed Slade and Cody having problems before, but Ethan rarely violated the norms.

That morning, the students did not have centers. While the students were at music and Lee was checking their morning work, we talked again about what had been happening while I had been ill. I noted that they had not had centers on February 18 when I had last been there and asked Lee if they had been having centers lately. She said they had not. She noted that the children had not been doing their work and that she had been doing whole group work with them while they sat at their seats. She went on to say that she had been talking with other teachers and they all agreed that it helped to get strict at this time of the year. She said, "The kids haven't had a break for a long time and there hasn't been much sun." Then she said something that I interpreted as evidence that she was also being strict because she was concerned about the students' academic progress. Pointing to morning practice sheets she said, "I'm getting stricter on these. To get a star at the top and the bottom they have to have their name in the box, have to write the words well, have all boxes checked off and have the math right. It has to be almost perfect!"

Then her expression changed and she said in what I had come to hear as her reflective tone, "But I may be being too hard on them." She went on to say that she had worked at school all day Saturday and Sunday and was awake all Sunday night. She said she had started centers again yesterday and had tried to check off the students' center work in an effort to make them more accountable for the work they did in centers. She said, "I shouldn't have done it. I was too tense. I plan to apologize to them."

When the children returned form music, Lee called them to the book corner. She made several announcements and then said, "Next announcement is ... I'm going to apologize." Slade looked at her face and asked, "What is it?" His voiced dropped at the end of his question and he had a serious look on his face. Lee explained that she had been in a bad mood the day before and that she was sorry for being so cross with them. Max asked, "Now can we start screaming?" Lee shook her head and said, "No, that would put me in another bad mood."

For the rest of the day and during the next morning, I observed Lee reminding individual students of the rules. When Max followed her to her desk when she went there to get the marshmallow treats she had brought for the students, she asked him, "Is it okay for kids to get up and follow me around?" Max shook his head and went back to his seat. Later when he was out of his seat wandering around the room, Lee took him gently by the arm, lead him to a seat and in a friendly voice told him to sit there and do his work.

I also saw Lee reinforce students' positive behavior. On February 24, she announced who got stars for their morning work and reminded them that the students with the most stars got to go out to recess first. During book sharing she gave the class an all star which she said was worth half a letter toward a popcorn party. After book sharing, she gave the children time to share their stamp collections and talk about what they were doing to collect stamps to study. When Patty and Megan said that their mothers were saving stamps for the class, Lee thanked them and asked them to thank their mothers.

During this period, Lee once again asserted her authority in an effort to restore the order she believed was necessary for the children to learn what they needed to learn. On February 24, I learned that a number of factors outside of the classroom were contributing to Lee's concerns about the students' behavior and about their academic progress. Throughout this period, Lee nearly suspended the functioning of the community as she worked to repair individual students' behavior and insure that everyone was doing the work she believed they must do if they were to become readers and writers.

On the afternoon of February 24 during a meeting of the three first grade teachers, I began to understand some of the pressure Lee was feeling from outside the room and to gain some insight into the stress she said she was feeling about the children's progress in reading. After Lee and her colleague on the TDOC Project described their language arts program to the other first grade teacher and she had shared with them some of the things she was doing, they talked about how their children were doing. Lee mentioned the concerns she had about the children's behavior and how it had been interfering with her plan to have reading conferences with more children each day. The others shared how they handled such problems. Lee's TDOC colleague said she assigned center captains who were to deal with problems in the centers and serve as a buffer. The other teacher said that she had had success taking recess minutes away.

Next they went on to discuss the upcoming parent conferences and to discuss what they hoped to do with the children before that time. I began to sense that these conferences were different from the ones they had held with parents in the autumn. As they talked about the things they wanted to discuss with parents, I began to realize that one topic that would come up was how likely the child was to advance to the next grade. They talked about the notice they had received from the principal a few days earlier asking them to send her a list of the children they were considering for retention. I was surprised. There were three and a half months left in the school year.

As they discussed how many children they might put on their lists and how they made decisions about who to retain, I noted that they all seemed to feel distressed. They agreed that it was easy to retain a child who was not reading at all but that it was really hard to have a child repeat a grade when they had started to read. Lee said she was especially concerned about Ethan. She said that he seemed to be bright but that he was still having trouble reading the first three stories in Level 3 and that his mother and she had been working with him a great deal. Lee said that she had begun to suspect that he had a learning disability and had arranged to have him tested. She went on to say that she did not believe in retaining a child with a learning disability because she did not feel they benefited from repeating the same grade.

They went on to discuss other students they might retain and Lee noted that she did not believe in holding children back for their attitude or behavior. She said she had suspected that Cody had been retained for that reason. Lee said that although she suspected that several of her students would have problems in second grade because of their behavior that she would not retain them for that reason alone. The others agreed with her.

As they discussed other students, Lee said that making decisions about retention were the hardest decisions she had to make and she returned to a topic she had touched on before. She said, "The hardest thing I have to do as a teacher is to decide I can't meet a kid's needs. It is so hard to give up on a kid. But sometimes you have to for the good of the others." Lee had expressed that idea before and I wondered it she were thinking about Slade and if she might have others in mind as well.

The next day, Lee once again reminded the whole class of the rules. She seemed more determined to balance order and creativity and the needs of the individuals with those of the group. The custodian had put the tables in the horseshoe shape she had had them in when I first observed in her room and she told me that the children and she had decided to keep them that way. She assigned center captains and told the children that

she needed their help so that she could hear everyone read during reading center. But despite these efforts to reorganize the center social organization and ask for the children's help, I noted that Lee frequently had to ask the class to be quiet enough for her to hear the children read. Slade and Rob got into a fight at writing center and I stepped between them when Slade reached out to hit Rob. At noon, when she wrote the list of students with center work to finish, nearly every child' name appeared on one or more lists. She said with dismay, "This is not working."

On February 26, Lee told me when I walked in the door, "The class is taking time out from learning today to practice the rules." She smiled at me and said I was the first person she had smiled at that day. I had noted that Max was in the principal's office, and Lee said Cody had been there before. Nathan and Ethan were at the reading table writing sentences, "I will tell the answer on my own turn."

During the morning, Lee was firm and precise in her directions. She gave the children a skill test and I noticed it was from the workbook that went with the basal reader. When the students sounded out the words aloud, Lee said, "Say it in your head, not out loud." When they finished the test at 10:23, Lee said, "Stand behind your chairs. Make two lines and turn in your papers. Put them in two straight piles on the reading table and then go sit on the floor in the reading corner." In the reading corner Lee said, "We're going over some rules today. I will tell you why we are doing this after sharing time. I didn't think I'd have to tell you how to listen. Hands still and no talking."

After sharing and after they had talked about stamps, Lee said, "I told you after sharing I'd tell you why today is like it is. You probably noticed I was mad yesterday. A lot of people were not following the rules. There are two problems that could explain that. One, they don't know what the rule is. And two, they know the rule but are not following it. I am not mad at you today. I'm not mad at anyone. I'm making sure you know the rules and know what happens if you don't follow them. I want you to follow the rules so you can have fun at school." Then she said that it was time for silent reading,

and she explained, "We aren't going to call it silent reading any more. Silent means not talking and you are not silent when you read. We will call it independent reading. Here are the rules." She went over the rules. When she finished going over the rules, the children got books and walked quietly to a seat.

Five minutes after they had begun reading, Lee said, "Heads down. From now on in first grade when I say all heads down, it means hands still, feet still, and don't touch anything. When I say time to listen, it means hands still, feet still, look at me and listen. Now raise your hand if you understand that rule. Megan and Joel, your hands are up, but you are touching things. It feels like you don't understand the rule. You will have to write a sentence to help you remember." Lee went on to add, "Independent reading is a quiet time. People like it quiet. Pretend you aren't in the room but in the story in the book. Making a movie in your mind that goes with the book is fun. Any questions?" Cody asked it they could whisper. Lee said, "No," and went on to ask, "How do I know when independent reading is over? Michael E. said, "You tell us." Lee said he was right, she did make an announcement, but she explained that she decided it was over when she noticed that kids were no longer reading.

On February 29, Lee announced that the students would be forming new center groups. Over the weekend, we had gone to the Ethnography in Education Forum at the University of Pennsylvania and she had talked with me about her plan to assign students to center groups to see if she could put together groups of children who would work well together. She said she had to find a way to keep the children from interrupting her while she worked with the children at the reading center. I noted that I had seen her do this in previous years but that this was the first time she had assigned groups this year.

That morning there was less noise at the centers. At one point, Lee looked over at me and said, "This is wonderful!" During lunch I asked Lee how she had decided who went into each group. She explained that she had started by separating students who had

problems doing their work and had added others she felt they would work with rather than play with.

Over the next few days the students were quieter and more finished their center work. Lee's records showed that she held three or four reading conferences per center group. Her goal had been to get to every student, but she said she was pleased she had had conferences with so many of the children. When I asked why she felt it was so important to have the children read to her, she said, "It is an important time I spend with them. I think it is motivational. They know I'm interested in their reading. And then, there is the dumb answer, I don't want to have empty pages." I realized she was talking about the records she was keeping and remembered the pressure she felt to have the children read the basal stories so that they would be ready for second grade.

Working Together to Maintain a Classroom Social Context That Will Support Learning

During the final sub-phase of Phase III, Lee once again began to trust in the community to support the children's learning. However, some of the changes that had occurred during the earlier sub-phases remained in effect. Lee continued to remind the children of the rules, to ask them to write sentences to help them remember the rules, and to deal with individual problems. But for the most part, Lee and the students focused on learning. They continued their unit on stamps, and on March 21, Lee introduced a unit on women's history. The interactions in the literacy events looked more as they had during Phase II. Except for Slade and Cody's behavior and the fact that the students' scores on the skill tests had gone down, Lee said she was relieved that the students once again seemed to be working as a group.

Lee's interactions with the students during Independent Reading on March 4 contrast sharply with the interactions she had with the students during Independent Reading on February 26, the day she had the students practice the rules. The interactions

also illustrate how the change in the students' behavior changed what happened in this literacy event.

The interactional pattern in Independent Reading on March 4 was much different from those on February 26. Lee had begun to feel that the students and she shared the same agenda. She and Ann had planned a number of activities for March because it was reading month. They had designated this Friday "snack day" and had told the children that they could bring snacks to eat during independent reading.

After a skill lesson, Lee announced at 10:45 that it was time for independent reading. She told the students to get their snacks and to select books. While all of the students went to the book corner and to the closet to get their snack and books, Lee told me how excited she was with the progress Tony R. was making.

At 10:59, she said, "Ready..., Ready. No talking.... You may begin. I will be taking pictures of you reading." While the students read, Lee walked around the room, took pictures of them reading, and talked softly to them. She did not comment when she saw Slade or Max take huge stacks of books to their seats. The usual rule was that the children could select three books at a time. Nor did she ask Ted and Nathan to lower their voices when they talked excitedly about the book on Gettysburg Ted was reading.

At 11:20, she drew my attention to Michael E. He had moved his chair to the wall by the window and was sitting in it tipped back against the wall. In one hand, he held a paper backed book folded over and in the other he held a small bag of chips. Lee told her he was reading like his dad read. She smiled and said, "Isn't that great!"

The students continued reading and Lee continued to take pictures until someone looked at the clock and said, "Hey, it's time for recess!" Lee and the students laughed. Lee said, "Oh, I guess independent reading is over!"

While her concerns about the group diminished early in March, Lee was still concerned about Slade's behavior. On March 4, Slade shared some information about his life that gave Lee and me new insight into the world he lived in and how he saw it.

During morning work time, he sat at the reading table across from me and asked me what I was writing. I told him what some of my notes said and then he began talking to me about his personal life. He asked if I knew that he had been in twenty-five foster homes. I said I did not and wondered to myself if that could be possible (I later learned from the principal that is was probably true). He said, "They finally gave me back to my dad." I asked how long he had been with his father and he said, "My dad has only had me for three...." He looked up at the ceiling and frowned. I said, "Years?" He looked at me with an expression I cannot remember ever seeing on a child's face. It was a combination of sadness and wisdom. He did not look like a child at that moment and what he said did not sound like anything I had heard a child say. He shook his head slowly and said, "No not years. Centuries." Then he looked into my face and added, "It's the worst thing in the world being a lost child."

I was stunned. Later when I shared this with Lee, she said she had just begun to realize what he had been through. She said that from what she knew, it was possible that what he had said about twenty-five foster homes could be right. On March 18, he came to school and was extremely upset. He asked Lee if he could talk to the principal about a problem he was having at home. Lee said that he could and while he was gone, she asked the students if they could try harder to be friendly with Slade. Without going into detail, she said that some problems he was having at home were bothering him and that he needed them to be nice to him.

Over the next week, I observed the children trying to be supportive. On March 22, Cody looked at a picture Slade had colored and said, "Slade, that is really good." Slade said, "Don't talk to me," and he got up and walked away. Cody looked at me and said, "That is really good. It must have taken him a long time." I said it was a ditto Slade had colored, and Cody said "Oh, he did a great job."

Later that morning, I was in the office talking with the principal about arrangements we were making to go to AERA and Lee came into the office with Slade.

He was covered with mud from his head to his feet. Lee told the principal that he had rolled in the mud and that she was calling his father to come get him. When the principal asked Slade why he had rolled in the mud, he hung his head and would not answer. After he had gone into the hall to sit, Lee told us that a camera crew from a local television station that was in the school for the day had been on the playground and that the children had told her that Slade had rolled in the mud when they started filming the part of the playground where he was playing. The principal said, "Well, maybe he had better go home, and I'd better call central office."

The series of events showed how changes in social relations interacted with and shaped changes in the social context. Changes in the social context and social relationships also interacted with and shaped what happened in the literacy events. In the next section, I will show how the shifts in the social relations, the social organization of the classroom, and Lee's beliefs about how to deal with these changes changed some literacy events.

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About Reading and Writing During Classroom Literacy Events

The turmoil in the classroom social context interacted with and shaped what happened in the literacy activities as well as what the children learned. Some literacy events changed more than others. As I have shown above, skill Lesson followed the pattern Lee introduced on the first day of Phase III. Silent Reading continued to be a regular event, but Lee changed the name of Silent Reading to Independent Reading. The interactional patterns in that event varied as Lee asserted and muted her authority. In this section, I will describe changes that occurred in book sharing, reading center, and writing center during Phase III to illustrate how those events were changed by the cycle of change in the social context.

Reading Center

During Phase III, reading center continued to be a key literacy event. Despite changes in the social and academic task structures in some of the other literacy events during this phase, reading center looked much as it had in Phase II. However, when Lee suspended centers and used direct instruction, reading center was also suspended.

Lee's role. When Phase III began, Lee planned to increase the number of reading conferences she held with the students during reading center. She had assumed that she could rely on the students to work collaboratively in the centers as they had done during most of Phase II. However, when the children returned from winter break, their actions in centers showed that they did not share Lee's perception of what constituted collaborative behavior.

During this phase, Lee communicated to the students through her actions and comments that reading center was still the most important center and that she believed that their social interactions should support, not interfere with, their learning to read. In her efforts to use a pedagogical approach that would support the students' learning and give them a part in shaping the social context and what they learned, she asked the students to help her keep order so that she could hold conferences without being interrupted. Throughout Phase III, Lee reminded the students that they needed to be responsible for their own behavior in centers so that she could work with others in reading center. On January 26, she made it clear to the students that she considered it important to listen to them read during reading center. That day, she asked the children to help her hear as many children read as possible. She said they could do that by solving problems in centers before they began.

On February 2, Lee asked the children, "What is my most important job in the morning?" All of the students responded, "Reading." Lee explained that she wanted to hear everyone read each day. She said she would need their help. "You know how when you are at centers you get mad at each other. You can help each other stop a problem

before it starts. Please do not interrupt me." Joel asked if they should interrupt her to read her the stories they had written and Lee said, "No. I will read them later."

Her comments to the children on February 24, confirmed the connection between behavior and centers. She asked the children, "What if you have a problem in centers?" The children responded that they were to solve it themselves. Lee said, "Yes. That is right. The most important thing for me to do in the morning is to hear kids read. You didn't get to have centers yesterday because you needed to practice the rules. You will have centers today." I inferred from her comment that she wanted the students to understand that they could have centers as long as they focused on learning and did not interrupt her at reading center. When they could not do that, she did not intend to let them work in centers.

Her actions during the next few days confirmed my hunch. When the students did not work during centers but played and talked with each other instead, Lee guided them through their work in whole group interactions. On March 1, she told me that her efforts to reorganize the center activities were directly related to her desire to work uninterrupted with the students in reading center.

In the middle of March when she felt the students could once again work independently, Lee modified centers. To maintain order in the centers, Lee assigned captains in each center and told them it was their job to solve problems without coming to her. In addition, she increased the penalty for not completing center assignments. Students who did not do their work had to stay in during recess to complete it and their names appeared on the board until the work was finished.

Despite her efforts to get the students to socialize less in the other centers, Lee continued to encourage the students to use their social relationships to help them learn to read. On January 12, when she announced center activities, Lee said, "Reading.... Practice a new story by reading to a friend." Later at 10:30 she announced, "You can

skip books if you have practiced with a friend. Kimberly read Books and Games with Patty, so she can skip reading it to me."

During Phase III, she increased her efforts to get the children to read as many of the basal stories as possible. On January 12, Lee told the students that they could skip reading stories to her if they practiced reading the story with a friend. They would still get checked off on the story. All they had to do was tell her they had read the story or they could sit at the table across from her and read aloud while she worked with another student in an individual conference. Lee also encouraged the students to help each other learn to read stories.

Throughout Phase III, Lee encouraged the students to learn to read as many of the basal stories as possible and to practice reading with each other, Lee introduced the students to a new reward system. On the same day that she told them they could skip reading stories to her, she told the children that she would give them extra stars for teaching a friend to read a story. In the past, she had given the children stars for positive behavior. By using the same system to reward them for reading with each other, she signaled that this was positive behavior and thus tied behavior and reading together.

She also encouraged them to try to read books on higher levels and to reread the lower level books to practice fluency. On February 29, in response to a comment Lee heard Max make to Jerrod about the level he was reading, Lee said, "Really, you're in all levels at once. Sometimes it's fun to practice easy books; sometimes it's fun to practice hard books." In a conversation with me later, Lee noted that she encouraged the children to go back and read books they could read more easily so that they could practice reading with fluency. She noted that she had been working with Cody to help him become more fluent. She said, "He had sounded like a robot." When I asked why she thought it was important for them to read with fluency, she said she believed that reading fluently was connected with reading comprehension. "The more interrupted the reading, the more

interrupted the thought." She added, "I don't know if that is a valid assumption, but I do make it."

Despite the problems some of the children were having, Lee said that she was pleased with most students progress. On March 4, she told me that Tony R. was remembering more and more vocabulary words and that Ethan was sounding out words. She said, "It is so rewarding!"

During Phase III, Lee did increase the number of individual conferences she had with the children. On January 12, she began to use the new form she had developed for recording conferences. According to her records of individual conferences, Lee held between 3 and 9 individual conferences with an average of 5.7 interactions per student and a mean of 5 from October 20 to January 7 (with vacations approximately 11 weeks). From January 8 to April 1 (about 12 weeks), Lee held between 9 and 15 individual conferences with students with an average of 12 interactions per student and a mean of 12.

The students' role. The children continued to use their social relationships to support their reading development. They continued to help each other learn to read stories and to practice reading on their own and at home. Olympia continued to support Ann and Abby's reading development. On March 21, Ann and Abby sat together and read from a basal reader. They looked at the table of contents and discussed the stories they had read. "Oh ya, I read that one. Did you like the part where....?"

Cody and Rob read together. On March 21, Cody read with Tony C. First they read from a basal and then Tony said, "Let's get a different book. Where is Messy Mark? It is my favorite book!" Cody helped him find it and they read together. The next day, Rob helped Kimby read No Such Thing as a Dragon. Jerrod and Jason supported each other in reading higher level books.

All of the children appeared to value reading the basals and to believe that they would become better readers if they read higher level basal stories. On February 29,

Nathan tried to read a story in the level 10 book. Olympia and Megan listened to him read and looked at him with smiles on their faces. As Nathan stood up to leave the reading table, he told them that the day before he had been reading in the level 4 book and that it had been easy. They agreed with him, nodding their heads. When he had walked over to the book shelf under the window, Olympia pulled the level 10 book over to the side of the table she and Megan were sitting on and in a hushed voice said, "Oh, let's try it!"

The children seemed to be conscious of the basal level on which they were reading and to try to move on to higher levels. On February 29, Ann finished reading the last story in level 6 to Lee and reported to Abby in an excited voice, "I finished level 6!" They hugged silently. Cody overheard the conversation and said, "I'm in level 9."

I began to wonder if the students were reading basal stories to Lee to get stars or if they were reading for intrinsic reasons. In interviews I held with each child on February 16, I discovered that most children were unaware that Lee kept records of their reading to her. I told the children that because I had been observing at writing center, I wanted to know what they did when they went to reading center. All of the children described the variety of activities in which I had observed them engage. They noted that they read with their friends or by themselves and all said at one point or another that they read to Lee. Most described in detail how they sat beside her and read a story they had practiced. Some described what Lee did to help them. Patty said, "If we get stuck on a word, she'll tell us the word or help us sound it out." Nathan said, "She covers part of the word and then I can read the parts." Megan said, "She says to just skip it and them come back to it when we figure it out." Only Kimberly, Jessica, Olympia, and Rob mentioned that Lee gave them a check or a star for reading the stories. If the students did not mention the stars, I said, "I've heard Mrs. Mead say you will get stars or checks for reading to her. What does that mean?" Only a few children who had not raised the star issue themselves were able to answer my question. Most of the children shrugged.

When I shared this information with Lee, she said that she considered it a positive sign that the children did not know about the star system. She said she had explained it to them several times but that if they did not remember, it was fine because that meant to her that they were motivated to read on their own and did not need to be rewarded.

Book Sharing

Book sharing, like reading center, was held less frequently during this phase. While Lee still taught skills in the context of this literacy event, skill lessons frequently replaced it. The interactional patterns that had developed in the first part of the year continued during this phase. Book sharing continued to be a whole group activity. As was the case in Phase II, students who had not completed work from the previous day were not permitted to join the others at reading corner until they had completed their work. In addition, students who had not completed their morning practice sheet were also excluded until they finished that work. Children who violated the norms were asked to leave the book corner. Lee asked them to return to their seats, or in extreme cases, go into the hall or to the principal's office.

Because skill lessons had been added after the opening, book sharing met later than it had during Phases I and II. For the most part it began between 9:50 and 10:00. On a few occasions when the skill lessons and the work session after them were especially long, 2/23 and 3/22, book sharing began after 10:20. Book sharing did not occur on 2/3, 2/4, 2/26, or 3/1, the most intense periods of repair.

Through their interactions, Lee and the students continued to use book sharing to build community. Lee and the children also used this literacy event as a time for Lee to teach and the children to learn the conventions of written text and the skills and techniques used by readers. The focus during Phase III continued to be on the academic as it had been during Phase II. Lee continued to select books she thought the children would enjoy, to teach skills and techniques in context, and to read from a variety of

genre. On February 26, a day during which I had observed Lee reminding the students of the rules earlier in the morning, the interactions during book sharing illustrated how even on difficult days Lee continued to give the students a role in co-constructing this event.

Before she moved into the book sharing phase of reading corner, Lee announced, "Last announcement. Mother Goose is coming to our school tomorrow." The children began looking at each other and some whispered. Lee went on, "Some people are thinking, who is Mother Goose?" Max spoke out and said, "She writes nursery rhymes and stuff." Before Lee could respond, Joel who was sitting at his seat finishing his morning practice sheet said, "I-i-is M-mother Goose a goose? Or-or a lady dressed up like a goose?" Lee smiled and said, "That is a good question. She is a lady dressed like a goose." Picking up a book from the top of the bookcase beside her, Lee moved into the book sharing phase of reading corner and said, "I've been trying to find the history of Mother Goose. There are more than 200 Mother Goose poems and rhymes. I'm going to start to read them." Abby asked, "Are they all rhymes?" Lee answered, "Some are rhymes, some are poems, and some are stories."

She opened the book on her lap to the table of contents and said, "I looked for a table of contents but this book doesn't have one, so I'm going to leaf through the book to find one .... Oh, there it is. This book lists them all in the back, but not in a table of contents. It's called the index and it is in back in alphabetical order like a phone book directory." She continued to look at the index as she talked with the children, "Oops, they are not in alphabetical order, either." Lee began to read the titles of the entries and stopped when she read, "Old Mother Goose." She said, lets read this one, maybe it will help us learn more about Mother Goose." The children who were at their seats finishing their work looked up when Lee began to read.

When she finished the poem she and the students discussed what they had learned about Mother Goose. Then Abby asked, "Could you read 'Humpty Dumpty?'" Lee said, "Let's see how you kids can find 'Humpty Dumpty.'" She picked up the Mother Goose

book and turned to the Index. Once again she began to explain that the titles were not in alphabetical order and they would have to go through all of them to find the poem they wanted. When she turned the page, she found a second index that was in alphabetical order and she showed it to the children. Abby looked at the page and pointed, "There it is!" Lee said, "Wonderful! You just read the words Humpty Dumpty. After she read the poem, she asked the children to read it with her. "You can all read this. You know the words. Let's read it together."

On March 22, Lee read, No Such Thing As A Dragon, and she and the children laughed and discussed the book together. Near the end of their discussion, which had focused on the children telling which parts of the book they liked best and on recreating the sequence of events, Ted said with his eyes shining, "Read it again!" Lee asked for a vote and everyone raised their hands.

In addition to using this literacy event to build community during this difficult phase of the year, Lee continued use this event to teach the children the conventions of text and the skills and techniques she believed they needed to learn to be readers.

When the class opened the book club box on February 26, after they had read Mother Goose rhymes and poems, Lee showed the children the books she had bought for the class library and said, "I went crazy. I don't usually get this many." She read two of the book club books to the class. When she finished the second, Max said, "You could leave them out so we could read them ourselves." Lee said she could do that and went on to read another book. When she read a question, she stopped and pointed to the question mark. Lee explained, "That little mark over the period means it's a question." Max called out, "It's a question mark!" Lee did not reprimand him but went on to say, "Zach wrote about his race car in his story yesterday. He asked a question, 'Is it nice?' and he used a question mark." Lee then suggested that the students might try to begin using question marks if they wrote questions in their stories.

As she had in Phase II, Lee continued to teach the students to read stories from the basal readers and to teach the students about the conventions of text as well as skills and techniques in the context of reading those stories. On February 11, after she had read a library book, she held up a copy of A Place for Me, the level 7 basal, and said, "So many people are reading these books, I want to read a story from this book." On February 18 she read the students the basal story, "Stop That Noise" and taught them about the exclamation point. She read the story with animation. When she had finished, she pointed to a sentence in the story with an exclamation point at the end and said, "If there is just a period at the end, would read like this, 'Stop the noise.' But if there is an exclamation point, you would read like this, 'STOP THAT NOISE!'"

In addition to making the children aware of presentation and layout and the surface features of text, Lee began drawing the students attention to the underlying structure of the stories she read to them during book sharing. Lee also began asking the students more complex comprehension questions when they discussed the stories she had read.

On February 18 after she read "Stop That Noise," Lee read another basal story, "The Grumpiest Man in the World." After she had read the story, she asked the children, "Who was the story about? Who was the main character?" Several children called out, "The grumpiest man in the world!" Next Lee asked, "Why was he so grumpy? What does the story tell us about him?" Joel said, "He didn't like noise. An-and he must not 'have been married." Lee asked him to explain how he knew that and Joel explained that when you are married you have kids and kids are noisy! Lee went on to ask, "Who is telling the story?" The children seemed puzzled by the question, and Lee explained that the story was told by the little girl whose picture was at the top and in the corner on each page. She discussed the difference between stories told in the first person or third person. She read the opening paragraphs of several other stories and asked the children to tell her which were told in the third person and which were told first person.

On February 16, Lee read a library book about two hedge hogs named Dudley and Burton who began a trip to see the world. When they started out, Burton said he did not want to go because he was too tired to walk that far. As they traveled, he got excited and Dudley got tired and wanted to go home. The children listened intently as Lee read about the two best friends. I noticed that Ethan who was sitting right in front of Lee was looking at the book and moving his lips as she read. Near the end of the book, Lee read, "I don't want to see the whole world without you." When she finished reading the book, she asked, "What did Burton say that showed you Dudley was a good, good friend?" Max repeated the sentence Lee had just read, "Cause he said, 'I don't want to see the whole world without you.'" Lee asked if they had noticed that the two friends had changed places. Patty said, "Yea," and went on to explain that in the beginning Dudley wanted to go and Burton did not. Kelly added, "An then Burton wanted to keep going and Dudley didn't!"

In addition to reading from the basals and from story books, Lee continued to read information books to the children. During the middle of February and through March, Lee and the students brought books and information about stamps to reading corner and book sharing. On February 18, Jessica brought a stamp collection for sharing. The children asked her lots of questions about the stamps, many of which she could not answer. Lee asked it they would like to learn more about stamps and they all said, "Yessss!" Building on their interest, Lee planned a unit on stamps. She arranged for a woman from the post office to visit the class, and she read the books and information which she and the children brought to book sharing. On March 21, Lee read part of a book Jessica brought. Lee pointed out that it was a very old book and showed the children the copyright date. At the board, she subtracted the date in the book from the current date and announced, "This book is 31 years old! I was only four years old when this book was printed."

After they discussed the stamp book, Lee shared another non-fiction book with the children. She explained that in science they would be studying tadpoles and that the book could teach them about tadpoles. Turning to a diagram of a tadpole's external parts and internal organs, Lee explained how to read a diagram. "This is a picture, kind of like a map." Lee said that she would read it and then the children could use it to find parts on the tadpole Megan had brought to share with the class. She read the name of each part and explained what it was. When she read, "Gills...." Michael E. said, "Oh, like goldfish."

Writing Center

Writing center was the literacy event most affected by Lee's efforts to maintain a balance between order and creativity and between individual and group needs. From the beginning, this was the center the students had the most power to structure. The students had used writing center to work on their writing, and at the same time, their social relationships. Lee had not had a problem with that until late in Phase II. When Lee perceived that the students' socializing conflicted with her efforts to help them learn what she believed they needed to know to become writers and to be prepared for second grade, Lee asserted her authority over individual students and monitored their behavior.

The changes in Lee's role in this event during Phase III illustrate how the micropolitics of the classroom interacted with and shaped what happened in the literacy events, in this case writing center.

Lee's role during the early part of Phase III. When Phase III began Lee considered writing an occasion for students to learn to use the conventions of text and to improve their handwriting. She also considered it a time for students to make the connection between oral and written language. A journal entry she wrote to me on January 22 (Figure 17), showed that she continued to have all of these goals for writing activities and that she had added others for Phase III.

Response to 1/27/88 — 2/10/88

1. What do I hope the children will learn by writing stories
   a) They deal w/ phonetic skills on a very challenging personal level (reading + writing).
   b) They connect their ideas with written language.
   c) " become confident in expressing themselves.
   d) To learn to read

2. Does ... writing relate to other parts of lang. arts. curr.?
   Yes — everything!

   Writing - planning, drafts, diff. styles, mechanics - capita punctu
   Grammar + usage - sentence formation, nouns/verbs/adj/pronouns..
   Creativity
   Speaking + Listening - discussion, reading, peer conf. w/ ea. other + teacher
   Reading + Comprehension
   Vocab. development - descriptive, 5 senses
   synonyms, antonyms,
   Socialization - respect for each other
   Mutual support
   sharing, confidence
   * enjoyment
   speaking + listening
   peer teaching

3. Value of publishing? sharing?

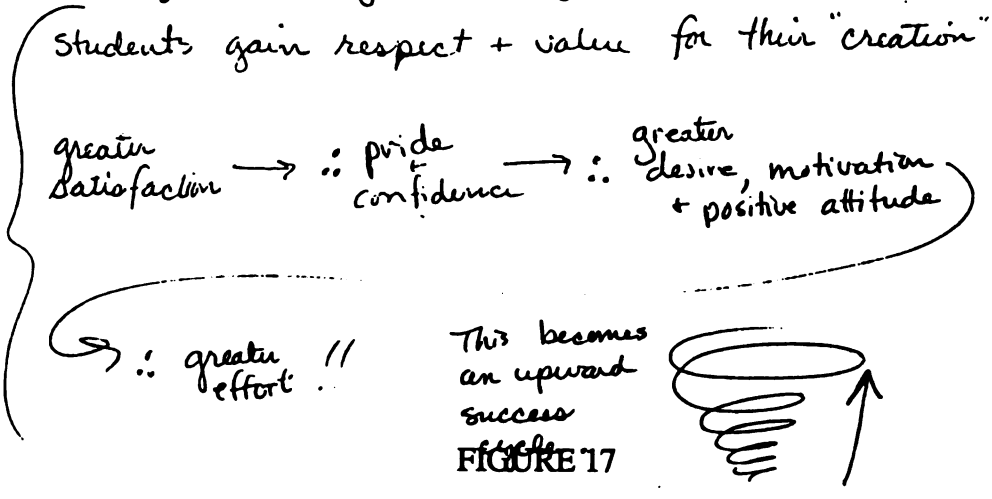


FIGURE 17

Lee's journal entry shows that in addition to seeing writing as an occasion for the children to use phonetic skills, connect their ideas with written language, and become confident in expressing themselves, Lee believed that writing would help the children learn to read. In addition, she noted that writing was related to other parts of the language arts curriculum and that she wanted the children to learn about planning, drafting, and peer conferencing. She noted that she believed it would improve the students' reading comprehension, vocabulary, and knowledge of mechanics, grammar and usage. Lee also believed that writing would further the socialization goals she had for the students by helping them develop respect for each other, provide mutual support, increase sharing, build self confidence and enjoyment, develop speaking and listening skills, and provide an occasion for peer teaching. Finally, Lee's journal entry noted that publishing the students' writing would be valuable because it would help the students respect and value their creation; provide them with greater satisfaction, pride, and confidence; and develop within them a greater desire, motivation, and positive attitude which she saw leading to greater effort. She noted that publishing would increase opportunities for sharing and that all these factors together would become an upward success cycle.

Throughout Phase III, when the students did write, Lee increased her expectations for their writing. On January 12, Lee announced centers. "Center 2, writing. Write a story about anything you want. Tell two things about the story. When you write two things about your story, use a capital at the beginning and a period at the end of the first thing you tell. Then use a capital at the beginning and a period at the end of the second thing you tell." On January 19, she told the children that they would write another three page book. The week before, she had explained that they were going to publish books like the one Michael G.'s sister had written, and that to get ready to do that they would write books instead of single page stories. On the 19th, Lee told the children to begin a new book or to finish one they had already started, and she added, "There are some books

in the bin. If you run out, I will put out the paper and you can make your own books." On February 24, Lee asked the children to write four page books.

On February 2, Lee reminded the children of the conventions she had been asking them to use in their writing and asked them to begin using upper case letters only to begin sentences and not throughout. When she announced Center 2, she said, "Write anything you want. Write a sentence, capital letter, spaces between words." Then she and the students discussed where else they might use capital letters. Lee asked, "Do you get to put more capital letters in the middle of the sentence?" The children said, "Noooo." Then Max said, "Yea, for a name you could," and they discussed how capitals were used in the middle of sentences when there were names included. Lee showed them several examples of sentences with proper nouns in them in one of the basals. Then she asked, "How will I know you got to the end of a sentence?" The students called out, "Period."

In addition to increasing her expectations for their use of conventions in their writing, Lee provided more guidelines for their writing and actions in writing center. On February 3, Lee asked the students to write about a topic they had never written about before. In the past, she had allowed the students free choice of topics. This was the first time I has observed her doing more than suggesting a topic for writing. "Center 2, writing. Something new. Capital letter at the beginning, period at the end. Then think of a brand new thing to write about. Write at least two sentences and try to make your story today different from any story you have ever written. If you write about rainbows all the time, don't today. Also, before you start writing, find your file and transfer what is in it to this file." She held up a piece of blue construction paper folded in half. "Then be sure you put the files back in order. First thing, change your file. Then, write a story." Each time a new center group moved to writing center on that day, Lee went to writing center and modeled for the students what she wanted them to do to clean out their folder. This was the first time I had seen her do that and the first time I had seen her restrict the choice of topics.

She continued to ask the children to write about topics they had not written on before. She told me that she wanted them to learn to spell more words and explore new ideas. On several occasions she suggested they write about things they had shared during sharing time or about topics they discussed in book sharing. On a few occasions, Lee asked the children to write about topics connected to a science lesson.

The students' role. As they moved into Phase III, the students appeared to see writing center as a social and academic occasion. For some children the focus was on the social, for others it was on learning to write, and for others the two were interactive. As they had during Phase II, most of the students continued to work to master the conventions of written text. In addition, they began to be concerned about writing stories others would enjoy reading. A few students began to write more complicated stories and to include elements of story genre.

For most students, writing center remained an occasion for using writing to build social relationships. A group of girls including Abby, Olympia, Ann, and Kimberly frequently worked together. They supported each other as they selected topics, drew pictures, and wrote text. Sometimes they copied each other's text or drew pictures together. On January 12, Ann and Kimberly worked together to draw a single picture. Each added details. Then they each drew pictures of a castle and added girls. As they colored the girls' dresses, they announced what details they were adding, "I'm doing lace now." "I'm making puffy sleeves. Neither added words to their paper until Lee announced that centers were about to change. But, during the center time, they had told stories about what the girls in the picture were doing or going to do. "She is going to a ball with the prince." "Yea, and the king will be there...."

Another group of girls worked at the fringe of this group, sometimes joining or borrowing ideas from them without verbally interacting with them. Kelly, Jessica, and Patty often wrote on the same topics, but they did not interact verbally. Kelly improvised on the idea of the prince and princess and drew pictures for a story about Cinderella on

January 12. Jessica added a princess to the story she was writing about a unicorn. Joel and Tony R. continued to work in the way they had from the beginning of the year. Like the girls, they frequently focused on one picture, the one Joel was drawing, and added words at the last minute before it was time to change centers.

However, several students did not use their social interactions to support learning to write. Another group of children, Max, Cody, Slade, Jerrod, and Michael E., were less focused on writing than the others. For much of the time writing center met during Phase III, these boys walked around the room, talked with each other, or did things other than writing. On January 12, for at least part of their writing center time, Max and Cody put paper on the vents over the blower fan and watched it float up into the air. Jerrod walked around the room asking other students if they would like to try on his new glasses. Cody and Slade got into an argument over a notebook. Michael E. left writing center to walk around the room to look at the plants and fish and to visit with friends at other centers. When Lee looked up from reading center and noticed that these and other children were not working, or were not in the places they were supposed to be, she would call out their name, ask them what they were supposed to be doing, and ask them to do their work.

Lee's first response to this behavior was to address individual students' misbehavior. When those efforts did not work, to insure that all of the students used writing center to learn to write, Lee asserted her authority over all of the children. She frequently stopped what she was doing at the reading center to remind students to do their center work.

Cody's comments on January 12 illustrated how some of the students responded when Lee asserted her authority and added elements of the more traditional school culture to the community of learners. In writing center shortly after Lee had begun to focus on raising the standards for behavior in centers, Cody told Kimberly and the others in his group as he wrote, "I just want to get done so I can use some free paper and make something." I found this an especially curious comment considering Lee's assignment for

writing center had been to write anything they wanted. To make sense of Cody's comment, I noted what he did with the free paper he got after he wrote his story. I was surprised to observe that he wrote a four sentence piece in which he described a trip he had taken to Disneyland. Something about the changes Lee had made in the social and academic organization of writing center had changed the learning context for Cody, and his actions suggested that he now saw it as a different occasion for learning than it had previously been.

By early February, more of the students were spending less time writing and more time socializing.

Lee's role during the later part of Phase III. When Lee perceived that the students' socializing conflicted with her efforts to help them learn what she believed they needed to know to become writers and to be prepared for second grade, Lee changed writing from a center to a whole group activity. From her comments I inferred that the social organization of the whole group activity gave Lee more control over the students' interactions with each other and increased her opportunity to interact with the students on a one-to-one basis around their writing. In addition, it gave her more opportunities to model and teach how to use the conventions of written text, to guide the students through peer conferencing, and to reinforce the standards she set for the students' writing.

Writing center was a key literacy event from January 8 through February 24. After that, Lee did not provide time for writing centers or group writing. During that time she and the students worked on whole group skill lessons. After March 4, writing was done primarily during writing workshop, a whole group activity.

In explaining this change from having the students write in centers to writing in a whole group activity, Lee noted that she had made the change for two reasons. First, she had been concerned by the number of students who socialized instead of writing during writing centers. Secondly, she said that she felt writing was important and that she had not been able to give the students the support and feedback she wanted to give in the brief

conferences she held with them between centers. Therefore, she said she had decided to have the students write during a time when she could interact with them and give them support.

After Lee had reorganized writing as writing workshop, she introduced a new activity, peer editing. She said she believed it would increase the students' sense of audience. Lee introduced the concept of peer conferencing on January 21. I only observed the class reading and discussing their stories with each other on three occasions but Lee reported that they had done it on other occasions when I was not there. On January 21, Lee told me the class was having a "flip-flop" day and explained that it was a day when they did centers in the afternoon and afternoon work in the morning. She said she was going to have the children do a writing activity after they watched a health film and that after that she wanted to do peer conferencing. After the children watched a film, "My Wonderful Body Machine," Lee asked them to write a three page book about what they learned from the film. After the children had written for twenty minutes, Lee explained that they were going to have a chance to read their books to the class. She asked who would like to read and half of the class raised their hands. Lee explained that everyone would not be able to share today, but that everyone would get a turn soon. She called on Patty who read her story. When she had finished, Lee asked it anyone would like to ask Patty a question about her story. She said, "Patty, you may call on someone." Kimby asked Patty, "Did someone help you with the pictures?" Patty said, "No. I'm the author and illustrator." Nathan read next and Lee told him that she had given him a star for reading loudly. Then she modeled questions the students might ask. "Where did you get the ideas?" "What would you like to add." Several others read and students asked the questions Lee had asked in addition to others such as, "Have you written other books?" When Lee called on Jason to read his book, he began by reading the title and then, "Author and illustrator Jason." Then he opened the book and laughed, "I can't even read

my own book. I gots so many letters in it!" Lee suggested that he think for a minute about the ideas he had written. After a pause, he read it.

I did not see peer conferences again until March 4, the day Lee organized writing as a whole group activity. At 12:00, she announced, "Creative writing." She said, "Make your stories longer so we can publish them. Raise your hand if you have already read your story to a friend and made the story longer." Several students raised their hands. Lee continued, "You may write a new story. Now it is time to practice peer conferences. Raise your hand if you want to read your story to the class." Jason asked to read first. He stood by the reading table and read, "'The Bad Lion' by Jason." When he finished, he asked if anyone had a question. Kimberly said, "I don't understand the first part." Jason asked what she did not understand and then answered her questions. After a few others had asked him questions, I asked, "Why was he a bad lion?" Jason turned his book around to look at it and then he laughed. "I forgot to tell that! He is bad because he ran away from the zoo. I drew him in a cage, but I didn't put in the words." Then I noticed that in the first picture, the lion was behind bars but that later he was not. It reminded me that the children had frequently "read" their pictures to me before and now Jason had written part of his story with the picture. By using my adult way of reading, I had missed that!

Other children shared their stories and the others asked questions and made suggestions. At 12:14, Lee said, "You may begin to write." The children wrote until 12:28 when Lee said that it was nearly time for lunch. She asked what they had written about and the children shared their topics. When they were done, Lee said, "They're getting so creative!" Several children asked if they could continue to write after lunch and Lee said they could if people voted "yes."

On March 18, in the afternoon, the students wrote again in writing workshop. Before they began to write, they once again did peer conferencing. I noticed that the students were reading or working on the stories I had observed them writing on March 4.

When I asked a few when they had last done writing, they said they had not done it for a few weeks. Lee confirmed this and said they had been focusing on "getting the skills down."

In addition to increasing the children's sense of audience with peer conferencing, Lee also provided audiences outside of the room for the students' writing. When a police officer came to their class to discuss personal safety, Lee asked the children to write Officer Friendly a thank you note. Each wrote his or her own note and Lee mailed them. She showed the children how to address the envelope and let them see her put the letters inside and place the stamps on the outside.

Between the end of January and the end of February, with the help of parent volunteers, Lee arranged for the children to publish their first book. She had arranged with a senior citizens' group to make book covers out of wall paper. Each child selected one story from the stories he or she had written and read it to a parent volunteer who printed the story in the book the child had chosen. Many of the children added detail which the parents added to the stories when they printed them. As Lee had noted in her journal entry to me, she considered publishing motivational. The students seemed to be excited about their books. Many read them during reading time and taught friends to read them. Lee was anxious to have them publish another book, but they did not do so before spring vacation and the end of Phase III.

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations Lee and Her Students Constructed Throughout Phase III

The students continued to progress in reading and writing. Most of the students worked to master and apply the concepts, skills, and techniques Lee taught during skill lessons, book sharing, and reading and writing conferences. Many seemed to set goals

for themselves in reading, and they tried to read stories from the higher level basal readers.

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations the Students Had Constructed About Skills Associated With Reading and Writing

Despite the changes in the literacy events and in the classroom social relations, the students' reading and writing continued to develop during this phase. Their actions and comments showed that they were learning the skills Lee was teaching them during skill lessons, that they were beginning to make connections between what they learned in one center and what they did in another, that they were able to read more difficult books, and that they were using more conventions of text in their writing.

Although the students had little input in shaping the skill lessons, they did seem to make sense of them and tie what they learned in the lessons to their reading and writing. In May when I interviewed them and showed them one of the skill sheets and asked what they learned from doing them, nearly all noted that the skill lessons helped them learn new words for reading and writing. Most explained in detail the skill on which the lesson had focused.

In addition, the students appeared to learn a new event which Lee might not have intended to teach them, test taking. I was stuck with the measures the students took to insure that no one would look on their papers. Some stood books up around their papers to block the view. Others moved off into a corner or crawled under a table or the teacher's desk to be sure no one could "copy" from them. I wondered where they had learned these behaviors and terms but never did find out for sure. On March 22, I heard Cody advise Joel and Tony R. not to copy from someone else's paper. He said, "Don't do it. They might be wrong. And anyway, it's cheating."

The students' comments during book sharing and their actions and comments in the other literacy events showed that they had listened to Lee's explanations of the conventions of text and that they were beginning to move toward reading stories on a more advanced level. The day Lee pointed out the question mark in the basal text she was reading, Matt and Michael G. both used questions marks in the stories they wrote at writing center. When Lee began asking the children to write three page books instead of writing stories on single sheets of paper, the students showed that they were aware of even more conventions of text. All of the students put a title on the front page of their books. All put their names on the cover, and many students added the words author and illustrator along with their names. While some used invented spelling to spell these words, others found copies of books with those words on the cover and copied them onto their books. After Lee pointed out the copyright date, Patty and Jessica added copyright dates to their books.

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations the Students Had Constructed About Reading

Throughout Phase III, the children continued to apply and use the concepts Lee taught during book sharing. They also went beyond reading the words on the page to finding deeper meaning in the stories and to finding relationships between the visual cues and the stories. As they had in the other phases, the children considered book sharing a time for socializing with their friends and with Lee while they listened to and discussed books.

The students began to show that they were becoming more sensitive to visual cues and more subtle meaning in the texts. On February 18, Lee read the story "Boy Was I Mad," from one of the basal readers. Later that day in reading center, Megan asked if she could read the story to me. On each page of the story above the written text and the picture, there was a little boy's face. Throughout the story his facial expressions changed.

After Megan had read several pages, she stopped and said, "Hey, why is that boy's face on every page?" I suggested that we look at the pictures to see if they changed and if they went with the story. After looking at the pictures on each page and connecting them with the story, Megan, "Oh, I get it. They show how he feels!"

On February 23, Lee read a story from a basal reader about a boy and his friends talking about the playground they wanted to build. The pictures on the pages where the boys were talking were black and white. The pictures that went with the text in which they described what the playground would look like were colored. Several children began to note the patterns as Lee read. Jerrod said, "Hey, why are some of the pictures in color and some aren't?" Lee stopped and asked the children why they thought that was the case. Megan said, "I bet it goes with the story." Lee suggested they reread some of the pages to find out if Megan was right. Nathan, Patty, Abby, and Megan all noted that the colored pictures were the imagining scenes and the black and white pictures where the real scene.

Two day later when Lee read, "A Good Place to Play," which was a story about boys turning a vacant lot into a park, Joel asked if it went with the story Lee had read about the boys planning a playground. Several children said, "Yea, that's right!" They talked about the similarities and differences in the two stories and in the pictures that accompanied both stories.

The children used their social relationships to support their reading development. They continued to help each other learn to read stories and to practice reading on their own and at home. Olympia continued to support Ann and Abby's reading development. Cody and Rob read together. Max spent part of each reading center reading with Tony C. who then practiced the story that Max taught him to read on his own. Cody also helped Tony C. and others learn to read stories in the basals. While he did not read the stories to Lee, he did read them with Rob and Max and others. Rob also helped others.

In their interactions with each other and in their comments to me during their interviews, the children showed that they did not see reading as an academic task separate from their social interactions. When the children talked with me about learning to read, they all talked about the person or persons who helped them learn. I was surprised by the number of children who talked about learning to read at home. Many reported that they read with parents, grandparents, or siblings. When they described reading in school, they also referred to the place where they sat, who was there, and what they read.

All of the children progressed to higher levels in the basal readers during this phase. On March 1, as part of her assessment to see who might be retained, Lee made a list of where the children were in the basal readers. The following list shows that only four children were reading at or above level 7, the level the second grade teachers expected children to be reading at when they entered second grade:

Level 8	Olympia, Megan, Cody, Nathan
Level 7	
Level 6	Jason, Kimberly, Ann, Tony C., Ted, Rob, Patty, Max, Abby, Matt, Michael G.
Level 5	Jerrod, Jessica, Slade, Kelly
Level 4	Kimby, Joel, Tony R., Ethan, Michael E.

By April 1, Lee's records showed that only seven children were reading below level 7. Seven children were reading at level 7. Ten children were reading above level 7:

Level 9	Olympia, Megan, Cody
Level 8	Jason, Kimberly, Ann, Matt, Max, Nathan, Abby
Level 7	Tony C., Jessica, Michael G., Ted, Rob, Kelly, Patty
Level 6	Slade, Jerrod
Level 5	Kimby, Michael E., Tony R., Joel
Level 4	Ethan

From their comments and actions, I inferred that the children had internalized the values, beliefs, skill, techniques, and statuses associated with reading that Lee had modeled to them and that these had become part of their personal theories of literacy. I also inferred that the children were continuing to make sense of written language and that they considered it a meaning centered activity.

Joel and Tony R., who were just beginning to read, did something that showed me that they saw reading as a meaning making process. Lee had gotten some flash cards that went with the basals form another teacher and had put them in the reading center. On February 25, Joel and Tony R. asked Lee if they could make books with the cards. Lee looked at them with a puzzled look and said with a shrug, "Sure, I guess so." For the rest of the reading center, the boys put the words together to make sentences. They selected two or more cards that would make sense if they were combined and stapled them together in a book. One book read, "Rex cooks." Another read, "Linda has a big house." They tried to make the books funny. When the center ended they read their books to Lee and she laughed with them. After that day, Tony R. frequently read the books to himself and to others.

Throughout Phase III, the children worked to develop their reading. They continued to read a variety of genres in addition to the basal readers and to support each others' development. They sought help from adults at home and at school and from other students.

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations the Students Had Constructed About Writing

The children's writing development continued through Phase III. More and more students began using the conventions of text Lee introduced to them during book sharing and the concepts she introduced through skill lessons. More students became interested in using conventional spelling. On January 12, the week after Lee had begun the skill lessons and spelling tests, I noted that more children were using picture dictionaries to find the conventional spelling for words they were putting in their writing. Matt drew an airplane and a tiny car at the bottom of the paper. After looking at a page in the picture dictionary, he wrote airplane beside the plane. Then he asked me how to spell "car." I asked if he could hear the letters, and he wrote car.

The children seemed to be proud that they could use the punctuation Lee asked them to use. After Kelly had written her story on January 12, she took it to Lee to read. When Lee pointed to the periods and said, "Good!" Kelly came back to the table with a big smile on her face.

The students also showed an interest in using concepts in their writing that Lee introduced to them during book sharing. On January 26, Lee pointed out a question mark in a poem she was reading to the students during book sharing and talked with them about rhyming words. After she and the students had made up rhymes together, Lee suggested the students try writing rhymes during writing center. Matt and Michael E. both wrote a rhyme and they both used question marks. Matt wrote:

The Hat Ron IN two
The Kat. DeDT HOVFUN?

He read, "The hat ran into the cat. Didn't it have fun?" Michael E. wrote: TEHBATWAtNitEHHAT? He brought his paper to me and read. "The bat went in the hat?" Others wrote rhymes too. Max wrote, The HAT Witin the cat. Ann wrote:

I Like to
KIS A(crossed out the A)
And I
nathr mis

She read, "I like to kiss and I never miss." She had put lipstick on her lips and had covered the paper with kisses.

In addition to using the conventions Lee taught, I saw evidence that the children were trying to make sense of the conventions of text they noticed in the texts they were reading. On February 2, Megan wrote about a ground hog. She showed me her story and read it to me. She had written:

The Ground hog is out of
his's Log. and he dose
not se(crossed out e's) his's shadow

When I asked, "What do these marks mean?" as I pointed to the apostrophes, Megan said she did not know. I asked where she had seen them before, and she replied that she had

seen them in the books she had been reading. Then she added, "Oh yea, it means it belongs to him." I noted that this had been a concept Lee had begun to teach the children during book sharing early in the year.

The children continued to make sense of periods in much the same way. Frequently, they did not put the period at the bottom of the last letter but somewhere mid-way up the letter. On January 12, Max wrote:

SCHOOL ON FIRE (period at the top of the E)
And a KID IS
insiD.

I noted that he had placed the periods in the appropriate places in the text even if he had not placed them in the conventional places.

Others continued to struggle to master linearity. Because most wrote the words on their papers after they had drawn the picture, they continued to use the space around the picture to write. On February 2, Michael E. wrote:

I LOVE YOU.

ME
AND DOG
MY MY
MOM AND
AND
My
DAD

He read the line at the top, "I love you, " and then read the first column from top to bottom, "Me and my mom and my dad." When he began to read the second column from top to bottom, he paused and then read form bottom to top, "and my dog."

When Lee asked the children to write three page or four page books instead of single page stories, a new level of complexity was added. A number of children began writing in the books from back to front. On January 19, the second day the children wrote three page books, Jason struggled with the concept of front to back as well as linearity. Figures 18 shows the two pages he wrote in his book.



FIGURE 18

He began by writing auth for author on the back cover. Then he realized he had started at the back and turned the book over and wrote on the front cover, auth Jason. On the first page he wrote:

this is
and my
me

Dad

He read, "This is me and my dad." He had a hard time reading what he had written, but then he seemed to think about it for a moment and read without a problem. On the next page, he wrote:

this is hou(crossed out)
y m
housoe
My in
this
is house
Me

I watched as he wrote this page. He copied the word house from a basal reader and said each word as he wrote it. I noticed that he used whatever space was available to write the words. He did not seem to consider the need for putting them in linear order. Again, he had a problem reading what he had written. Finally, after he thought about what he had written, he read, "This is my house. This is me in my house." I asked why he thought it had been hard to read what he had written. He shrugged and then laughed and said, "I wrote all over." I asked if he would like me to draw arrows to make it easier to read and he said, "Yea!"

Other children had fewer problems than Jason had with writing in the books, but it became clear that most were still developing a notion of a story. On January 19, Michael E. also wrote a book. On the cover he wrote MAD BOI (made by) and then his name. He read the first page of text, "The pirate"; the second page, "I love you mom and dad"; the third, "I love you my dad"; the fourth, "The pirate is in the spaceship" and the word "venus"; the fifth, "He is out of the space ship"; and the sixth, "The end." The second and

third pages did not seem to relate to the rest of his story about the pirate, but Michael did not seem to consider that a problem.

Nathan's sense of continuity was more conventional. On the cover of his book, he wrote, Nathan and then Book Level 1210000. He said no one could read it because it was such a high level. On page one he read, "This is my race car. It is fun. I play with it every day"; on page two, "I drive it here and there. I love it so much"; on page three, "Is it nice? I think it is really nice"; and on page four, "The end." Nathan had focused on a single subject, asked a rhetorical question, and used "book talk" in writing sentences such as "I drive it here and there."

Although Joel did not use conventional page layout to write his book, he did focus on a single story throughout and selected a fictional topic. He wrote:

Page 1

the WR WF
KLD the
MAN

Page 2

the man KLD the
WRWF

Page 3

the man is
trne
intoA
WR
WF

Page 4

the DEAD WR
WF
in the tom
tost

Page 5

the end

Joel read, "The werewolf killed the man." "The man killed the werewolf." "The man is turning into a werewolf." "The dead werewolf in the tomb." "The end."

The children showed other indications that they were becoming more aware of the complexities of text. Rob, Nathan, Kimberly, and Ann began using voice bubbles on their pictures early in January and put their text on the page and in the voice bubbles. On January 7, Ann read her story to me. "Cloud. Sun. The flowers were teasing the other flowers." In the voice bubbles above the flowers she had written HQ HQ or WA WA. (Figure 19).

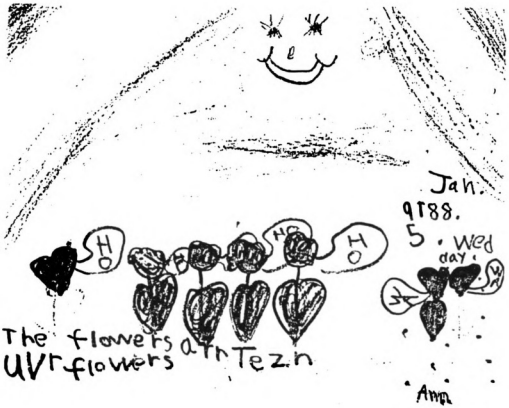


FIGURE 19

Rob had been the first to write a book on his own, and he continued to write more books. On January 21, he wrote a story about a rescue. Although it appeared to lack cohesion when I read it to myself, Rob read the words and the pictures when he read it to me. I noted that by reading the words and the pictures, the story was cohesive. I have written the text as he read it to me.

Page 1

This is a baby brontosaurus

Page 2

The mom is worried. Her baby is gone.

Page 3

The meat eater is gonna get the baby.

Page 4

The mom ran until she got to her baby. The mom has an idea.

Page 5

The mom helps the baby.

Page 6

The bridge is breaking, and mom holds the bridge, and the baby is on the bridge.

There was evidence that the children were beginning to understand register and genre. During February, Nathan wrote two books which showed that he was internalizing more features of story. One was titled, "The for lef clovr," and it began, "One's u pon a time ter was a man with a for lef clovr." Another book was titled, "The case of the missing cat." The title page showed that he still had problems using space. He wrote his name and the room number, and then he wrote the title around that. Reading it in a conventional manner from top to bottom, it read,

Nathan Room

Mising 16 The

chad of

The case

It began "Ones u pon a time thr wus a mieing cat." Figure 20 shows the text as Nathan wrote it.

ones ϕ PON
u +iME thr
wus a Mein
chad

He wus scrd
Bi The wef.
He so a
plas TO HID-



Teh TF was
the case BGN

The eNd

FIGURE 20

Nathan's choice of genre, a mystery story, and his use of the traditional opening for a fictional narrative suggested that he was beginning to use features of stories in his writing that he had heard and had read himself. His use of the voice bubble with the question and "He He He" written above the place where the cat was hiding showed that he understood that pictures with text outside of the story line could also be part of the story. This was a concept Lee had pointed out to the children when she read to them during book sharing.

The children also showed that they had made writing a part of their daily lives. Tony C. told Lee about a book he was making at home for his brother's baby. Several days later he began working on a book during writing center that looked to me like a dictionary. When I asked him to tell me about the book, he said it was a book to teach the baby to read. Megan worked on a card for her parents' anniversary after she finished her other work. She said her mother had given her the card but that she was "putting the words in it." On another day, Megan worked on a letter to a friend who had moved away.

Even students who had written little before began writing. On February 2, Joey R. stayed at writing center when the others in his group moved on to the next center. He sounded out each letter, wrote what he heard, looked at it, and sometimes crossed it out. When he finished he showed his paper to me. He had written

I HAF A B BTR(crossed out and wrote TRe above) IN MI W
AZ

He read, "I have a big tree in my woods." As he read, he put his finger under each group of letters.

As had been the case in the past, the students' development varied greatly. Jason and Ethan's development was especially interesting to note given that both had begun the year with a limited knowledge of the alphabet. As I noted above, Jason had problems with linearity on January 19. On February 24, he began a book by starting on the back page, but realized his mistake before he wrote inside. He said, "Oh. I'm going backwards!" He turned the book over and started again. During the first peer editing

conference he could not read what he had written. Lee encouraged him to think about what he had written and he was able to read it.

By January 28, he had begun to show confidence in his ability to communicate in writing. I sat beside him while he wrote his letter to Officer Friendly. When he finished writing, he read the letter to me. Then he asked me to read it to him. We talked about what he had written, and I asked if I might make a copy of his letter. When I asked where he got the ideas, he said, "It just pops into my head. I just sit and think and it pops into my head."

On February 2, Jason asked if I wanted to hear his story before he went out for recess. I said of course. He had written

> This is a sun.
> The sun And me.
> This is me
> And it (period in middle of t)
> this is it.

Originally he had put periods after each word. When he showed it to Lee, she had read it as he had punctuated it. Jason had laughed and they had discussed where he wanted her to stop. Together they had decided where Jason should put the periods.

On February 4, he wrote

> this is my
> brother.
> this is me.
> this is my
> dad
> and
> my mom.

This time he put the periods where they appear above before he showed the piece to Lee. By March 4, when he shared his story in peer conferencing, Jason had "taken off" as a writer.

In contrast, Ethan, who had started with about the same knowledge of the alphabet (at least according to their test scores), had not progressed in the same manner Jason had. On January 12, he wrote

trees R Hi R LATL
seeds

He copied "trees" and "seeds" from a picture dictionary and sounded the others out. On January 19, he copied all of the words he wrote on his paper from the picture dictionary. On the 26th, he wrote a rhyme. He asked me to help him sound out the words. I noted that he seemed to know the names of the letters that went with the sounds but did not remember what they looked like. When he finished, he went back and read what he had written. As he read, he again sounded out each letter and circled it as he read it. Later when he wrote his letter to Officer Friendly, he again sounded out each letter. He wrote, "How r you rudy" which he read "How are you doing?" and drew hearts all over the paper.

On February 4, he drew an intricate picture and wrote the word "majic" by sounding out the letters. He wrote MAL (crossed out S above L) C (crossed out t above c) ic. On February 24, Lee told me and the other first grade teachers that she had begun to think Ethan might have a learning disability. She referred to the elaborate procedure he used to sound out words as evidence for her concern.

Meanings and Interpretations Lee Had Constructed Throughout Phase III

During Phase III, Lee had learned more about individual students' knowledge of reading and writing. When Lee tested the children in early March to see if they had learned the letters of the alphabet, the number words, the color words, and the letter-sound relationships, she found that a few children were still working on learning these concepts and works. By April 1, she knew that seven students were still not reading on level 7 in the basal readers.

Lee had also learned during this phase that she would need to assert her authority more than she had originally planned in order to fulfill her role, which was to plan for and facilitate her students learning. Although she would have preferred to let the students'

learning develop more naturally, Lee realized that that would not be possible if she were to prepare them for second grade. While she had not changed her original beliefs about children, children's literacy, the value of community, or developing a pedagogy that was responsive to children, she had come to believe that for this group of students, it was necessary for her to do more to insure that the classroom social context would support learning.

Chapter Summary

During Phase III, Lee and the students modified the social context they had begun establishing in Phase I. When Lee asserted her authority in her efforts to teach the students what they needed to know to be prepared for second grade, she changed her role and the students' status in the classroom. When some students responded to the change in their status by trying to shift the focus to their agenda, Lee responded by changing the social organization of the classroom and the social structure of the literacy events. Through their interactions, Lee and the students changed the classroom social context and what was learned in the classroom.

By the end of Phase III, the culture of Lee's classroom looked more like the culture of the school in which it was situated. The students participated in lessons in which the teacher used direct instruction, and they did worksheets and dittos and took tests. In the next chapter, I will describe the final phase of the year during which Lee and the students created a classroom social context that combined features of the context they had created before January 8 and the school-like context they created during Phase III.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECONSTRUCTING THE CLASSROOM CULTURE AND THE CLASSROOM CULTURE OF LITERACY: BRINGING EVERYONE INTO THE CLASSROOM CULTURE AND THE CLASSROOM CULTURE OF LITERACY BY DEVELOPING SHARED AND INDIVIDUAL MEANINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS ABOUT SCHOOL AND LITERACY

Phase IV began on April 11 after spring vacation and ended on the last day of school, June 9. During this phase of the year, Lee and the students worked together to bring everyone into the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy. Once again, the classroom social context supported learning. For the most part, Lee and the students shared a common goal, to get everyone as far as possible in reading and writing. A few students still did not share Lee's social agenda and others were still having academic problems, but Lee was able to work with them individually and help them learn what they needed to know to be ready for second grade. By the end of the year, she had decided that all but one student was prepared for second grade, and all of the students had come to see themselves as readers and writers.

Chapter Overview

In this chapter, I describe the process Lee and her students engaged in during the final phase of the year to get everyone as far as possible in reading and writing and to get everyone ready for second grade. First, I provide an overview of the interactional

patterns that emerged in Phase IV. Second, I discuss Lee and the students goals before the interactions began in Phase IV. Third, I describe the interactional process Lee and her students engaged in to construct shared and individual meanings and interpretations about school and literacy in order to get everyone ready for second grade. Fourth, I describe the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed throughout Phase IV. Finally, I conclude by summarizing the process Lee and her students engaged in during the four phases of the year and the shared and individual meanings they had constructed throughout the year.

Overview of the Patterns Which Emerged in the Interactional Context During Phase IV

When Phase IV began after spring vacation, Lee and the children seemed more relaxed. The children's health improved, they played hard outside on the playground, and they focused on extending their development in reading and writing in the classroom. Lee seemed to feel more confident about the changes she had made in her classroom during the early part of the year and about the adjustments she had made between winter and spring vacations. In the weeks prior to spring break, the students' behavior had improved, and Lee had found in assessing their reading and writing development that nearly all of the students were reading at level 6 and above and that most were ready to publish a second book.

During this phase, Lee once again made room for the children's culture within the classroom culture. The class went on several field trips and did special projects with the other two first grades. Lee added a fourth center which she called independent center. During that center the children could play with games, puzzles, and math materials or they could write, illustrate their books, or read. Activities which had been suspended during the difficult days of Phase III returned. Lee gave the children more voice in

shaping the community and in selecting the focus of most of the literacy events. She asked the children to help her think of ways to deal with some problems. The children suggested rules the class might adopt for saving a place in line on the playground in the morning and for helping each other finish center work. During book sharing, the children began to select and read books to the class.

Given the more relaxed atmosphere in the room, I wondered if Lee saw this period as a time to wind down the year. When I asked how she would characterize this time of year, Lee thought for a moment and said that she did not see it as a time to let up but as a time to help the children get as far as possible. Throughout Phase IV, Lee's actions supported her comment. She continued to raise her expectations for the students' behavior, to hold individual reading conferences with the children, to encourage them to do well on their skill and spelling practice sheets and on the tests, and to raise her expectations for their writing.

The children, too, seemed to work to get as far as they could. In my efforts to test the assertions I was beginning to make about how they made sense of what went on in the classroom and of reading and writing, I interviewed all of the children twice during May. In the first interview, I focused on reading and skill lessons and in the second on writing. Many of the children talked to me about what they had learned in first grade. Patty was especially articulate about what she believed she had learned. In describing the skill test I showed her, she explained that Lee had taught her that ar was pronounced as one sound, "r." She talked about how she had decoded the sound before the skill lesson on this concept and she said with conviction, "Mrs. Mead taught us that. Ya see, we didn't know that before!"

From the interviews with the children, my observations of their actions, and analysis of video and audio tapes I made of their actions and discourse during literacy events, I found support for my assertions that they and Lee had come to share a set of standards for perceiving, believing, acting, and evaluating others' actions and a shared set

of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing. By the end of the year, it appeared that Lee and the majority of the students had created a classroom culture. It also appeared that the students were all becoming part of the larger culture of literacy. From their reading post-test scores, their writing, and their scores on the spelling and skill tests, I inferred that the majority of the children had internalized the skills and techniques that Lee had been teaching and they had been learning through their interactions with her, with each other, and with written text. While Slade, Tony R., Joel, Jerrod, Ethan, and Michael E. were still not reading on level 7 in the basals, Lee said that their test scores and their ability to read complex trade books convinced her that all but Tony R. and Ethan were capable of reading at a higher level. When it was time to decide who would and who would not move into second grade, Lee decided that all of the students could do second grade work except Tony R. She said that while he was reading, she felt he still needed a great deal of support. After discussing her assessment of his progress with his parents, Lee decided that Tony would benefit from repeating first grade.

Meanings, Motives, and Goals Held Before Interactions Began in Phase IV

Shifts in Lee's Beliefs and in the Interactional Context

Shifts in Lee's Beliefs

When Phase IV began, Lee had developed a clear sense of the students' academic and social strengths and weaknesses. She knew that Hezzie and Ethan needed extra support with their reading and that Cody, Max, and Slade needed support with their social development. Lee also believed that all of the students had the potential to build even stronger reading and writing skills during this final phase of the year, and she planned to do what she could to encourage and support that development. She planned to continue

reading and writing conferences and to assess the students growth by retesting their reading skills. Lee also hoped that with the students working as a group again, she could work with individual students to meet their social and academic needs. The children had shown her at the end of Phase III that she could count on them to help Slade. She planned to continue to work with Max's parents and Cody's mother to address their problems.

Shifts in the Interactional Context

Early in March when the students' behavior started to conform with the classroom norms, the interactional context began to change. During the special activities she had planned for Reading Month, Lee and the students' had resumed relationships more like those they had had during Phase II when they were all focused on learning. Lee rewarded their positive behavior and dealt with misbehavior on an individual basis.

Around April 1, Lee began to see that the students were making progress and that the majority had learned a great deal. On April 1, Lee's records showed that only seven children were reading below level 7. The following list shows that ten children were even reading above level 7:

Level 9	Olympia, Megan, Cody
Level 8	Jason, Kimberly, Ann, Matt, Max, Nathan, Abby
Level 7	Tony C., Jessica, Michael G., Ted, Rob, Kelly, Patty
Level 6	Slade, Jerrod
Level 5	Kimby, Michael E., Tony R., Joel
Level 4	Ethan

While she was concerned about the progress of those reading below level 7, she believed that process had been set in motion that would support their development. For example, Lee knew that Ethan's mother was working with him at home, she had found a tutor to work with both Ethan and Kimby at school. She had observed that Jason was working with Jerrod and that Jerrod was working harder to improve his reading. Lee was also aware that Joel and Tony R. were making progress, too. She was especially encouraged by the pride Tony had displayed when he was finally able to read Books.

While Michael E. appeared to be reading only level 5 books, Lee knew that her records did not reflect that he was reading many trade books at home and at school. She assumed that his progress in the basals was less a reflection of his reading ability than a reflection of his lack of interest in reading from those texts. Lee assumed that Slade's behavior accounted for his lack of progress. She believed that if his behavior improved, his reading would also improve.

With her students showing improvement, Lee seemed to feel more certain about what she was doing. As I noted above, her concerns about Jerrod lessened near the end of Phase III when he and Jason routinely began reading together. Just before vacation on March 29, we talked on the phone and Lee said, "I have another incredible success story. Jason, who started the year reading at, oh, level 3? Well, he and Jerrod, just for fun, picked up level 13 and read words from it like "dangerously" and .... This must be the way to teach!"

I thought I knew what she meant, but I followed up later when we met. When I asked what she had meant when she said, "This must be the way to teach," she confirmed what I had assumed. She said that she had meant, "Just letting kids guide their own learning, not pushing" really did work for most children and that Jason and Jerrod were proof of that. I was not so certain that she had not "pushed" her students, but her comments and actions during the end of March suggested that she was feeling more comfortable with the approach she was using. The students' progress appeared to be proof for her that what she had been doing was, in fact, supportive of the students' development.

Before and during vacation, Lee made arrangements that would let her spend more time with the students she believed needed the most support. She arranged for a young woman she knew to become her aide and for a parent tutor to work with Ethan and Hezzie on their reading.

Lee's Goals Before Phase IV Began

Lee's goals for Phase IV were to get all of her students as far as possible in their development of reading and writing. She especially wanted to get all of the students reading at level 7 so that they would be prepared to meet the second grade teachers' expectations. In addition, Lee wanted all of the students to have developed a clear understanding of the norms, routines, and rules associated with the culture of her school. She knew that this too would be important for the students to appear competent in second grade.

The Students' Goals Before Phase IV Began

By the end of Phase III, the majority of students had shown that they were ready to focus on learning. Most seemed to understand that Lee was willing to be responsive to their interests as long as they conformed to the classroom norms. They understood that she expected them to complete their work in centers, do well on the spelling and skill tests, work to improve their reading and writing, and support each others' learning. They also knew that if they did not conform to the classroom norms that there would be consequences for them as individuals and for the class.

When Phase IV began, the students seemed to share Lee's goal to get everyone as far as possible and to get everyone ready for second grade. Most focused on improving their reading and writing, on supporting each others' learning, and living by the classroom norms they had constructed with Lee.

Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About School and Literacy Through Face-to-Face Interactions During Phase IV

During Phase IV, most of the children lived by the classroom norms. As they had begun to do in Phase II and Phase III, they did more to show that they had internalized the norms. Lee reminded them less frequently to use their quiet voices in centers, and more students completed their work during center time. Lee still maintained some control and continued to use direct instruction for skill lessons and at other times when she introduced the students to a concept she believed they were all ready to learn or one she knew they had to have before they entered second grade. She reminded them of the classroom and school rules and used group and individual rewards to reinforce desired behavior.

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About Classroom Norms, Routines, and Social Relationships

The first day after spring break, Lee and the students seemed happy to see each other. Lee introduced them to her new aide and they followed the usual daily schedule. During writing workshop each child wrote a page for a class vacation book, and during reading corner after lunch, they shared what they had written before Lee put the writing into a book. For art they made kites, and before the last recess they went outside to fly them.

During that week, Lee showed the students that she expected them to help her maintain a classroom social context that would support learning. At 9:35 on April 15, when she said, "Readyyyy. Time to listen," all of the students stopped talking and moving around except for Cody. Lee looked at him and said that he looked like he was

feeling silly. She asked the students sitting near him to help him not act silly by not laughing at him. Several students looked at him but none laughed.

Throughout Phase IV, Lee reminded the students of the rules when she sensed that they were beginning to socialize too much and not focus on learning. She asked individual students to write sentences to remind them of the rules, and she asked the group to put their heads down and think about the rules from time to time. If students did not complete their morning work or their center work, she told them that they could not go out for recess or come to book sharing with the other students. For serious violations, she sent the students to the office.

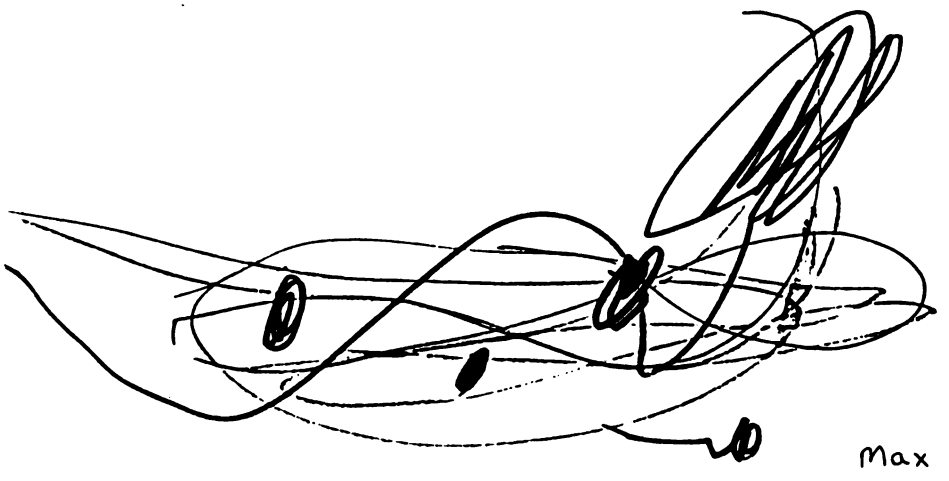
To give the students a larger role in maintaining the classroom norms, Lee began asking them to make rules or to suggest ways to solve problems. On May 4, she held a class meeting while Slade was in the office to discuss ways the class could help him cope with problems he had in the classroom. On May 20, she asked the students to make a rule about how to save a place in line in the morning when they lined up to come into the building. She said, "Would it be all right to save a place in line with a lunch box or a bag?" When the children decided that it would, Lee said, "Okay, it's your rule. You will have to take care of problems yourselves."

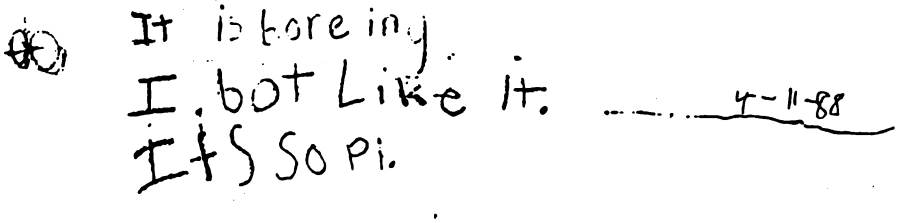
With the majority of the students taking responsibility for their behavior and learning, Lee had more time to focus on students she believed needed her attention. She worked with them and their families to address the children's needs. Cody began Phase IV as he had ended Phase III. He rarely completed his work, and Lee noted that he rarely read the basals or read to her. He also continued to have problems in the classroom and on the playground, and he was frequently given detention for his behavior outside of the classroom. On April 14, Cody told me he thought he had detention at recess time. When he learned that he did not, he told me it was better when he did because it was better for him to be alone. He went out to recess with the rest of the students, but within ten

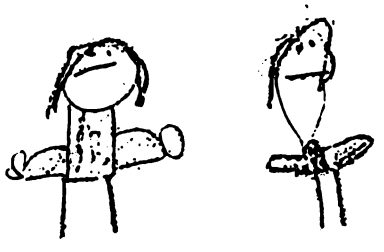
minutes, he came back in with a teacher who said he had hit a child from another class in the eye. I noticed that Cody had a detention slip in his hand.

To gain insight into his feelings, Lee asked him if she might talk privately with him during recess on April 13. From her meeting with him, Lee learned that he was upset that he was being asked to read the same books he had read the previous year. He told her they were boring and that he liked to read books he had selected. Lee asked if he would read to her more often if he had special books to read, and he said he would. On April 14, Lee showed him a set of basal texts from another basal program which the district was piloting for the next year. After that, he and Lee had individual conferences more frequently. On his individual conference report she noted that they had worked on his fluency, that it had improved, and that she was impressed with his willingness to stick with a story until he could read with fluency. On April 26, she had noted that he had read "Grumpus" and had made her cry because he had improved so much. In addition to his improvement in reading, Lee and I both noticed that he had fewer problems with his behavior.

Lee continued to work with Max to build his self esteem. He too improved in reading, but his negative feelings about himself and about school were still there, and they came through in his writing. On several occasions he wrote papers about the world blowing up. Figure 21 is a sample of one such paper. I watched him draw this picture and when he saw me watching he said he planned to write, "The world is blowing up."







Max

FIGURES 21 AND 22

When Lee asked the students to write about their trip to the science museum, he wrote, "It is boring, I don't like it. It's stupid. (See Figure 22).

When the students wrote about what they had learned about Japan during a special series of lessons on Japan, he wrote more than the six sentences Lee asked the class to write, but his seven sentences said, "Japan is stupid," "Japan is I don't like it," "Japan is weird," "Good morning Aumoaku," "Japan is dump," "I hate it," "Japan is dumb."

Lee tried to deal with Max's behavior in a number of ways. She talked with his parents, tried to reward him for his positive behavior, and talked with him alone on several occasions. On June 2, when she talked with him, he finally admitted that he still believed he would fail first grade. Lee showed him her check sheets for reading and pointed out how many stories he had read. She also reminded him of how well he had done on the skill and spelling tests. The next day, after she finished retesting the class in reading, she made a special effort to show Max that the test showed he was reading as well as someone who had been in second grade for the whole year.

Slade's problems were still the most difficult for Lee to address. He seemed to improve in class during April when Patty supported him and the others were helpful, but his problems re-emerged in May. On May 3, he kicked Max and Lee sent him to the office. Like Max, Slade expressed some of his concerns in his writing. On May 4, when the class was making Mother's Day cards, Lee asked if he would like to make a card for his mother and if he ever got to see her. Without showing any emotion that I could detect, he said, "No, she's in the box." Later Lee told me that was an expression some children used to say someone was dead. She said she did not think it was true but that it could be.

Lee suggested Slade make a card for his dad instead and he did. He drew a picture of a house with a window on the outside of the card and cut out the window with scissors. Inside he drew a person looking through the window. He wrote, "I love you dad" on the outside and "Happy Dad's day I love you" on the inside. When he read the

card to me he pointed to the person he had drawn and said, "That guy is spying." In previous conversations, he had told me that his dad thought people were watching them and trying to break into their home. I wondered if Slade also shared those feelings and if so, how they might explain his interactions with others.

On May 20, Slade talked with me about his father again, and I sensed how much Slade trusted his father's judgment. When I stopped by the office to sign in, Slade was lying on the couch in the clinic. He saw me and smiled weakly. When I sat down beside him he said, "My dad has tried everything. Cough syrup, everything. My throat is dry and it hurts so much." I felt his head and it was hot. I asked if he had been to the doctor, and he told me he had not. He said that his dad would take care of him and that he did not need a doctor.

Slade's behavior in the classroom did improve near the end of May. Patty continued to support him and Kimberly also began to help him become part of her center group. On May 17, Slade was a part of the same center group as Kimberly. I had noticed during Phase III that several of the children who had problems in class seemed especially attracted to her. When the "family" group had emerged during January, she had always been the mother and the others had sought her approval. On this day, Kimberly told Slade that she was pleased with his behavior. She said, "Slade, you are really being good today." He smiled. Later when he called another member of the group a name, Kimberly said, "Don't call them names, Slade." He responded, "Okay. I'll only be good for you." When Ann told the members of her group that her mother was going to have their dog killed because it was too much trouble since the baby had been born, Slade looked up from his writing and said, "I'll take your dog in." The others looked at him for a second and Kimberly said in a soft voice to him, "You really are nice, aren't you." Slade had his head down, but I could see that he was smiling.

Although his behavior in class improved, his behavior outside of class continued to be problematic. The principal suspended him from school for his behavior on the

playground and began talking with his social worker to address some of the problems he was having at home. Lee began talking with the second grade teachers about his needs. With one of the teachers, she began to think about ways to help Slade to stay in a regular classroom if his father refused to allow him to be placed in a classroom for emotionally impaired children. Lee talked with Slade's father on the phone despite his abusive talk to her, and she continued to work to maintain a positive relationship with Slade in the classroom.

Interactions Focused on Constructing Meanings and Interpretations About the Classroom Culture of Literacy

Lee continued to rely on the key literacy events to provide occasions for the students to continue their development in reading and writing. To address the needs of the children who were not reading at second grade level, Lee found a parent tutor to work with Ethan and Kimby, and increased her independent conferences with Michael E.

The children continued to work with Lee to construct the culture of literacy and to extend the community's knowledge of reading and writing. The majority of children continued to internalize the values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing that had become part of the collective knowledge in the classroom culture. Their actions as a group and as individuals showed that they had become readers and writers.

Skill Lessons

Lee's role. Lee continued to use skill lessons to teach the students the skills she believed they need to know to become readers and writers and to be prepared for second grade. She assigned worksheets on skills for center activities and reinforced the skills she taught during the skill lessons when she made center assignments. On May 5, Lee

announced centers and said, "Center 1, reading. Center ditto about past and present tense." Before she moved on to assigning a ditto on fractions for Center 3 and independent activities for Center 4, she explained the concept the students needed to know to complete the ditto. "Remember, to show past tense, add ed. Sometimes it sounds like t or d but you still add ed.

At times, Lee used the time she had intended to use for creative writing to teach a skill lesson. On May 10, 17, and 19 she told the students that they would have creative writing before lunch, but on those dates, she taught a skill lesson instead. I inferred from her actions and her comments that she believed that it was important to introduce the students to the skills she knew the second grade teachers expected them to know. Therefore, despite her belief that the students would develop the skills through writing, Lee seemed to feel compelled to teach skills out of context and then encourage the students to use them and practice them in their writing. In addition, I inferred that she might also be preparing the children to do the kind of work she knew they would be expected to do in second grade. After the first of May, the students worked on at least one and often two dittos during centers.

The students' role. The children continued to learn new spelling and vocabulary words and skills related to reading and writing. They showed they had learned these by scoring well on the tests, and by using their new knowledge in their reading and writing. I observed the students using the phonetic skills to decode words when they read and to spell words when they wrote. I also noted that the children were conforming to the conventions of written text when they wrote and were using more of the conventional forms for spelling and writing.

Book Sharing

Lee's role. Book sharing continued to be a time when Lee and the children used books to build community and a time for Lee to teach the children more about text and

genre. During this phase, she read information texts that related to science or social studies topics or to special projects and field trips. On April 18, the day before the first special event on Japan, she read the students a book about Japanese clothing and gave the students a worksheet to complete that had paper dolls with Japanese dolls. On May 19, she read a book about rocks and told the students that they could use the book to help them learn about the rock collection she showed them.

The students' role. During this phase, the children began taking over Lee's role as reader and individual children sat in Lee's chair and read to the class. After vacation, Kimberly returned with a copy of an old basal reader that she had found at the family's cottage. Downey Duck became a class favorite. Lee found extra copies in the district storage room and many of the children read the stories during reading center and independent reading. Lee noted that to her the stories were boring, but she seemed willing to let the children read what they wanted once they were reading at or above level 7. On May 4, Kimberly read a story from Downey Duck to the class during book sharing. After that, more children took Lee's place as the reader. During interviews, Megan, Abby, Kelly, Michael G. and Patty all brought the book to interview when I asked them to bring their favorite book.

Reading Center

Lee's role. Lee continued to hold individual reading conferences with the students. To maintain order in the centers so that she could have turns with individuals, Lee continued to assign center captains. On April 18, she pointed to the center lists and noted that she had marked the captain for the day in each center group. She asked the children, "Now what is the captain's job?" In unison they responded, "Solve problems and don't bother you!"

Lee held fewer individual conferences during this phase, but her records showed that she continued to give the children stars and checks through the end of May. The average number of conferences was 3.7 and the mean was 4.

The students' role. The children continued to read a variety of texts and to read from the basal readers. More and more children read several levels of the basal during a single center time. Nathan frequently read one of the lower level texts first and then tried to read a more advanced basal text. Lee encouraged the children to read books they could read easily to improve their fluency and to try more advanced texts to increase their vocabularies and to practice their decoding skills.

Writing Center/Creative Writing

Lee's role. Writing returned to centers occasionally after April 17, but for the most part, Lee scheduled time for creative writing and peer conferences before or after lunch. During creative writing, the children continued to write what they wanted, but in centers, Lee more and more frequently assigned a topic and told the children how many sentences she expected them to write. When she checked off their writing, she began counting the sentences and putting stars by the conventions the children had used. At times, she modeled conventional writing by writing what the students had written in conventional form under their text.

The sample of Michael E.'s writing illustrates Lee's use of stars and numbers on student texts. After Michael had read his writing to her in their writing conference, Lee pointed out the capital letters and added the periods to the end of the sentences. As she did this, she numbered the sentences. Figure 23, shows this pattern.

I did go to APPLICATION 200 KR.

It cood be fun. I LIOK

200 KR.

I LIOK IT.

I LOVE SOOKR.

I did Beinfion

HIKR.

It is fun.

Michael E.

FIGURE 23

The students' role. On May 27, after Kimby had read her paper on nature, Lee pointed to the capitals and periods. She explained that each new sentence should begin with a capital letter and modeled this and the correct spelling by writing "Nature" at the top of the sheet.

The children tried to make sense of Lee's response to their writing. More used the conventions of a capital at the beginning of sentence and end punctuation. All left space between the words and more used conventional spelling. A few even began to number their sentences after they had written them just as Lee had done when they read their papers to her. I watched Kimberly add numbers and highlight the periods with a marker after she wrote her paper on May 31. Figure 24 shows this.

The prade 5-31-88

Amie and i
Rod On
the fer
truk. It was a fun.
We Saw Amanda
and Amanda Saw
us. & Peopl
from the Bad
Past ot. 5

We git a blouns

Kimberly

I like the unicorn.

I love unicorn. I have a frand

Who

-M. Roting a unicorn.
It is pritee.
likes unicrns.

And I do to.



Ann

FIGURES 24 AND 25

Other students counted their sentences after they wrote and tallied them at the top. Ann did this the day she wrote about riding a unicorn. (See Figure 25).

In creative writing, the children added more features of the story genre to their writing. While some wrote stories or accounts of personal experiences, more children wrote fictional stories. On May 31, Patty wrote about her weekend. Ted wrote about receiving a reward from his father's military unit for helping his mother when she went into labor when he was home alone with her. Tony C. wrote about seeing a classmate while he was riding in the car with his mother. Kelly had begun writing about her experiences after winter break, and she continued to do so although she did write a few stories about a princess when she was in the center group with the girls who were also writing princess stories. On May 9 and 10, she wrote about her hamsters. In one piece she wrote about the hamster that had died and in the other, she wrote about her new hamsters.

The children also wrote stories. Rob wrote a fiction about superman and Ted wrote about the battle of Gettysburg. Michael E. wrote a mystery about a missing cat after he read Nathan's story on the same topic.

Independent Reading

Independent reading continued as it had through all but a few times during Phase III. The students read a variety of books, interacted with each other, supported each other's learning, and had fun. The vignette of independent reading on June 3 which I presented at the end of Chapter Two captured the typical variety activities the children engaged in during that time.

Most of the children continued to read basal readers for at least part of the time. During this phase when they were trying to get as far as they possibly could, several students told me they were practicing stories when I asked what they were reading. I

inferred that they believed it was important to read the stories in the basals to prepare for second grade.

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations Lee and Her Students Constructed Throughout Phase IV

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations the Students Had Constructed About Reading

From the interviews I conducted with the students on reading and writing during May, analysis of Lee records and her comments about the students, and analysis of the students' writing, I inferred that they had all made progress in both reading and writing.

Lee's records of the students' post-Woodcock reading test scores showed that all students had experienced some improvement in their reading during the year. Using the results from the Woodcock testing, Lee developed a form on which she compared her students' rank in September with their rank in May. Table 3 presents the way Lee ranked the students.

TABLE 3

Lee's Ranking of the Students Reading Ability

September standing	May standing
1 - Ted	1 - Cody
2 - Cody	2 - Jason
3 - Megan	3 - Patty
4 - Jessica	4 - Ted
5 - Max	5 - Robert
6 - Olympia	6 - Olympia
Patty	
7 - Robert	7 - Nathan
	- Jessica
8 - Nathan	8 - Kimby
9 - Michael G.	9 - Ann
- Slade	
10 - Abigail	10 - Kimberly
- Matt	
11 - Jason	11 - Megan
- Kimby	
- Kimberly	
- Ann	
- Tony C.	
- Michael E.	
- Ethan	
- Kelly	
- Tony R.	
- Joel	
- Jerrod	
	12 - Kelly
	13 - Abigail
	14 - Matt
	15 - Max
	16 - Michael G.
	17 - Tony C.
	18 - Michael E.
	19 - Tony R.
	20 - Jerrod
	21 - Ethan
	22 - Slade
	23 - Joel

As the table indicates, several students moved up in rank while others moved down. Jason moved from the group of eleven at the bottom of the list in September to second on the list in May. Max, on the other hand, moved from 5th to 15th. Cody moved from 2nd to 1st. Olympia stayed the same.

Using the students' scores on the Woodcock Reading Test, Lee calculated her students' improvement and made a list indicating how students ranked in terms of improvement. Table 4 reports this list.

TABLE 4

Lee's Assessment of Students Reading Improvement

MOST IMPROVED ON WOODCOCK

1. Jason
2. Ted
3. Kimby
   Patty
4. Nathan
5. Robert
6. Olympia
7. Ann
9. Kimberly
10. Abigail
11. Jessica
12. Matt
13. Tony C.
    Michael G.
14. Michael E.
15. Tony R.
16. Megan
17. Jerrod
18. Max
19. Ethan
20. Joel
21. Slade

Lee used the basal charts to keep track of her students' progression through the basal series. From time to time throughout the year, she made lists for herself to indicate who was reading at what level in the basal. Using the grids she used to record what stories the students read to her from the basal readers, I developed a list of the students to show the highest basal level from which they read stories and how many stories they read at that level.

In Table 5, the students' names are listed under the level at which they were reading at the end of the year. The number beside their names indicates the number of stories Lee had recorded them reading at that level.

TABLE 5

Highest Level Attained in Basal Readers and Number of Stories Read at That Level

Level 9
- Olympia - 7
- Jessica - 2
- Tony C. - 1
- Megan - 1

Level 8
- Jason - 2
- Kimby - 1
- Kimberly - 2
- Ann - 10
- Michael G. - 2
- Matt - 4
- Ted - 2
- Judy - 1
- Max - 3
- Nathan - 5
- Abigail - 10

Level 7
- Cody - 1
- Robert - 9
- Kelly - 5

Level 6
- Slade - 5
- Tony R. - 3
- Joel - 4
- Jerrod - 2

Level 5
- Ethan - 3
- Michael E. - 5

As this table shows, six students had still not begun to read on level 7. However, Lee said that given their test scores and the reading she had observed them doing in trade books, she believed that all except Tony R. were ready for second grade.

Given their love of reading and writing, it was not surprising that all of the students developed self confidence in themselves as readers and writers. In interviews with the students between May 9 and May 18 I found that they had come to see themselves as readers and writers. I asked the children to bring their favorite books with

them to the interview. Three brought the book they had written and published, two brought basal readers, and 18 brought a trade book. (One student chose not to be interviewed.) All of the students asked if they could read to me from the book they had brought. I had not expected that to happen, but I interpreted their desire to read as an indication that they were confident readers, and as they read, I was able to note the strategies they used to decode and comprehend the texts. I then asked them to tell me what they did when they came to a word they did not know and in this way I could compare what they said to what I had observed them doing. I found that all of the students used more strategies than they described but none described a strategy I had not seen them use.

When I asked them who they considered the best reader in their room, 14 of 24 said they were the best reader. Six named other students or the teacher. Three said Olympia was the best reader. Two said that they had selected her because she was teaching them to read. One said she was best because she was reading in level 10. One said Cody was best because he read special books the teacher had given him. Jessica said Megan was best because she was reading a book which Jessica had been practicing at home but still could not read without her mother's help. Michael E. said he did not know, but he thought it must be Mrs. Mead. Four others, Michael G., Slade, Ethan, and Joel, said they did not know and I had the impression they thought I was asking them a dumb question, something they had not thought of before.

In analyzing the data on the children's reading progress, I could not generate an assertion that held for all cases. Finally, I asserted that each child was an individual case. Some children who had not been reading when they entered the room were at the top of Lee's list. Some who had been able to read had not changed their rank as much as I might have anticipated. All had learned to read, but the process they had followed was somewhat different for each child. Their learning had been embedded in the social life of the classrooms but it had also be shaped by their home contexts.

Shared and Individual Meanings and Interpretations the Students Had Constructed About Writing

Just as the students' development in reading varied, their development in writing varied too. More of the students used the conventions of text and conventional spelling in their writing, and more wrote cohesive stories.

Most remarkable was the variation. At the same time Ted wrote a book about Gettysburg, Ethan was still struggling to write a single sentence. On April 18, Ethan wrote the paper shown in Figure 26 and Ted wrote the book in Figure 27. I had watched Ethan sound out the words as he wrote and use a picture dictionary to spell the work tree. He had spelled me, and, in, the, and Dad on his own. Ted, on the other hand, had written about a battle he had read about in a book about the civil war. He had written a title on the cover of his book and used invented spelling to express ideas that sounded like book talk.

During my interviews with the children when I helped them publish their stories and we discussed their writing folders, I found that with help, many of them had learned a sense of story and cohesion that did not appear in their own writing. Working from drafts of stories, they told me what they wanted their books to say. The pieces were not totally dictated, there were pieces of the text written in their papers. However, when they told me what to write, they added details and sections that were not written on their papers.



FIGURE 26

1 The War of
gettsbug

2 guns Wur
blazing Canins
War Bazng
The genrl
Led throo
Derng Chards



3

Wepins

0 4
North

The north
Wun

I Lust rartr
Ted

othr
Ted

FIGURE 27

Michael E. wrote a book he titled, "The Earth." Dictating and reading from his written text, he asked me to write the following:

The earth used to be just rocks.

Then there were storms and it started to rain.

Trees started to blossom. Some were apple trees
and some were peach trees.

There were lakes. Oceans and lakes got higher
and fish started to come out.

Then islands came in the lakes.

Today the earth has trees with leaves, people,
animals, houses, schools, stores, cars, trucks,
books, and lots of wonderful things.

The earth also has different kinds of rocks.
Some have fossils in them.

I had rarely heard Michael E. read or seen him write more than a few sentences. I was surprised by the language he used as he "read" his story for me to write. The vocabulary and the cohesion suggested to me that he had learned far more than he could display in his own writing at that point in time.

Cody and Max also showed that they had learned more than their writing suggested. Cody's book was about a pirate ship. He had only written a few words on his paper, but he too "read" his story to me. Max wrote about his friends and how they played together "almost every day."

The knowledge the students displayed as they "read" their stories to me and the comments they made about their writing folders and the changes they saw in their writing suggested to me that they had learned much about the conventions of text and that they valued writing even if they could not produce adult-like texts.

Throughout Phase IV, Lee had monitored the learning of the class and of individual students. Reflecting back over the year, she not only knew what the class and individual students had learned about school and about reading and writing, she was also aware of the process engaged in to acquire the values, beliefs, skills, and techniques they needed to become readers and writers. By looking at the detailed records she had kept for each child, Lee was able to describe individual development and to celebrate the progress the children had made.

Drawing on what she had learned throughout the year through her interactions with the children, Lee began reconstructing her beliefs about child, children's literacy, community, and pedagogy, and she began planning for the next year.

Chapter Summary

By the end of the year, all of the children appeared to share a common set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing. Nearly all appeared to share an understanding of the norms of the community and a set of propensities toward learning and supporting each others learning. During the one-hundred and eighty days they had been together, Lee and her students had constructed a classroom culture and a classroom culture of literacy. From that culture the children moved out into the larger culture of the school and the community. Lee moved toward the next year when she would use what she had learned through her interactions with these children to plan for the learning of another group of children.

In the next section, I will review the process Lee and her students had gone through during the year to construct and reconstruct shared and individual meanings about school and literacy.

Summary of the Findings

Through the process of documenting and analyzing literacy events in Lee Mead's classroom, I found that learning to read and write in this classroom was deeply embedded within the social life of the classroom and that it could best be described as a gradual process of acculturation. From the first day of school to the last, Lee and her students moved through four phases during which they constructed shared and individual notions about what one needed to know to be a competent member of a classroom and school community and what one needed to know to be a reader and writer. Lee and her students experienced their interactions as just that, interactions. But as an outsider, I began to see that through their interactions, they were creating and recreating webs of meanings and interpretations that created and recreated the context for subsequent interactions and subsequent learning. As the year progressed, Lee and the students began to develop a shared set of standards for perceiving, believing, valuing, and judging the actions of others and a shared set of values, beliefs, skills, techniques, and statuses associated with reading and writing. These meanings and interpretations constructed through interactions on the interpersonal plane were then internalized on the intrapersonal plane by Lee and by the students. Through their interactions with each other, Lee and the students created and recreated a classroom culture and a classroom culture of literacy which prepared the students for becoming part of the subculture of school and the larger culture of literacy, and they developed individual understandings about what one needed to know to be a competent member of the culture of school and of the culture of literacy.

From the beginning, Lee's goals for the year had been to implement a literacy curriculum that would "get them all reading" and to develop a pedagogy that allowed her students to use their natural creativity to support their learning. Through four phases of the school year, Lee worked to implement her curriculum and adjust her pedagogy to address the changing needs of the class and of individuals. Through the same four

phases, the students constructed and reconstructed knowledge about how to go to school and how to become readers and writers.

During Phase I, Lee took the students as they came to her and worked to establish a social context that would support their learning. Over the years, Lee had listened to children's wonderful ideas, to their sense making, to their expressions of the worlds in their heads, and had come to respect children's ways of seeing, to see their potential and not their deficits, and to value what they brought into her classroom. Drawing on those insights and beliefs, Lee had planned a learning environment that made room for the children's way of learning. She gradually connected what she knew the larger culture believed students needed to know with what they already knew. While she taught the children how to go to school in her classroom, she planned events during which the children could interact with each other to form relationships and to become familiar with written texts by playing at reading and writing.

To prepare the students for learning in a crowd and to teach them how to respond to the praise and power that are part of classroom life, Lee explicitly taught the children her expectations for their actions. She taught the children that school was a place where learning took place by making this explicit in her comments and actions from the first day of school. Over and over she showed them, "This is play/This is school." Initially, the children did not seem to see the difference between play and school. They appeared to play at reading and writing and to play at going to school. But gradually they began to signal through their actions that they were coming to understand what they needed to do to become competent members of the subcultures of the classroom and the school, and they moved from playing school to doing school.

During Phase II, Lee began to signal to the children what counted as reading and writing in the larger culture of literacy, the school culture of literacy and in the classroom culture. She drew their attention to conventions of text, taught them the skills and techniques they needed to become readers and writers, and introduced them to the

multiple purposes for reading and writing. In addition, she began preparing them for the school culture of literacy by introducing them to the basal readers, which were used to determine one's status in her school building and district. Initially during this phase, the students continued to play at reading and writing, but gradually, as Lee raised her expectations for them and responded to their efforts to become readers and writers, the students began to work toward developing reading and writing behavior that corresponded to the classroom culture of literacy which was part of the school culture of literacy and the larger culture of literacy.

During Phase III, Lee struggled to maintain a balance between meeting the social and academic needs of the group and meeting the social and academic needs of the individual. At the same time, Lee struggled to find a balance between maintaining the order she believed was necessary to support leaning and providing the children with opportunities to use their natural creativity to learn.

In making decisions about the learning environment and the language arts curriculum before the children entered her room on September 8, Lee had been influenced by the multiple levels of the larger culture in which her classroom was embedded and by what she knew about the culture of children of which she could be sure her students were members. While she took seriously her responsibility to prepare for learning to take place in her classroom, she looked at the children as partners in the process. Just as the adult in adult/child interactions in informal language learning situations allows the child's interests to shape the interaction and thus the context for learning, Lee had tried to develop a pedagogy that made room for children's ways of learning and for the children's culture of literacy. While she had struggled during Phases I and II to maintain a balance between order and creativity and the needs of the group and the needs of the individual, during Phase III the struggle took center stage. The interplay between the social and the academic was most pronounced during Phase III and it became clear that changes in Lee's beliefs, the classroom social relations, the social organization

of the classroom, the literacy activity, the students' learning, and influences from outside of the classroom interacted with and shaped each other.

During Phase IV, the social context once again supported learning. The majority of students worked as a group to "get as far as they could possibly get" as readers and writers before the end of the year, and Lee was able to attend to the social and academic needs of the individuals who had not yet learned what they needed to know to move on to second grade. By the end of the year, all of the students saw themselves as readers and writers, and all of the students had begun to develop the values, beliefs, skills, and techniques of the larger culture of literacy. In addition, the majority of students were prepared to function as competent members of the school culture.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the implications this study has for research and for teaching.

CHAPTER EIGHT

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Chapter Overview

I began this study with the assumption that the goal of ethnographic fieldwork is to illuminate and discover patterns, and that it is not to make generalizations to other settings. While I did not intent to generalize specific findings from this study, I did hope that they would further our understanding of the processes involved in the teaching and learning of reading and writing in classroom contexts and that they would raise issues of importance to researchers, teachers, and teacher educators. In this chapter, I discuss the implications this study has for researchers interested in conducting research on literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, and for teachers and teacher educators interested in the teaching and learning of reading and writing in classroom contexts.

Implications for Conducting Research on the Teaching and Learning of Reading and Writing in Classroom Contexts and Beyond

In this section, I explore the implications the literature review and the model of the literacy event have for conducting research on literacy. First, I argue that the literature review provides a rationale for studying literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process. Second, I argue that the model of the literacy event used in this study provides a model for conducting such studies.

The Implications of the Literature Review

In framing this study, I took into account the definitions of literacy and the approaches used to study it. In this section I briefly review key points raised by my review of the literature and explore the implications those points have for conducting research on literacy. First, I review the argument presented in Chapter One in which I argued that defining literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process requires studying the individual and social as interacting systems and the process by which culture shapes cognition. Next, I review the argument presented in Chapter Two in which I noted that approaches to studying literacy in the United States have historically separated the study of culture and cognition and that the sociocultural theory of activity provides a framework for uniting the sociocultural approach with the approaches used by cultural anthropologists and cognitive psychologists to study literacy thus making it possible to study literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process.

A review of the literature revealed that in the last decade literacy has come to be defined as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, and that defining literacy in this way requires studying culture and cognition as unified systems (Cole, 1985). Cole (1985) argues that "the study of culture and cognition must incorporate the study of both the system of social relations and of internal (cognitive) activity" (p. 159), and that studying literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process requires attending to the (1) individual and social as interacting systems, and (2) the process by which culture shapes cognitive development. Continuing his argument, Cole notes that in the United States two approaches, the psychological and the anthropological, have traditionally been used to study literacy and that these approaches have separated the study of cognition and culture. Because the current definition of literacy requires studying culture and cognition as unified systems, it is necessary to find a way to reunite the study of culture and cognition.

A further review of the literature revealed that the sociocultural theory of learning provides a framework for uniting the study of the individual and the social as interacting systems and for studying the process by which culture shapes cognition. Vygotsky's (1978) general law of cultural development brings together the social and the cognitive and provides a theoretical framework for studying the individual and social as interacting systems. Vygotsky held that a child's development derives from the child's interaction with other people.

> Any function in the child's cultural development appears twice, or in two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an interpsychological category and then within the individual child as an intrapsychological category. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57)

Further stressing the connection between the individual and the social, Vygotsky noted, "The levels of generalization in a child correspond strictly to the levels in the development of social interaction. Any new level in the child's generalization signifies a new level in the possibility for social interaction" (Vygotsky, 1956, p. 432, as cited in Wertch, 1983, p. 26).

Vygotsky's notion of cultural development as a historical process also provides a theoretical framework for studying the process by which culture shapes cognition. Vygotsky argued that to understand higher psychological processes such as reading and writing, it is necessary to look beyond the organism's limits and to search for the roots of the complex processes in the "historically formed environment, in the communication of the child with adults, in the objective relations among objects, tools, and language which have been laid down in the course of social history" (Luria, 1971, p. 260). Using history in this way, Vygotsky weaves together three strands of history - general human history, child history, and the history of mental functions (Scribner, 1985) - and provides a theoretical framework for studying learning in face-to-face interactions and a way to unite the analysis across three planes; (1) the socio-cultural system (larger culture), (2) the immediate learning environment (face-to-face interaction), and (3) individual functioning (Erickson, 1982), as

well as a way to trace change across time on the three planes.

Building on Vygotsky's notion of cultural development as a historical process, the sociocultural theory of activity provides a theoretical framework for carrying out analysis on three levels. The third feature of the theory of activity holds that activity is mediated and outlines the features which must be taken into account when analyzing interactions. The fourth feature of the theory of activity holds that "Historical or genetic analysis can focus on the sociocultural or phylogenetic and deal with historical data or it can focus on the individual and be concerned with ontogenetic phenomena (Wertsch, 1981).

The review of the literature implies that studying literacy as a cultural practice. requires focusing on the interactions involved in the teaching and learning of reading and writing and looking at (1) the social and cognitive tasks or activity involved in the the teaching and learning, (2) at the larger and immediate contexts in which teaching and learning take place, (3) at the people and the forms of social relationships in which they are involved, (4) at the tools and symbols used in the interactions, and (5) at how all of these factors interact with and shape each other and change over time. Building on the information generated by the review of the literature, I used the sociocultural theory of activity as a framework and combined the units of analysis associated with the sociocultural approach ("activity), cultural anthropology ("event"), and cognitive psychology ("task") to build a model of the literacy event. This model provided a conceptual and analytical tool for studying literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, and it allowed me to focus on the literacy event which I defined as an interaction in which (1) written material is integral to the nature of the participants' interactions and their interpretive processes, and (2) participants engage in a sequence of sociocultural and psycholinguistic actions in which they use oral and written language strategies in order to understand, discuss, apply, respond to, play with, evaluate, build upon, or refer to various kinds of printed material. In the next two sections, I briefly review the findings from this study to illustrate how the model of the literacy event I developed provided a conceptual and

analytical tool for observing and documenting literacy events and for carrying out interactional, historical, and genetic analys.

Implication of Using the Literacy Event as a Framework for Documenting, Observing and Analyzing Significant Features of Literacy Teaching and Learning in Classroom Contexts

The focus of this study was to gain insights into (1) the social and cognitive process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were carried out in Lee Mead's first grade classroom, (2) the social relations or context in which the process occurred, (3) the meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed and reconstructed through their interactions, (4) the changes that occurred in the meanings and interpretations over time, and (5) the interplay among Lee's beliefs, the micropolitics of the classroom, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy activity, what the children learned, and the larger cultural context. By taking into account the sociocultural plane, the interactional plane, and the plane on which individual functioning is carried out, the model of the literacy event that I developed provided a framework for studying the individual and social as interacting systems and the process by which culture shapes cognition.

In this section, I illustrate how my model of the literacy event provides a conceptual and analytical framework for studying the individual and social as interacting systems and the process by which culture shapes cognition. In this section, I briefly review how I used the model of the literacy event as a framework for observing, documenting, and analyzing the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom. I conclude by discussing possible limitations of my model of the literacy event.

First, the findings from this study illustrate that the model provides a framework for documenting the social context and the system of social relations in which interactions were embedded. On the sociocultural plane, the model made it possible to take into account

the larger culture, the local culture, and the immediate culture in which the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee Mead's classroom was carried out. Using the five levels within the sociocultural plane, I was able to document shared values, beliefs, techniques, skills, and statuses associated with literacy in the general history of humans; in society in the United States; in local institutions including the community, school, and home; in the classroom culture; and in the classroom culture of literacy. On this plane, I documented what is known about human beings' development of literacy across time and about what is known about the manner in which human beings acquire oral and written language. I also documented the current definition of literacy in the United States, the current approaches used to teach literacy, and the tools and symbols used at this time in reading and writing. On the local level, I documented written information about the state and district language arts programs and what the teacher(s), parents, and students told me about the shared beliefs about literacy and literacy teaching and learning held in the school and in the children's homes. At the immediate levels of the classroom and of the classroom culture of literacy, I documented what Lee and her students told me about their shared human motives and about their shared social meanings about school and liteacy and about the tools and symbols used in interactions related to the teaching and learning of reading and writing. I also made inferences about their beliefs from observing them construct and reconstruct interpretations about literacy through their face-to-face interactions on the interactional plane.

Second, the findings show that the model provides a framework for documenting the immediate context in which interactions were embedded. On the interactional plane, the model made it possible to observe and document (1) the socio-linguistic and psycho-linguistic aspects of the literacy activity, the literacy actions, and the moment-to-moment interactional sequences and operations including the tools and symbols used in the interactions, and (2) the context in which the literacy activity occurred including the people and the forms of social relationships in which they were involved. On this plane, I

observed and documented the literacy activity, the literacy actions, the interactional sequences and operations, and the contexts created and recreated through the face-to-face interactions. Using the model as a framework for observing, I documented Lee and her students' moment-to-moment interactional sequences including verbal and non-verbal behavior, turn-taking, and shifts in control of the topic, and moment-to-moment operations including the sequence of behavior, the processes, and the strategies involved in literacy activity. As I observed and documented the interactional sequences related to literacy activity, I also documented the socio-linguistic dimensions of the literacy actions - purpose and function, participant structures, role and status, rights and obligations, contextual cues in verbal and non-verbal behavior - and the psycho-linguistic dimensions of the literacy actions - goals, tools, materials, and language including instructions, content, form, conditions, processes. As I observed and documented the interactional sequences and operations and the literacy actions I also documented the literacy activity - what Lee and the students said verbally or through their actions about the meaning and function and the motive and goal related to a specific literacy activity and to the context they created and recreated through their interactions.

Third, the model provided a framework for documenting the meanings and interpretations Lee constructed and reconstructed about children, children's literacy, the role of community, and pedagogy and the meanings and interpretations individual children constructed and reconstructed about school and literacy on the individual plane. On this plane, I documented what Lee and individual students said in their verbal and non-verbal actions or in written documents about the meanings and interpretations they constructed.

In addition to providing a framework for observing and documenting literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, the model of the literacy event also provides a framework for carrying out three forms of analyses - interactional, historical, and genetic. These forms of analysis allowed me to answer my research questions about the process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were carried out

in Lee's classroom, about meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed and reconstructed through their interactions, about what the children learned, about changes in the process and in the shared and individual meanings and interpretations over time, and about how Lee's beliefs, the micropolitics of the classroom, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy activity, what the children learned, and the larger cultural context interacted with and shaped each other.

Interactional analysis

The findings show that the model of the literacy event provides a framework for analyzing literacy activity as a system within a system of social relations. Through interactional analysis, I gained insights into the process by which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were carried out in Lee's classroom, into the shared and individual meanings Lee and her students constructed and reconstructed about school and literacy through their interactions, and into the contexts Lee and her students created and recreated through their interactions.

Focusing on the interactional plane, I analyzed the process through which Lee and her students constructed a classroom culture and a classroom culture of literacy. I analyzed the socio-linguistic and psycho-linguistic features of literacy activity on three levels (activity, actions, interactional sequences and operations), and I analyzed the context in which the literacy activity was embedded. Analysis of the socio-linguistic moment-to-moment sequencing of verbal and non-verbal behavior, turn-taking, shifts in control, and of the psyscho-linguistic sequencing of moment-to-moment behavior, processes, and strategies in the interactional sequences and operations revealed that (1) literacy functioned in this classroom as a social and cultural process and as a system within a system of social relationships, (2) the teaching and learning of reading and writing in this setting were deeply embedded within and intertwined with the social relationships and social processes of classroom life and were not merely cognitive processes, (3) Lee and the students used

social relationships to develop knowledge of reading and writing and knowledge of reading and writing were used to establish and negotiate social relationships, and (4) the teaching and learning of reading and writing in this setting were carried out in five key literacy events - book sharing, reading center, writing center, silent or independent reading, and skill lessons.

Analysis of the socio-linguistic purpose/function, participation structures, role/status, rights/obligations, contextual cues in verbal and non-verbal behavior and the psycho-linguistic goals, tools, materials, and language in the literacy actions in those five literacy events revealed that the socio-cultural and psycho-linguistic features of the literacy actions varied among the literacy events. For example, I discovered that participant structures and roles varied from literacy event to literacy event. Booksharing was a whole group activity with Lee in control of the interactions. In reading and writing centers, small groups of children interacted with each other and in reading center and with Lee in one-on-one conferences. Lee stated the goal for reading and writing centers, but the children played the primary role in structuring their participation and role in these events.

Analysis of the literacy activity provided insights into the shared and individual meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed about literacy, and revealed differences in Lee and the student's perspectives about the meanings and functions and the motive and goals of the literacy activity. From September to January, Lee made her beliefs about social relations, the organization of the classroom, and literacy explicit to the students. Through their interactions during that time, Lee and the students constructed a classroom culture and a classroom culture of literacy. From January to April, the students' agenda seemed to differ from Lee's. While Lee's goal was to focus on academics, the students' goals seemed to focus more on the social. Lee worked to promote students' cognitive development, but many of the children focused on developing social relationships or their individual roles in the classroom. By the end of the year, Lee and the children shared an understanding of the norms for behaving in school and of the values, beliefs,

techniques, skills, and statuses associated with literacy, but some students' perceptions differed from Lee's.

Analysis of the context revealed that it was created and recreated through the interactions. One series of interactions created a context in which the next series of interactions were carried out. Who could do what with whom, when, and where did not remain constant. To gain further insights into the process through which Lee and the students' shared and individual meanings and interpretations were constructed and through which they created and recreated context, I conducted a historical analysis.

Historical analysis

The findings illustrate that the model of the literacy event provides a framework for conducting historical analysis of the process through which meanings and interpretations about the reading and writing were constructed and reconstructed in Lee's classroom, and it gave me insights into the dynamic process by which those meanings and interpretations changed over time. By looking at the interactions historically, I gained insights into the dynamic process of change. To carry out historical analysis, I analyzed the meanings and interpretations constructed on three planes (the sociocultural, interactional, individual). Analysis on the sociocultural plane revealed no changes on Level One (general history of humans) or Level Two (the culture of USA society), few changes on Level Three (local culture), and considerable change on Level Four (classroom culture) and on Level Five (classroom culture of literacy). Analysis on the individual plane also revealed changes in the meanings and in meanings and interpretations Lee and individual students constructed about school and literacy during the year. Through historical analysis, I traced changes in Lee and the students' shared and individual beliefs about classroom norms, social relationships, and reading and writing. For example, the definition of communicative competence changed during the year. While Lee and the students considered pretend reading as reading in September, in January both Lee and the students considered voice-

print match and comprehension of text as reading. In a similar manner, individual student's definitions of what it meant to be a reader and writer changed from September to January.

Historical analysis of the changes in the meanings and interpretations in the classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy also revealed a pattern of change in what Lee and the students focused on as they constructed and reconstructed meanings about school and literacy during the year. Historical analysis of shared and individual meaning making revealed that the time of year played a major role in Lee's pacing of the curriculum and in the curricular focus. Through additional analysis of the pattern, I found that the social and cognitive focus in the interactions shifted four times during the year and that the academic year could be divided into four phases, each with its own focus and rhythm. The findings revealed that in September and early October, the focus was on community building and learning to go to school. In mid-October, Lee shifted the focus to reading and writing. From then until winter break, the focus was on developing shared and individual meanings about written literacy. In January, Lee began with a focus on expanding the students' literacy development and their understanding of how to go to school. This effort to "get everyone reading" seemed to be connected to her internalized sense of where students needed to be at a given time of the year. Lee used reading ability to determine children's readiness for moving to second grade, and she knew that in February she would need to determine who would be repeating first grade. From April, the focus was on literacy development but Lee also worked with individual students to further their understanding of how to go to school. To gain insight into other factors that precipitated and/or contributed to the shifts in focus and into the ways in which the larger context and individual functioning interacted with and shaped the interactions, I conducted genetic analysis across the three planes.

Genetic analysis

The findings show that the model of the literacy event provides a framework for carrying out a genetic analysis across the sociocultural, interactional, and individual planes. Genetic analysis gave me insights into how Lee's beliefs, the social relations, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy curriculum, what the students learned, and the context in which the interactions occurred interacted with and shaped each other. Looking at the interactions genetically, I took into account the shared meanings and interpretations from the larger culture, the local culture, and the immediate culture, and the individual meanings from individual functioning that individuals brought into the interaction. While historical analysis revealed that chronological time contributed to the shifts in focus during the year, genetic analysis of the interactions revealed that shared or individual meanings and interpretations constructed outside of the classroom shaped and interacted with meanings and interpretations constructed through face-to-face interactions in the classroom and precipitated shifts to a new phase of the year. The findings revealed that factors outside of the classroom accounted for shifts in focus. For example, Lee's decision to shift from focusing on trade books to basal readers in her reading program seemed to be shaped by the second grade teachers' comment that they expected first graders to be reading on basal level seven. Lee's announcement to the children that she would give them stars for reading stories from the basal readers seemed inconsistent with her previous interactions with the children and with her beliefs about children's literacy. However, genetic analysis made it possible to understand Lee's motive in making this change in her literacy program by letting me compare Lee's beliefs about children and children's literacy with the beliefs about children and literacy which were part of the school's culture.

Genetic analysis also made it possible to understand how children's individual meanings and interpretations about school and/or literacy constructed through interactions at home shaped their actions and literacy activity in school. For example, Megan's request to do ditto sheets that she could take home to her parents seemed inconsistent with the

norms Lee had established for literacy learning. However, by taking into consideration what I knew about Megan's parents' beliefs about what children needed to do in school to learn to read, I was able to understand Megan's request.

Genetic analysis also provided insights into some children's behavior in the classroom. Slade and Cody frequently violated classroom norms with which they were familiar. Taking into account information about events in their home lives made it possible to make sense of their behavior.

The findings from this study illustrate that the model of the literacy event can be used to study literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process in classroom contexts. However, the model appears to be of limited use for studies of literacy in other contexts. As represented in this study, the model of the literacy event focuses on interactions within the immediate sociocultural context of the classroom and the classroom culture of literacy and does not appear to be useful for focusing on interactions in other contexts. This is not the case. In the next section I argue that the model can be used to study literacy in other contexts.

Limitations of Using the Model of the Literacy Event as a Framework for Studying Literacy as a Cultural Practice

With minor modifications the model can be used to study literacy in other contexts. By changing the focus from the school to another context within the local sociocultural plane and by changing the focus of the interactional plane to correspond with that context, the model could be used to study literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process in any setting. For example, by shifting the focus from (1) the school to the home on the sociocultural plane, (2) the classroom to the home on the immediate sociocultural plane, and (3) the classroom to the home on the interactional plane, the model could be used to study literacy within the family. In similar fashion, the model could be

modified to study literacy in other contexts.

The model could also be modified to make it possible to study multiple interactional contexts. In such studies, the model would be expanded to include more than one immediate sociocultural plane and more than one interactional plane. For example, in a study of the culture of literacy in the home and the school, the model would include two immediate cultures, the home and the school, and two interactional planes, the home and the school. The focus would be on face-to-face interactions in both the home and the school. Interactional analysis could be carried out on both interactional planes, and historical and genetic analyses could be carried out on and across all of the sociocultural, interactional, and individual planes involved in the study. Comparisons could then be made of the two cultures of literacy.

In addition to being modified to study literacy in other contexts or in more than one context simultaneously, the model of the literacy event could be used to conduct studies which focused on the macro and micro levels. For example, one could use the model of the literacy event to study a new cultural tool such as the computer. At the macro level, the study would focus on the shared meanings associated with computers and their role in literacy on the sociocultural plane of the culture of society. At the micro level, the study would focus on interactions with computers on the interacitonal plane in a specific sociocultural context such as the home or school. Interactional analysis would be carried out on the interactional plane, but historical analysis could be conducted on both the macro and micro levels and genetic analysis could be carried out across the planes.

Summary

The literature reviewed for this study established (1) that given the current definitions, literacy must be studied as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process, (2) that studying it as such requires attending to the individual and social as

interacting systems and the process by which culture shapes cognition, and (3) that the sociocultural theory of learning provides a framework for developing a model of the literacy event. The findings from the study illustrate that the model of the literacy event can be used as a conceptual and analytical tool for studying literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process in a classroom context. By modifying the model, researchers can use the model of the literacy event to study literacy in contexts beyond the classroom. In the next section, I will discuss the implications this study has for teachers and for teacher educators interested in the teaching and learning of reading and writing in classroom contexts.

Implications for Teaching and for Preparing Teachers to Teach Reading and Writing in Classroom Contexts

In this section, I discuss the insights the findings from this study provided about life in classrooms and about the process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing is carried out in the classroom context, and I consider the implication they have for teachers and teacher educators.

Insights About the Realities of Classroom Life

In many respects, the facts of life in Lee's classroom illuminated by this study were remarkably similar to the characteristics of life in the classroom that Philip Jackson (1968) wrote about in Life in Classrooms. In that text, Jackson argues that classrooms are unique places where people engage in social and academic interactions and are confronted by the realities of life in school. He says that while these realities are not mentioned directly by students or apparent to the casual observer, they are real, and they "comprise three facts of life with which even the youngest student must learn to deal and may be introduced by the

key words: crowds, praise, and power" (p. 10). By presenting a narrative account of Lee and her students face-to-face interactions, this case study of the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's first grade classroom provides a detailed description of life in one classroom and illustrates how the realities of crowds, praise, and power were lived by one teacher and her students.

Crowds were a reality of life in Lee's classroom. Like Jackson's teacher, Lee was responsive to the crowded condition of the classroom. She too served as gatekeeper, supply sergeant, granter of privileges, and timekeeper and worked within the physical, temporal, and social limits of the classroom. During the first six weeks of school, and from time to time during the rest of the year, Lee focused on teaching the children how to participate in classroom life. Among other things, Lee explicitly taught her students how to take turns, how to interact with each other, how to use classroom supplies, and how to use time and space. Throughout the year, she relied on the norms and routines she established during the early part of the year to maintain order in the classroom.

Praise was also a reality of life in Lee's classroom. Like Jackson's teacher, Lee evaluated the students' social and academic behavior, and she used praise as a tool for reinforcing student behavior that she valued. During Phase I, Lee used praise to reinforce the social norms she was teaching the children. She publicly rewarded positive behavior by making statements such as, "I like the way X stopped talking when I said, 'Time to listen.'" On the board she wrote the names of students who conformed to classroom norms. During Phase II when she had shifted the focus to academics and to getting all of the students reading, Lee gave students stars on a checklist when they read stories from the basal readers. In addition to personally praising the students' positive behavior and academic progress, Lee encouraged the children to praise each others' success by clapping. In private Lee used praise to build a positive relationship with the children. Rather than focus on errors, Lee praised the students for what they did well socially and academically. This approach was especially evident in her interactions with Slade, Cody, and Max. Lee

also acknowledged the children's positive behavior by taking pictures of them with her camera. She told them, "I like catching you doing good things. That's why I take your picture."

Power was another reality of life in Lee's classroom. Like Jackson's teacher, Lee was the authority figure in the classroom. As the adult, she had the most power to shape the classroom environment, the interactional patterns, and the curriculum. Before the children entered the classroom, Lee organized the space, made decisions about how to use time, planned classroom routines and norms, and developed a curriculum plan. For the most part, her agenda determined the focus of classroom events and the participant structures for classroom interactions. However, as I will argue later, the findings from this study revealed that while power was a reality in Lee's classroom, the micropolitics in this classroom were different from those described by Jackson.

Time: A Fourth Reality of Life in Lee's Classroom

In addition to illustrating that crowds, praise, and power, were realities of life in Lee's classroom, findings from this study revealed that time was a fourth reality. While Jackson acknowledges that time is an aspect of the constancy of life in classrooms, he dismisses time as minor and out of teachers' awareness and does not consider it one of the central realities of classroom life. He says, "A final aspect of the constancy experienced by young students involves the ritualistic and cyclic quality of the activities carried on in classrooms" (p. 8) and notes, "Teachers, like parents, seldom ponder the significance of the thousands of fleeting events that combine to form the routine of the classroom" (p. 3).

The findings from this study show that unlike Jackson's teacher, Lee was acutely aware of time, both as a feature of the daily moment-to-moment sequence of interactions and operations and of the year. Her pacing of the day was guided by an internalized sense of time she had developed through her interactions with children and her experience as a teacher as well as her monitoring of children's learning. When the students were actively

engaged in learning, Lee frequently extended the time she had planned for the event. If the students were not engaged, she shortened the time.

While others have noted the significance of the temporal organization of classroom life (Mehan, 1982) and the importance of taking the moment-to-moment sequence of events into account when studying classroom (Erickson, 1982) in interpreting the meanings participants construct through their interactions, the findings from this study revealed that the sequence of the school year was also a significant fact of life in Lee's classroom. In interpreting the process through which Lee made changes in the focus of instruction and in her expectations for children, I found that Lee's internalized sense of the year interacted with and shaped the decisions she made about the literacy curriculum and classroom interactions. Before school began, Lee used her sense of the year to plan a year-long literacy curriculum. Throughout the planning process, Lee drew on the sense of the year she carried in her head and on her prior experience with children to determine a month-by-month plan. While she took students' needs into account as she put her plan into practice, she was acutely aware of the time of year. During the first six weeks of the school year, Lee focused on establishing a community that would support learning. From mid-October to January, she used the community to support the learning of reading and writing and worked with the students to construct a classroom culture of literacy. After winter break from January to April, Lee pushed the children to learn what they needed to know to be successful in second grade. Finally, from April to June, Lee helped the students progress and focused on getting all of the students ready for second grade. In this way, Lee used time of year as a templet against which she measured the social and academic progress of the group and of individual students.

The Sociocultural Context: A Fifth Reality of Life in Classrooms

The sociocultural context in which the classroom was situated was a fifth reality of life in Lee's classroom. Jackson does not mention the world beyond the classroom as

significant in his description of life in classrooms. However, the findings from this study revealed that the local culture of the school and of the children's homes shaped and interacted with events in Lee's classroom. First, in interpreting Lee's actions, it became clear that the school culture shaped and interacted with decisions she made about the literacy curriculum. For example, the expectations of the second grade teachers led to Lee's decision to encourage the students to read the basal readers and her decision to document that they had read them. In determining who would go on to second grade, Lee took the second grade teachers' criteria of social and academic competence into account. During the last two months of school, Lee worked especially hard with children who did not follow traditional school and classroom norms. She also focused her attention on those students who were not reading at the level second grade teachers had established as an entry level for those moving into second grade.

The findings also illustrate how the children's home cultures and home lives shaped life in Lee's classroom. Events in the students' personal lives shaped and interacted with their interpersonal relationships in the classroom. When something happened at home such as the birth of a sibling, a parent's problem, or an illness or death, the children brought the emotion associated with the event into the classroom with them. Ongoing problems at home such as those experienced by Slade, Robert and Cody shaped their interactions with Lee and the other students. Events in Lee's own life also shaped her interactions with her students. As she noted on several occasions, her physical and mental state determined how she interacted with the students from day to day. When her life outside of school was more stressful, Lee noted that her interactions with and expectations of children were affected.

The findings from this study revealed that crowds, praise, and power were realities of life in Lee's classroom and that there were two additional realities, time and the sociocultural context. In the next section, I will discuss what the findings revealed about the processes through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing were carried out in Lee's classroom.

Insights into the Teaching and Learning of Reading and Writing in a Classroom Context

In this section, I will discuss the insights this study provided about the teaching and learning of reading and writing in a classroom where a teacher had adopted what David Smith (1983) has described as a real world view of reading and writing from the perspective of a culture of literacy. First, I will discuss how this perspective changed the micropolitics of the interactional process in Lee's classroom. Second, I will discuss the insights the study provided about the teaching and learning of reading and writing in the context created by this perspective.

The Micropolitics of Classroom Life

As noted earlier, power was a reality of life in Lee's classroom. However, the findings revealed that Lee's new beliefs about children, children's literacy, community, and pedagogy interacted with and shaped the social relations and social organization of the classroom in such a way as to alter the micropolitics in Lee's classroom from those described by Jackson (1968). In describing the micropolitics of life in the classroom, Jackson describes a classroom in which the teacher is in control. He says that teachers use their authority to make students conform to institutional expectations and argues that in addition to giving classroom life a distinctive flavor, crowds, praise and power collectively form a hidden curriculum consisting of "four unpublished features of school life: delay, denial, interruption, and social distraction" (p. 17). According to Jackson, to function successfully in school, students and teachers must master the hidden curriculum as well as the "official" curriculum (pp. 33-34).

He notes that in such a context, the student learns to be patient, to subjugate their

own desires to the teacher's, and to subdue their own action in the interest of the common good. Jackson says that in this way, the student

> learns to be passive and to acquiesce to the network of rules, regulations, and routines in which he is embedded. He learns to tolerate petty frustrations and accept the plans and policies of higher authorities, even if their rationale is unexplained and their meaning unclear. (p. 36)

Jackson cautions that "the personal qualities that play a role in intellectual mastery" such as "curiosity and a habit of challenging authority and of questioning the value of tradition" are very different from those that characterize one who conforms to institutional demands (p. 36). While he qualifies his argument by saying that it possibly "exaggerates the real differences between the demands of institutional conformity and the demands of scholarship" (p. 36), Jackson argues that as people spend more and more time in institutional setting such as schools,

> We will need to know much more than we do at present about how to achieve a reasonable synthesis between the forces that drive a person to seek individual expressions and those that drive him to comply with the wishes of others (p. 37).

The findings from this study revealed that the micropolitics in Lee's classroom were far different from those described by Jackson. Unlike the teachers Jackson (1968) describes as seeking to find "a reasonable synthesis between the forces that drive a person to seek individual expression and those that drive him to comply with the wishes of others" (p. 37), Lee was trying to create a context in which a balance existed between the children's agenda and her own.

An earlier study had revealed that Lee had adopted a new set of beliefs about children, children's literacy, the value of community, and pedagogy that were consistent with the view David Smith (1983) said teachers must develop if they are to support children's learning of literacy in a manner that is consistent with a real world view of reading and writing, which he refers to as "the meanings of literacy in the cultural contexts in which individuals or groups live their lives" (p. 173). When the year began, Lee saw children as active learners, constantly making meaning of the world. She had become sensitive to the web of meaning that extends beyond the classroom, and she had begun to

consider how what happens outside the classroom in children's lives interacts with and shapes what happens inside. In describing how children become readers and writers, Lee talked about their learning as developmental, and she spoke of planning learning activities that would be appropriate for their developmental level. She noted that it was natural for children to use play to learn, and she encouraged the children to pretend they could read. Lee worked to strengthen the ties between home and school by building relationships with the parents as well as the children and by bringing forms of literacy with which the children were familiar in their homes into the classroom (ie., newspapers, magazines, environmental print). At the same time, she worked to establish a community within her classroom that would support students' learning.

The findings from this study revealed that in planning for instruction, Lee took her lead from the children. She observed them closely to determine what they knew and what they were working on learning and used this information as well as her knowledge of the curriculum and her internalized sense of the year to establish social and academic goals. She organized classroom interactions so that the children would have a role in shaping their own contexts for learning. While she set a general goal for a specific literacy event, Lee gave the students room to go beyond that goal and to participate in organizing the social interactions and academic content of those events.

Operating out of her new beliefs, Lee worked to develop a pedagogy that allowed student's to follow what she termed their own creativity and Jackson (1968) called curiosity, "that most fundamental of all scholarly traits" (p. 36). Rather than asking students to submit to the constraints that are common in more traditional classrooms, Lee let the students move around the room. She did not demand complete silence nor insist that students complete all of their work on their own. Instead, she encouraged them to work together, to use their own creativity to select topics for their writing, and to ask questions. Lee frequently let the students select the book or story she would read or the next activity during the day. In this way, she sought to give the students a voice in shaping the

classroom culture and the classroom culture of literacy.

Unlike Jackson's classroom where crowds, praise, and power combined to form a hidden curriculum, in Lee's classroom the expectations that are usually a part of the hidden curriculum were part of the official curriculum. Lee made it clear to the students that just as she was teaching them to read and write, she was also teaching them how to go to school. She explicitly taught the students the school and classroom rules and explained why they were important. When she did assert her authority to maintain control, Lee acknowledged to the students that she was doing just that, and she explained why. On several occasions Lee told the students that the class would take time out from learning to practice the classroom rules. She explained why it was important for them to follow the rules and what they would have control over if they did.

Despite Lee's efforts to make her expectations explicit and to employ a pedagogy that would foster the characteristics associated with scholarship, Lee struggled to resolve the conflicting demands of schooling and learning. Contrary to Jackson's concern that he may have exaggerated the conflict between "the demands of institutional conformity and the demands of scholarship" (p. 36), the findings from this study suggests that, if anything, educators, researchers, and policy makers have underestimated the problems teachers and students face in carrying out the process of the teaching and learning of reading and writing in the crowded context of the classroom. In studying Lee's efforts to put her new beliefs into practice, I learned that for a teacher who had adopted a real world view of literacy (Smith, 1983) and was trying to develop a pedagogy that would be responsive to children's ways of learning, maintaining a balance between the social and the academic, between order and creativity, and between the group and the individual required considerable professional and personal effort.

In the next section, I will discuss the insights this study provides about the process of teaching and learning reading and writing in a classroom context.

The Process of Teaching and Learning Reading and Writing

In addition to insights about the realities of life in a classroom where a teacher has developed a real world view of reading and writing from the perspective of a culture of literacy, the findings from this study also provide insights into the process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing are carried out in such a classroom. These insights confirm what others have learned about children's literacy learning in the home, and they expand our understanding of the role played by the students and the teacher in this process in a classroom context.

This study supports what researchers have learned about the role played by children in their literacy learning in contexts outside of school. Like the studies of children's emergent literacy in the home (Taylor, 1983; Teale and Sulzby, 1986; Genishi and Dyson, 1984), the findings from this study show that children are active learners who construct meanings and interpretations about reading and writing through their interactions with others. Learning to read and write in this classroom context like learning to read and write at home was embedded in the interactions that were part of these students' daily lives. Through a gradual process of acculturation, Lee's students came to share the meanings Lee and the larger society held about literacy. They could produce and interpret many forms of text, and they learned to use both reading and writing for a variety of purposes. Through their face-to-face interactions with Lee and their peers, the children constructed and reconstructed shared and individual meanings about literacy.

As was the case for the children studied outside of school, the teaching and learning of reading and writing in this setting was intertwined with the social relationships and social processes of classroom life and were not merely cognitive processes. When the children were asked to discuss what they had learned about reading and writing, they talked about the context in which the had learned - who was present, where and when their learning occurred, what they had been doing, what they had learned. The students used

their social relationships to support their literacy learning, and they used their shared interest in becoming literate to support and further their personal relationships with each other and with Lee. Abby and Ann's emergent literacy was supported by their friendship with Olympia who shared her knowledge of reading and writing with them. Jason and Jerrod used reading and writing to further their personal relationship. Together they played at learning to read and write just as they might have played at learning to play baseball. Using their individual strengths, they supported each other's learning. Cody and Rob, who fought with each other most of the time, used their desire to learn to read to build a working relationship through which they read stories they would not have been able to read on their own.

The findings also revealed that the students did not separate learning to read at home from learning to read at school. Lee encouraged them to take books home or to bring books from home to read at school. When the children talked about learning to read, they frequently talked about reading to their parents or siblings. Jason and Jerrod reported that they were each teaching their younger brothers to read. Rob said that he read to his sister and brother at night before they went to bed. It became evident that Michael E. had made the connection between reading at home and reading at school when he took twenty-two books home to read to his parents.

Lee's role as teacher was similar to the role played by mothers in studies of mother/child dyads. Like the mothers, Lee listened to children to gain insights into the way they perceived school and literacy. In her face-to-face interactions with the students as a group and as individuals, Lee monitored the students' construction of meaning about reading and writing and adjusted her teaching in order to support their efforts to learn to read and write. Using what she learned through these interactions, Lee created and recreated classroom contexts that would support the students' literacy learning, and she adjusted her instruction to fit the group and individual's meaning making.

In the next section, I will consider the implications the insights provided about the

realities of life in the classroom and about the teaching and learning of reading and writing in classroom contexts have for teachers and teacher educators.

Implications for Teachers and Teacher Educators

During the past two decades, descriptive studies of elementary classrooms have provided valuable insights into classroom life and into the unique nature of classrooms as contexts for learning. By treating the social context and the teaching and learning of reading and writing as a unified whole, my study of Lee's classroom provides additional insights into the realities of classroom life and into the interactional process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing is carried out. The findings from this study provide insights into the realities of life and the processes through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing are carried out in a first grade classroom in which a teacher has developed a real world view of literacy from the perspective of a culture of literacy. Given that current theory and research on the teaching of the language arts supports approaching the teaching of reading and writing from this perspective, this study has implications for teachers and for those who are preparing teachers to teach reading and writing in classroom contexts. In this section, I will discuss these implications.

Numerous practice-based and research-based publications have urged teachers to adopt an approach to teaching reading and writing consistent with the approach Smith (1983) advocated and with the approach Lee used in her classroom during this study. Touting the advantages of this child-centered, process-centered approach, teacher/researchers and university-based researchers have presented appealing, though somewhat romanticized, accounts of students learning to read and write in classrooms in which the teacher's pedagogical approach gives students ownership of their own learning.

Calling for reading and writing workshops and teacher and peer conferencing, these prescriptions for teaching rarely address the realities of classroom life. The authors do not

acknowledge the problems associated with meeting the needs of individual students within a crowded classroom nor do they explain what a teacher must do to realign the micropolitics of the classroom when she shares power with their students. Likewise, the accounts do not consider the reality of time or of the sociocultural context in which the classroom is embedded. For example, they do not suggest how teachers might deal with problems which arise when they try to implement such an approach in a school whose culture of literacy is inconsistent with a real world view of reading and writing, nor do they say what to do when problems in children's personal lives affect their behavior in the classroom.

Unlike the romanticized accounts discussed above, my study of the teaching and learning of reading and writing in Lee's classroom takes into account the reality of life in the classroom and the conflicts one may face in trying to implement an approach consistent with a real world view of literacy from a culture of literacy perspective. Taking into account the social and cognitive processes carried out in Lee's classroom; the meanings and interpretations Lee and her students constructed through their interactions; the changes in the meanings and interpretations that occurred over time; the interplay of Lee's beliefs, the micropolitics of the classroom, the social organization of the classroom, the literacy activity, what children learned about reading and writing, and the larger cultural context in which the classroom was embedded, this study reports from Lee and her students' perspectives the dynamic process she and her students engaged in as they constructed a classroom culture of literacy and it describes the process individual students engaged in to learn to read and write.

While not a model for practice, the findings from this study provide a balanced account of one teacher's efforts to implement a more child-cented and process-centered approach in her classroom, and they raise important questions about the nature of teaching and learning of reading and writing in classroom contexts. Given the realities of classroom life, crowds, praise, power, time, and the social context in which the classroom is

embedded, how is it possible for one adult to meet the individual needs of each child? How is it possible to meet what are at times the competing demands of the school culture and one's own sense of what best supports students' learning? How can a teacher give students the time they need to develop their understanding of reading and writing and, at the same time, meet the institution's demand that the child develop within the framework of the year. How can the teacher bring together the school's agenda, her own agenda, and the students' agenda? What must she do to create a context in which all children can learn and in which they become part of the larger culture of literacy? These are only a few of the issues this study raises for teachers.

The findings also raise important issues for teacher educators. Given that literacy learning in the classroom like literacy learning at home is embedded in social interactions, how can teacher educators develop programs which help preservice teachers see literacy as a cultural practice and a socio- psycho-linguistic process. What would be the nature of such a program? On what theory of learning would it be based? How might field experiences be used to prepare preservice teachers to attend to both the social and the cognitive aspects of literacy learning?

By looking at literacy teaching and learning within the context of the classroom and by illuminating the realities of that context and of the social interactions in which literacy learning is embedded, this study provides insights and raises issues that are of value to teachers and teacher educators. As a case study of the teaching and learning of reading and writing in a crowd, this study provides a glimpse into the process through which the teaching and learning of reading and writing are carried out in a classroom where the teacher has adopted a real world view of reading and writing from a culture of literacy perspective.

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