

1-1-1995

Students' resources for learning reading in a second grade classroom.

David B. Landis
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1

Recommended Citation

Landis, David B., "Students' resources for learning reading in a second grade classroom." (1995). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 5199.
https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/5199

This Open Access Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014 by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst. For more information, please contact scholarworks@library.umass.edu.

UMASS/AMHERST



312066011013654

STUDENTS' RESOURCES FOR LEARNING READING IN A SECOND GRADE
CLASSROOM

A Dissertation Presented

by

DAVID B. LANDIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

September 1995

School of Education

© Copyright by David B. Landis 1995

All Rights Reserved

STUDENTS' RESOURCES FOR LEARNING READING IN A SECOND GRADE
CLASSROOM

A Dissertation Presented

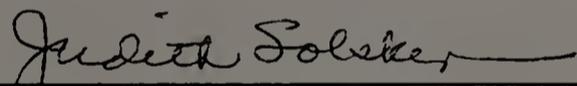
by

DAVID B. LANDIS

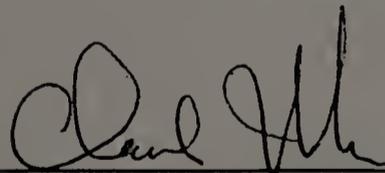
Approved as to style and content by:



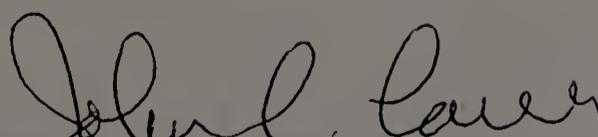
David Bloome, Chair



Judith Solsken, Member



Charles Moran, Member



Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

Dedicated To

Jacquie A. Landis

Who thought anything was possible and proved it by her support and encouragement

And to

Aimee, Alicia, Brian, & Nathan Landis

Who showed patience and understanding and helped in so many ways

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To complete this work has required a team effort. I wish to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to many faculty and students for their support, encouragement, understanding, and patience throughout my course work and the writing of my dissertation.

First, I want to say thank you to my committee members: Professors David Bloome, Judith Solsken, and Charles Moran. I am very grateful for the guidance they provided and for their confidence in my efforts. Thank you to Dr. Bloome for his support in so many ways throughout the preparation and presentation of this research. I also appreciate the time he took to introduce me to a larger research community through our writing together and through introductions to colleagues. Thank you to Dr. Solsken for her encouragement in course work and throughout the pilot studies prior to this research. In addition, her writing and current research pushed me to think about connections between theory and practice for classroom research. Thank you to Dr. Moran for his honest appraisals and his valuable insights into writing with computers. His teaching by example encouraged me to view writing on the computer in new ways. The advice each of them provided is invaluable.

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the students, their parents and guardians, and to the classroom teacher who willingly shared their time and ideas throughout the course of the study. I also thank the principal and the school district for permitting this study to be conducted.

Thank you to other faculty, staff, and administrators at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, whom I had the privilege of working with during my doctoral program. Thank you for your support and

encouragement. I also wish to thank many graduate students in the Reading and Writing Program and the Elementary Education Program for their friendship and support through our course work and writing together.

ABSTRACT

STUDENTS' RESOURCES FOR LEARNING READING IN A SECOND GRADE
CLASSROOM

SEPTEMBER 1995

DAVID B. LANDIS, B.A., WHITMAN COLLEGE

M.ED., MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY BOZEMAN

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed by: Professor David Bloome

This study proposes that students and teachers make use of various social, intellectual, and material tools or resources in order to engage in classroom reading and writing. Furthermore, how resources are used for instruction defines and teaches students about reading.

This study examines second grade students' perspectives about resources for classroom reading instruction. Theoretical constructs supporting this study were derived from ethnography of communication, social semiotics, and social interaction theory. Data were collected during twice-weekly classroom visits beginning with the first day of school in August of 1994 and ending in February of 1995. The data collection includes: participant observation notes, interviews, students' interpretations of statements made by other students about reading instruction, video and audio tape recordings of classroom interactions and interviews, and photocopies of students' written book reviews.

There are four principal findings about resources for reading. First, the term "reading" serves as a resource which students and their teacher draw from in order to a) indicate what readers should do and b) indicate who readers are. Second, students use time as a resource to tell what activities are considered reading and to mark changes in the ways they use reading

resources. Third, learning what to do with reading resources leads to a unique series of interactions between students and teachers which define reading for them. Fourth, students use resources to evaluate their progress with reading.

Implications are drawn for teachers' roles in the classroom, ways that reading lessons are planned, and ways that reading is evaluated. Suggestions are made for future research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	xv
LIST OF TEXTS.....	xvi
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY.....	1
Introduction and Overview.....	1
Research Problem and Questions.....	4
Background for Research Problem and Questions.....	6
Definitions of Key Terms.....	9
Significance of the Study.....	11
Limitations of the Study	11
2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	13
Research That Investigates Students' Perspectives About Classroom Instruction.....	15
Summary	21
Ethnography of Communication and Classroom Life	22
Introduction	22
Ethnography of Communication	23
Working Consensus Establishes Ways to Use Resources	25
A Formal Perspective Defined	28
A Social Perspective Defined	30
Summary of the Formal and the Social Perspectives.....	32
A Descriptive Strategy	34
Classrooms as Culture	37
Summary	39
Classroom Interactions of Students and Teachers	40
Summary	44
Reading Instruction as Cultural Practice	45
Summary	46

Chapter Summary	47
3. DESIGN AND PROCEDURES	50
Participants	50
Data Collection and Instruments.....	53
Procedures of Data Collection	57
Classroom Interaction Data Collection	57
Checking Classroom Interaction Data	59
Reading Instruction Data Collection	59
Checking Reading Instruction Data.....	60
Procedures of Data Analysis	62
Analyzing Classroom Interaction Data	63
Analyzing Checks of Classroom Interaction	64
Analyzing Reading Instruction Data	64
Analyzing Checks of Reading Data	65
4. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA	67
Introduction	67
Note on Transcriptions	69
Overview of Classroom Interactions	71
Looking at Classroom Life	71
Life in Second Grade: Day One	72
Common Language and Common Membership Defined Through Resources	87
Seven Resources Which Establish Common Language & Common Identities	88
Activities and Use of Time as Resources	90
Use of Objects and Ideas as Resources	97
Social Relations as Resources	101
Events and Prior Contexts as Resources	104
Communication Through Postures and Behaviors as Resources	109
Goals and Purposes as Resources	110
Students' Resources and Class Interactions	111
Three Communication Events.....	112

Communication That Prepares for the Next Phase of Activity	112
Communication That Carries the Task	116
Communication That Prepares for What is Next	119
A Look at a Class Meeting	122
Analysis of the Transcript	126
Conversational Practice	126
Relations of Morning Meeting and Resources	140
Texts and Resources for Morning Meeting	144
Cohesion	146
Social Practices	148
Summary	149
Students' Perspectives About Reading Resources	151
Resources For Participating In Reading Instruction	153
A Resource for Reading: Use of Time	153
A Resource for Reading: A Particular Activity	158
A Resource for Reading: Objects and Ideas	163
A Resource for Reading: Social Relations	166
A Resource for Reading: Posture	169
A Resource for Reading: Goals	173
A Resource for Reading: Prior Contexts	176
Students' Semantic Relationships About Reading Resources	177
Introduction	178
Semantic Relations of Inclusion: Kinds of	180
Summary	183
Semantic Relations of Rationale: A Reason For	183
Summary	185
Semantic Relations of Function: Is Used For	185
Summary	187
Semantic Relations About Space: Is Part Of	187
Summary	189
Semantic Relations About Location: A Place For Doing	189
Summary	191
Semantic Relations of Means-To-An End: A Step In	191
Summary	194
Semantic Relations of Sequence: A Step In	194
Summary	196
Semantic Relations of Attribution: A Characteristic Of	197
Summary	200
Semantic Relations of Cause and Effect: A Result Of	200
Summary	201

Summary About Semantic Relations	201
Influences on Reading Instruction	202
Describing Reading Instruction.....	203
Analyzing Reading Instruction.....	207
Discursive Practices.....	207
Textual Practices	218
Social Practices	222
Summary	224
Discussion and Summary of Key Issues About Reading Resources	229
Students' Perspectives About Reading Resources Define Reading.....	230
Students' Perspectives Influence Reading Instruction.....	231
5. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS.....	232
Introduction	232
Discussion.....	234
Resources for Classroom Instruction.....	239
Activity	240
Time	241
Social Relations	243
Particular Uses for Objects.....	244
Postures and Gestures	245
Particular Goals.....	246
Memory of Prior Contexts	246
Students' Perspectives About Resources for Reading Instruction.....	247
Activity.....	247
Time	249
Social Relations	250
Particular Uses for Objects.....	251
Postures and Gestures	252
Particular Goals.....	253
Memory of Prior Contexts	254
Social Practices/Ideologies and Reading Resources.....	255
How Students' Perspectives About Resources for Reading Influence Reading Instruction	260
Activity	260
Time	260
Social Relations	261

Particular Uses for Objects.....	262
Postures and Gestures	262
Particular Goals.....	262
Memory of Prior Contexts	263
Main Findings of the Study.....	263
Implications for Teachers.....	265
Discussion.....	266
Implications for Future Research.....	267
Final Summary	268
APPENDICES	
A. READING RECORD SHEET	270
B. TYPICAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ABOUT READING INSTRUCTION	271
C. SAMPLE PROCEDURE FOR SORTING SENTENCE FRAMES	272
D. FRAME STATEMENTS AND SORTING RESULTS	275
E. COMMENTS ABOUT THE SENTENCE FRAMES	286
REFERENCES.....	292

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The First Day of School: 8-31-94	79
2. Resources Used by the Teacher on Day One.....	86
3. The Thirteenth Day of School: 9-19-94	123
4. Comparison of Resource Features for Reading and Math.....	152
5. Students' Semantic Relationships About Reading	179
6. Silent Reading: 9-29-94.....	205
7. Summary of Findings About Research Questions #1 and #2	235

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. A Formal Conception of How Signs Represent	29
2. A Social Conception of How Signs Represent	31
3. Organizing the Data Collection.....	54
4. Map of the Classroom	75
5. Classroom Interactions and Reading Resources	89
6. Patterns of Time and Interaction During First Month of School	94
7. Classroom Interaction I: Morning Meeting.....	127
8. Classroom Interaction II: Silent Reading.....	208

LIST OF TEXTS

Text	Page
Second Grade Text I.....	92
Second Grade Text II.....	101
Second Grade Text III.....	102
Second Grade Text IV.....	103
Second Grade Text V.....	105
Second Grade Text VI.....	106
Second Grade Text VII.....	107
Second Grade Text VIII.....	113
Second Grade Text IX.....	116
Second Grade Text X.....	119
Second Grade Text XI.....	159
Second Grade Text XII.....	168
Second Grade Text XIII.....	170
Second Grade Text XIV.....	174
Second Grade Text XV.....	180
Second Grade Text XVI.....	182
Second Grade Text XVII.....	183
Second Grade Text XVIII.....	186
Second Grade Text XIX.....	187
Second Grade Text XX.....	190
Second Grade Text XXI.....	192
Second Grade Text XXII.....	195
Second Grade Text XXIII.....	197
Second Grade Text XXIV.....	198

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND FOCUS OF THE STUDY

Introduction and Overview

Learning to read requires certain tools. For example, what is needed for reading instruction has been described in terms of methods and activities (Aukerman, 1984). Teachers and students hold book sharing circles; write about what they read in notebooks; complete workbook pages; define vocabulary words; discuss sounds and letters; predict what will happen next in stories; meet authors, illustrators, and so forth. However, what is needed for reading instruction has also been described in terms of a social context formed by actions and reactions of people as they participate in reading lessons (Bloome & Egan Robertson, 1993).

What is needed for reading instruction indicates concern for how reading is defined. Various definitions for reading include: 1) comprehension (Goodman, 1982; Smith, 1988), 2) decontextualized skill (Adams, 1991; Perfetti, 1992; Stanovich, 1990), 3) ideological practice (Luke, 1992; Street and Street, 1991), among others. Reading defined as comprehension emphasizes the reader's construction of meaning for written texts. Much has been written about how readers make use of sounds and visual features associated with print, ideas about what print could mean, and knowledge about sentence and phrase structure to build and test hypotheses about meaning from printed texts. According to this view, reading instruction should help readers build meaning by generating predictions about printed text.

Reading has also been defined as decontextualized skill. Readers are thought to make use of mental processors which work together using auditory images, predictions, visual features of print associated with groups

of letters, and concepts about physical characteristics of the surrounding world in order to make sense of print. In this view, reading instruction should foster knowledge about word patterns, familiarity with spelling-sound translations, and sensitivity to letter recognition.

Reading defined as ideological practice considers how reading instruction is used to establish, sustain, or alter various social relations in society. According to this view, reading instruction is not a value-less activity, nor is it a simple matter of finding what works best for helping students learn. Rather, questions are raised about why certain conceptions about reading and what readers do are valued in education settings and how conceptions of reading found in schools are bound up with "schools' historical role in the production of sociocultural *inequality*" (Luke, 1992, p. 2). In other words, reading instruction is implicated as a site for the reproduction of certain status and social/class relations. Questions may also be asked about how dominant conceptions of reading in schools have set the standard for and ruled out alternative varieties of reading practiced at home, the workplace, and the community, and how reading instruction in schools controls what can be thought about how to use reading (Street and Street, 1991). From this view, reading instruction always acquaints students and shapes their thinking about people with texts and meanings for texts which are considered appropriate.

In this dissertation, I argue that too little attention has been paid to what students understand about reading in school. What students understand about reading is not a fixed definition. To look at reading as only a matter of skills and strategies which individual readers use "ignore(s) the interpersonal nature of reading in classrooms and thus the ways in which instructional and communicative processes influence what occurs as well as

how it occurs" (Green and Weade, 1987, p. 3). That is, students' actions and reactions with reading tasks are not only a matter of individual thinking and problem solving, but also a matter of how reading is defined and carried out within a classroom community. In other words, reading tasks are socially organized displays which reflect students' and teachers' activities with materials. "Reading is viewed as a process that is embedded in and influenced by instructional and communicative processes and events. " (Green and Weade, 1987, p.4). To say that reading is socially defined means that students and teachers work out various and multiple definitions of what reading is and what readers can do (e.g. Bloome, 1989; Fishman, 1991; Heath, 1983).

This study works from a view of reading as social interaction to explore what students understand about classroom reading instruction. In particular, this study seeks to investigate what students believe is necessary for participating in classroom reading instruction. What students believe is necessary for taking part in classroom reading is described in terms of resources which students draw from. Usually, reading resources are considered as reading lists, collections of reading materials in libraries or special "resource" centers, or people with special training in reading methods and administration. I take a different perspective about reading resources. I consider reading resources as the material, social, and intellectual tools which students use to engage in reading and writing. This conception of resources builds upon a view suggested by Fairclough (1989) which conceives of resources as "(what people) draw upon when they produce or interpret texts¹-including their knowledge of language, representations of the natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs, assumptions, and so on" (p. 24). Although a focus on resources is a different way to look at reading than is usually taken by reading researchers, it

highlights readers as people making use of various means in order to engage in activities labeled as reading.

A concern with resources for reading signals that reading is viewed as activity between students and teachers which is organized over time. That is, reading as activity means that reading is actions and reactions which occur as people interact. A concern with reading resources highlights what people think as well as their actions and reactions with whatever they believe is necessary to engage in reading and writing. From this view, readers may avail themselves of a variety of resources in order to accomplish reading.

One question which follows from the notion of reading resources is, "What resources are available to students?" While this question is important, it can only be answered by investigating students' perspectives about the use of resources for reading. What students think about reading and how it is accomplished affects how they participate in reading lessons as well as how they define reading and the kinds of strategies they will learn for how to do reading. This study explores what perspectives students bring to resources for accomplishing reading in school and how students' perspectives for the use of resources may influence what happens in reading instruction.

Research Problem and Questions

This section describes five key aspects which form the foundation for the study. First, I present and describe the research problem and research questions which guide the study. Second, I present background information about the research questions. Third, I define key terminology related to the study. Fourth, I discuss the significance of the study, and fifth, I discuss limitations of the study.

The purpose of this study is to investigate students' perspectives about what they need to accomplish reading. What students believe is necessary for reading has been defined in terms of reading resources.

The research problem and the research questions for this study are stated by juxtaposing two statements or propositions (e.g. Guba, 1978) related to the definitions about reading described above. The first statement proposes that reading instruction has been defined as a matter of value-less skills and strategies which students acquire. The second statement proposes that experienced readers have varying ideas about what works best for other people learning to read. The research problem is defined as a situation which results from the interaction of the two statements posed above. A conclusion about the statements (a research problem) can be stated in this way:

- *Even though reading instruction has been portrayed as a subject with particular skills that all readers must learn to use, students are faced with complex choices and values about what reading is and how to do reading as they participate in reading instruction.*

Stated this way, reading instruction can lead students to view reading in various ways depending upon the values students' teachers hold for what readers do and what readers are like. While reading has been defined as skills and content, it also has been defined in terms of what works best for readers. Learning about reading is perplexing. That is, reading is conceptually complicated for teachers to teach and for students to learn.

A broad research question can be derived from the research problem. Given perplexing, conceptually complicated ideas about teaching and learning reading, what do students understand about reading instruction in school? The broad question is divided in two more specific questions for the purposes of discussion:

- *What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction?*
- *How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading?*

Each question is discussed more fully below.

Background for Research Problem and Questions

With respect to students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction, the research question is:

- *What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction?*

Various resources for reading instruction may be described by students, teachers and observers of classroom reading lessons. Some of these resources might be: books, workbooks, paper, furniture, pencils, pens, use of gestures, collections of books, teachers, students, classroom spaces for doing reading, language that is appropriate for reading, ways to dress as a student, and so on. Students (and teachers) may use these resources to define what reading instruction is and how it is supposed to occur within a classroom. Over time, students and teachers use reading resources in habitual or repeated ways. The resources which are used and the ways in which students and teachers use them could inscribe the perspectives students (and teachers) hold for what reading is and how it is accomplished.

Particular activities may be described as reading because they occur in certain ways. Over time and at various places, students and teachers interact by means of patterns of behavior which establish what it means to be a student, a teacher, and a reader in particular (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1994 a, b). Patterns of interaction involve particular settings or locations at particular times, various participants and their goals and

purposes, ideas about what reading is, the manner or tone of the social interaction which accompanies reading events, particular expectations for what behavior, rights, and obligations are appropriate for teachers and students during reading, as well as the printed materials which are used (poetry, magazines, newspapers, basal readers, and so on). Thus the patterns of activity associated with reading may establish what students and teachers expect will happen in the future when it's time to read.

Students' perspectives about resources for reading may also be compared with other classroom events like recess, math, science and so on. For students, reading could be like or unlike these events. Reading instruction, as an event, may be ascribed particular characteristics which are described by students in terms of particular resources and ways to use them. The characteristics students ascribe to resources for reading could also serve to help students distinguish between reading and other events. Student activities such as finding the appropriate workbook page, writing a list of quotations and reactions to a story in a notebook, or turning to a page in a basal reader may all be collectively described as reading by students. It is also possible that none of these activities would be thought of as reading by students.

In addition to students' behaviors with resources, students' (and teachers') perspectives about reading resources may also be described in terms of social relationships which are established. Students may use particular resources to express emotional ties with other students and teachers. That is, students' actions and reactions towards others may be expressed by sharing a particular book, way to do a worksheet, choosing a book buddy or reading partner to spend time with and so on. This idea leads to

discussion of how students' perspectives about reading resources could influence reading instruction.

With respect to what happens during reading lessons:

- *How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading?*

Students' perspectives about resources for reading could influence reading instruction in two main ways: 1) through changes over time in ways that students use reading resources during reading instruction, and 2) through on-going negotiation between students and teachers about how reading resources are interpreted. Changes in ways that students use resources may occur in a number of ways. For example, students may discontinue the use of teacher-made forms for keeping track of student reading and begin using student-made record forms. Students may form or reform various reading groups during the school year. Students may begin to use other kinds of reading materials such as magazines or journals during reading instruction, in addition to books. In other words, students' perspectives about reading resources may influence reading instruction through alternative actions with resources.

Students' perspectives about reading resources may also influence reading instruction through on-going negotiation with other students and teachers about what resources can mean. In this case, the influence would not be recognized as a change in activity, but in terms of how the resources are interpreted by students (and teachers). Negotiation about how to interpret reading resources could occur through interaction between class participants and through shifts in thoughts and feelings associated with reading resources. For example, students may interpret the use of reading logs in alternative scenarios. Maintaining reading logs may be viewed by students as

a means of teacher control over student reading instead of an indicator of students' reading selections. When students interpret resources for reading in alternative ways, their attitudes have the potential to influence the course of reading instruction. Students' perspectives about reading resources may influence reading instruction through alternative interpretations about resources.

In order to investigate such research questions and hypotheses about them, attention must be given to describing how students define reading as an event and to describing how they perceive and use resources believed to be necessary for reading. In an effort to obtain such descriptions, I visited a second grade classroom, collected audio and video tapes of classroom interaction, and conducted a series of interviews with students and their teacher. I selected the grade level and classroom site for this research on the basis of my prior collaboration with the classroom teacher. The teacher and I carried out a series of pilot studies together over portions of two school years prior to the start of the present study.

Visits to the classroom occurred approximately two times a week from the beginning of the school year until the middle of the following February. I used topical and thematic analysis (Agar, 1980 and 1986), and social interaction analysis (e.g. Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1994 a, b) to analyze classroom data. I looked for what students indicated was necessary in order to accomplish what they described as reading instruction in their classroom. I also described how students' perspectives about reading resources in turn influenced their participation in reading lessons.

Definitions of Key Terms

Reading resources are defined as tools such as printed materials and mental and social means which students make use of as they read and write.

Resources for reading may include: material objects, verbal and non-verbal ways of communicating, dress, space, time and so forth which are used by teachers and students to carry on reading instruction.

Students' understandings or perspectives about reading resources are defined as what students grasp/conceive/ know-how-to-do in order to participate in reading instruction. Students' perspectives about reading resources may be reflected in their oral or written responses to printed texts, as well as in their interactions with other people. Students' perspectives about reading resources reflect: 1) what students believe about how to do reading and 2) what students believe they have learned about reading. First, students' perspectives lead to actions with resources. What students know about reading is reflected in the actions they take with reading resources. Second, what students have learned about reading is reflected in how they value resources. That is, students give value or priority to particular resources used in particular ways in order to participate in reading instruction. For example, basal readers may be valued in a particular classroom as the printed material which readers will use. In other words, as students learn about reading they learn to value the use of certain resources for reading.

Reading instruction in this study is defined as classroom activities and lessons which are planned by the teacher for the purpose of addressing curricular plans for the teaching of reading. Reading instruction includes activities where the teacher leads students through a planned sequence of interactions. This way of defining reading instruction could include direct instruction, discussion groups around a printed text, as well as silent reading by individual students. What happens with mental, social, and intellectual tools during reading can be described in terms of what people do within the

context of a reading event. By "reading event", I mean a series of interactions and activities occurring in the classroom which students define as reading.

Significance of the Study

Investigating students' perspectives about reading resources is important for at least two reasons. First, it is important to consider how teachers' plans for the use of resources to teach reading are interpreted by students. Due to the influence of social, communicative contexts in classrooms, what teachers talk about may not be what students learn (Phinney, 1992). Questions may be asked about whether students share similar definitions and goals for the use of resources with one another and the teacher, what strategies and skills students use to make sense of resources for reading, and ways the use of resources are affected by social relationships.

Second, it is important to understand how the use of particular resources in particular ways teaches students how to be particular kinds of readers. What teachers plan for reading instruction is only part of the task of teaching reading. How teachers and students actually use basal readers, children's trade books, tape recordings of stories, phonics workbooks, literary classics, silent reading periods, student writing, discussion and other features of reading instruction also indicates to students how to do reading. Implicit within the use of resources are cultural expectations about who students and readers are and how reading instruction is done.

Limitations of the Study

Every student will not see reading resources in the same way. This is not so much a limitation of this study as it is a strength of readers which students, teachers and researchers will want to recognize. By understanding what readers do with reading resources, it becomes more likely that students will be encouraged to accomplish reading and writing tasks in school.

There are several limitations of this study. The observations of this study can be characterized as particular to the research site; however the observations can also be used to generate theoretical hypotheses for understanding how reading lessons are conceived by children.

Another limitation is that the time for data collection is roughly 2/3 of the school year. The data collection leaves out students' developing perspectives for reading instruction during the last three months of the school year.

Other limitations result from 1) the types of data analysis employed and 2) my role as a researcher and classroom aide. For example, my analysis of students' interviews is affected by how students perceived my role in the classroom and the answers they gave because they perceived my role in certain ways. Students may have provided me with information about reading which reflects the "proper" or "appropriate" replies about reading which students perceive they would be expected to give to an adult in a classroom setting. Details about my role and types of data analysis are discussed in chapter three.

Endnote:

¹ Texts are defined here as communication about experience. That is, texts are said to represent experience. This definition is based upon definitions proposed by Bloome and Egan Robertson (1993), and Halliday (1989). Fairclough (1992) proposes a similar definition for texts. He considers texts as spoken, written or visual instances of language use. Texts are constructed through some mode of communication which people use to represent experience in some context. The process of text construction occurs as people act and react to one another. "These actions may add to or transform the text of (an) event. (Participants') interpretations and actions shape a text and are shaped by the texts being constructed" (Floriani, 1993, p.245).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

A review conducted in March of 1995 of ERIC documents by using the phrase "reading resources" reveals four principal ways that the phrase is referred to in educational literature. Reading resources are typically considered as: printed reference materials about a topic, libraries or other locations of collections of materials which serve as resource centers, teacher training program materials, and teaching specialists for reading and staff development.

In this chapter, I look at reading resources from a different viewpoint. Following the definition for reading resources posed in chapter one, I consider reading resources as the material, social, and intellectual tools students use to engage in reading. Although a focus on resources as tools is a different way to look at reading and reading resources than is usually taken by reading researchers, it highlights readers as people making use of various resources in order to engage in activities labeled as reading.

The way I will look at resources incorporates theoretical constructs from ethnography of communication, social interaction theory, and from social semiotics. The constructs emphasize that how resources get used and what people think about various resources cannot be understood without understanding the social contexts of reading events.¹

This chapter reviews four bodies of related literature: 1) research which presents students' perspectives as resources for educators; 2) research which presents modes of communication as resources; 3) theoretical models which discuss resources for making meaning; and 4) research which

explores how students' perspectives about language and identity might be established, maintained, and reproduced through resources. Research which presents a rationale for studying students' perspectives about classroom life is divided into two sections. The first section discusses studies which have investigated students' perspectives about classroom contexts and teachers' philosophies of education. The second section includes studies which investigated students' perspectives about specific classroom events related to reading instruction. This collection of studies is included in order to discuss how students' perspectives about instruction serve as resources for teachers in order to evaluate teaching practices.

The second main body of literature related to this study is included to discuss how students' perspectives may be communicated through various resources in educational settings. This body of research is divided into five sections in order to present a theoretical framework for exploring how students use resources to communicate their perspectives to other people. The first section is used to review constructs basic to ethnography of communication as a means for investigating classroom communication. The second section presents an overview of ways that teachers and students may use working consensus to establish ways that they will use resources in classroom communication. The third section proposes a model for explaining how meaning is assigned to forms/symbols which people use to communicate. This body of knowledge is included in order to discuss how forms/symbols act as resources or tools which students and teachers use to communicate. A fourth section presents a strategy for looking at teacher and student communication based on constructs from ethnography of communication and ideas about how working consensus may be established. The fifth section

presents a rationale for looking at classroom communication as expressions of students' culture in school.

The fourth main body of related literature presents an overview of constructs helpful to understanding reading as social interaction and cultural practice. This body of literature is included in order to look at how students' perspectives about resources for reading might be established, maintained, and reproduced over time. This area of literature is divided into two main sections. The first section presents basic constructs of social interaction theory in order to look at how students' perspectives are established through participation in classroom interaction. The second section discusses ideas about reading as a cultural practice in order to think about how students' perspectives about reading resources may be maintained and reproduced. This body of literature is included in order to discuss how classroom interactions establish acceptable, appropriate behaviors which serve as resources for students and teachers in educational settings.

Together, these four bodies of related literature present a picture of reading resources as tools which students use to construct common language and common identities about who readers are and what readers do. The resources which students draw from serve as ways that students define what reading is and what readers do.

Research That Investigates Students' Perspectives About Classroom Instruction

There is an expanding body of research which investigates perspectives of people who have an interest in what occurs in education settings. Researchers have investigated perspectives of students, parents, teachers, and administrators in order to understand teaching and learning. At

the risk of over-simplifying the research, I have considered literature about students' perspectives about educational settings in terms of two broad categories: a) studies which focus on elementary school students' perspectives about classroom instruction in general; and b) studies which focus on students' perspectives about reading in particular. The next section discusses research which has focused on students' perspectives about education settings in general.

A series of research studies has explored students' perspectives about a variety of classroom activities and education settings. For example, a recent study by Sesko (1993) explored the uses and meaning of computers for gifted children. Students indicated that they had learned to use computers outside of school. In addition, students also reported that they used computers for a variety of purposes. Other researchers have explored students' identification of motivating experiences for literacy learning (Oldfather, 1993); students' perspectives about what is necessary for a literate classroom environment (Burkey, 1993); young children's perspectives about transition first grade placement (Meyer, 1992); and the teacher's role in writing instruction (Parsons, 1992). Oldfather (1993) observed that students in her longitudinal study liked having a choice in the literacy activities they were engaged in. Burkey (1993) noted that students were excited and able to engage in research about their literacy practices. Meyer (1992) observed that students in her study displayed negative perspectives about first grade transition placements. Students in her study perceived differences between transition and regular first grade work and play. Students perceived that transition placements meant teasing by peers over long periods of time, changes in friendships for the worse, and emotional difficulties.

Parsons (1992) investigated perceived effects of the Wisconsin Writing Project on how students and teachers understood the teachers' roles during writing instruction. Her study evaluated effectiveness of the writing project for teachers' professional development.

Taken together, these studies about students' perspectives offer immediate implications for teachers and school administrators. One principal implication is that students' perspectives about classroom activities represent tools or resources which will aid educators in planning curriculum and instruction. Conceiving of students' perspectives as a kind of resource which teachers could draw from to plan instruction represents a different viewpoint about resources, compared to the ways educational literature has customarily portrayed resources. The studies described in this section begin to indicate that a definition of resources must be broadened to include not only materials, locations of materials, and teaching specialists, but also students' perspectives about instruction. Methods for discerning students' perspectives in these studies were: participant observation of education settings, recording of interviews, collection of questionnaires, and examination of written artifacts.

A second group of studies explore students' perspectives about reading instruction in particular. These studies explore: reading skills and strategies (Eldridge, 1982); literacy instruction and curricular philosophy (Hughes, 1992); concepts of story and fiction (Demchuk, 1993); remedial reading instruction (Larson, 1993); book sharing circles (Samway, 1991; Smith, 1993); and students' ideas about their learning and reading processes (Davenport, 1993).

The study by Eldridge (1982) investigated differences in students' perspectives between students who applied reading skills in order to participate in group reading discussions, students who applied reading skills,

but could not describe the skills, and students who did not apply the skills and did not describe them either. One of Eldridge's conclusions was that students should be considered as individuals instead of as a homogenous group for classroom instruction.

Hughes (1992) noted that students perceived differences about literacy activities in a whole language classroom. Her study made use of photographs and students' narratives about the photos in order to gain insights into students' perceptions about the literacy activities in their classroom. The students' insights helped to evaluate the consistency of literacy activities in the classroom with basic constructs of whole language philosophy.

Demchuk (1992) investigated Eastern Arctic students' attitudes towards reading and writing in general and to fiction in particular. Students' perceptions were compared with definitions of "fiction" and "story" available in Western, Native, and Inuit literature.

Larson (1993) worked with perspectives of students and their teacher about remedial reading instruction. Her study documents how the teacher was able to make changes in teaching practices and how students' perspectives were incorporated in order to evaluate the changes.

Two studies reviewed investigated students' perspectives about book sharing circles (Samway, 1991; Smith, 1993). The study by Samway (1991) looked at students' perspectives about themselves as readers. Smith (1993) looked at students' responses during a literature study group. Her study also focused on ways that the teacher responded to the students' perspectives about a book they read together.

Davenport (1993) investigated students' ideas about their learning and reading processes. Her study looked at sixth grade students as they read aloud from social studies texts. Observations from her study noted that students

showed how aware they were of their activities as learners, of the content of the texts, and of the processes they used to read the texts. Her study made use of miscue analysis (Goodman, Watson, and Burke, 1987) in addition to students' reports in order to talk about students' perspectives.

These studies have proposed that the investigation of students' perspectives makes a worthwhile contribution to reading research. These studies also used similar methods compared with those used in the first group of studies in order to ascertain students' perspectives. Again, students' perspectives about reading serve as resources or tools which educators can draw from in order to plan and evaluate instruction. Again, this second group of studies can be interpreted as suggesting that students' perspectives contribute to a broader definition about resources for reading. When students' perspectives are considered as resources or tools for teachers and students to use in order to evaluate and plan for reading instruction, questions may be asked about whether students' perspectives represent a homogenous resource or whether students' perspectives represent the influences of various resources. It is instructive to note how various researchers have incorporated students' perspectives to examine reading and writing in schools.

In some cases, students' perspectives are used as resources to evaluate teaching philosophy and the activities which teachers choose (e.g. Hughes, 1992; Larson, 1993). Other studies make use of students' perspectives as resources or tools to describe and evaluate what students understand about genres of classroom reading (Demchuk, 1992; Smith, 1993). Still other studies incorporate students' perspectives as resources or tools for evaluating what students understand about themselves as readers and what readers do (Davenport, 1993; Eldridge, 1982; Samway, 1991).

What these studies begin to suggest is that students' perspectives can be used as resources to describe various facets of the complex of activities which represent classroom reading instruction. Facets of reading instruction suggested by these studies include: students' conceptions about themselves as readers, students' understandings about genres of reading, and students' understandings about teaching philosophy for reading instruction. An implication from the research is that it is not enough for educators to be concerned about reading skills and strategies. Instead, the ways that students' perspectives have been used to evaluate reading instruction points to the complex field of activities which makes up reading instruction in elementary classrooms in the United States. In other words, students and teachers draw from various resources including printed texts, sounds and letters, as well as students' and teachers' perspectives about what reading is about and what readers are like in order to engage in classroom reading instruction.

A second implication of the research is that reading researchers must acknowledge that reading research is a complex endeavor because it does not only concern material objects like books, or visual or auditory images. Instead, students' perspectives about reading instruction indicate that reading research must contend with what students believe about reading and what readers do.

Meyer (1992) explains that eliciting students' perspectives about education settings is important for at least four reasons: 1) exploring students' perspectives provides opportunity to add another dimension to what adults understand about classroom life; 2) students appear to organize an identifiable culture within institutions like schools; 3) students' perceptions of education events and interactions may diverge from adults' understandings; and 4) students establish, maintain, and alter their own

system of social relations within classrooms as well as across whole schools. These reasons provide ample justification for investigating students' perspectives about education settings, especially since the education is for the students' development. Consequently, it would seem that teachers, parents, and administrators would want to understand more about how students perceive what occurs in educational settings. This study also argues that students' perspectives about instruction can inform teaching theory and practice. However, this study differs in emphasis from those cited above because it investigates students' perceptions and values about the particular resources used in reading instruction instead of looking at what students perceive about the occurrence of various classroom events or the teaching philosophy behind those events.

Summary

Understanding the perspectives students have about instruction becomes a significant resource as teachers rely on student participation in order to do school. Teachers have adopted various practices in order to find out about students' perspectives about instruction (e.g. collect portfolios of student-selected reading and writing, use assessments such as miscue analysis which focus on what students bring to reading and writing, give class time to workshop formats which focus on students' interests in reading and writing, and so forth). If students' perspectives serve as resources for teachers, then attention must be paid to investigating how students' perspectives are formed. The following section presents literature which develops a theoretical framework for understanding how students' perspectives are formed.

Ethnography of Communication and Classroom Life

Introduction

Students and teachers establish working consensus about school life through communication of one type or another. Communication requires the use of various resources. In addition, students and teachers must know appropriate ways to use resources in order to be accepted as participants in classroom reading instruction. For example, the resources of speech and print are channels of linguistic communication used extensively by students and teachers in order to do school. In addition, students and teacher use other non-verbal, para-linguistic resources such as gesture, visual images, space, materials, furniture, dress, and so on to express their perspectives about the school day. Students' learning about the use of resources for reading does not exist in a vacuum, but is formed, maintained, and altered in the midst of on-going communicative interaction about how to use resources. In the following discussion, I examine a conceptual basis for how students' and teachers' perspectives are formed as they use various resources at their disposal.

Theoretical understandings about classroom communication represent a frame of reference for this study. My frame of reference interprets students' perspectives about reading instruction within the communicative actions and reactions of teachers and students. Ethnography of communication represents a theoretical vantage point for exploring classroom life (Carbaugh, 1994; Hymes, 1974). In addition, techniques from social interaction theory are incorporated to investigate specific classroom interactions of students and teachers (Green and Weade, 1987). Communication, however, also occurs within a broader cultural context (Zaharlick & Green, 1991). That is, a conception of culture provides a basis for

"understanding what is occurring and what might be explored" (Zaharlick and Green, 1991, p. 21). Consequently, it is important to consider what culture is and how culture comes to be. In terms of this study, a conception of culture is important because reading instruction is influenced by cultural expectations for who students are and what they are supposed to do in schools (Carbaugh, 1994; Street & Street, 1991). The question of a specific cultural perspective for this study is taken up later in this discussion. At this point, it is important to note that the bases of ethnography of communication, social interaction theory, and a conception of culture focus similar but distinguishable lenses on students' perspectives about reading instruction. An ethnography of communication lens focuses on the daily activities of students and teachers in order to situate reading instruction within a classroom community. Social interaction theory focuses on specific student and teacher interactions to explore the dynamics of reading instruction. Finally, a cultural lens focuses on students as persons participating (sometimes in prescribed ways for readers) in social groups within institutions (schools). Each of these bodies of literature is discussed more in detail below.

Ethnography of Communication

The ways that students and teachers act and react to one another give clues about what they believe is important and significant. Communication between students and teachers provides clues about how they perceive things. In terms of this study, communication between students and teachers can provide clues about how students perceive reading instruction. I assume that what is important and significant for students and teachers about reading instruction is part and parcel of their actions and reactions during the day. While what is communicated is not the total sum of what is perceived

about reading instruction, communication plays a major role as students articulate what they perceive about reading instruction.

Carbaugh (1994) explains that ethnography of communication presumes:

That everywhere there is communication, there is a system at work; that everywhere there is a communication system, there is cultural meaning and organization; and thus that the communication system is at least partly constitutive of sociocultural life (p.7).

In terms of communication as a system, Carbaugh goes on to explain that people communicate in patterned, systematic ways "with those patterns exhibiting order as part of social life" (p.8-9). Preferences for ways to communicate are part of a group's system of communication. The communication preferences which are made show how to be a member of a community. While there are patterned, systematic preferences for communication, parts of the system are always being challenged, modified, mocked, reinforced, and played with in ways that show people's desire to belong to groups as well as to project unique qualities of their identity (Solsken, 1993).

Communication also reflects cultural meaning and organization. To understand meanings of classroom participants for what is important and significant is the interpretive goal of the researcher. The working of communication as part of the social life of community, in social relations, institutions and so on reflects what participants believe to be important and meaningful (Carbaugh, 1994). A limitation of an ethnography of communication is that communicative practices are not the sum total of classroom life. Carbaugh (1994) notes that:

patterns of actual use never exhaust the potential of any communication system, nor do they say all there is to say about the various processes of social life. Nor do they construct, literally, the raw physical materials of living (although they do create a shared sense of such physical materials). Thus communication is constitutive of part of social life (p.17).

In terms of classroom life, the previous discussion suggests two ideas about classroom life which are important for this study. First, the communicative practices of students and teachers are systematic, patterned, and negotiated ways of acting and reacting. Second, the communicative practices of students and teachers reflect what is meaningful and how relationships with people, objects, and events are organized by the classroom community. In both cases, students and teachers rely on working consensus to be established as they interact with one another from day to day. A working consensus is defined by accepted communication practices and by what is considered important and significant in classroom communities.

Working Consensus Establishes Ways to Use Resources

Tacit understandings (Altheide & Johnson, 1994) about gestures, photos, spoken words, print and so on form a working consensus for understanding classroom life in similar ways and pave the way for interpersonal communication to occur. A lack of working consensus or common ground for understanding leads to breakdowns in communication in classrooms and points to the work which a speaker or writer has to do in order to link his or her perceptions with those of the hearer or reader. In order to establish a working consensus, students and teachers rely on common sets of interpretants for objects, events, and ideas. Speakers and interpreters both presuppose life experiences on the part of the other participant which are similar to their own.

Tierney (1987) explains five ways people use available resources in order to establish working consensus between speaker and listener/interpreter about what is meaningful. First, the ways people use meaning making resources do not represent just the intentions of the speaker nor just an idea about the object, idea or event which is referred to. Instead, the use of resources is the context and process of signification itself as a "shared interpretive activity based on a common set of codes" (Tierney, 1987, p. 234). The use of resources by people requires that they share certain ideas. In order for understanding to occur between speaker and listener, each person must share similar interpretations about what can represent or stand for: ideas, objects, people, and events.

Second, if the use of resources is a "shared interpretive activity", then resources are used in such a way as to carry the utterer's intended meanings and the interpreter's *at the same time*. That is, resources for making meaning are made to work simultaneously as co-texts for both speaker and interpreter. Thus, resources have the capacity to carry a speaker's intended meaning as well as meanings which are opposite. Resources would not have to carry identical meanings for utterer and interpreter in order to be used. For example, while utterer and interpreter could share common ways to interpret an event, their shared code "can at the same time create, integrate, and impose interpretations of (symbols/forms) which a (speaker) did not intend" (Tierney, 1987, p.234). The use of meaning making resources is "susceptible... to oppositional readings, even under circumstances where the behavior has been carefully presented to provide distinct meanings" (Tierney, 1987, p.235). Forms/symbols used to represent uses for resources are accessible to individual participants and are applied by them during particular occasions (Carbaugh, 1994). In other words, people challenge, play with, modify,

reinforce, and mock ways that other people propose to understand the world about them (Solsken, 1993).

Third, meanings for resources cannot be understood apart from the history of social units in which they are embedded. Groups over time develop the use of particular resources for accomplishing work and play and for managing social relations. Ideas about what is significant and important are grounded in the history of the community (Carbaugh, 1994).

Fourth, within groups, individuals (by virtue of their contact with other groups) negotiate working consensus or common grounds with other participants about ways to interpret available resources. Working consensus implies a common ground between participants in an activity. Johansen (1993) defines working consensus to include experiences, and sets of signifiers for objects, events, and ideas which each participant assumes are shared by others.

Fifth, making visible patterned, habitual uses of resources, or semiotic formations (Lemke, 1987) is important for understanding how people develop knowledge and attitudes about literacy. People use particular resources to represent meanings over time and distance. Reading and writing are two common activities in many cultures for making meanings from the resources of print and illustrations. In classrooms of the United States, printed texts and illustrations in the form of books are habitual, patterned formations of meaningful resources which teachers and students use to carry out reading lessons.

Through the preceding paragraphs about how working consensus is established, certain assumptions have been made about how symbols/forms serve as social, intellectual, and material resources in communicative activity. If resources are tools which people use as they communicate, then

certain perspectives about the resources must be shared and agreed upon. However, the preceding paragraphs also noted that people could hold opposing perspectives about the use of resources. Various symbols/forms which people use to communicate about resources may appear to share similar meanings. However, symbols/forms are also susceptible to multiple meanings because people interpret and apply them in various social situations. At this point, questions need to be asked about how symbols/forms are defined for the purposes of this dissertation. The following section describes a definition for symbols/forms which is congruent with the notion that resources are able to carry opposing meanings simultaneously.

Two principal theories have been proposed for describing how symbols or signs work. The word *signs* will be used for the remainder of this section to represent symbols and symbolic forms. One perspective emphasizes signs as formal, stable, arbitrary connections between objects and the ways those objects can be represented. This perspective is labeled as "*signs without worlds*" (Johansen, 1993, p. 52) . A second perspective clearly points to signs being used to negotiate, to contest, and to transform the ways objects, events, and ideas are represented by people as they interact. I have labeled this perspective as *signs informing worlds*. The next section describes a formal perspective for how people make meaning with signs.

A Formal Perspective Defined

While some writers (Greimas & Courtes, 1979, 1985) emphasize that signs are used in human society, their theory assumes that signs are arbitrary connections between forms of expression like speech and forms of content like ideas. These writers propose that signs can be studied apart from the social context in which they occur. For example, Saussure (1985) noted that the main concern of a study of signs in society:

(would be) grounded on the arbitrariness of the sign. In fact, every means of expression used in society is based, in principle, on collective behavior or-what amounts to the same thing-on convention.... Signs that are wholly arbitrary realize better than the others (other modes of expression like gesture) the ideal of the semiological process (p.38).

Formal semiotic perspectives study the sign as a stable, arbitrary relationship of content and form.

The formal perspective is described by Johansen (1993) as "signs without worlds" (p.52). Here the sign has been stripped of its varied contacts with the people, objects, events, and ideas which influence its form and expression.

A formal, or structural semiotic perspective defines signs in terms of a series of two-way relations. The study of signs, or semiotics, is viewed as a study of "a hierarchy, any of whose components admits of a further analysis into classes defined by mutual relation" (Nöth, 1990, p.66). In Figure 1 below, a sign is conceived as a two-sided relationship.

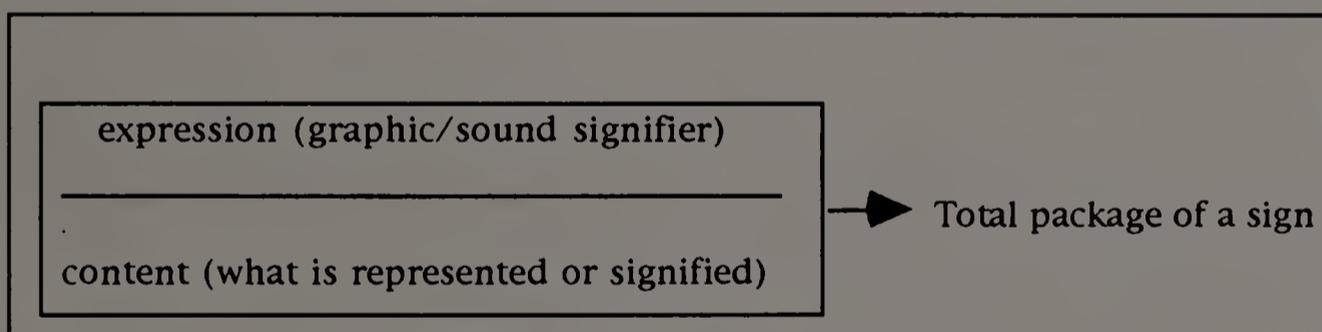


Figure 1. A Formal Conception of How Signs Represent

The object, event, or idea which the sign refers to is excluded in order to examine the psychological effects of imprinting sounds or visual images (Nöth, 1990). In order to carry out an examination of the psychological effects of signs on individuals, the sign package of concept and image is

continuously divided to search for constituent elements in order to locate the indivisible, root elements which are assumed to make up the sign itself.

Formal sign theory locates signs at the intersection of expressive aspects of production (graphic/sound images) and content aspects (what is represented). Furthermore, a sign is located amidst a series of binary oppositions. Johansen (1993) notes several oppositions which characterize structuralist views of sign systems: outer vs. inner, individual vs. social, substance vs. form, positive vs. negative, coordinated activity (syntagmatic) vs. associative activity (paradigmatic), active vs. passive, executive vs. receptive, speech (use) vs. language (system). Ellis (1991) comments that such dichotomies helped to advance formal views of signs in order to explore phonetics and to describe phonemes as an elementary sound unit of language. However, he notes that problems have arisen with "the whole-sale adoption of structuralist thinking to other social practices" (p.215) and questions whether the methodology for investigation, that is, subdividing signs, can be exported to form a theory of language.

A Social Perspective Defined

Lemke (1987) characterizes a social semiotic perspective by explaining,

In social semiotics it is not signs *per se* that are of interest, but signifying practices, the social process of semiosis itself. Social semiotics asks first what meanings people make, and proceeds from there to an analysis of the system of signs used to make them....Social semiotics builds upon formal semiotics, which describes semiotic resource systems (the types and relations of socially significant signs). But in a larger sense social semiotics is itself the context for formal semiotics, since we cannot study meaning relations among signs apart from seeing how they are used in some community (p.217-218).

In order to look at processes which people use to make meaning, it is necessary to look at a different conception for how signs work. Ideas about

signs proposed by Peirce (1985) direct attention to how people represent other people, objects, events, and ideas.

Peirce considered a replica (also known as a representamen or type of an object, event, or idea) as:

something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign....The sign stands for something, its object, not in all respects, but in reference to sort of an idea" (Peirce, 1985, p.5).

In view of Peirce's emphasis that signs address other people, I have considered it appropriate to consider his definition of sign as foundational for social semiotics.

While Peirce connects forms with sounds or graphic shapes, his model differs from that proposed by Saussure because "(Peirce) includes the object (that to which the sign refers) in his concept... and he connects form to communication" (Johansen, p.59, 1993). Instead of conceiving the sign as a package between forms of expression and content, the sign is conceived as a meaning-making process. Peirce's notion of the sign appears in Figure 2.

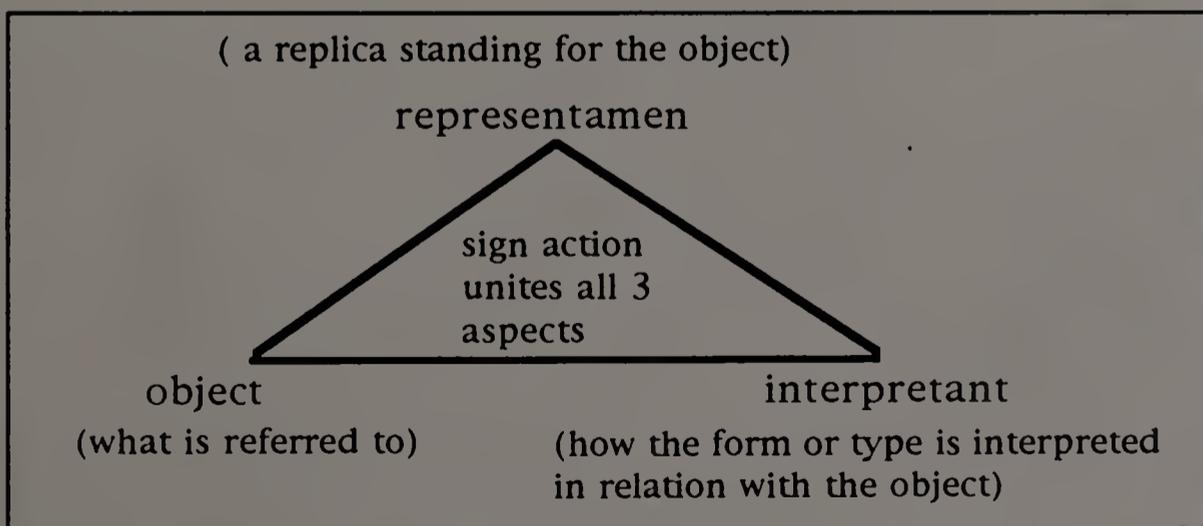


Figure 2. A Social Conception of How Signs Represent

For Peirce, signs do not exist as idealized psychological imprints, but as dynamic interpretations of people, objects, events, and ideas. Signs exist only because they represent something to someone. What appears as a word or idea common to large groups of people may in fact be understood in a various ways. The diagram above indicates an indefinite series of relationships for constructing meaning. Signs are considered as transient communicative activities because of the variety of ways people may link (1) what is referred to (what is signified), (2) what will be used as a reference (possible signifiers), and (3) how the combination of signifier and signified will be interpreted (an interpretant). Thus, particular combinations for what is signified and what signifiers are appropriate are interpreted by particular people in particular situations at particular times. Building on a Peircean model, other writers have discussed the role of metaphor and ways people interpret signs (Eco, 1985; Johansen, 1993; Morris, 1985). In any case, these writers build upon Peirce's role of the interpretant.

In terms of social semiotic perspectives, the sign is located in the midst of communicative activity. The sign is in the midst of activity connecting objects in the external domain with consciousness of them in the interior domain. (Halliday, 1993). In other words, the sign is other-oriented (Johansen, 1993); it addresses others.

Summary of the Formal and the Social Perspectives

The contrasting definitions of signs proposed by Saussure and Peirce lead to varied conceptions of what constitutes a sign. Signs have been considered as autonomous packages with supposedly stable attributes and qualities (the formal semiotic perspective) or as meaning-making processes (the social semiotic perspective).

The formal position assumes that a sign is an exclusive structure with specific attributes (like a system of grammatical elements). This position assumes that it is possible to isolate elements for scrutiny. A formal semiotic perspective assumes the possibility of isolating elements of expression and form in order to understand the nature of signs, uncluttered by communicative activity.

On the other hand, a social semiotic perspective of signs assumes that the nature of signs is less than stable. Instead signs are conceived as processes for communicating meaning. Every attempt to go below the level of signs to foundational elements only involves the use of other signs (more semiotic activity)(Johansen, 1993). Signs lead to signs with no end in sight.

The development of formal semiotic perspectives under Saussure has influenced semiotic theorizing in two major ways (Nöth, 1990). First, formal semiotics elevates linguistics as the chief means of exploring questions about meaning, and second, Saussure's writing has "drawn attention to the necessity of studying signs within systems. His ideas in this respect have had a decisive influence in the development of the semiotic theory of codes" (Nöth, 1990, p.63).

The advantages of such ideas have come with a cost. By repressing the notion that signs take on nuances of value during social situations, and by attempting to cut the sign away from the object it represents, the sign (if it can be said to still exist) has been rendered lifeless. Ellis (1991) writes,

The meaning of a text is not only an internal matter: it is equally a function of the text's relationship to other systems of meaning, such as cultural norms, other texts, interpersonal relationships, and historical traditions. If consciousness and intentional behavior are in any sense inseparable from how we actually use language, then it is strange to assume that shutting them out helps us understand the meaning of a discourse (p.216).

On the other hand, the model for signs proposed by Peirce emphasizes the activity of a speaker using signs to address others and to represent objects, events, and ideas. Nöth (1991) indicates that, "While many have followed (the dyadic tradition of Saussure's sign model), some have argued that the triadic model proposed by Peirce is superior for the solution of semiotic problems" (p.62).

The ways people use mental, social, and intellectual resources to share meanings as well as to oppose what others mean through symbols/forms which appear to be similar is a kind of semiotic problem which Peirce's model helps to address. This model helps to explain how symbols/forms which people use to communicate about the use of resources can carry opposing meanings at the same time. This is possible because symbols/forms are conceived as processes of interpretation rather than structures which carry a specific meaning. Thus, Peirce's model helps to explain how people construct working consensus to establish what resources are and how they can be used during students' and teachers' interactions. From a social semiotic perspective symbols/forms, or signs, are people, objects, events, or ideas which represent something to someone. Carbaugh (1994) offers a similar definition by proposing that symbols/forms be defined as the basic linguistic or non-linguistic resources or vehicles for expressing messages "which hold force somewhere, whether these are verbal, non-verbal, or visual" (p.33) within a social unit of analysis (e.g. a classroom community). The following section describes how students' and teachers' communicative activity with resources could be described in detail.

A Descriptive Strategy

Ethnographies of communication are used to generate two kinds of claims (Carbaugh, 1994). Making the first claim involves describing

communicative practices and interpreting what the practice means to the participants. A second related claim is that descriptions of communicative practices may be compared in order to build "general principles, dimensions, or standards of communication that operate across cultural practices" (Carbaugh, 1994, p.20). The data analysis for this study will be used primarily to focus on the first claim; that of describing teacher's and students' communicative practices about reading instruction and interpreting what resources for reading instruction mean to students in particular.

In order to describe teachers' and students' communicative practices, the classroom is considered as a social unit made up of a series of relationships. Social units are described (Hymes, 1972, Carbaugh, 1994) in terms of: speech communities, speech situations and communicative events, and acts or styles of speaking.

Hymes (1974) notes two "characteristics that an adequate description of social units must have,

First, It must have appropriate field of view, that is, it must investigate directly the use of language in contexts of situation, so as to discern patterns proper to speech activity, patterns that escape separate studies of grammar, of personality, of social structure, religion and the like, each abstracting from the patterning of speech activity into some other frame of reference (p.3-4).

Second, it must have appropriate basis, that is,

One cannot take linguistic form, a given code, or even speech itself, as a limiting frame of reference. One must take as context a community, or network of persons, investigating its communicative activities as a whole, so that any use of channel and code take its place as part of the resources upon which members draw... It is not linguistics, but ethnography, not language, but communication, which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be assessed (p.4).

Making use of the twin concepts of field of view (looking at the patterns of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in situations) and basis (the working of a community's communication network) provides a foundation for investigation of classroom life. Thus what students and teachers do as they interact is considered as the unit of analysis (McDermott & Hood, 1982).

Despite the biases in how we have all learned to talk about psychological events, the individual is not the unit of analysis. The person is but a moment in a relationship. The proper unit of analysis for what people do together is what people do together...Ideas and skills are not fruitfully analyzed as the properties of individuals. What we intuitively recognize as psychological skills are best approached as particular kinds of behavioral displays that both mark and constitute certain contexts in the development of social situations (McDermott and Hood, 1982, p. 240, 241).

What people do together is to engage in habitual uses of meaning making resources (print, speech, gestures, dress, use of objects like furniture, use of space, use of images, drawings, music and so on) for making themselves understood. Groups of people over time form distinctive ways of reading, writing, speaking, and listening. In this way, common communicative practices are formed.

In order to gain understanding of the communication practices of a social unit, an observer must ask what understandings are brought to verbal and physical activity by speaker and hearer. Phillips (1983) explains that the ways activities are structured through talk or through physical activity by participants push the verbal and physical activity which occurs later on. In other words, the ways groups allocate "physical specializations" and "communicative skills and roles" sets patterns for how interpersonal activities take place (Phillips, 1983, p.44). In any communication situation,

participants act and react on the basis of their perceptions or meanings for what is taking place, who is involved, and the resources that are being used. What follows is a descriptive strategy for beginning to observe classroom communication. To observe classrooms as a social unit requires a look at: a variety of classroom situations, observation of the participants, various ends or goals of communication, various acts of communication, tones or manners of communication, channels of communication, norms for how to interpret and act with communication, and the types or genres of communication (Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1982).

In terms of this study, such a descriptive strategy can offer the following benefits (Carbaugh, 1994): first, it can be used to describe communication about reading resources in the classroom context; second, it can be used to interpret the participants' communicative practices with resources; and third, it can be used to explain relations among the participants. The observations about students' perspectives about resources for reading could also be used for comparisons with other studies concerned with what is meaningful or significant for students reading in classrooms.

Classrooms as Culture

The discussion above of classroom communication as patterned system of cultural meanings and organization also requires that some consideration be given to what is a classroom culture. A number of definitions of culture have been proposed in recent decades. The following discussion of cultural perspectives relies on a framework proposed by Bloome (1991).

In terms of an investigation of students' understandings of reading instruction, a functional perspective of culture would focus on the roles or functions of students in a reading lesson; a structural perspective of culture would focus on how opposing social concerns (say, submission and

dominance) form and mold students' perspectives of a reading lesson; a psychological anthropological perspective would focus on relations between students as individuals and the classroom culture; a cognitive anthropological perspective would focus on students' shared standards for acting and reacting during reading lessons; a symbolic interactionist perspective would focus on what students believed to be important and significant for reading lessons; and finally a linguistic perspective would focus on relationships students formed between language and culture. While the roles of participants, underlying themes which may be at work, relationships which individual students establish within the class culture, and students' shared standards are all of some importance to a study of students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction, the primary definition of culture which will inform this study is a combination of the symbolic interactionist and the linguistic perspectives. The focus of this study is less directed at understanding functions, structures, psychological moments, or shared decisions, and more directed at what students are saying is significant about reading instruction and relationships between their use of symbolic resources such as language and their classroom culture.

In terms of the proposed study, such a combination of the symbolic interactionist and linguistic cultural perspectives would require that a description be made of how students communicate about reading instruction. Particular facets of classroom communicative interactions would receive attention. Carbaugh (1994) explains these facets or ingredients as: "symbols, symbolic forms, their patterned use and interpretations" (p.33). The patterned use of symbols/forms is defined as "the shape of symbols and symbolic forms and the ways these are employed on particular occasions by participants" (p.33). Finally, the facet of interpretation refers to "the mutually intelligible

beliefs or premises, and values that are widely accessible to participants, deeply felt by them, and thus are associated with these expressions on particular occasions" (p. 33).

Such a cultural description would examine symbols/forms related to students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction by exploring five ways symbols/forms could be used in students' communicative activity. These uses are: 1) how messages about the resources of reading instruction do function in students' communication, 2) what symbols or forms about reading instruction are like or unlike by comparison with other classroom activities, 3) on what occasions and for what purposes symbols and forms are used related to students' perspectives about reading instruction, 4) what limits are placed on symbols and forms which students use to communicate their perspectives about reading instruction, and 5) what ideologies are supported by the use of symbolic forms which students use to refer to reading instruction (Carbaugh, 1994).

Summary

The previous section presented a theoretical framework for considering how students' perspectives may be communicated to other people. This discussion is important for this study because it means that exploring students' communicative practices is: 1) a significant means for investigating students' perspectives about the use of resources, and 2) shows how students' communicative practices serve as resources or tools which students use in order to participate in classroom instruction. By describing students' communicative practices during reading events, clues may be found concerning students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction. The following section describes how students' and teachers' interactions over time could establish common language and identities for students in general

and readers in particular. That is, the demands and expectations placed upon students and teachers as they interact could also serve as resources or tools for participating in classroom instruction.

Classroom Interactions of Students and Teachers

Ethnography of communication supported by a social semiotic view for how people make meaning offers a foundation for considering a fourth major body of related literature for this study: that of a "social interaction" view of classroom conversations outlined by Green and Weade, (1987). This literature is discussed below.

Social interaction theory investigates students' perspectives of instruction in terms of what demands are placed upon participants in order to take part in the life of the classroom. Researchers working with social interaction theory (e.g. Bloome, Puro, & Theodorou, 1989; Floriani, 1994; Gilmore, 1987; Green & Weade, 1987; Heras, 1994; Solsken, 1993)

seek to understand the social and academic demands for participation and learning from the perspective of the participants (i.e. the teacher and the students).... (they seek) to understand what members of a classroom need to know, understand, produce, predict, and evaluate in order to participate appropriately and gain access to learning (Green & Weade, 1987, p.4)

Research about the social and academic demands for classroom participation indicates a social and cultural context which surrounds and influences what students do in classrooms. This context includes students' and teachers' perspectives about classroom interactions and it includes underlying influences of resources such as language, materials, parents' values, societal patterns of literacy practices in relation to gender and work roles, and ideas about learning.

When interpersonal and intrapersonal contexts are considered, classroom instruction is conceived as less a neutral transfer of information from teacher to student, and more as a meeting ground for the understandings of students, teachers, parents, curricular philosophy, and resources for making meaning as they are affected by social roles and communication. In terms of social interaction theory, teachers' and students' interactions establish a common language and common identities between participants for what students and teachers are like, for what teachers and students can do and for how teachers and students interpret and represent what can be known and learned (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1994 a, b).

Classroom instruction is affected by the perspectives proposed, established, and transformed as students and teachers interact. For example, students and teachers take action as they propose interpretations for what print can mean as well as what lessons can be about and for what lessons should look like. Students propose, negotiate, contest, and transform links between instruction they have experienced in the past and lessons they participate in today. That is, students and teachers work together in order to display what lessons should be about and how they should proceed (Bloome, Puro, & Theodorou, 1989). A social context for reading and for reading instruction means that reading is a group activity. Reading is situated in the procedures which students and teachers take with resources for reading. Reading is not just what goes on in the mind of an individual (Heap, 1991). The social context around instruction has enormous influence upon what happens in classrooms in general and reading instruction in particular.

Green and Weade (1987) note three foundational constructs which form the basis for a social interactional perspective of classroom interaction. These

are: first, classrooms are particular communicative situations requiring decisions from students and teachers, second, classroom communication includes managing multiple contexts, and third, students and teachers must make inferences in order to participate in classroom conversations. These constructs support the microanalysis of classroom interaction in this study. Each of these constructs is briefly discussed below in terms of reading instruction.

Reading lessons represent a particular communicative situation in classrooms which require a series of decisions by students and teacher for how they will participate. Decisions about participation in reading lessons require students and teachers to adapt to shifting rights and obligations brought about by the pacing of activities within a communicative event. For example, a reading lesson event could be constructed of several related activities or tasks: finding a book to read, identifying a character, drawing the plot of a story, completing a workbook page and so on. The actions and reactions of students and teachers as they decide to engage or not in the activities of a reading lesson form the lesson as it is realized. Lessons are viewed as dynamic constructions instead of planned, scripted roles or parts to play. Both students and teachers make decisions about "what is occurring and how it is occurring, if they are to participate appropriately" (Green and Weade, 1987, p.6).

A second basic construct forming a social interaction view of classroom communication describes how students and teachers participate in varied contexts. Classroom lessons include an academic context (content themes and tasks for reading instruction), a social context (who can speak, why, and how during reading lessons), and an activity context (what is supposed to happen now in the lesson). Students and teachers must negotiate what the lesson is

about (academic contexts), who will take part and how they will participate (social contexts), and how the lesson will proceed (activity contexts).

Within the framework of three kinds of contexts, students and teachers find that contexts can overlap, be modified by changes in participants or tasks, and incorporate more than one event or series of activities. For example, students' contexts overlap as they meet the demands of their peers' interaction as well as teachers' task demands. Contexts can be modified when teachers or students are interrupted by another participant, whether this is a teacher from next door, or a student, parent, administrator entering the conversation. Contexts incorporate more than one event when participants' norms for communication in one event extend into other events to form the context for entire days or longer periods of time (Floriani, 1994).

A third basic construct which informs a social interaction view of classroom communication requires the use of inferences. Participants in classroom interactions (e.g. reading instruction) make inferences from a variety of verbal and non-verbal clues displayed by other people in order to understand what interactions mean. Examples of clues are: 1) paralinguistic clues (voice pitch, stress, intonation, pause, rhythm); 2) proxemic/nonverbal clues (distance between participants); 3) kinesic/nonverbal clues (body and facial gestures); and 4) verbal clues (the syntax, semantics, and phonology of utterances).

In addition to clues of inference which participants "read" during a lesson, there are a variety of frames of reference which are brought to lessons or which develop from a number of lessons over time. Each participant brings certain expectations and ideas from past lessons for taking part in classroom events and for using materials. In addition, each classroom event is characterized by a developing frame of reference for how to use

academic content, for how to participate socially in the lesson, and for what to expect in future class events of a certain type.

Some frames are brought to the activity by participants: personal frames and materials frames. Some are constructed during the lesson: academic frame, social frame, local frame; and some are developed over time: historical frames or frames from previous lessons (Green and Weade, 1987, p. 10).

Summary

The constructs of social interaction theory illustrate the dynamics and mutual influence of students' and teachers' actions and reactions upon people, events and the construction of knowledge in education settings. The constructs of: classrooms as places of communicative decisions by students and teachers, of varied contexts, and of inferences and reference points, offer definition for data analysis focused on understanding the dynamics of classroom interaction. Analysis of classroom interaction from a social interaction perspective seeks to make visible how children and young people learn about who readers are and what reading lessons are like.

As students and teachers use resources for reading instruction at their disposal, they also establish working consensus through various channels of communication for how to use the resources. In addition to verbal language, students and teacher use other non-verbal, para-linguistic resources such as gesture, visual images, space, materials, furniture, dress, and so on to indicate how they will use resources for reading. Besides knowledge of possible ways to indicate what they mean, students and teachers must also know appropriate ways to use resources in order to be accepted as participants in classroom reading instruction. Consequently, what students learn about the use of resources for reading can not exist in isolation from social worlds. On the

contrary, students' learning is formed, maintained, and altered in the midst of on-going communicative interaction which always indicates how to use resources.

Reading Instruction as Cultural Practice

A body of literature which complements constructs from social interaction theory and ethnography of communication focuses attention on reading instruction as an example of a particular kind of cultural practice. To view reading lessons as a kind of cultural practice means that particular symbols and meanings (such as workbooks, alphabet strips, reading groups, and so on) are used to establish cultural structures by sending messages "about persons, societal life, and strategic action" (Carbaugh, 1994, p.36).

First, reading instruction sends messages to children and young people about what kinds of persons (students and readers) they are supposed to be and what kinds of actions they may take (Heras, 1994). Children and young people are given particular ideas about what students and readers do with resources even while they are involved with the dynamics of class interaction. While young people affect the course of lessons, they also find that the language of instruction values particular kinds of readers.

Second, reading instruction sends messages to children and young people about their social positions in terms of the use of these relations by institutions like schools. Schools as institutions send messages to students through the voices of teachers, official paperwork, and printed instructional texts in classrooms (Street and Street, 1991). These messages "position the subject, pin them to their seats, and locate them in a socially constructed and authoritatively constructed space" (p.156).

Third, reading instruction sends messages to children and young people about how to use certain communicative actions such as: completing a

workbook page, giving a book report, engaging in classroom discussions about books, talking about characters in order to participate in reading instruction. Teachers' procedures for organizing communicative activity form a major part of classroom talk. While these procedures (what we're doing now, what we'll do next, what kind of talking to do) help the teacher conduct a class of students through the day, the procedures also:

help define what literacy is: they define the organization of texts, papers, and reading and writing materials as the organization of cultural time and space. While they appear to be teaching strategies, they in fact set the boundaries of literacy itself and assert its place within a culturally defined authority structure. The teacher has the authority to bound time and space for the students and this authority reinforces her control over the definition and bounding of literacy practices (Street and Street, 1991, p.158).

The ways resources are used thus define how children participate in reading instruction and by implication also affect how children learn to use reading and writing as literacy practices.

Examples from a recent study by Solsken (1993) show the influence of a broader social and societal context for students' literacy activities. Her work indicates the influence of gender relations and work or play habits with language upon children's identities and practices with reading and writing. Through a series of narrative sketches and reviews of literature, she shows how a student's gender role and perceptions about reading and writing as work or play are related to the ways that adults handle literacy events with the child.

Summary

What is significant for this study about cultural practices with reading instruction is that this literature provides a way to discuss how students' perspectives about reading instruction might be maintained and reproduced

from year to year throughout their schooling. This body of literature provides background for investigating the more immediate context of students' and teachers' interactions with reading in education settings. In other words, an assumption made for this study is that students' perspectives about resources for reading are influenced by students' and teachers' actions and reactions which in turn reflect a broader social and societal context.

Chapter Summary

Students and teachers establish working consensus about how to use reading resources through various channels of communication. In addition to language, students and teacher use other non-verbal, para-linguistic resources such as gesture, visual images, space, materials, furniture, dress, and so on to express their perspectives about reading. Besides knowledge of possible channels and codes of communication students and teachers must also know appropriate ways to use resources in order to be accepted as participants in classroom reading instruction. Students' learning about the use of resources for reading does not exist in isolation from social worlds, but is formed, maintained, and altered in the midst of on-going communicative interaction about how to use resources.

Research literature about reading resources in educational literature commonly portrays reading resources as what readers can go to for help and information. In other words, resources are where readers can go for information and expertise. Resources for reading are also someone or someplace one can go when experiencing difficulty so that recovery is provided and the learner is enabled to meet and handle situations in school. For example, the phrase reading resources is commonly used in the following ways: 1) reading resources are reference materials, 2) reading resources are library collections, 3) reading resources are lists for further reading, 4)

reading resources are special classrooms and teachers who specialize in reading instruction, and 5) reading resources are cognitive strategies and processes which aid readers. The uses of these resources in effect guide what can be learned about reading. When resources are used in particular ways this tells students what readers do and how readers do it.

Theoretically, students use resources as decision points for deciding what to do and how to do it. Students can use resources in three ways. These ways are: 1) to inform, 2) to reform, and 3) to transform what school in general and reading in particular can be about. Students can use resources to inform other students and teachers about how things ought to be done. Students can use resources to reform what can be done by negotiating ways to use the resources at their disposal. Also, it is possible that students could use resources in alternative ways over time to effect transformations in what can be done in school.

The view of reading resources proposed in this study is broader in scope than views about resources used in much of the research literature. Resources are defined in this study as the material, social, and intellectual tools which students use to engage in reading. This definition for resources arises from a theoretical framework for this study which incorporates constructs from ethnography of communication, social interaction, and social semiotics. The theoretical framework emphasizes how people make meaning through all of the communicative resources at their disposal. In terms of this study, such a framework allows for an investigation of ways students make meaning about what reading is and how reading is done. The focus is on how students use language and other resources at their disposal for making sense of reading instruction. The present study builds upon reading research based upon constructs from ethnography of communication, social semiotics, social

interaction theory, and reading and writing as cultural practices in order to investigate students' perspectives about resources for reading.

Endnote:

¹ There are other perspectives that might be used to look at resources for reading and their use. Sociocognitive theory (Goodenough, 1971) and Vygotskian theory (Vygotsky, 1978) would conceive of resources as intellectual tools for mediating learning. However, in this study, I am not employing these theoretical perspectives since my focus is to look at reading as an event. In the future, it may be productive to expand this study by incorporating other theoretical perspectives.

CHAPTER 3

DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

This is an ethnographic study of second grade students' perspectives about resources required for reading instruction in their classroom. A customary perspective about reading resources views them as reading lists, collections of printed materials, or people with special training. In this study, I consider reading resources as material, social, and intellectual tools which people draw upon to engage in reading and writing. In broad terms, the purpose of this study is to make visible students' understandings about what is necessary for them to participate in reading instruction in second grade. Specifically, this study seeks to:

- 1) identify and describe what perspectives students have about resources necessary for reading instruction
- 2) determine how reading instruction is influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading.

Participants

The students who participated in this study all attended second grade. The students were enrolled in a public K-6 elementary school in New England. The students in the study were ethnically diverse. Ethnic backgrounds represented by the students were: African-American, Caucasian, and Native American. There were eight girls and nine boys participating in the study. This group of students represented 17 out of 22 total students enrolled in the second grade class when the year began.

One student who did not participate in the study did not begin attending school until later in the fall. Of the other four students not involved with the study, three received instruction through the school's ESL program, and one

received Special Education services. The ESL students were pulled out of the classroom for most of the morning to receive instruction. Two follow-up efforts were made to contact parents/guardians of the students who did not participate, but when no response was forthcoming, no further efforts were made to include them in the study.

Students who volunteered for the study were required to obtain the permission of their parents/guardians. There was no effort to select certain students for the study. Enrollment of students who participated in the study remained constant throughout the duration of the study.

Students showed varying academic abilities with reading and writing. After several weeks of school, the classroom teacher observed that the students, as a group, showed less social and academic maturity compared with some previous second grade classes he had taught in the school district.

Five of the students who participated in the study received special services from the school district. Four students received Chapter I reading instruction. One student received instruction through Special Education. None of the students in the study was pulled out of the classroom for receiving instruction.

The teacher who participated in this study had responsibility for the day-to-day planning and teaching. Mr. P. has taught second grade for several years within the district where the study was carried out. He is involved with several committee assignments for the school. For example, he has been involved with an on-going effort to restructure the way that primary grades are organized within the school. In addition, Mr. P. is known for teaching ability. He is called upon by the principal to substitute teach in other classrooms in the school because of his ability to build rapport with students.

My access to the site of the study was gained through collaborating with Mr. P. over two years prior to the beginning of this study. During the 1993-1994 school year, he and I carried out a pilot study focusing on students' talk about their writing. From January 1993 to May 1993, we conducted some observations of students' conversation. By the time the present study began, I was familiar with the ways that Mr. P. managed his classroom. Mr. P. was very interested in establishing a classroom environment which would encourage students to work together as a community of readers and writers. As a result, students were given time each day to collaborate on reading and writing and to talk about their reading and writing with other students as well as with teachers.

My role during the time of this study was that of a participant observer. That is, I participated in the life of the class in two main ways. First, I helped students and teacher in my role as a classroom aide. At a school assembly on September 1, I was introduced as, "Mr. Landis, who works in Mr. P.'s room." My role was that of a helper for the students and the teacher during the duration of the study. I helped students find supplies like crayons, paper, and bandaids. I helped answer questions students had about their school work. In December, I presented some visual materials and led a discussion about a topic related to a class project. In February, I went along on a field trip with the class. In addition, I helped the teacher with various other tasks such as: arranging students' work on bulletin boards, escorting students inside from the playground, sometimes reminding students of school or class rules/policies when students' actions posed a safety concern, reproducing handouts for the class, stapling papers, and so on.

Second, my role was that of an observer. I conducted a series of observations, interviews, and checks of data about classroom life and reading

with the students and with the teacher. I talked with students and their teacher about what they were doing and I asked questions which seemed pertinent to the focus of the study.

Data Collection and Instruments

Sources of data for this study include over 200 pages of field notes, 9 video tapes representing about 34 hours of classroom interaction and reading instruction, 14 audio tapes representing about 20 hours of classroom interaction and interviews with students and the teacher, and photocopies of about 100 pages of students' written records (reading record sheets).

Data was collected from the first day of school in late August, 1994 until mid-February, 1995. During this time period, I visited the classroom 2-3 days each week for a total of 58 days. The data collection was catalogued according to a procedure suggested by Agar (1986). The procedure highlights what people are doing and talking about and how observations of peoples' interactions are recorded. In addition, this procedure served as a way of classifying the data and as a way to gauge what kinds of information were being collected. The classifications for data are displayed in Figure 3 on page 54.

This procedure classifies data in three ways: 1) levels of talk, 2) degree of researcher control over what was collected, and 3) the recording strategy used to collect the data. Each of these categories are divided in the following ways.

The classification labeled "Levels of Talk/Topics" is used to classify classroom interaction according to whether the data sample represents: the daily-life-of-the-class interactions of participants (level 1); the interviews and discussions by participants about class life (level 2); or the talk by

participants about the interview and discussions which make up level 2. My aim as a researcher was to collect as much record of level 1 talk as possible.

Levels of Talk/Topics			Degree of Control		Recording Strategy	
Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Ethnographer choice of topic	Students' choice of topic	Observation	Type of Recording (audio,visual, photocopy, photograph, etc.)
observe daily class life	interview students about class life	student reflec- tions about data collec- tion				

Source: Agar, 1986

Figure 3. Organizing the Data Collection

The classification labeled "Degree of Control" is a way to classify who chooses the topics of the levels of talk. For example, during interviews or discussions about class life (level 2), I exercised some control over the topic by choosing what to talk about with students and with the teacher. When I observed interactions between students and between students and teacher, control of the topic was exercised by them.

The classification labeled "Recording Strategy" is used to indicate how the data was collected. Some data was collected as I wrote field notes. Some data was collected by means of video and audio recordings and photocopiers. Some

data was collected as I designed formats for transcribing talk, and visual displays of my observations.

The following sections categorize data sources in a different way. Four categories have been proposed. The categories are: classroom interaction data collection, checks of classroom interaction, reading instruction data collection, and checks of reading instruction. These categories are also used to discuss the procedures for data collection as well as the procedures for data analysis described later in this chapter.

Classroom Interaction Data

- 1) Audio tape recordings and transcriptions of students' and teacher's interactions as they have school together in second grade
- 2) Audio tape recordings and transcriptions of interviews with students and teacher about participating in second grade
- 3) Video tape recordings and transcriptions of students' and teacher's interactions as they have school together in second grade
- 4) Field notes about classroom interaction which note times, places, objects, goals, feelings, names of class activities, participants, and physical actions of students and teacher
- 5) Constructing event maps about classroom interaction

Checking Classroom Interaction Data

- 1) Audio tape recordings and transcriptions of interviews with students about class activities
- 2) Observations and student writing about student-selected groups for class work and play
- 3) Field notes about students' responses to my interpretations of classroom interactions

Reading Instruction Data

- 1) Audio tape recordings and transcriptions of students' and teacher's interactions as they have reading instruction

- 2) Audio tape recordings and transcriptions of interviews with students and teacher about reading instruction in second grade
- 3) Video tape recordings and transcriptions of students' and teacher's interactions as they have reading instruction
- 4) Field notes about reading instruction which note details about what students are doing, what the teacher is doing, what communication is occurring, what is being used to communicate
- 5) Constructing event maps about reading instruction which display the time order of phases of activity, who is initiating discussion
- 6) Photocopies of students' reading record sheets (see sample in Appendix A)

Checking Reading Data

- 1) Audio tape recordings of my interviews with individual students' about my perceptions about reading instruction and classroom interaction
- 2) Audio tape recordings of my interviews/discussions with the class about my perceptions about reading instruction and classroom interaction
- 3) Field notes about students' understandings about reading instruction as reflected through responding to phrases about reading instruction
- 4) Field notes about students' understandings about reading instruction as reflected through sorting responses of other students
- 5) Field notes about students' approval or disapproval of my selection of phrases for checking perceptions about reading instruction

The following section describes data collection and analysis procedures during the time period of the study. The procedures are described classified according to the scheme of classroom interaction data and checks of data, reading instruction data, and checking reading data proposed above.

Procedures of Data Collection

Data about the classroom interactions and reading instruction was collected in four phases: first, classroom interaction data collection; second, checks of classroom data collection; third, reading instruction data collection; and fourth, checks of reading instruction data. There was some overlap between the phases because I wanted to keep the data collection up to date as much as possible as during the months of December and January. For example, I arranged for video and audio taping in order to compare evolving student-to-student and student-to-teacher interactions with those I had observed earlier in the school year.

Classroom Interaction Data Collection

Data about classroom interactions was collected in two phases. The first phase began with broad observation of class interactions during the months of August, September, October, and November. Regularly occurring events were noted and outlines or maps showing time order, initiating speaker, and language used for communicating during the events were described. Features of the classroom were noted according to a scheme proposed by Spradley (1979). Actions and reactions of students and the teacher were described in terms of locations in the classroom, what objects were used, what physical actions occurred, the timing of the interactions, what classroom activities were going on, who participated and what feelings were communicated, and what goals and purposes might have been for the participants. Video and audio tapes of classroom interactions were collected beginning in the third week of school. The classroom teacher and I did not want to begin recording until we had explained the research and had obtained permission for the study from students and their parents/guardians. Video and audio tapes of

class interactions were collected twice a week between September 19 and November 4.

A second phase of data collection began in the last two weeks of September. I interviewed students about what I had observed happening in the classroom. These interviews followed the lead of the students except for my opening requests: Please tell me about what happens during the day at school. Please tell me what you do at school. Students were interviewed beginning in late September. Students were selected for these interviews as they had time or the inclination to talk and be recorded. First, I interviewed four students who were willing to talk and who seemed interested. I made written comments about the interviews since they were not tape recorded. As students became more used to my role as an observer of the class, I began tape recording interviews with students. During the last week of September, I conducted 4 more interviews. These interviews were tape recorded. During the first week of October, I recorded 6 additional interview since I hoped to obtain interviews from as many of students as possible. In this manner, a total of 14 interviews about classroom life were recorded. In addition, an interview was held with the classroom teacher about his views of second grade, goals, and purposes for classroom instruction.

During late September and early October, I also observed the makeup of various student groups in the class. I wanted to understand more about the membership of various student groupings in and out of the classroom which students were establishing. I recorded who students worked with in the classroom, as well as who they sat with in their classroom seating groups. I also took notes about lunch partners and playmates at recess time. I wanted to be sure that students I was interviewing were a representative sample of each the social groups which the classroom teacher and I had observed forming.

Checking Classroom Interaction Data

I carried out two types of checks on my developing interpretations about classroom interaction. First, I checked the membership of students' social groups. This check helped me to obtain a more rounded picture of classroom interactions. The classroom teacher arranged time on September 29 for students to write about who they worked with and who they played with. This information served as a check for my observations about student groups. I continued making regular observations of the membership of student-selected groups into the first week of November, with follow-up observations during the middle of January to check students' social circles.

I used a second type of check of my observations of classroom interactions. This check occurred as I interviewed students during the first week of October. I asked questions about what I had observed of the classroom schedule and class activities. Some audio and video tapes were replayed for students' comments and discussion.

Reading Instruction Data Collection

During the third week of October, a second series of interviews were held with students. These interviews focused more specifically on students' views about reading instruction in the classroom. A series of questions were asked each student. These questions are listed in Appendix B. Interviews were held with five students selected on the basis of their membership in various student-selected groups. The students were selected in this way in order to obtain a representative sample of student views across various social groups.

In addition, observations were made of eleven reading lessons. Reading lessons were observed each of day of the week. I made written records of two of the lessons (one lesson during the first week of October and one lesson during the first week of January). The remaining nine reading lessons were

recorded on audio and video tape. The recordings were made one to two days each week from the last week of September to the first week of November. Eight of the lessons were recorded on video tape. The lessons were known as silent reading time to the students and the teacher. Students consistently indicated that reading in their class was the silent reading time which was scheduled each day after lunch from 12:00 to 12:30.

Checking Reading Instruction Data

During the middle of October, I checked my developing interpretations about reading instruction with seven students selected as representatives of various student social groups which students were establishing in the classroom. This task was done in the form a distribution check of students' views about reading in terms of some key ideas I wanted to verify. Each student responded to one statement: Silent reading is reading in 2nd grade. In addition, each student responded to three questions: 1) What is reading? 2) What are you trying to do when reading? and 3) What are feelings you have about reading? These brief interviews were held with students at their desks during finish work times. Each of the students' responses to these questions was recorded on paper.

During the first week of November, I arranged for time to talk with the whole class about reading instruction. This was recorded on audio and video tape. I asked a series of 8 questions about reading in second grade (please refer to Appendix B). The questions were: Is there reading in second grade? How is reading done? Where do you read? When do you read? Who can read? What does reading do for you? What happens to you after you're done reading? Is there anything else you would like to tell me about reading in second grade? Responses of students participating in the study were noted.

In addition, I arranged for a series of 5-10 minute class discussions during the morning meeting to interview the class about two topics: 1) my role as a researcher, and 2) students' understanding of features of reading. First, I asked the students to talk about what they thought I was doing as a university researcher in their classroom. This discussion was held in December. Several students responded with their observations. This was recorded on audio tape. I used this session to add to my own account of my role in the classroom.

Second, I arranged for a series of discussions with the whole class during morning meeting times about features of reading. I asked the class to respond to statements about reading by filling in blanks. The statements were written on an easel pad which was used for displaying a message from the teacher to the students each morning. The statements were constructed from a list of semantic relations about reading (see page 179). These discussions were audio or video taped.

In addition, I compiled a series of six statements about reading instruction in the classroom to check student perspectives (please see Appendix D). This process occurred in four steps. The process is based on a procedure suggested by Agar (1980).

First, I wrote the statements based on phrases from student interviews. Each of the statements was worded so that students could orally fill in part of the statement which was left blank. The wording of the statements was checked with four students in the study: two girls and two boys. The girls checked the statements, then the boys. Their observations about the statements were mostly in agreement with one another. I made changes in the wording which they suggested so that the statements would sound realistic to students.

Second, I typed each of the phrases from step one on index cards. Each card was presented to students who were asked to finish the phrase in as many ways as would make sense about reading in their classroom. Students were encouraged to ask questions if they did not understand my directions. A total of 10 students (6 girls and 4 boys) participated in completing the phrases. The response sessions were recorded on audio tape.

Third, I typed each of the responses with the phrase it matched on a separate index card. If two students completed a phrase with a response worded in the same way then only one card was typed for the response. A count was maintained of the frequency of each response. All of the cards which matched a particular frame were bundled together.

Fourth, each bundle of cards was presented to one student at a time. The student was asked to sort the cards into piles. The cards in each pile had to be about the same thing. Students could make as many piles as they wished. Each bundle of cards was sorted by three students. Students were encouraged to ask questions if they did not understand my directions. A total of 10 students participated in the sorting (5 girls and 5 boys). After each student was through sorting, I asked them to tell me in few words what they thought each pile was about. Each student was able to tell me the ways they had classified the piles. These responses were recorded for each pile of cards. These response sessions were recorded on audio tape.

Procedures of Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred throughout the study. The analysis occurred in four phases. The phases parallel the collection of data described above. The labels: classroom interaction, classroom interaction checks, reading instruction, and reading instruction checks will be used to describe the data analysis procedures.

Analyzing Classroom Interaction Data

During the months of September and October, selected segments of classroom interaction were analyzed by looking for communication patterns across speakers, classroom events, modes of communication, and topics of communication as suggested by Hymes (1974). The segments were selected according to my research interests at the time. During October and November, event maps for classroom interaction were constructed and analyzed for patterns of interactions among students and teachers as described by the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1994a). During the months of December, January, and February, audio and video tapes of classroom interactions were more intensively analyzed for communicative patterns between students and the classroom teacher according to a procedure described by Erikson and Shultz (1981). This procedure is described more fully under reading data analysis below. Segments of classroom interaction were identified which were representative of classroom activity. Transcripts were made for selected segments of classroom interaction according to a procedure described by Green and Wallat (1981). The segments were selected on the basis of what they showed about classroom interactions between students and the classroom teacher.

Interviews with students and the teacher were transcribed during the months of October, November, and December. Common topics and themes were identified according to procedures described by Agar (1980, 1986). The following process was used: first, interviews were transcribed in their entirety; second, interviews were read several times to gain an idea of what was said and how it was said. Segments of talk during the interviews about classroom interaction and reading instruction were categorized according to what appeared to be the focus of the students' or teacher's conversation.

These categories were checked against other interviews to see if the categories still seemed viable. Labels of categories were adjusted as necessary in order to account for as much of what students and the teacher said as possible. The topics were used to prepare questions for checking my interpretation. These questions were asked of students and the teacher during later interviews.

Analyzing Checks of Classroom Interaction

Topics which I identified during the analysis of classroom interaction during the months of September and October became the basis for further questions and interviews with students and the teacher. Several of these interviews could be characterized as informal, on the go interviews with students while they were finishing work at their desks. Students' comments were recorded on paper. Students' responses were checked against my developing interpretation and I made adjustments to my interpretation as necessary.

Analyzing Reading Instruction Data

Video tapes of reading instruction were analyzed according to a procedure described by Erikson and Shultz (1981). The process I used consisted of several steps. The steps were: 1) identifying all instances of reading lessons (according to the students' perception) in the corpus of tapes; 2) viewing each reading occasion from before it begins to after it is over; 3) noting what students and teacher as a group are doing; 4) noting major joints or junctures between constituent parts or phases of the reading event; 5) noting the behaviors and verbal or nonverbal communication before, during, and after the joint which seem to signal that a new phase of the lesson is beginning; 6) displaying information about the lesson from steps 4 and 5 across a timeline which is drawn to represent the chronology of the

lesson over time; 7) characterizing the phases of the lesson; and 8) applying what has been learned to other reading lesson to see if the patterns of events, behaviors, and communication are repeated during other reading lessons on other days. Each of the audio and video tapes of reading instruction data were analyzed for recurrent communication patterns between students and teacher to see whether the communication patterns were repeated during reading instruction.

Analyzing Checks of Reading Data

Students' statements in connection with the distribution check were analyzed to see what agreement existed between the statements. The students' comments were compared with information about reading instruction in my field notes and with my analysis of interviews.

Whole class discussions about reading instruction, features of reading, and my role as researcher were analyzed for patterns across the students' comments. Selected segments of conversation were transcribed. Research interests determined which segments were transcribed.

The statements which were used to check students' perspectives on reading were analyzed in the following way: first, the piles which students constructed about reading features were compared for common sequences of cards; second, when at least two cards were placed together in the same pile by all three sorters, this sequence was marked; third, the piles students sorted were checked for other sequences where at least two cards were placed together in a pile by all three sorters. This process continued until all the cards which all three sorters had placed together were identified.

The fourth step in the process was to construct written records about the sorting task. Written records were made in two ways: a) by writing descriptions in my field notes about how the sorters went about the task, and

b) by constructing tables which represented information about the sorter, the date of the sort, the statement frame, the number of piles and the cards which were included in each pile, and notes about how the sorter described each pile.

A fifth step involved creating tables which displayed the statement frame, the names of the three students who sorted each frame and the piles of cards which contained matching sequences of two or more cards across all three sorters. Each sequence of matching cards was counted as a new set or partition of the responses related to a particular statement. Each set was considered as a common response to the frame and patterns for each statement as well as across statements were noted for future reference. Measures of the usability of responses and the agreement of responses within each set were calculated according to a procedure described by Agar (1980). The analysis of the statements as well as tables showing information about the sorts are displayed in Appendices C, D, and E .

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

Through the methods and procedures for this study described in chapter three, a corpus of data was collected about resources for reading in one classroom. This corpus of data included over 200 pages of field notes, about 34 hours of classroom interaction and reading instruction recorded on 9 video tapes, about 20 hours of classroom interaction and interviews with students and the teacher recorded on 14 audio tapes, and photocopies of about 100 pages of students' written artifacts.

I view the data described and analyzed in this chapter as representative of the students' views about resources for reading. In other words, this study is a representative case¹ of students' perspectives about reading resources. The data are representative in three ways. First, the data can be said to reasonably represent the perspectives of students who participated in the study. Second, students in several instances spoke as though they represented their classmates through the use of the pronoun 'we' in responding to interview questions, whole class discussions and so forth. Third, the data are constructed to describe or represent a picture of everyday class life based upon students' reports as well as my observations of life in the classroom.

The data are described in this chapter within a particular view about reading resources. A review of literature in chapter two suggested that reading resources are usually considered as: reading lists, specific locations for the collection of printed materials, and people with special training (training as reading specialists). However, in this study, resources for

reading are defined as material, social, and intellectual tools students use to engage in reading. In other words, students and teachers draw upon particular social, material, and intellectual tools including: what they know about language, natural and social worlds around them, and various values, beliefs, and assumptions about what readers do and who readers are like. These kinds of tools represent resources at students' and teachers' disposal which they use as they interact with one another through an on-going series of communicative events. Classrooms are viewed as speech communities marked by particular habits and ways of communication established over time. The habits and ways of communication make up a classroom culture which is informed, formed, and reformed as students and teachers interact with one another through the patterned use and interpretation of forms/symbols. The data for this study are described from a perspective which incorporates theoretical constructs from ethnography of communication, social interaction theory, and social semiotics. These constructs have been explained more fully in chapter two.

This chapter is organized in four sections. The first section provides an overview of classroom interaction. This section gives details about the students, their teachers, principal communication events of a school day, and the physical environment of the classroom and school. This first section serves as a backdrop for discussion about reading resources and their use by students during reading instruction. Section two focuses on the reading resources themselves: identifying them, and describing students' perspectives about the reading resources. The data in this section relates specifically to research question #1 "What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction?". This section describes students' perspectives about material, social and intellectual tools which

students use to engage in reading in their classroom. Section three provides a close look at a reading lesson as a representative case for the use of reading resources by students. This section is related to research question #2: "How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading?". Please recall from chapter one that students' perspectives about reading resources could influence reading instruction in two main ways: first, through changes students' actions with resources during reading instruction; and second, through on-going negotiation with other class participants about how to interpret resources. Section four is a summary and discussion of key issues raised in the previous three sections. This summary also provides a bridge to the implications and conclusions discussed in Chapter Five.

Note on Transcriptions

My transcriptions of students' and teachers' communication are not phonemically exact. My transcription of words is an effort to represent for the reader a feeling for what was meant and how it was meant. Any spellings which have been modified are included with the understanding that all natural speech differs in some degree from standard written conventions. Words are transcribed with as much indication of how they were spoken as necessary to give the reader a feeling for how conversation sounded.

Italics and spacing are used to indicate material which is directly quoted from the students or teachers. Speech represented in blocks of text of more than 9 but less than 50 lines is titled "Second Grade Text" and numbered with a Roman numeral in order of appearance in chapter four. A list of all Second Grade Texts is found on page xiii. This arrangement is similar to that

used by Heath (1983). Two transcripts of classroom interactions between teachers and other speakers are longer than 50 lines. These transcripts are titled "Classroom Interaction" and numbered with a Roman numeral in order of their appearance in chapter four. Transcripts titled "Classroom Interaction" are located on pages 127-138 and 208-211. All speech which is represented here was recorded on audio or videotape. The context of situation accompanies each transcription. The following conventions for transcription are used for representing students' and teachers' communication.

- . Closing intonation and a full pause
 - ,
 - ? Rising intonation followed by pause
 - Pause of more than two seconds
 - [] Overlapping utterances in which speaker is interrupted by another speaker
 - / / indicates nonverbal actions of speaker(s)
 - // // indicates nonverbal actions of hearer(s)
- | | |
|-------|--|
| | New speaker enters classroom and is part of conversation |
|-------|--|
- () Note about what is going on
 - xxxx Unintelligible

Endnote:

¹ A representative case does not intend to indicate the responses of all people in a speaking community. However, the research methods described in chapter three give some basis for believing that the opinions and feelings expressed are representative of the larger classroom community. Please refer to: Bloome, D., Sheridan, D., & Street, B. (1993). Reading Mass-Observation writing (Mass-Observation archive occasional paper no. 1.) Sussex, UK: University of Sussex.

Overview of Classroom Interactions

This section describes two school days during the first month of school as representative cases standing for other school days in the life of the students and their teacher. I view the school days described in this chapter as representative of other school days during the year for three reasons: 1) because the patterns of interaction between classroom participants observed represent interactional patterns on other school days; 2) classroom events which occur during these days are representative of classroom events occurring on other school days; and 3) patterns for how time is managed on these days are representative of how time is managed on other school days.

The school days described in this chapter are marked by particular patterns or ways of communicating which students and their teacher use for deciding what to do and how to do it. The communication patterns are used by the participants to organize and manage resources at their disposal. However, before describing the two school days, I briefly discuss the frame within which the description was constructed.

Looking at Classroom Life

A series of steps are taken to describe communication patterns of students and their teacher. First, the ways classroom interactions are established is described in terms of two processes: establishing a common language and establishing common membership or identification with a group. Second, a group of seven resources are proposed which contribute to the establishment of common language and common membership. Third, the communication practices of the teacher and students who participated in the study are explored more closely in order to understand the influence of resources in classroom interaction. The kind of description outlined above

provides background for the more focused discussion of reading resources to follow in this chapter.

In order to discuss students' perspectives about resources for reading, it is necessary to view them within the classroom context. Through interactions over time with various artifacts, students and teachers negotiate opportunities for learning (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1994 a). Opportunities for learning result as class members form common knowledge about particular ways of communicating in school. Common knowledge about classroom life is built: (1) through establishing a common language (particular ways to communicate/participate/ interact), and (2) by establishing commonly understood identities about who classroom members are, (ways of being-student, teacher, researcher); what members can do with resources (ways of doing school), and what members can think about resources (ways of knowing). Classroom interactions between students and teachers reflect how common language and common membership are established which define what it means to be a second grader. Common knowledge about classroom life is made more visible by highlighting roles and relationships, norms and expectations, and rights and obligations of class members. A series of questions help to explore the particulars of classroom life (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1994). These questions are: (1) Who can say or do what?, (2) With or to whom?, (3) In what ways, (4) Under what conditions, (5) When?, (6) Where?, (7) For what purposes?, (8) With what outcome(s)? The next section applies these questions to events occurring in Second Grade.

Life in Second Grade: Day One

During the first day of school, a series of events occurs in the classroom which informs a way of life for class members including myself.

Through the actions and reactions of class members in whole class and small groupings, ways of participating in classroom culture are set in motion.

Through out the school day the emphasis is on learning about second grade. Teacher and students begin to construct roles for themselves which they will use to participate in classroom activities. The following section introduces the reader to second grade.

Cars and school buses parade one after another through a parking area before swinging around in front of Maplevue Elementary School. It's 8:30 on a sunny Wednesday morning. This is the first day of a new school year. Students run and walk over a paved area for basketball, four square and hopscotch. Several groups of students in clusters of three or four talk together. Many students carry small backpacks, some have store-bought folders also. As I watch the scene, a man approaches me and introduces himself. We talk about a new school year and I find out that he is a parent of a boy enrolled in the classroom where I will be working. I briefly explain my role as a researcher and classroom aide. He expresses interest in the research and explains that he teaches Political Science at a well-known university.

A few minutes later, a teacher calls loudly for students to come over to an area on the pavement closer to the school where yellow numbers have been painted- 12, 13, 14, 15. Each number matches a classroom number in the primary grades. Students in older grades (3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th) also line up behind numbers on the pavement. The two groups of students form a giant right angle on the pavement. The primary grade students listen to a teacher who tells them about how to enter the building quietly. They enter the building through the main entrance from the parking lot. The older students also listen to a teacher. They enter through a side door near the cafeteria.

Mapleview Elementary School is part of the Woodlands Regional School District. There are several elementary schools, a junior high, and a senior high school in the district. Mapleview was constructed in the 1960's. A bronze plaque mounted near the main entry door displays the names of the building committee and the architects. The townspeople of Woodlands are proud of the fine reputation of their school system. The school system has received regular support from the townspeople for building projects, and for special levies to support the expanding programs the district provides to a population of students from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds.

The second graders follow their teacher, Mr. P., past the office and past two second grade classrooms numbered 13 and 14. At the door marked 15, he motions for the students to stop and to listen to what he wants them to do next.

After instructions, the students hang up their things and walk around the room looking at what is there. Mr. P. asks the students to walk to a clear area under a bulletin board with a calendar and the word SEPTEMBER mounted above it. Off to the left are numbers which have been thumbtacked to the board. Mr. P. tells the students to sit in a circle on the brown carpet which covers the entire floor area of the room. He calls this circle a friendship circle. It's 9:00 AM.

I survey the classroom. The walls are dotted with posters of varying colors and shapes. Some show the letters of the alphabet, some announce the names of colors. The doors of the coat closet also have bulletin boards mounted on them. One of these boards is covered with brown paper. On the paper is a football shape cut out of brown construction paper. The football looks like it's flying through the air over a goal post. Cut out letters announce, "Going for the extra point." Beside the football are cut out smaller football shapes, each

with a student's name printed on it with black marker. Figure 4 below provides an overall look at the classroom.

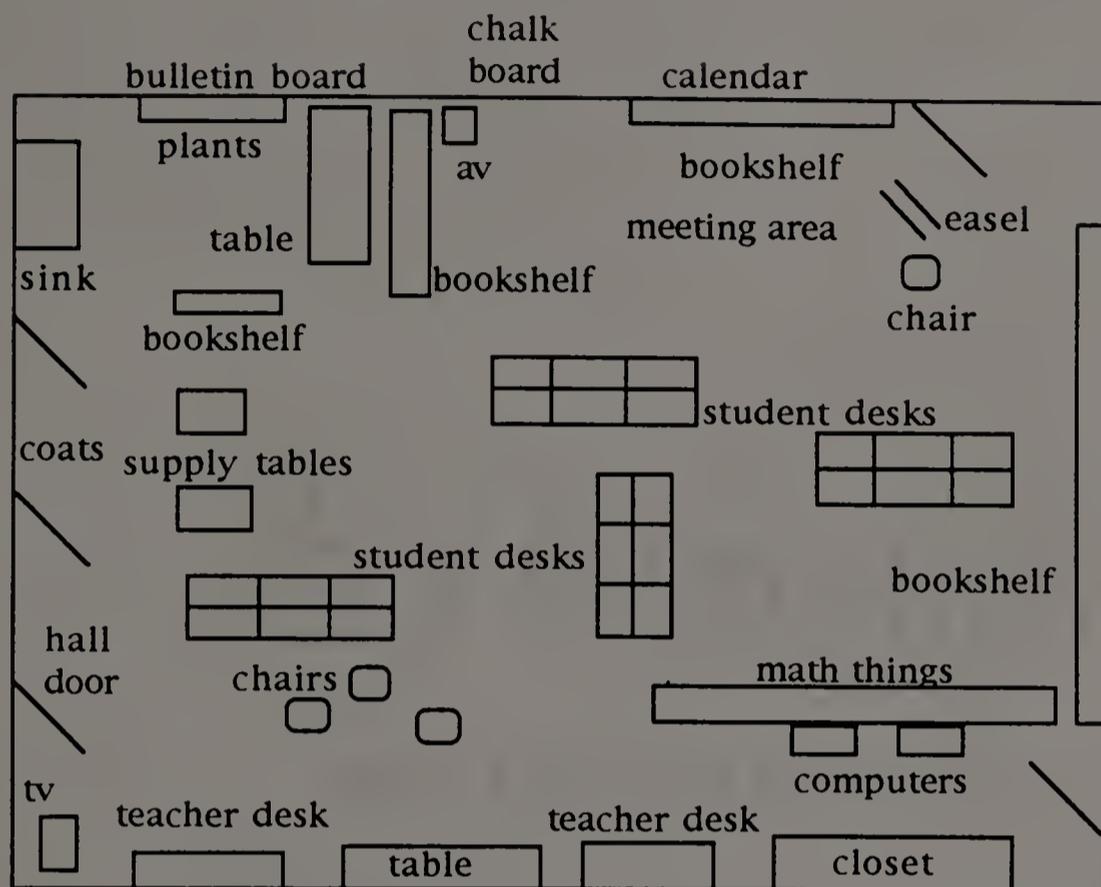


Figure 4. Map of the Classroom

Another bulletin board displays several orange colored construction paper leaves with lines for writing drawn across each leaf. A bulletin board in the corner of the room nearest the sink displays several hats (straw, construction helmet, baseball, armed forces, dress) mounted on bright yellow paper. Large red cut out letters announce, "HATS OFF TO SECOND GRADE". A deep green chalkboard is visible next to the September calendar. A yellow, metal bookcase about 5 feet high projects away from the wall toward the center of the room. It separates the circle area from a table which is placed beneath the bulletin board. It appears that anyone seated at the table would be apart from much of the conversation in the room. Mounted on front of the

bookcase with four magnets is a poster displaying the vowels A, E, I, O, and U. Each vowel is matched with a phrase and next to the phrase is a picture. The poster reads:

A - alligator
E - elephant
I - insect
O - octopus
u - umbrella

The bookcase supports stacks of lined paper, dictionaries, and spelling references. Sitting in the corner formed by the bookcase and the green chalkboard is a low cart with a blue overhead projector on it. Several sheets of plastic transparencies rest in a pile on top. Under the green chalkboard is a little frame standing on the floor. In front of the frame are blue plastic tubs that look like little pails. Next to the pails on the floor is a coffee can containing a bundle of straws. Above each pail, mounted on the frame, is a rectangular piece of paper. One pail is marked 100's, one is marked 10's, and one is marked 1's. Above the labels is a larger sheet of white poster board. Along the top of the poster board are the words LUNCH TAGS. Several brass brads have been pushed through the posterboard to form rows. Some of the brads are located inside a box drawn on the poster. At the top of the box is the word HOT. A similar size box has been drawn next to the "Hots". This other box is labeled COLD. Under these two boxes are other brads each holding a circular tag rimmed with metal. Students' first and last names have been printed on the tags. In the far corner of the room, diagonally opposite from the hallway entry, is a door to room 14. The door is open and I can hear sounds of students talking. Between the doorway and the September calendar display is an easel standing on the floor. Mounted on the easel is a large pad of lined paper. A package of markers sits in a tray under the paper. Under the easel is a pile of white paper, and a box with pencils in it. A book which looks like a lesson

planner is also on the floor under the easel. I notice that Mr. P. sits right in front of the easel at one end of an oval seating pattern which the students form as they sit down to listen to him. To his left is a scratched, bentwood rocking chair which he will use to read aloud to the class at snack time and at the close of the school day. At right angles to the door is a counter which runs along under a bank of large windows. Through the windows several cars and minivans can be seen in the school parking lot. Bright sunshine glints off glass and chrome on the vehicles. Standing on top of the counter are several books with similar cover illustrations. Under the bank of windows are shelves with games and puzzles. A blower separates two areas of shelving. Air is pushed up from the blower. The breeze gently rocks several hanging baskets with plants sitting in them. Next to the windows, another corner of the room contains an entry door to the bathrooms and a sink area. Another book shelf, about 3 feet high, projects out into the room. Several plastic tubs of cubes, straws, and so on rest on top of the bookshelf. The shelves hold math games. Two computers on movable carts are parked behind the bookshelf. The carts help to form a corridor to the bathrooms. The wall between the bathroom entrance and the hallway entry door is lined with a large wooden cabinet about 6 feet high standing on the floor, a wooden desk for student teachers to work at, a table which supports an aquarium which is empty for the present time and Mr. P.'s desk. Both desks face towards the wall. Under the aquarium table is a pile of extension cords and a small cardboard book display with four or five thin paperback picture books. Between the aquarium table and the students' desks are three slightly wobbly padded chairs with faded upholstery. Each chair seats several small stuffed teddy bears of various colors, white, orange, brown, blue and so on. In the last corner of the room wedged between

Mr. P.'s desk and the hallway entry door is TV and VCR supported on a movable cart. There is also a small desk with dividers stored in the corner.

Student desks are arranged in four groups or "clusters" as they are called by Mr. P. Each cluster is made up of 5-6 desks and chairs which are not fixed to the desk. The desk cluster groups occupy space in the middle of the classroom between the teacher's desk area and the meeting area where the class is sitting on the carpet. One of the clusters is near the hallway entry door area, another cluster is near the computer carts, a third cluster is located almost in the middle of the room. This middle cluster of desks helps to form a boundary for the extent of the student circle. A fourth cluster is located towards a corner formed by the counter under the windows and the bookshelf holding the plastic manipulatives and math games. Located between the student desk clusters and the coat closet are two small tables about waist high. One table holds crayons, markers, pencils, rulers, and some paper scraps in a cardboard box on shelf between the table legs. The other table supports a paper cutter.

As I finish my survey, Mr. P. asks the class to stand for the pledge of allegiance. The next topic is the calendar. There is discussion about what day it is. Then Mr. P. gives directions for the first coloring project of the school year-name tags to be laminated and placed on each student desk. Table 1 on pages 79-81 shows the flow of events during the first day of school.

By looking at the features of this classroom and the flow of events during the first day of school, some observations can be made about what opportunities for learning will be available for students in this second grade classroom. In the following paragraphs, I discuss ways that common language and common identities were established during the first day of school.

Table 1. The First Day of School: 8-31-94

Time	Events	Actions/Reactions	Group/ Location	Language of Actions/Reactions
8:30	Arriving at school	T reminding Students Students lining up behind number T standing at the head of the line	whole class outside	
8:45	Entering the room	Students putting lunch things in closets Students going to rest room Students walking around the room	individual students /hallway, closet, bathrooms desks, lunch chart	look who knew what to do Shhh
8:50	Get ready for a class meeting	T directing Students to sit in a circle for a class meeting	whole class	have a seat up front
8:55	Class meeting: Introductions	T talking about second grade, explaining where things are located T helping Students introduce themselves T leading class in pledge T explaining name tags	whole class	Shhh
9:30	Name tag work	Students sitting at desks coloring tags T helping Students T saying that Students may get their snacks and eat while they color	whole class	laminated name tags face-colored crayons no markers
10:00	Get ready for what's next	T announcing it's time to clean up and get ready to leave T directing Students to line-up by the coat closets T leading Students to room next door	whole group	Boys and girls would you please.... Stand behind your pushed-in chairs Who's ready? If you're ready would you walk gently to...

Continued, next page

Table 1 continued

10:05	Family meeting	Students sitting on carpet Teachers talking about all of second grade (taking care of each other, homework this year, about the playground) Teacher explaining three choices for activity	whole group	taking care of ourselves, others, our classroom, the world desks instead of tables different playground than last year activities
10:35	Begin activities	Students walking to classroom where activity takes place, talking with other Students	whole group	board games math things play seven-up
10:55	Get ready to leave, clean-up	Teachers announcing time to clean up Teacher leading Students back to classroom	whole group	Let's go
11:12	Return to room	T explaining that students should get lunch T directing Students to line up	Whole group	Shhh
11:17	Lunch practice	T leading class to cafeteria T explaining about the lunch lines and tables where second grade eats T showing Students how to wipe tables clean after eating and where garbage goes	whole group	turn off the lights when we leave the room walk in line table behavior this line that line
11:30	Lunch	T helping Students get milks and hot lunch Students carrying lunch to tables Students eating lunch	whole group	hot lunch cold lunch money checks from home

Continued, next page

Table 1 continued

12:00	Recess meeting	T leading class outside T explaining rules about the playground equipment	whole group	tire swing soccer balls swings climbing
12:10	Recess	Students running, climbing, swinging walking T watching, warning, talking with Students T calling students to line-up T& Students go inside, enter classroom	whole group	Mr. P look! Second grade!
12:50	End of the day	T explaining how to get ready to go home T writing what happened on an orange leaf for bulletin board T reading poems Secretary announcing dismissal Students leaving with parents Students line-up T leading students to bus pick-up	whole group	stack chairs read poems sit in circle teachers to stations parent pickups dismissed walkers dismissed second grade dismissed

Common language is established in several ways. These ways are: 1) through use of particular printed objects at particular times of the day; 2) through arrangements for certain social relationships to occur within particular activities and for certain purposes and goals; and 3) through demonstrating with particular postures and behaviors how to communicate so that particular classroom activities are accomplished.

The teacher explains how particular printed objects are used as he and the class interact during the day. For example, Mr. P. illustrates how various

objects are used at particular moments of the whole class meeting time. Uses for the lunch chart are shown and explained for the students. This chart will be used early on during the class meeting for taking class attendance and for counting the number of hot lunches requested for the day. Students are shown how to move their tags from rows of brass brads across the bottom third of the chart to either the hot lunch or cold lunch areas of the chart which occupy the top 2/3 of the chart.

Mr. P. shows the students how social relations are structured during the morning meeting or friendship circle as it is also called. He talks with the students about sitting in a circle for the meeting. He explains about sharing time, about the handshake greeting which each student is expected to give to a classmate during the morning greeting. Students will be expected to show certain relations in order to participate in the morning meeting. For example, one unwritten rule is that everyone is expected to take part in the morning greeting and to reproduce the greeting in the same way as the person who is the first to greet someone else. Greetings during the first day of school are accomplished by shaking the hand (usually the right hand) of the person on one's right and saying good morning. Other greetings will be performed for the class to imitate in the days to come including: shaking hands and making a fashion statement such as *I like your shoes*, by standing up and crossing over to the opposite side of the circle to greet someone (known as a crossover greeting), and via whispers. For a student not to greet another student is regarded as an offense. What is significant about the greeting time is that teacher and students set in motion particular social practices corresponding to particular times of the school day.

In addition, students are made aware on the first day of some of the other ways that Mapleview School as an institution manages time and peoples'

social relationships. Lunch will occur at a set time. The same is true for recesses, the opening of school in the morning, and the closing of school in the afternoon. As the students return to school during the first month of school, other events during the day will also be assigned set times such as special classes like Music, Art, and PE. Interactions which students have with other teachers will also be set to occur at particular times (e.g. ESL, Chapter I).

During the morning meeting, the teacher also illustrates particular postures and gestures which are used to communicate the idea of friendship. Students sit on the carpet next to one another in a circle. They extend hands to one another to say good morning. Mr. P. explains that students are expected to remain quiet when someone else is talking. This is a way to show friendliness to others in the class.

In addition to students' postures and gestures, written and spoken modes of communication are in evidence during the opening day of school. Some written modes of communication are: messages on the easel, posted lunch menus, posters. Students and teacher also make use of speech to communicate. These modes of communication also help to establish common language. For example, talking about the calendar will become a daily conversation between students and the teacher. Later in the year, students will take on the role of leading the class through talk about the date, and about terms like yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

There are several ways that the teacher uses during the opening day of school to establish common identities for how to be a student second grade. These ways are: 1) through specific interactions with students at particular times ; 2) through particular objects and ways to communicate about and accomplish activities; and 3) through making particular goals and purposes explicit for students.

The teacher arranges for specific interactions with students at certain times. One example of a specific interaction occurs as the teacher directs students to line-up on the asphalt behind the number of their classroom. The teacher tells the students what is expected of them and what behavior will signal that they are ready to go inside. Second graders show that they know how to walk as a group. Each student is expected to help other students by standing quietly and waiting for the teacher. When students walk inside, the teacher reminds them to be "lookers and touchers" who will look behind them and touch the door to hold it open for the next student in line. Another specific interaction occurs later in the morning when students participate in a second grade family meeting. At the meeting, Mr. P. and the other teachers emphasize that second grade students will be expected to "take care of themselves, other students, their classroom, and the world". At lunch time, another specific interaction occurs as Mr. P. shows the students how to obtain their lunches, where to sit as a class, how to clean-up their tables after they finish, and what to do after they are finished with lunch. By leading the class to expect certain interactions at certain times of the day, the teacher indicates what second graders do with time. Again, the emphasis is on what students should do now that they are in second grade.

Common identities for what it means to be a second grader are also encouraged and established through the use of particular objects in particular ways to communicate about and accomplish activities. One example is the use of the painted numbers on the asphalt outside. Mr. P. explains to the class that the number shows students where to line-up. The number is not used for other purposes by the teacher. It's value is for showing students where they should wait for the signal to walk inside. Another example of particular objects which are used in particular ways is the students' use of

board games and math manipulatives during the morning activity time with the rest of the second grade. Students are reminded to share these objects and to cooperate together. Second grade students are expected to know how to behave in certain ways with these objects. Another example occurs about 3:00 in the afternoon. At this time, students are to pick-up their chairs and turn them upside down with the seat resting on top of their desks. Furthermore, students are to hang their backpacks from the chair legs instead of bringing them to the closing circle time. Each student is expected to follow this group norm. Students are to take particular actions with chairs and backpacks in order to show that they are ready to go home. To be a member of this class means that certain actions are taken at the end of the day.

During the first day of school, the teacher also encourages students to establish common identities for being a second grader through making particular goals and purposes explicit for students. According to Mr. P., general goals for his second graders are: 1) to become familiar with learning centers in the classroom; 2) for students to begin to feel like a community by working together; 3) to experience a variety of learning materials; 4) and to feel "at home" in the classroom. During the family meeting, for example, students are directed to work together with the board games, math things. These materials are part of the learning centers which will be used later in the school year and during students choice times. Students are also expected to work together in order to play seven-up. The group meetings which take place during the first day are examples of the teacher's goal for students to work together. That is, the meetings provide a time and a place for students to interact with one another. As the teacher works towards his goals, he makes use of particular resources which all of his students are expected to use in particular ways. Table 2 on page 86 shows resources which the teacher

Table 2. Resources Used by the Teacher on Day One

Several intellectual, social, or material resources/tools used	How the resources were used by the teacher
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -come inside at 8:40 -morning meeting at 8:50 -clean up at 10:00 -family meeting at 10:05 -activities at 10:35 -go to lunch at 11:30 -recess at 12:10 -clean up room at 12:50 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to organize what to do -to organize when to do activities -to organize who to talk with
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -arrangement of furniture in classroom -board games, math manipulatives -calendar display -lunch tags and chart -posters, bulletin boards -students' desks -teacher's desk -US flag -name tags -painted numbers on asphalt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to begin classroom activities like taking attendance, lunch count, lining up -to help students work together -to help students learn about using materials in second grade -to attract students' attention
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -sit together in a circle -walk single file -look behind you and hold the door for the next person -stand behind pushed-in chairs -line-up to leave the room -wash table after lunch -stand behind number on asphalt -put chairs on desks at the end of the day 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to show students about postures and behaviors that communicate cooperation with teacher and other students -to show students what positions to take
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -shake hands during friendship circle -say a greeting to other students during the morning meeting -sit quietly at family meeting -work with other students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to promote particular interactions between people
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -show friendliness -show community -show cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to promote certain purposes and goals such as: to take care of ourselves, others, our classroom, and the world
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -teacher explaining about desks this year instead of tables used last year -teacher explaining about recess area this year in comparison to recess area last year -teacher explaining lunch behavior this year 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -to encourage students to remember behavior from last year and act in certain ways this new school year

used on day one of school. The teacher's goals set particular purposes for the use of resources in motion. As the teacher makes use of particular objects, printed materials, and expectations for behavior at certain times of the day, certain conditions about their uses will be established. Purposes and outcomes for objects, events, and ideas will be established over time. Students learn what it means to be second grader as they cooperate with the teacher's goals and purposes for resources.

During the opening day of school, the teacher is busy helping students remember what to do and how to do it. A series of contexts are framed for teacher and student interactions, for the use of resources in particular ways, and for organizing the use of time during the school day. In other words, the students' and teacher's interactions with resources are being used to encourage and to establish common language for how to do school and common identities for what students and teachers in second grade are like. The opening day of school will serve as a prior context for students and teacher in the days to come.

Common Language and Common Membership Defined Through Resources

Through communicative interactions across time, teachers and students establish a common language and they establish ideas about how to be a member of the class. The notions of common language and common membership form a broad frame for looking at classroom interaction. This framework is based on constructs described more fully in chapter two. Common language and common membership are constructed through symbols/forms used by a community to tell what is significant. That is, people explain what is meaningful to them through symbols/forms which they choose to use. The symbols/forms contribute to the ways that a common language and common membership are used and defined by a group. The

symbols/forms take on certain features or characteristics during the work and play of the daily life of the community of speakers. In this case, students and teachers establish a common language and common identities in the midst of Mapleview School.

People, ideas, objects, and events which are part of the life of the community become part of the common system of meanings available to the community. That is, the community establishes common language and what it means to be counted as a member based upon how people, ideas, events, and objects are made significant.

Seven Resources Which Establish Common Language & Common Identities

During the course of this study, seven resources were identified by which ideas, objects, and events became significant for the second grade class community. The resources were identified through topical and thematic analysis of classroom interactions, observations, and students' interviews. Please note that the resources are not entirely separate from one another. Each of the resources influences the others. A common language and common identities for being a second grader were established as resources were used by the teacher to show how to use objects, how to use time, what social relationships to promote, what activities to do, what postures to adopt, what purposes were important, and what prior contexts to remember. The teacher and students used the resources to construct a range of possible meanings for interacting with one another through each school day.

Relationships between common language, common identities, and resources are displayed in Figure 5 on page 89. These seven resources for making meaning are: 1) activities, 2) use of time during the school day, 3) social relations of teacher and students, 4) objects and ideas, 5) postures and

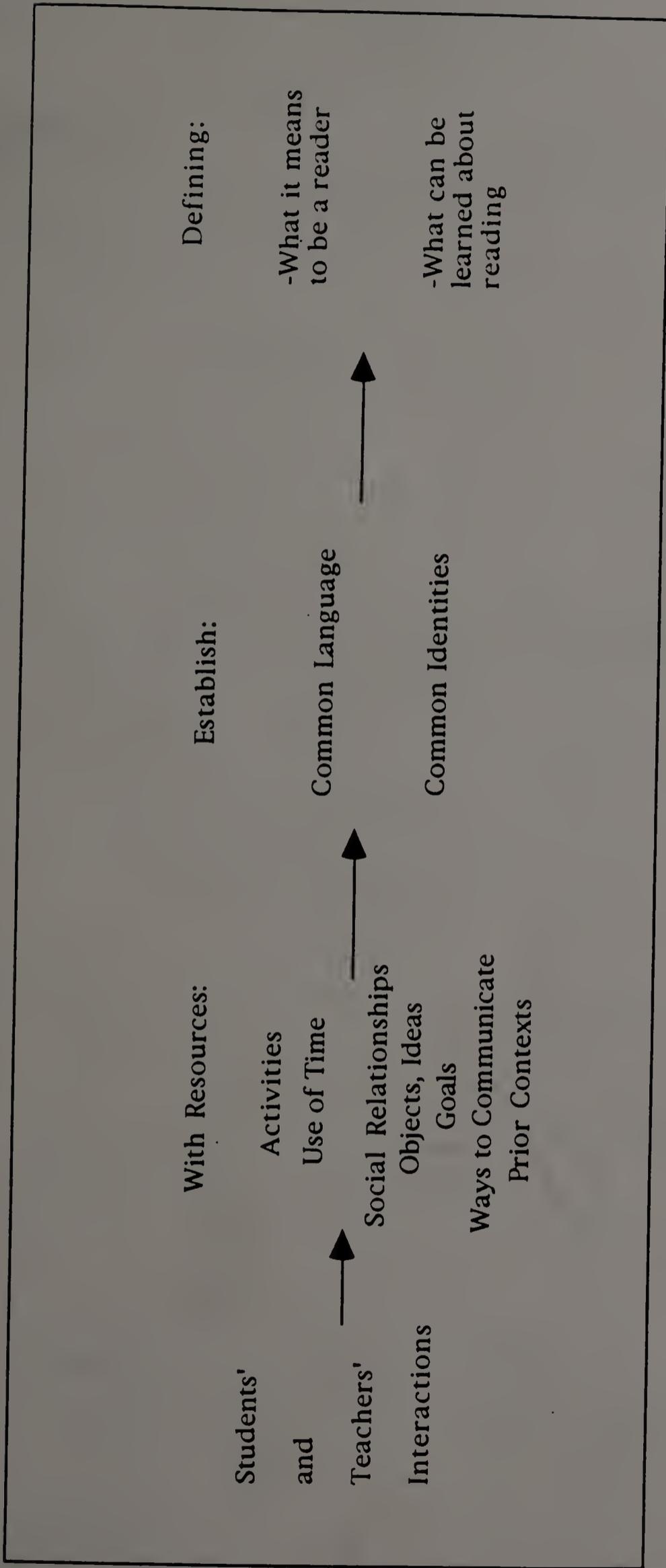


Figure 5. Classroom Interactions and Reading Resources

behaviors as ways to communicate, 6) goals and purposes, and 7) the memory of prior contexts which inform an activity.

By describing these resources, insights can be gained into the perspectives of students about the school day in general and reading instruction in particular. To begin discussion of the resources, each of them is described below in terms of the overall school day. Each of the resources is discussed in terms of 1) how the resources function in students' communication, 2) how use of resources (made visible by looking at symbols/forms of communication) used for particular class events are like or unlike with resources used for other class events, 3) how particular resources and their related symbols/forms are used on other school occasions and for what other school-related purposes, 4) what limits are placed on symbols /forms which students relate to resources for participating in the life of the classroom community, and 5) what ideologies are supported by the use of particular objects, events, and ideas as resources (see also Chapter two, e.g. Carbaugh, 1994). Connections between the seven resources and reading instruction are described in more detail later in this chapter.

Activities and Use of Time as Resources

Time and activities as resources are defined in the following ways: 1) time is defined as a chronological sequence according to some measure (e.g. minutes, hours, events) and 2) activities are defined as people's behaviors and interactions which make up events. During the first three weeks of school, patterns for managing time and activity through teacher-student interactions were established. The school day was divided into a series of activities which lasted about 1/2 hour each. A typical school day usually had two longer blocks of time in the morning: one before recess from about 9:30-10:15 and a second from 10:30-11:15. Another longer block of time in the

afternoon was scheduled from about 1:00 until 2:00. Breaks for recess were scheduled about every hour and a half: 8:30- arrive at school, 10:15- morning recess, 11:30- lunch break, 2:00- afternoon recess, and dismissal at 3:00. Time was regulated by staggered recess times for various grades so that older students in grades 3-6 are on the playground after the students in second grade are ready to go inside. Lunch times were staggered also so that grades K-2 eat together. Special subjects such as Music, Art, PE, Library have designated times. Students scheduled to attend Chapter I, ESL and other classes also have designated times. Each moment of the school day is regulated with specific times for specific activities. Part of the students' training at school is when to do, where to do and how to do activities which are planned in advance. Each activity becomes known by the structure of physical and communicative behavior as well as the time of day which is associated with it.

Uses of time on an institutional scale across the school (schedules for Library, Music, Lunch, Recess and so on) in turn influence the ways time is used in the classroom. How time is organized, in turn, influences the social interactions which can occur. Recall that the teacher arranged for particular interactions to occur at certain times during the first day of school. What interactions occur and when it is appropriate for interactions to occur is one way or resource for students to identify what it means to be a second grader. The ways that time is used across the school and in second grade in particular help to establish a common language and a common membership for second grade students enrolled at Maplevue School. That is, the ways that time is managed affects how students come to do school in general and reading in particular. The classroom teacher talks about time and how time is managed in second grade.

Second Grade Text I

Mr. P.: Yes, and I think time I mean that's a big piece, because I do believe that when I work with children who come from other kinds of family experiences, they tend to regard time very differently than I think this institution regards time and those are the children that we talk about having their own internal clock, that's very different from the one that's been set for, for them. Those are children who I'm hungry now therefore I should eat because maybe I didn't have breakfast four hours ago and then lunch will come and then snack will come and then dinner will come and it's all regimented for me, when I'm hungry I eat, when I'm tired I sleep, when I'm engaged in an activity that is interesting I stay with the activity until I'm no longer interested then I move to another activity, that's a whole different sense of how to use time than from this time to this time we do this activity, and then we're going to take a break and do this activity and as much as in second grade we try to break down some of those barriers by thinking of our day as being large blocks of interactive time...

Landis: Right..

Mr. P.: When you strip it away, it's really segmented, you will do this from this time to this time, you do this from and we still put that structure to it and try to allow children to have some some leverage and give within that but there's still a structure that's imposed upon them and those that are most successful come in with experiences dealing structures that have been imposed upon them, those children who are least successful are the ones that kind of jump in xxxx.

Mr. P. proposes that children view time in two ways. First, some children's sense of time is regulated by a structure (or external clock set for them) which divides the day into a series of planned activities. Second, some children's sense of time is regulated by the structure they bring to the day (an internal clock) which divides the day according to how long interest is maintained in an activity. He sees that some children will regard time in ways similar to how time is organized at Mapleview School. That is, much of their experience with time is that time is arranged by other people. They have experience with other people arranging activities and social interactions which go with doing activities for them. Mr. P. sees these children as most successful with school. Some children, on the other hand, have less experience dealing with time managed for them by other people. They are used to setting their own internal clock according to their interest, or engagement an activity. School is more difficult for them because their sense of how to use time is not congruent with the use of time promoted by the school schedule. In school, being engaged in an activity does not depend on child's interest, but on how much time has been allotted by the institution for each activity.

Figure 6 on pages 94-96 shows how time, activity, and interaction patterns are managed over fourteen days during the first month of school. The shorter times on Wednesdays reflect an early dismissal time at 1:15 so that teachers could use the rest of the day for planning.

The ways that time is managed have an effect on how interactions between teachers and students are organized. Interactions between teachers and students begin to form a pattern: first, teacher addresses whole group to prepare for activity; next, teacher addresses individual students to help them prepare; next, teacher addresses whole group about the activity and gives

Aug. 31: Wednesday: First day of school

Outside	Introducing	Name	Family	Activity	Clean	Lunch	Lunch	Mtg	Recess	Ready
Inside	School	tags	Meeting	Time	Up	Mtg				home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	St-St	T-G
		St-St		T-St						

Sept. 1: Thursday: Second day of school

Morning	Fam	Science	School	Recess	Sto	TT	Lunch	Recess	Specials	Activity	Making	Ready
Meeting	Mtg	paper	Assembly		ry				teachers	Time	Friends	home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-	T-G	St-St	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St		St-St		T-St	G	St-St		T-St		St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 2: Friday: Third day of school

Morning	Nature	Snak	Write/	Author's	TT	Lunch	Recess	SSR	Time to	Making	Ready
Meeting	Walk	Stry	Draw	chair					learn	Friends	home
T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	T-G	St-St		St-St		T-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 6: Tuesday: Fourth day of school

Morning	Story	Calendar	Snak	Recess	Words to use	TT	Lunch	SSR	PE	Math	Recess	Ready
Meeting												home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St		St-St		St-St		St-St		St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 7: Wednesday: Fifth day of school

Morning	Story	Class	Snak	Recess	Math	TT	Lunch	SSR	Ready
Meeting	meeting								home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G
St-St		St-St		St-St		St-St		St-St	St-St

Figure 6. Patterns of Time and Interaction During First Month of School

Continued, next page

Sept. 8: Thursday: Sixth day of school

Morning Meeting	Story	Class meeting	Snak	Recess	Math	TT	Lunch	SSR	PE	Story/wrtng	Recess	Jrnls	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 9: Friday: Seventh day of school

Morning Meeting	Story	Math	Snak	Recess	Finish Math	TT	Lunch	SSR	PE	Wrtng	Recess	Jrnls	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-G	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 19: Monday: Thirteenth day of school

Morning Meeting	Pictures	Morning Meeting	Snack/Fish tank	Recess	Spelling	Lunch	Rest Tape	Music	Science-aquarium	Recess	Jrnls	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	T-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 20: Tuesday: Fourteenth day of school

Morning Meeting	Math stories	Snak	Recess	5th grade stories	ABC poet	TT	Lunch	SSR	Music	Science	Recess	Jrnls	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	T-St	T-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 21: Wednesday: Fifteenth day of school

Morning meeting	Aquarium discussion	Snak	Recess	Language Arts	TT	Lunch	SSR	finish work	Ready home
T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	T-G	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Figure 6 continued

Continued, next page

Sept. 22: Thursday: Sixteenth day of school

Morning meeting	Math graphing	Snack	Recess	Language Arts	TT	Lunch	SSR	Music	Science	Recess	Finish up	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 23: Friday: Seventeenth day of school

Morning meeting	Math graphing	Snack	Recess	Spelling tests	Library	Lunch	SSR Spill	Music	Science	Recess	Choice Time	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 26: Monday: Eighteenth day of school

Morning Meeting	Math graphing	Snack	Recess	Spelling	TT	Lunch	SSR	PE	Science	Recess	Jrnls/rdg.cnf.	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Sept. 27: Tuesday: Nineteenth day of school

Morning Meeting	Math	Snack	Recess	Fifth grade stories	TT	Lunch	SSR	PE	Science	Recess	Jrnls/rdg.cnf.	Ready home
T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	St-St	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G	T-G
St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-G	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St	St-St

Notes:

T-G is teacher to group interaction
 T-St is teacher to student interaction
 St-St is student to student interaction
 St-G is student to group interaction

TT is team time
 SSR is silent sustained reading
 Jrnls & pen. is journal writing, penmanship
 Rdg. Conf. is reading conference

Snack is snack
 Story is story
 Mtg is meeting
 Fam is family

Figure 6 continued

directions for individual student work or leads group through activity; the teacher also addresses individual students during the activity; finally, teacher addresses whole group to prepare for next activity. Students address one another during the teacher's instructions but this usually brings some correction from the teacher. Otherwise, students address one another during times when the teacher is not speaking to the whole group. The table of events and interactional groups shows a predominance of teacher to whole group interaction during the school day. Students address one another primarily during times when they are participating in an activity at their own pace, at lunch, and at recess.

Use of Objects and Ideas as Resources

Objects and ideas as resources are defined as ways to represent experience. Objects exist although the names (or ideas) for such things are part of a common language established by members of a group. Johansen (1993) notes that objects can be thought of in two ways. First, an object may be considered according to what people know about a material entity at any given moment in time.

Second, an object may also be considered according to what could be known about a material entity given the opportunity for unlimited study of it. That is, there is a difference between "the object as it is represented... and the object as unlimited final study would show it to be" (Johansen, 1993, p.75).

Particular objects in the classroom and in the school are used to by students and teachers to communicate about classroom life. For example, furniture is arranged to facilitate the maintenance of the three communication events described above: communication to prepare for the next phase of an activity, communication that is used to carry out an activity, and communication that is used to prepare for the next activity or lesson. A

space of approximately 6 feet wide by 12 feet long is formed by the limits of the student desk area, a yellow bookshelf for reference books, the easel, and the rocking chair in the front of the classroom under the calendar and chalkboards for meetings which are used to prepare students for work to come as well as to sum up what students had been doing during an activity time.

Across the center of the room are student desks arranged in four clusters of 5-6 desks each. These groups are located throughout the room between the front meeting area and the teacher's and student teacher's desks to the rear of the room. Most student work is done at these desks or on the floor between cluster groups. Sometimes students work in the meeting area, but this area is usually reserved for whole class meetings, teacher-led work groups, or teacher-student conferences.

The furniture across the back of the room also plays a role in students' and teachers' communication. The teacher's desk is used by students in response to teacher requests to look for items which the teacher needs. The aquarium and insectorium supported on a table is a place where students gather to watch the fish or the insects. In addition, there are two computer carts in the corner which are used for typing neat drafts of stories and reports. The furniture in the back of the room tends to function in students' communication as a place for students to gather in their spare time and just chat together.

The pattern of students' movements is influenced by the location of furniture. Student movements are from the meeting area, following teacher preparation and instructions, to student desk clusters work on assigned tasks. Students' movement about the room tends to be in response to the teacher's instructions about the tasks. Following time for students to work on

assignments, students moved either back to the meeting area for talk and summary statements about the activity, or towards the coat closets for back packs, snacks and so on.

An exception to this pattern is at team time just before lunch. During this activity, students move to specific areas of the room designated for their cluster group to pick up. After this cleanup was accomplished, students then moved towards the closets. A supply table supporting scissors, pencils, markers, crayons, scrap paper, rulers was located between students' clusters and the coat closets along one interior wall which separated the classroom from the hall. Along the opposite wall from the coat closets were large windows which looked out onto the parking lot.

Other objects which function in students' and teachers' communication are various letters and numbers either cut out or painted and placed in a variety of locations around the walls of the classroom, the school, as well as outside. There are printed numbers and letters, objects used to indicate actions to be done such as the number on the lineup spot out on the playground, placing the lunch tags on the chart, looking at the national flag, sitting in a circle, name tags to show where to sit, equipment on the playground that shows where running, shouting and so on is appropriate, tables in the lunch room show where to sit, and doors show where to lineup for food or to put dishes and so on away, sponges on the tables show that students are to wipe their table space clean after they are done eating, a wave of the teachers hand and a yell "Second grade!" shows that it's time to lineup to come inside, time of day on the clock shows that certain actions are necessary such as putting chairs on desks at the end of the school day, getting ready to go out of the room for recess and lunch, and getting ready for morning meeting at the beginning of the day.

Differences in the uses of print and furniture inside and outside the classroom reflect the numbers of students expected to pay attention to the print. Inside the classroom, print and furniture, along with other objects are used for the immediate classroom community. Outside the classroom, objects are expected to be used by the larger school community. Objects which function as symbols/forms in the classroom are used on other school occasions which are also considered as instruction such as music, art, library, and PE. There are limits placed on the uses of objects as resources. The limits are related to the social roles of the person using the objects. For example, students' activities with objects are limited to what is appropriate considering their social roles in the classroom. For example, students would not be allowed to move their desks anywhere in the room or out in the hall because the teacher's social roles reserve that action with furniture for the teacher.

Print objects in the classroom are like print objects in other parts of the school. The print objects give directions, state responsibilities (e.g. the school rules are posted in each room and around the school). However, print objects in the classroom are unlike print objects elsewhere in the school in one respect. This respect concerns who the print is addressed to. Print posted around the school is addressed to the school community at large. This is indicated by the length of time the print is in place at a location and by the impersonal nature of the communication. No specific audience is usually addressed other than "students" in general, or the school community. In the classroom, print objects remain in place for shorter periods of time and are changed more frequently. An exception to this is the spelling posters which remain in one location all year. This happens because the posters list common words for second grade use in writing and spelling and because the size of the posters (at least 11"x18") dictates certain locations where they can be

displayed for all students to look at. Ideologies promoted by the use particular objects are discussed in relation to resources for morning meeting.

Social Relations as Resources

Social relations as a resource are defined as patterned ways of interacting, communicating, knowing, and negotiating used by a group of people (e.g. Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1994 b). In other words, social relations are ways to be a member of a group. Social relations are influenced to a large degree by the sequence of activities which the teacher plans for each day. The teacher retains the authority to introduce classroom-wide conversation topics as well as direct students in what tasks are done each day. The teacher plans so that students make some decisions about their participation. However, social relations between students and between students and teachers are always in the context of what has to be done and when tasks are to be finished. The classroom teacher talks about his understanding of classroom events and ways those events influence social relations in Maplevue School.

Second Grade Text II

Mr. P.: They're snippets of the day, events are snippets of the day, little pieces of the day which are organized by us, you know children still, you know, even though we talk about you know, process classroom, we talk about giving children lots and lots of choices throughout their day, and, but those choices are always within parameters, and there's always an overlying guide that's telling me this is what these children need to know, this is what my charge with them is, so somehow I have to take what the bureaucracy of this institution is telling me to include for all children and present that in a way so that children have an

understanding of the information, but also feel like they're part of the, the choice piece of that, but they don't walk in here and say, "Today I think I'm going to do puzzles and then after I do puzzles I'm going to eat my snack, and after I might...", you know that's not what happens.

Social relations between teacher and students can be described as friendly, business-like, calming, and respectful of students. The teacher occupies a role as translator in the classroom. He sees that "somehow I have to take what the bureaucracy of this institution is telling me to include for all children and present that in a way so that children have an understanding of the information, but also feel like they're part of the choice piece of that". The ways that social relations are structured reflect 1) the teacher's understanding of what events are supposed to take place, and 2) the teacher's efforts to help children feel like they have some choices in what goes on during the school day. The classroom teacher works diligently (especially during the first couple months of school) to help students know what is expected from them in order to participate in the various classroom activities which are scheduled. Students are able to tell what has to be done and who is responsible for making decisions about each day's activities.

Second Grade Text III

Landis: OK. Ummm, and when you're reading, what are you trying to do?

Dennie: Ummm, read about a book.

Landis: Umhmm.

Dennie: And you to try know and and xxxx you know different things.

Landis: And how about math, what are you trying to do?

Dennie: Count.

Landis: OK, count. What do you think Mr. P. is trying to do when he says it's silent reading time?

Dennie: To give you.. so you don't talk just concentrate on your book.

Landis: And how about in math, what's he trying to do?

Dennie: He's trying to make you, work on your own work so you get it done quick.

Dennie talks about the goals and purposes which she believes characterize reading and math as well as the goals and purposes which the teacher has for the students for reading and math. In each instance, the student communicates about the underlying social relations which inform each activity. For reading and for math, Dennie understands that the teacher has in mind goals and purposes that are for the students to accomplish. That is, particular social relations marked by authority underlie the ways that the teacher assigns tasks and the appropriate responses students' can display.

Second Grade Text IV

Landis: Well, when you come to school, what do you do?

Tim: We take down our chairs.

Landis: Uhuh.

Tim: And we ummm take our name tags from below the lunch chart and we put them up on hot or cold.

Landis: Uhuh.

Tim: And we put our backpacks in the closet.

Landis: I see.

Tim: And we do the morning greeting.

Landis: The morning greeting, Uhuh.

Tim: [And

Landis: Anything else?]

Tim: And then we do the pledge and Mr. P tells us what we're going to do.

Landis: I see, and what do you do after that?

Tim: We sit down and we let the helper put up the number and switch the calendar, these ummm, these little cards that have the numbers of what day it is...

Landis: I see.

Tim: And then and then we do poems.

Tim talks about the fact that the teacher "tells us what we're going to do". Each of the tasks related to carrying out morning meeting are arranged and decided upon by the teacher. Student participation in the classroom is defined by the social positions of teacher and students.

Social relations are also affected by the tasks and activities which are planned for each day. Each event has a recognizable pattern of tasks and communication which helps to define the activity. Functions, symbols/forms related to social relations, and limits and ideologies of social relations are discussed in relation to the analysis of a morning meeting (pages 140-149).

Events and Prior Contexts as Resources

Events have been defined as a series of interactions and activities occurring in the classroom (please see chapter one for definitions). Prior contexts are defined as texts and social relations associated with texts which are realized in the interactional history of classroom participants. In addition, texts (also see chapter one) were defined as communication/representation about experience. Floriani (1994) defines

contexts as "time-bounded phenomena constructed by members of a group working in concert" (p.246). The phenomena of contexts include

"socially negotiated roles and relationships and texts and meanings (which) become resources for members to reexamine past events, to resolve differences in interpretation and understanding, and to lay the foundation for revising and modifying the present in light of the past and vice versa" (p.257).

Students and the teacher understand events as a label for a series of interactions. In addition, students and teacher understand that the label for an event (like math, or writing, or reading and so on) also means the various phases of activity which make up the event. In text V below, the teacher talks about how he understands students' perspectives on events of the school day.

Second Grade Text V

Mr. P.: Writing is identified by this activity, this event, and we even have a label for it, that's writer's workshop time, and I can have them do anything else in the day that includes a paper and pencil writing kind of task, but that's not writing to them, to them writing is writer's workshop because I lay out all the ground rules and I spend so much time developing the whole concept that's so ingrained in them that this is writing, that some of the other things during the day don't appear to also be writing, unless I, I bring that to their consciousness, they will say to me at the end of the day, when we fill out the what did we do today, and someone will say to me, "We didn't do any writing today"; what they're saying is we didn't have writers workshop but then if I say to them, "Oh but you know after we finished math do you remember we thought about what kinds of things we did and we made up a list of

to document what took place, how did we record that?" "Well we wrote about that, but that's not really writing Mr. P., writing is...", and they're giving me sort of a description of writer's workshop, you know it's when we sit down, we get our folders and they can tell me all the props that they need and they can even build the whole, the whole scenario of what it's supposed to look like, because in their minds that's the writing time and I've done that, I've created that and it takes so much structure to create that that once it's there it's so solid, it's very difficult I find then, to break that down, or I don't mean necessarily to break it down but to bring other pieces to it, to include it as a much a broader definition of a writing assignment for children.

Students also describe what happened in their classroom in terms of a label for an activity and an outline of what phases of activity make up an event. In the following texts, students talk about team time, a cleanup event which occurred almost every day just before lunch, and reading which also occurs every day. In both texts, the event is known by its activities.

Second Grade Text VI

Landis: Anything else that you do?

Steve: [Ummm

Landis: During] the day in school?

Steve: Umm

Steve: I just (remembered) one more.. team time.

Landis: Oh, team time.. tell me about that...

Steve: You just like umm, well we do shelves and then we do sign... people like umm put books in the wrong place when it was umm the xxxx

time... umm and we sort of like have to like make sure that the games are all fixed up and stuff.

Landis: OK, how do [you

Steve: And then] And then we just umm, then we just raise our hands and then we keep em and then he says... and then Mr. P says "hands down" and then he says "ready for lunch, raise your hand" and we raise our hand and we either.. then we get a star. We always get stars. The other team has to catch up xxxx.

Landis: I see. So you get a star if [you

Steve: If you did,]

Landis: [clean up,

Steve: Yeah] and if you didn't clean up everything you don't get a star.

Landis: I see.. I see.

Steve: Not just you, but everybody that's..

Landis: Oh, your whole team.

Steve: Yeah.

Landis: I see.

Steve: If you just do something wrong you don't get a star, Uh. no, no you don't, only if you do.. if three people aren't ready.

Second Grade Text VII

Landis: Ohhh, and what happens at snack time?

Brian: We sit on the rug and Mr. P reads a story.

Landis: I see. And what makes that reading time?

Brian: Because Mr. P's reading a book.

Landis: I see. Is silent reading, reading time?

Brian: Yeah.

Landis: How, how come silent reading is reading?

Brian: Because you read a book too.

Landis: I see, you read a book, too, OK. Do you do, do you have reading at any other times of the day besides silent reading and story time?

Brian: Not really.

Events function in students' communication as labels which indicate points of reference about the day. Sometimes students use events to indicate how much time is required. For example, an event might be as long as a recess. The events of the day also act as guide for action and give students an opportunity to make plans for their day based upon what they know they can expect to happen on a particular day. Symbols/forms related to events are of two types: 1) the objects used during the event, and 2) the phases of an event which tend to function as ideas about what is going on. The objects and the ways they are used for particular events are invested with certain meanings by students. For example, the objects used during morning meeting have certain meanings. The lunch chart as it used during morning meeting means calculating the numbers of hot lunches to be requested for lunch later in the day. The lunch chart as it used also means how many students are in attendance on a particular day. The event known as morning meeting also functions as way for students to mark the beginning of a new school day and to prepare themselves for what will be expected of them.

Symbols and forms related to events (e.g. lunch chart for morning meeting, word lists for spelling, books for reading, equations for math and so on) are specific to the classroom community. While other teachers in other classrooms use symbols/forms which look similar in appearance, the meanings assigned to the symbols/forms are constructed in ways that reflect individual classroom communities. This happens due to the actions and

reactions of students and teachers in each classroom. For example, the selections teachers made for what students could do during choice time, or if choice time was offered at all varied from class to class depending on how teachers gauged student cooperation during the day. Symbols/forms related to events are unlike those used for school-wide events. The difference results from the audience which is being addressed by the symbols/forms which are used. Limits of symbols/forms also vary by audience. The role of ideologies is discussed in relation to the morning meeting as a type of event.

Communication Through Postures and Behaviors as Resources

Each classroom event is carried out with particular ideas about who can talk and with whom. Postures and behaviors are paralinguistic means which students and teacher use to signal the extent of their participation in ongoing communication. The teacher takes the lead in classroom communication and indicates when students can talk and with whom. Students' freedom to talk together such as at group work times, snack time and at clean-up times is also under the direction of the teacher who reminds students when an activity was a time for "no talk, low voices, or talking voices". No talk means quiet with no voices heard. Student whispers are usually challenged by the teacher when they are observed. A low voices time indicates that voices somewhat louder than a whisper are allowed and a low hum of conversation is allowed. A talking voices time indicates that students may talk so that their voices can be easily be heard by the other 5-6 students in their table cluster. Much of the time the teacher gives directions for what students should be talking about. There is more opportunity for students to choose what to talk about while putting things away at 8:45, at 11:30 while getting ready for lunch, and again at end of the school day while getting ready to go home, but for the most part talk inside the school is directed closely by the teacher. Students talking

occurs under conditions initiated by the teacher. Even when students are talking in activity times as they play a game together, this talk has been mostly sanctioned by the teacher. Conditions for communicating are arranged by the teacher.

The teacher's and students' communication occurs in certain ways. There is constant talk. There are paralinguistic ways used to communicate such as gestures with hands and head, eye contact, facial expressions, audible sounds such as sighs. There is action such as showing how to hold the door for one another, but this is accompanied by talk. The teacher constantly 'reads' students' behaviors to try and interpret what students understand. Students' eagerness, hands raised and pumping of arms shows excitement and interest in what is going. Leaning back, slumping in chair, looking away from the teacher is interpreted as lack of interest. Confusion is interpreted through students' gaze away from the teacher, and facial expression.

Goals and Purposes as Resources

Goals and purposes as a resource are defined as what teacher and/or students are trying to do. That is, teachers and students draw from goals and purposes in order to plan their activities. "Purpose entails the concept of goal or end, and implies a striving to obtain it" (Johansen, 1993, p. 60). Johansen also notes that a system of norms and values underlies how goals and purposes are proposed. For example, one of the teacher's goals for the students is to foster community. The teacher's purposes for various class activities are what the teacher considers necessary to work towards the goal. Viewed in this way, one of the purposes for the morning meeting is to reach for the goal of establishing a classroom community. Thus, goals and purposes can serve as intellectual tools or resources for teachers and students to guide their activities and interactions.

Talk in the classroom is guided by a number of overlapping expectations at various levels of authority. The teacher sees that his purposes for classroom instruction are guided by the purposes of the institution which employs him. The teacher knows that his purposes are to fulfill responsibilities given to him to provide for the care and safety of the children who are enrolled in his class in particular and who are enrolled in the school in general. In addition, the teacher sees his purposes for communication guided by fulfilling his responsibility for the policies for instruction mandated by the district administration. Another purpose which influences the teacher's communication is his desire to encourage students and to develop friendly, trusting teacher-student relationships in order to foster classroom community. Students see their goals in relation to what they believe the teacher is looking for and in relation to their participation in the life of the class. The functions, symbols/forms, limits on symbols/forms, and ideologies of goals as a resource are discussed in relation to the analysis of the morning meeting event below.

Students' Resources and Class Interactions

This section describes how the seven resources are incorporated in regularly occurring communication events. Communication events are analyzed in order to look more closely at students' and teachers' practices with resources. Over time, students and teachers interact by means of communicative patterns or behaviors which establish who students and teachers are and what they do with resources. Patterns of interaction indicate patterns for resource use. A look at communication patterns or practices provides background for understanding how the seven resources identified above are used for building common language and common membership.

Investigating communicative events helps to make visible how students and teachers draw upon resources at their disposal.

A three-part scheme for analysis suggested by Fairclough (1992) is used to guide the discussion. That is, classroom interactions are analyzed as discourse practices, as text practices, and as social practices. Discourse practices are the ways that communication is produced and used. Text practices are the ways that people structure language and other symbol systems in order to communicate. Social practices are the societal patterns and tendencies which form a wider context in which the interaction takes place.

Three Communication Events

Three main communication events occur daily. These events are: communication which is used to prepare for the next phase of an activity, communication that is used by teacher and students to carrying out an activity, and communication which is used by teacher and students to prepare for the next activity. These communication events define the interaction which occurs in the classroom. By defining the interaction, communication events also define what resources are valued and how students and teachers may draw upon resources. The next section provides examples of the three communication events.

Communication That Prepares for the Next Phase of Activity

The text which follows is an example of preparing for the next phase of an activity. The students have been working with math activities at various stations around the room. Now they are supposed to prepare for the next phase of activity planned for the math period. The total elapsed time for this segment is about two minutes. The segment begins with the teacher

announcing a change in the students' interactions with one another and ends with the teacher giving directions for the next phase of activity.

Second Grade Text VIII

1 *Teacher: Boys and Girls at stations, you need to now begin cleaning*

2 *up, putting your things back inside your flats.*

3 */Students talking/*

4 *Student 1: Here. Remember?*

5 *We have to do this.*

6 *Student 2: He said not to. xxx we don't have to talk.*

7 *Student 1: I'm coloring this, one is*

8 *Student 3: I'm done.*

9 */T talking with students in other groups/*

10 *Teacher: Would you help your group please?*

11 *Student 1: Write the numbers at the bottom xxxx odd, even.*

12 *Student 3: I had even.*

13 *Teacher: Bring your folders to your seat, get a piece of writing paper*

14 *off the shelf.*

15 *Students: xxxx*

16 *Teacher: Folders to your seat, bring a piece of writing paper... shelf*

17 */Students talking/*

18 *Student 4: No, get this remember?*

19 *Mr. P said we have to clean up.*

20 */Teacher walks over to group/*

21 *Teacher: Writing paper and folder should be at your seat.*

22 *You have to have your boxes all put back together.*

23 *M, would you stop now please and help them pick things up.*

- 24 *H, would you help them cleanup?*
- 25 *Teacher: Boys and Girls, names and dates on your papers.*
- 26 *J, put 'em back in the box now please.*
- 27 *Down with the xxx projects.*
- 28 *xxxxx*
- 29 *Student 5: Mr. P xxxx*
- 30 *Teacher: You can choose one off the shelf.*
- 31 *Student 5: xxxx*
- 32 *Teacher: Depends on how much longer it takes*
- 33 */students putting things away/*
- 34 */Teacher asking two students if they finished/*
- 35 *Teacher talking with student: Your chair is on someone's folder.*
- 36 *Teacher talking with another student: You need to get your folder*
- 37 *and get back to your seat, we need to start something.*
- 38 *Teacher: Boys and Girls, names and dates.*
- 39 *L? L?*
- 40 *Names and dates on your paper.*
- 41 *If you started writing equations turn your paper over.*
- 42 *If you did not start, then you can stay on the side you're writing on.*
- 43 *Now the first thing I'd like you to do is to write a sentence telling*
- 44 *what you did.*
- 45 *So , if you went to this station, then you would write, "I went to 'How*
- 46 *many rolls to get a one' "*

The teacher makes it a habit to give a period of getting ready for the next phase. The phrase "begin cleaning up" is just that. The teacher tends to give about two minutes to cleanup. As time passes, the teacher then will try to

hurry things along by going from student to student helping them pick up certain items or calling their attention to things they seem to have forgotten as he does in lines 35-36. Directions are repeated for students. Time is important and a schedule must be maintained. The teacher assumes that students understand a common language about what flats (boxes) are (lines 2, 22) , and about what cleaning up means (lines 1, 2, 22, 23 24). Students also mention cleaning up in line 19. This is the activity during this phase of the math period. In addition, the teacher and students work from common ideas about what it means to be a member of the class during this activity.

Particular kinds of knowledge about ways of being a class member, ways of doing school, and ways of knowing about how school is done are expected from students and teacher during this activity. Students are expected to show what class members do by helping one another pick up (lines 10, 22, 23).

Students are expected to do things in a particular order by putting their math things away in boxes first, then getting writing paper from the shelf (lines 2, 13, 16, 21-22). Students are expected to know how school is done by using particular printed texts in certain ways. For example, names and today's date are to be on their papers (lines 25, 38) and students are expected to know about writing sentences and math equations (lines 40-46). As students interact with the teacher and other students, they use particular materials, communicative events, and ideas about common language and what it means to be a member (common membership) of the class in order to participate. In other words, common language and common membership are established as students and teachers draw upon material, social, and intellectual resources which are assumed to be commonly accessible and commonly understood by classroom participants. The following section describes a second major type of communicative event: interactions that are used to move a task along.

Communication That Carries the Task

The teacher and students are discussing crickets, meal worms and insectariums during an afternoon science period. The classroom conversation recorded below shows discussion between teacher and students which is used to move to the point of the discussion for the teacher. Previous to this discussion, crickets were gathered from around the school and meal worms were received from a school supply company. The crickets are kept on student desks. The meal worms are kept in a heated habitat. Students are seated at their desks while Mr. P leads the discussion from the front of the classroom.

Second Grade Text IX

1 *Teacher: Are they going to continue to live throughout the ... year?*

2 *Students: Maybe.*

3 *Students: No.*

4 *Teacher: Jo, are we going to come in one day and all of a sudden, all of*
5 *the crickets in all of the habitats are all going to be dead?*

6 *Jo and other students: No.*

7 *Teacher: Well, what's going to happen?*

8 *Steve: They might xxxx crickets might xxxxx.*

9 *Teacher: xxxx come through that door, I'm not going to walk in one*
10 *morning, have all the crickets dead at once, what's going to happen?*

11 *(gap)*

12 *Teacher: How else do crickets xxxx in the classroom?*

13 *Student: xxxx*

14 *Teacher: If I do will the crickets continue to live?*

15 *Students: No.*

16 Teacher: *Everybody says no, why not?*

17 *I won't turn it up that high (referring to the insectorium with a*
18 *heater attached)*

19 Students *chuckle*

20 Teacher: *Will they, put your hands down please. I really want you to*
21 *think about this before we get ready for recess, chin up please,*

22 Meg: *Can I go to the bathroom?*

23 Teacher: *Put your hand down please.*

24 Student *sighs audibly.*

25 Teacher: *Who can tell me what they think is the normal cycle, what*
26 *is their normal cycle? Listen please.*

27 Jan: *And they have babies, xxxx*

28 Teacher: *Has anyone's cricket had babies?*

29 Students: *Yes. Mine did. Ours did.*

30 Teacher: *Are those babies going to grow up and have babies?*

31 Students: *Yep.*

32 Teacher: *Well, then, if I'm listening to what you're saying, J come*
33 *back here please, and I'm understanding you E, what you're saying,*
34 *your crickets are having babies and they're gonna die, but the*
35 *babies are going to have babies and they're gonna die.*

36 Student: *And the babies are going to have babies.*

37 Teacher: *If that's true, we will have crickets all year long. Is that*
38 *what's going to happen?*

39 Students: *Yes.*

40 Teacher: *Do you think so? Or are we going to come in some day and*
41 *slowly we're going to lose our crickets...*

As the teacher leads the discussion, he is trying to make a point about the crickets: The normal cycle of cricket life is to die off with the approach of winter. The crickets have reproduced with eggs. He relies on the students' responses to move the lesson forward and to lead to drawing some key ideas about the change of the seasons and the effects of the change on living things (e.g. lines 25-26). He works with student replies (e.g. lines 16, 28). He pursues what are key questions for him (e.g. lines 7, 10, 25, 37-38). He restates what students have said (e.g. lines 16, 28, 32-35).

Again, the teacher and students interact with assumptions about resources. The references to crickets, classroom, the heater for the meal worms, the normal cycle, and babies are held to be commonly understood on the basis of prior contexts. Materials, activities, social relationships between students and teachers and patterns of interaction which accompany those relationships serve as resources/tools which the teacher and students draw upon in order to participate in the conversation. The routine of questions from the teacher and answers from the students is also understood as part of what is entailed in student-teacher social relationships. That is, students and teacher interact from ideas about common membership, what it means to be identified with this particular class, during the discussion. Students are expected to know how to assume a particular role as learners by constantly responding to questions the teacher asks. In addition, the questioning technique which the teacher uses shows students a way of doing school in general, as well as a way to think by talking about what has been observed about meal worms and crickets. In this way, the teacher models purposes for classroom discussions. This conversation helps to further establish the question-answer interactional pattern as a resource to guide students' behavior during future discussions. The following section describes a third

main type of communication between teacher and students: communication that prepares students for the next part of the day.

Communication That Prepares for What is Next

This segment was recorded during a morning work time just prior to recess. The class has been writing. It's time to prepare for recess. There are two tasks that the teacher wants done before the class leaves. Red folders which the students have been using need to be put away and writing papers need to be stacked on the art table. This is the place where all completed work is piled for the teacher to pick up later. The segment begins with the teacher announcing what activity is coming next and what to do in order to be ready to participate.

Second Grade Text X

- 1 *Teacher: Boys and Girls, believe it or not, it's recess time.*
- 2 *We will have special snack time when you come in from recess*
- 3 *Let me give you a direction.*
- 4 *I just waiting to make sure everybody hears me before I say...*
- 5 *Are you listening W?*
- 6 *You have two things you need to do.*
- 7 *You need to put your writing paper over here on the art table.*
- 8 *You need to put your red folders back in the box.*
- 9 *Then you need to walk to line-up.*
- 10 */Teacher stands by art table where he can see students stack papers/*
- 11 *Teacher: Make sure your name is showing before ...*
- 12 *//students put things away//*
- 13 *Teacher to a student: Your name isn't showing.*
- 14 *//students put things away//*

15 *Teacher to another student: Make sure your name is showing.*

16 *Teacher: L? Your name isn't on that.*

17 *L, put your folder away please.*

18 *L, bring me the writing paper and put it here.*

19 *Where's your writing paper?*

20 *No. no. no, put your name on it*

21 *J, Put your red folder away.*

22 *Student /calling to another student/: Line leader, line leader*

23 */students talking/*

24 *Teacher (calmly): S, get in line please.*

25 *Teacher: W, we need to go now, we're taking our recess time.*

26 *M, where is your red folder?*

27 *Red folders should be down in the box.*

28 *Paper on the pile, make sure your name shows.*

29 *Boys and Girls, I want to show you something, please look at this, you*

30 *know what this is, this is a broken tile, I'll wait, these tiles will*

31 *break; my concern is that it could be sharp if it breaks and someone*

32 *could get hurt. If you're going to use the tile, you need to know not*

33 *to throw things, if that's not something you can do, you know*

34 *yourself, if you know these tiles are just too cool, I have to throw*

35 *them, then please don't use them because they'll break if you throw*

36 *them. OK. Would you throw that one away please.*

37 *Student: It was...*

38 *Teacher: It's not important, it's not important. What's important is*

39 *that no one gets hurt and that everyone's more careful next time.*

40 */student puts something away/*

41 *Teacher: Are we ready? Right now we've lost six minutes of recess.*
42 *We have if you look at the clock. We have to be in, in less than ten*
43 *minutes. We need to get going. W, come on. We need you right now.*
44 *We'll lose recess time waiting for you.*
45 */student finishes/*
46 *Teacher: Thanks, W.*
47 */Teacher leads students out the door/*
48 *//students walk out//*

The students need time to organize their papers and folders. Names are supposed to be written on papers, but invariably someone forgets. The tiles are objects used in math earlier in the day and there is some discussion about caring for those. The teacher lists two things to do in order to be ready for recess. Students begin to work at the "two (they) need to do" (line 6). The teacher diligently makes sure that the two jobs are carried out by every student prior to lining up to go outside. It's as though completing the two jobs is a ticket which enables each student to be admitted to line-up. Again, the segment can be used to show how students and teacher draw from resources in order to participate in the life of the classroom.

The teacher and students interact with key words and phrases about materials, activities, time, prior contexts about handing papers in which mean that students put names on their papers and put red folders in certain locations. The phrases are used as reference points (e.g. snack time, recess time, red folders, your name on papers, tiles, minutes, the clock). In addition, students and teacher interact with social resources (assumptions about what it means to be students and teachers) in order to communicate. The teacher assures the students in line 2 that snacks have not been forgotten and that

this way of doing school, this feature of classroom life will be maintained. The teacher repeats the phrase *your* several times in reference to papers and folders which belong to students. Each student has a paper and a folder marked with their name. This is a way of showing membership in the class and it also means that the students have obligations associated with their membership. Obligations of membership also lead to obligations to use resources in particular ways. By virtue of their membership in the class, each student is also obligated to put their folders away and to stack their papers in an orderly pile for the teacher to pick up (e.g. lines 7, 8, 11, 15, 17 and so on). Also, the membership of students brings with it certain ways of thinking. For example, the tiles are to be cared for and not thrown and broken (lines 29-36). The students "need to know not to throw things" (line 32-33). Again, students and teacher draw from resources about social relationships in the classroom (showing care for one another) in order to talk about what is possible to do and how things should be done. In other words, common language and common membership are established as students and teacher draw from resources in order to participate in the life of the class.

A Look at a Class Meeting

This section describes the seven resources informing common language and common membership in terms of a daily class activity: the morning meeting. This event is analyzed in order to look more closely at the social practices of the class and to understand how the seven resources identified above were used for building common language and common membership. This meeting occurred on the thirteenth day of school. A map of events during the day is shown in Table 3 on pages 123-125.

Table 3. The Thirteenth Day of School: 9-19-94

Time	Events	Actions/Reactions	Group/ Location	Language of Actions/Reactions
8:30	Arriving at school	T reminding Sts Sts lining up behind number T standing at the head of the line	whole class outside	hi good morning
8:45	Entering the room	Sts putting lunch things in closets Sts going to rest room Sts walking around the room	individual students /hallway, closet, bathrooms desks, lunch chart	look who knew what to do Shhh
8:50	Morning meeting	T directing students to sit in a circle	whole class	pictures folders hots colds absent
9:00	Leave for pictures	T leading students to gym T helping students with pictures Class pictures T leading students back to class	whole class	Shhh stay in line stand still stand over here be an example for the first graders
9:45	Resume morning meeting	Students sitting in circle on carpet T leading discussion T preparing class for fish tank filling	whole class	morning greeting morning message the pledge

Continued, next page

Table 3 continued

10:10	Get snacks and begin with fish tank discussion	T announcing snacks T showing fish tank and water T leading discussion about what water to use T asking students to predict how much water needed to fill tank Students working in groups to guess	whole group	water from the tap how many bottles will it take fish predictions
10:45	Spelling	Students sitting at desks Teacher explaining how spelling works Teacher giving pretest Teacher directing students to put things away, get ready for lunch	whole group	the next word is pretest
11:30	Lunch	Students walking to cafeteria in line	whole group	hot lunch cold lunch
12:00	Rest Talk about tape recording made this morning	Teacher announcing rest time Teacher and class aide leading discussion about tape recording Students lining up for Music	whole group	what shows learning in the tape recording? Let's go
12:30	Music	T leading class to Music T leading class back from Music	Whole group	Shhh

Continued, next page

Table 3 continued

1:10	Science	T explaining descriptions for fish tank filling Students writing what they saw Students orally describing what they saw T announcing clean-up Students lining up	whole group	write what you saw tell what you saw descriptions line-up
2:00	Recess	T leading students outside Students playing on playground T leading students inside	whole group	recess Second grade!
2:20	Journal writing and penmanship	T announcing time for journals and penmanship Students writing	whole group	writing neatly practice
2:45-3:05	Get ready to go home	Teacher announcing time to cleanup Students picking up Students putting chairs on desks Students getting coats Students sitting on carpet Teacher recording what happened on leaf Teacher reading poems Secretary announcing dismissals over PA Students leaving with parents Students to line-up T leading students to bus pick-up	whole group	stack chairs read poems sit in circle teachers to stations parent pickups dismissed walkers dismissed second grade dismissed

The class event known as morning meeting occurred daily from about 8:45 to 9:15 or so. A transcript (Figure 7) of much of the morning meeting is shown pages 127-138. Figure 7 diagrams students' and teacher interaction during the first 20 minutes of the meeting. The remainder of the meeting beginning with the pledge is characterized by teacher's questions and students' replies. This type of interaction has already been discussed (see Second Grade Text II).

Analysis of the transcript

The analysis is accomplished according to the procedure suggested by Fairclough (1992). Classroom conversation is analyzed in terms of 1) the conversational (or discourse) practices of the group, 2) in terms of the talk recorded as a type of text to be described, and 3) in terms of wider social practices which are indicated by the conversation which is constructed. The next section describes the conversation or discourse practices of the class by noting page and line numbers of Figure 7 (e.g. pg. 127:1-3).

Conversational Practice

The morning meeting is held to accomplish a series of tasks. A count of lunches and attendance must be taken to satisfy needs of the students as well as need of the institution. The teacher also wants students to adjust to being back in school. The meeting provides opportunity to greet one another, to share stories or topics of interest, to discuss the calendar date, to contribute math equations to a student-generated list, to read poetry aloud with other students as well as to memorize poetry, to attend to vowel and consonant sounds which are part of a morning message and to listen to directions for the first seat work activity of the day.

Teacher

Students and Other speakers

1 OK
2 Boys and girls would you come up front please,
3 we have a *lot* to do today.
4 Move up front.
5 [xxxxx]
6 About ten seconds with several people talking
7 Are we ready?
8 [Shhh]
9
10 There's a pile.
11 Meg would you get me a pencil on my desk please.
12
13 Boys and Girls would you smile if you're ready,
14 Oh, I'll wait xxxxx.
15
16 //T explains about papers which Meg is sorting on the floor//
17 [What's that?
18 Hi Jenny come on in.
19
20 Boys and Girls,
21 Meg, Meg, are you listening?
22
23 Would you please smile if you remembered to do,
24 the lunch chart.
25
26 Meg and Manzo,
27
28
29
30
31

xxxxx

xxxxx]

xxxxx]

Meg: Mr. P. where do we put these?

//Meg goes to desk//

[xxxxx]

[xxxxx]

B: Jan, don't go.

Jan: Why?

xxxxx]

//A teacher passes by and looks in the door//

Meg: Hi Uncle Paul.

Jan: Don't say that. That's your Dad.

Laughter, xxxxx

//Meg nods//

xxxxx

//some smiles//

//Meg and Manzo both look//

Figure 7. Classroom Interaction I: Morning Meeting

Continued, next page

Teacher

would you both, would you both arrange those piles of things, so they're nice and neat.

Students and Other speakers

//Meg and Manzo both nod//

xxxx

Meg: Now I have something to tell you we got our xxx,

Manzo: What?

Jan: I get to do these little things.

You know how long that is?

Jan: Where is it?

xxxx

[several students talking]

Meg: My Mom,

My Dad. Brian, Brian

You know I'm gonna xxxx.

Jan: I always get that kind, I don't know why I had to get that kind /pointing to the pictures/.

Meg: I know because!

Jan: I got the xxx.

Meg: That's just the flash.

Meg: Yeah.

Brian: I think my sister usually gets that.

[some talking]

Meg, instead of doing the xxx can you arrange those please,

So they're nice xxxx.

We're waiting for a couple of people to join us.

Shshsh.

Jenny, please come put your things on the pile.

Meg, put all the picture things in *one* pile.

Put all the *folders* in another pile.

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

Teacher

Lots of people have to get their things organized this morning
[so we'll wait.]

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

Dennie, on my desk is a xxxx all the things we're going to do today.
Would you get that please?
When you pick it up, would you pick it up with two
hands please, cause I don't want all the papers and stuff
to fall out.

The work you can keep, xxx I just need the folders.

The work or the folder,

Umhm now we're going to get quiet, I'm going to count back from
five

Students and Other speakers

Another student: This is a huge thing filled with money.]
xxxx

Meg: Manzo xxx.

Manzo: Where's a picture thing?

Where's a picture thing?

Meg: A picture thing xxx

Meg: Is this the money?

Manzo: Yeah.

That's a picture.

Meg: It is?

Manzo: Yes.

Manzo: Put it,

Manzo: Brian, Brian, Brian, you're supposed to take this out.

Brian: What?

Meg: Oh oh.

I left my work at home.

Meg: xxxx

Manzo: You have to keep the work in the folder.

Meg: Oh.

Manzo /to another student/: Did you bring a folder back
Yeah.

/Meg reading names on the piles as she sorts/

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

Students and Other speakers

1 [when I get to zero
 2 then I know at least this half of the circle will be listening
 3 [xxxxx]
 4 [Five, four, three, two, one, *zzip*.
 5 Shhh.
 6 Now, I'm holding one book order.
 7 Did anyone else return a book order?
 8
 9
 10 If you have it I'll take it.
 11 When are book orders due, when is the
 12 last day,
 13 Friday.
 14 So you can bring it in any day this week, but Friday is
 15 the mailing day so they have to be in by Friday, that's the first
 16 thing.
 17 The second thing that I need is to have Nathan,
 18 would you go over and tell us, how many, hots we have,
 19 Meg can you and Manzo do that without talking,
 20
 21 Meg, Meg, Nathan's going to do that dear.
 22 [Thank you.
 23 Meg?
 24
 25 Can you do that job without talking please, just so I can hear xxx
 26
 27
 28
 29 Nine hots,
 30 How many colds,
 31

xxxxx]
 xxxxx]
 xxxxx]
 /sound of crickets/
 ? : I think I did.
 ? : I didn't.
 Friday.
 [xxxxx]
 Meg: How many hots?
 Meg: Oh.]
 Meg: Yeah,
 //Meg nods//
 Nathan /counting tags/: Nine.
 Nathan /counting/: Seven

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Students and Other speakers

Teacher

1 Seven colds,
2 What's nine plus seven?
3 Shhhh
4 What's nine plus seven,
5
6 Sixteen.
7 How many children are absent,
8
9 How many children are absent.
10
11 Jenny's absent?
12 No I think Jenny's here.
13 Jenny what are you going to for lunch today?
14 Jenny what are you going to do for lunch today?
15
16 Cold?
17
18 Ok.
19 Who else do you have that's absent there?
20 Nathan,
21
22 Jan's here.
23 Jan what are you going to for lunch today?
24
25 Jan what are you going to do for lunch today?
26
27 Cold?
28 Ok.
29 /To another student who is getting up/ Don't go anywhere,
30 we have a lot of work to do today.
31

Nathan: xxxx

Manzo: xxxx this isn't for,

Nathan: Ummm, xxxx

Jenny: Cold.
//Jenny nods//

Nathan: Umm, xxxx Jan.
Student: Ooops.

Jan's right here
Brian: Woops, [laugh]

Jan: Cold.

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Students and Other speakers

Teacher

1 So, who, who's absent?
2
3 Lonny and Lana.
4 Ok, those are the only two.
5 How many hots do we have?
6
7 Nine.
8 How many colds do we have?
9
10 What's nine plus nine?
11
12 Let him think please.
13
14 Thank you for giving him time to think.
15
16 Close.
17 Eighteen.
18 How many absent?
19
20 What's eighteen plus two?
21
22 Twenty and we have twenty-two so we're missing two tags.
23 One of the tags we're missing is your tag right, xxxx,
24 and Dennie's tag, so two tags are missing.
25
26 I'm sure they're here because they were here this morning
27 before we started.
28 Anyone have notes for me?
29
30
31

Meg: Jan

Nathan: Lonny and Lana.

Nathan: Nine.

?: Nine.

Nathan: Nine

Manzo: Ten.

Meg: Nine plus nine is easy.

Manzo: Oh! I know!

?: /whispered/ Come on.

Nathan: Nineteen?

Nathan: Two.

Nathan: xxxx

?: Wooo.

xxx

Meg: Two tags are missing?

?: /sigh/

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

Going once,

Students and Other speakers

whew

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

/Librarian enters/ This is your Ezra I don't know how you got Van Allsburg.

Well I don't know how to do that,

Well I'll take those and leave Keats.

Ohh somebody else wants Van Allsburg?

Nxxxx.

Yeah I'm going to keep Van Allsburg.

You want to keep Van Allsburg? Ok.

Thank you.

You're welcome.

Is there a videotape inside there, cause that's what Trish wanted.

I got filmstrips but no video, but I'll check.

Ok thank you.
Thanks.

Thank you. /Librarian leaves/
/Secretary enters/ Can we get you for pictures?

You want us now?

//Secretary nods//

Perfect.

Ok, so if everybody has their envelopes, and this one spot, I don't know if it's going to be a hassle for the teachers xxxxxx.

yes

Meg would you hand Ms. W. the picture envelopes please?

S: Just one.

Meg: These?

S: I just want to show you. //Meg hands her an envelope//
Yeah.

S: Thanks. /Opens the envelope/
Ok.

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

Students and Other speakers

1		
2		There's, there's one thing.
3		Tell me if this is going to get be a hassle (laughs).
4		You guys get to be the,
5	Oh we're the first, we're the guinea pigs,	
6	to	
7		S: This one here /indicates a place on the form/, is supposed
8		be for the date of birth.
9		I don't know. Is that like a, hassle for the t, teachers or kids
10	For, for ummm some children it is,	to fill in.
11	(laughter)	S: Ok (laughter).
12	If I had my druthers, (laughs)	
13		S: It must be for the younger kids
14		S: Ok.
15		Alright.
16		Sounds good, so if everybody can come down and we're
17	Where are we?	all set.
18		S: Ummm, down in the gym,
19		Meg: Oh man!
20		S: and if everybody has their picture envelope in hand,
21		S: I don't think it matters for right now
22		Students: I mind. I do too.
23		It matters, [several voices disagree]
24	Do you want us lined up small to large?	S: Do you xxxx
25		S: Ok. /Secretary leaves/
26		
27		
28		
29	xxxx	
30	Once you have your envelope would you line up please?	
31	And if you don't have an envelope xxxx	

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

Students and Other speakers

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

Dennie?

Boys and Girls, while Meg is organizing this, if you know that you don't have an envelope here would walk over to line-up?

If you don't have one would you walk to line-up.

This one is Josie's

Are we all set?

Boys and Girls listeners please.

Let's try this, ahahahahahahahh.

Now you're listening.

Hold your envelopes up high.

Nice and high.

If you don't have one you're not holding one.

//Teacher starts counting the number of students with envelopes//

One, two, hold it up high, three, four, five,

Perfect.

Meg (handing out envelopes): Merrill

[xxxxx]

?: Mr. P.

Meg: Dennie,

Meg: Dennie,

Brian (chanting): Dennie girl, Dennie girl, Dennie Dennie Dennie girl.

Meg: Jo!

?: Whose xxxxx

Meg: Amanda or xxxx

xxxxx

?: Mine has a little,

Meg: Ummm Jan and this xxx

Meg: Yeah.

?: Our picture stuff,

[xxxxx]

Several: Ahaahhahah.

//Students raise envelopes//

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

Hands down please.

I know, he'll get his, here we go,

Boys and Girls, that *took* forty-five minutes.
Which is a *lot* of time.
That's almost like three almost three recesses
plus a few more xxx, so in order for us to have time to do all the
other things we need to do today, I need something from you.
Who knows what that is? I?
[//Teacher nods//

Dennie come on up front please.
please put your eyes and ears on Nathan and he's going to *quickly*
tell us about today.
Shhhh.
Today is,
[/Teacher echoes Nathan/ Monday September 19th, 1994

Boys and Girls today is, [Monday September 19th, 1994
Could you move a straw for us and make a tally too please.

Students and Other speakers

Meg: Nathan can't xxxx

//Students begin following teacher out the door//
Manzo: Cool
xxxx
?: Go go go go
Meg: Dennie Dennie,
Dennie: I'm not getting in *line*.
Jan: Because he didn't even know about it.
Meg: Oh yeah.

[students talking as they leave the room]
[students talking]

Several: Ohhhh.

I: Cooperation.

xxxx]

xxxxxx
[yawn]
Nathan: Monday, September 19th, 1993, 1994

Monday September 19th, 1994]

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

Students and Other speakers

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31

Take a straw out of the *pink* can and put it into the ones.

That's it, take one out of there, *and* would you make a tally for us too please.

Set that up here.

Everyone get back in a circle and Nathan's going to do the greeting for us.

Do you remember how to do that Nathan?
It's been a couple days since you've been here.
That's where you shake someone's hand and greet them

Bless you.

Good morning Tim I like your jazzy shorts

You're welcome.

Ok we're going to stand, and Nathan is going to lead us in the pledge.
Everyone's up.
Right hands are on your hearts,

?: 1994. Laughter.
xxxx

//Nathan moves a straw//
xxxx

xxxx

//Nathan looks at Mr. P//

Nathan: Good morning xxxx
Steve: Good morning Mr. L. I like your shoes
Mr. L. Good morning Steve, I like your green shirt
?: Good morning xxx (sneeze)

?: Thank you.
Tim: Good morning, Mr. P., I really like xxxx

Good morning xxxx
xxxx
?: Thank you.
/greetings continue/

//Students stand up//

Figure 7 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

1 eyes are on the flag,
2 Let's begin xxxx
3 Right hand on your heart
4 Thatta boy,
5
6 Come on Meg,
7 Nathan, I pledge allegiance to the United States,
8 to the flag of the United
9 States,

Students and Other speakers

[Sighs]
xxxx
[] I pledge allegiance, to the flag, of the United States,

Figure 7 continued

The students and teacher act together to produce the text of the conversation. The conversation is meant for the use of the students and teacher and it serves as an orientation to the school day. The text itself follows a particular structure which corresponds with the three communication events described above. First, the teacher announces a signal for students to use to show they are ready to proceed. On page 127:13, the teacher asks the students to show that they are ready to begin the meeting by smiling. The teacher then asks the students to use the same smile signal to indicate whether they remembered to move their tags on the lunch chart (page 127:27). The use of students' signals by the teacher to monitor progress is implied (page 129:1-2) where the teacher decides to wait because the students appear to need more time to get "their things organized." Other signals which the teacher uses to monitor students' progress towards the next phase of activity are: quiet voices to indicate listening by "this half of the circle" (page 130:2), numbers of lunch tags and student's response in pages 130:29-132:20, students holding envelopes for pictures (page 135:25-31), hands raised (page 135:30) to show readiness to leave, the students' speaking in unison to indicate they are following the date (page 136:28-30), the placement of straws and tallies (pages 136:31-137:7) to indicate understanding of counting the days school has been in session so far, handshakes (page 137:15) to indicate participation in the greeting, and right hands on hearts (page 138:3) to indicate readiness to participate in the pledge of allegiance.

A second phase of communicative activity during the conversation is the teacher's recognition that students are following along with instructions. An example of the teacher's recognition occurs on page 138:4. The teacher may also correct students if they do not show signs of following along with instructions. An example of this is found on page 130:22 where the teacher

reminds Meg that her job is to put the picture envelopes and folders in piles and leave the lunch count to Niles.

A third phase of communicative activity is that teacher and students carry out the activity. An example of this is found by looking on page 130:6-19. Here students and teacher begin to carry out one of the tasks for the morning meeting on the thirteenth day of school which is to collect book orders and to begin the lunch count.

A fourth phase of communicative activity is the announcement by the teacher that it's time to move on to next task or next event. An example of this kind of conversational practice is found on pages 129:30-130:5. The teacher uses the word now to signal that he is ready to begin. The teacher also tells the students that "we're going to get quiet" page 129:30 so that the next task which is carrying out the morning meeting can proceed.

Relations of Morning Meeting and Resources

During the conversation, the teacher and students take up particular social roles or subject positions. The teacher assumes a role as leader. He produces or initiates the phases of activity which make up the morning meeting. He gives directions for the students throughout the meeting. The teacher uses indicators of politeness and consideration which tend to give the conversation a tone of friendliness even though several tasks are planned for the students to do. The students mostly respond to what the teacher has said although there are some instances where students take the initiative in producing texts for the teacher or other adults to respond to. One example of students' initiative with conversation is the discussion by Meg, Manzo, and Jan shown on page 128:4-19 about the pictures and picture packages available for purchase. Another example is the challenging response by several students on page 134:25-26 to the secretary's contention that how students

line up does not matter. Usually, students are in the position of responding to the teacher's comments. Usually, students respond to the teacher's directions for what to do next. The following section describes the morning meeting in relation to how this classroom event defines and limits each of the seven resources identified earlier in this chapter: activity, use of time, social relationships, objects and ideas, postures and behaviors as ways to communicate, goals and purposes, and memory of prior contexts.

The morning meeting is defined by the activity which occurs during this event. Particular actions and reactions occur at this time of the day which will not occur during the rest of the day. The use of straws and tallies is unique to the morning meeting agenda, as is the placement of tags on the lunch chart to indicate lunch preference. Discussions about the calendar and the reading aloud of poems indicate that a morning meeting is occurring.

The morning meeting occurs at a particular time each day (from about 8:45-9:30 AM). The ways that time is managed during the meeting illustrate ways that time is managed on a broader scale across the entire school day. That is, the morning meeting forms part of the sequence of classroom activity which makes up the way time is scheduled at school. Students are expected to sustain interest in this activity until it's time for the next one to begin. In addition, the interactions between students and teacher are managed according to patterns identified earlier in this discussion. The teacher prepares students for the activity, leads the group through the activity, and then prepares the group for the next activity.

The social relationships of the students and the teacher serve as resources to draw from. Students and their teacher take up social positions with regard to who gets to do the talking and who gets to make the plans for what will be done or not done with various objects, ideas, and events. In

addition, social roles are defined by who gets to use particular symbols/ forms and when they get to be used. The ways that conversation is produced and who is meant to consume or respond to the conversation also give clues about how the symbols/forms are meant to be used and what limits are placed on their use.

Social roles for students and teachers also serve as resources which are used to tell what can be done with objects and ideas. In this case, the teacher's role brings students to use objects like the lunch chart to represent lunch count and attendance. The students are not allowed to do just anything with these objects and the ideas they represent. Limits are placed upon the use of these materials by the teacher and are also acknowledged and accepted by the students.

Limits to the use of ideas and objects are also indicated by the postures and behaviors which students and teacher display as they communicate. The quiet voices and the physical responses of students to the teacher's requests to get things from his desk are examples which also indicate the authority the teacher holds and the students' response to the teacher's social position. In addition, the spoken conversation itself occurs in certain ways which identify the event called morning meeting. Greetings are exchanged with handshakes or with whispers. Students talk about what they brought with them to school, or what they did at home. The teacher uses particular expressions such as "Anyone have notes for me? Going once, going..." on page 133:1 during the morning meeting time. There are specific modes of communication and kinds of activity that identify this class meeting as a "morning meeting". Again, the modes of communication and kinds of activity at certain times of the day serve as resources which students and their

teacher draw from in order to participate appropriately in the life of the class.

Particular goals and purposes and the memory of particular prior contexts serve as resources which influence the other resources discussed above. The teacher, for example, makes use of the morning meeting to work toward his goal of establishing a common language and common identity as a class. He relies on the students' memory of prior contexts to help them participate appropriately during the meeting. Students also draw from particular goals and purposes, many of which have to do with establishing and maintaining social relationships. For example, they sit with special friends, they bring something to talk about, they tell about a funny incident, and so on.

There is another way in which the use of the seven resources is limited. Limitations for the use of resources are made visible as teacher's conversation is interpreted by students. How students respond to teachers shows what is possible for students to know and to be. Analyzing student-teacher discourse as a series of texts helps to make visible how students interpret what teachers talk about. Please recall from chapter 1 that texts are defined as communication about experience.

During the morning meeting, a series of responses by students and teacher to one another form a chain of texts linked with one another. That is, the ways texts are taken up from participant to participant forms a pattern or chain of interpretation or distribution. As texts are linked, they undergo shifts in meaning. Each response by a participant influences what meanings have been proposed before. The meanings which can be made reflect limits for how resources can be used given the social roles of the participants and the setting of the text. The reason the chain of texts is significant in this

analysis is that it shows how students and teacher use resources to establish common language and common identities and in so doing, to define what opportunities for learning are possible during this morning meeting. That is, the textual chains which are constructed reflect what resources are available for participants, how the resources are used, as well as what the resources can mean. What the concept of texts does for this analysis is that it can be used to show how resources are taken up by participants and used to construct common knowledge, common language, and patterned ways of interaction.

In particular, textual chains show patterns about the ways that resources are taken up by students and teachers as examples of what to do. As students and teachers use resources, they consistently indicate what is appropriate to do given the time of day, the activity, purposes, the materials, and prior contexts of similar activities. For students, the resources act as points of decision, ways to decide whether to identify with what the teacher is asking for or not. Theoretically, students take up resources to inform, reform, and transform what can be done, by whom, and in what ways. Students can decide to use resources in a particular way to inform someone else about how things should be done. Students can also use resources to reform or negotiate what can be done. Finally, students can also use resources to transform over time what can be done. In other words, students can also begin to effect changes in classroom routines as they make decisions about how to take up resources.

Texts and Resources for Morning Meeting

Textual chains, in terms suggested by the definition above, are located in several instances in the transcript. A closer look at textual chains will help to make visible uses of resources available to students and teachers. Textual chains are the cutting edges of activity in the classroom. This is because they

represent the development of a common language. One example of a textual chain is diagrammed in Figure 7, page 127:1-13. Here the teacher announces that it's time to move up front so the meeting can begin. In line 2 the teacher lets students know that there is "a lot to do today". This attempt to link the teacher's agenda with the students' talk is not acknowledged by many students, several of whom continue to talk. There is a ten second interval as the teacher talks with a few students, then another attempt is proposed in line 7. In line 9, Meg acknowledges the teacher's question by asking where to put the picture folders. The teacher indicates that a pile has been formed. The social consequence is that Meg is a helper for the teacher and is also asked to go to the teacher's desk to help the teacher by getting a pencil. The teacher's request in line 11 is acknowledged by Meg who goes to the desk and brings back a pencil. The transformation of texts in this chain looks like this: Line 7: Are we ready (to cooperate)----> Line 9: Mr. P. where do we put these? (I'm cooperating, here's an item I know you need our help with)---->Line 10: There's a pile (cooperating now is putting the homework folder and picture envelope in the correct piles---->Line 11: Meg, would you get me a pencil on my desk (cooperating now is asking a student to help)---->Line 12: Meg goes to teacher's desk (cooperation now is helping the teacher)--->Line 13: Boys and Girls, smile as a signal that you are ready (cooperation now is being ready to start the morning meeting). The chain of texts proposed here defines what it means to be ready for the morning meeting to take place on this particular day. In particular, being ready is acted upon by Meg and the teacher in terms of cooperation in working together with objects such as the folders, the picture envelopes, and a writing tool like a pencil. This chain of development is limited by the time of day, that is, this sequence of interaction with folders and items from home is most likely to take place in the morning. This chain of

development is also bounded by the social relations of Meg and her teacher. Meg responds to the teacher's request to get ready by using a title, "Mr. P." which indicates the teacher's position of authority. This chain of development is also bounded by the existence of the folders and picture envelopes which provide opportunity for a common language of cooperation to be established in connection with them. Each response "reaccentuates, and reworks past texts, and in so doing... contributes to wider processes of change" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 102). Meg's reference to "these" in line 9 is a reference which she assumes the teacher will understand based on a memory of prior contexts involving the picture envelopes and folders. In addition, this chain of texts shows willingness of Meg to be identified as one who is ready.

Other limitations upon the use of resources are suggested by the repetition of certain phrases and arguments which serve to link the responses of the teacher and students. The phrases and arguments act as cohesive links. Exploring these links helps to check observations about social practices with the use of resources. The following section discusses cohesive links about clauses and sentences. In addition, the cohesiveness of arguments is discussed.

Cohesion

Fairclough (1992) defines cohesion as ways that phrases and sentences are connected throughout texts. Cohesion occurs through repetition of particular words or phrases in addition to repetition of functions for phrases. Functions of sentences or phrases are indicated by taking a look at how language is used by participants. For example, "Would you" is a request that is repeated throughout the text-particularly during the opening minutes. Each time it is associated with an action that the student is supposed to take. The morning meeting reflects a series of actions which the students are supposed

to take in order to start the day. The teacher's authority to push the class to do certain tasks is made to appear less confrontational because the teacher is asking politely. Since students have participated in many morning meetings before the teacher can assume that using resources in particular ways for participating in morning meeting is not difficult for students to do-it's a matter of cooperation. The interaction of students and teachers represents a particular kind of social practice with authority. Authority in this sense means a social position which directs using resources in particular ways. While the teacher's authority is made clear, the accepted social practice with authority in this classroom is to lessen the force of it by using words and phrases which infer politeness.

Cohesive links are also suggested by the arguments or schema used for organizing conversation. Schema used by the teacher for organizing his talk with students undergoes a change as the meeting progresses. Up to line 29, page 129 (129:29) the schema appears to be cause-effect or problem-solution. The signals are phrases the teacher uses such as: "do this so they're nice" or "pick it with two hands please 'cause I don't want all the papers and stuff to fall out"(e.g. pages 128:21-23; 129:15-17). These signals show how the teacher approaches the beginning of the day-there are lots of loose ends from previous days-book orders, pictures, notes, papers from the teacher's desk, piles of folders and pictures and other things that need to be organized this morning (e.g. page 129:1). So part of the argument for morning meeting is that loose ends are taken care of. This is a particular conception of time-managing loose ends and problems in a timely fashion. The resources at students' disposal are to be used to manage an assortment of materials linked by the memory of prior contexts to the day before. Social relationships, activity, the use of time, appropriate postures and behaviors with certain

objects, and the recollection of particular prior contexts are made to serve the purpose of beginning the meeting.

However, a change in how the teacher organizes his talk with students appears on page 129:30. The teacher shifts to another schema or plan for organizing his conversation. The second major schema in the meeting time is that of time order. Time order signaled by the teacher on page 129:30 with "now". Time order is indicated by the teacher's agenda (e.g. a call for notes-page 132:31). The next item, pictures, is introduced by the secretary and the teacher takes it up with "now" again. Other items are the pledge and greeting. "Now" is implied or said directly and is the word which indicates the next item on the teacher's agenda. The teacher has in mind a sequence of tasks for the morning meeting agenda, The meeting has a routine arrangement of tasks that need to be done. There is an order for using time and all participants have an idea about what to do and when to do it. Once students' folders and picture envelopes from the day before are organized, the teacher calls students to draw from resources in a customary way in order to participate in the remainder of the morning meeting. Again, the resources at the students' and teacher's disposal are made to serve particular activities and purposes of the morning meeting.

Social Practices

The discourse samples described in this section are typical of the classroom interactions which occur each day. The communication between students and their teacher draws from resources such as: practices for using time, kinds of activity with materials, social relationships, purposes and goals, ways of communication by verbal and non-verbal means, and memory of prior contexts. Resources are to be used in certain ways at certain times of the day. For example, the resource of time is for using in certain ways. Second

graders are taught what can be learned as they learn what can be done with resources and how tasks can be accomplished.

Schools as institutions are accountable for using resources such as time in particular ways. Limits on the use of available resources represent the social practices of the teacher and students. By looking at how resources are used in teachers' and students' interactions, observations can be made about the social practices of the group. For example, the use of particular objects like the lunch chart during the morning meeting represents how objects and materials as a kind of resource are used in limited ways to achieve particular goals and purposes. One purpose for the morning meeting is to reestablish classroom community for another day together. Communicating about the need for food is one way that students and teacher can work together. The use of objects like the lunch chart in an event called "morning meeting" reflects certain social practices with objects and materials which are viewed as the norm in classrooms within the school.

Ideas about teaching and learning in school draw from social practices with resources. A look at social practices with time, materials, and other resources suggests that teaching and learning is about how to manage resources in particular ways.

Summary

A series of resources have been defined. These are: use of time, activity, social relations, objects and ideas, goals, posture or nonverbal communication, and prior contexts. Each of these resources helps to explain how common language and common membership result in opportunities for learning. Learning in school is viewed as a complex interaction, not as a transfer of academic information. The ways that students use resources are

affected by the ways that the teacher, the school, and the wider society use resources such as time, activity and so on.

Data analysis of classroom interactions indicates that students and their teacher act and react to one another about many ideas. Data analysis of classroom conversation highlights how students and their teacher interact about ways to use resources at their disposal: how to use time, how to structure activity, how to use objects and when to use them, ways to use posture to communicate, and how to make use of prior contexts. From the very first day of school, the teacher used several intellectual, social, and material tools, or resources in various ways. Resources are used by the teacher to show students how to do school in second grade. The ways the teacher uses resources helps the students know what is significant and what is not in second grade. The significance teacher and students attach to various resources forms the foundation for establishing a common language and common identities in second grade for how students and teachers act and for what students and teachers are like. What happens on the first day of school serves as a resource, a prior context, for students and their teacher to draw from, for the remainder of the school year.

Discourse analysis helps to examine the idea that students and their teacher draw from resources as they participate in classroom life. By investigating classroom interactions, students' and their teacher's responses to one another can be seen as forming a chain of linked texts. The textual ties which are established through student-teacher interaction indicate to students and their teacher what can be appropriately done with resources. The ways that students and their teacher link texts reflect limits for how resources can be used given the social situation.

Students' Perspectives About Reading Resources

This section is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the seven resources identified previously in this chapter. Each resource is discussed in terms of what students perceive about the resource in order to accomplish reading instruction in second grade. The second part describes a series of relationships students reported about reading. These relationships are included as a way to check my interpretation of the data.

Seven resources for reading are described below. The resources are: time, activities, objects, social relations, postures and behaviors as ways to communicate, goals and purposes, and memory of prior contexts. The resources are visually portrayed in Table 4 on page 152. This table portrays features of the resources in relationship to reading and math for the purpose of clarifying how students perceive resources in relation to reading. Math activities were often discussed by students in interviews in comparison with reading.

Classroom interaction data described previously in this chapter are analyzed by discourse practice, text practice, and social practice. The data described in this section follow the same procedure with one addition. The addition is that ideas for the analysis of symbols/forms suggested by Carbaugh (1994) are incorporated in order to look more specifically at how reading resources are used to represent what can be known and accomplished with reading. Consequently, each reading resource will be discussed in terms of: 1) discourse practices-how the resource functions in students' talk, 2) text practices-what symbols/forms for reading resources are like or unlike in comparison with symbols/forms used for other classroom activities, 3) text practices-how symbols/forms related to reading resources are used

Table 4. Comparison of Resource Features for Reading and Math

Reading Features	Resource	Math Features
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -you think -you blink -you think of words -you read a book -you read words -you think of what the book is saying -sounding out 	<p>a particular activity....</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -you think of numbers -you use pens to color in things -you solve problems -you write equations -you think about those equations -adding and counting
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -after lunch -sometimes after we get snacks and listen to a read aloud 	<p>at a certain time of day....</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -after morning meeting
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -you whisper -you don't goof around -you sit quietly 	<p>with particular social relations...</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -you talk -you work with others -you sit, you walk
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -a book -letters -ABC's -different sounds -pages -words 	<p>and certain objects and ideas....</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -numbers -words with numbers
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -quiet voices -bending over a book -bending over reading record sheet 	<p>using certain postures to participate and communicate with...</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -normal voices -bending over manipulatives -bending over math paper
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -not talk, but just concentrate on what your book is saying 	<p>requiring a goal....</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -make you work on your own work so you get it done quick
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -have to know the ABC's -have to know different sounds -have to know how to turn a page 	<p>involving memory of prior contexts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -have to know how to count up to 20 -have to know how to count and add -have to know how to write equations

on other occasions and for what other purposes, 4) text practices-what limits are placed on symbols/forms which students relate to resources for reading, and 5) social practices-what social discourses/ideologies are supported by the use of reading resources. Discussion of social practices/ideologies maintained through the use of reading resources will be discussed under a separate heading. The next seven sections identify each reading resource in turn. Note that each resource influences the others.

Resources For Participating In Reading Instruction

A Resource for Reading: Use of Time

Time as a reading resource is used by students to label, to locate, and to organize reading at certain moments of the day. In other words, the label 'reading' represents for students a series of activities which occur at certain designated times of the school day. Students locate reading as one of the several events which occur during the day. The passage of time is understood in the context of what students and teacher will each do or not do. The school day is organized into "snippets" or chunks of time labeled by activity. Time is controlled and regulated. Reading starts at 12:10 and goes to 12:30. Then it's time for specials. The regulation of time and who decides how time shall be spent are not usually questioned. Students learn about reading by the ways time is managed for accomplishing work.

As a reading resource, the concept of time functions in students' communication in at least three ways. First, some students talked about time extending in the past to first grade and what was done or not done with reading. In addition, reading time in the present is distinguished from the past and the future in terms of what is done or not done with reading. Time is also viewed extending into the future to third grade and what will or will not

happen with reading. One student thought that reading in third grade would be boring because books to read would be chosen by the teacher. Another student remarked that reading required sounding out "the words that you don't know or you won't know 'em in high school."

A second way that the reading resource of time functions in student communication occurs as students use time to tell what is expected of them. Some students remind other classmates to quiet down during silent reading. They understand that noise is not acceptable. That is, time as a reading resource functions as a marker for students to tell what physical activity or attitude is allowed and what is not. For example, when students are finished reading one book, it is understood that an appropriate use of time is to go to a bookshelf for another book. Other kinds of activity such as working on art papers or going to the coat closet for a snack are not observed. These activities are not appropriate for this time of the day.

A third way the concept of time as a reading resource functions in students' communication is that it marks or indicates what students perceive is progress with reading. Both students and teacher operate with time frames in mind for what progress with reading looks like. By certain times of the school year as well as certain times of a student's academic career in elementary school, students and teachers are expected to deal with certain kinds of reading. For example, students are aware that third grade is approaching and that they will be expected to read certain kinds of books, particularly chapter books and content area reading. For this particular second grade class, time as resource for reading functioned in students' communication as way to compare progress, a way of saying, 'I'm reading chapter books now and I'm through with the easy readers!'

Two symbols/forms are associated with the concept of time as a reading resource. These are: 1) the reading record sheets students used to record what books they have read, and 2) the books students read. The reading record sheets serve as a symbol of previous reading experience over the school year. Some students use the reading record sheets as a symbol of competition. Two students carry on a competition to see who can read the most books. This competition continues over several weeks before the students tire of it. During an interview, one student called the record sheets by the label "read-a-thon". For these students, the reading record sheets can serve as a symbol of numerical progress over time with reading.

The books students read also serve as symbols related to the concept of time as a reading resource. Reading books is never quite finished. One student commented that math activities can be "done quick", however reading requires concentration. Students did not report that reading is ever finished in the way that math is. While students may finish a book once they record it on their record sheets, in another sense they are not finished because the activity of reading continues on through out the school year. When students are finished with one book, they are to get another and to continue reading.

The passage of time in relation to books read and recorded on the reading record sheets can be viewed against the passage of time required for the daily event called silent reading. On the one hand silent reading is considered as an event, a block of time during the day. On the other hand silent reading is a continuous context for reading stretching across the school year: the continuous reading of books and continuous use of record sheets. Time is a flexible resource which can be organized: 1) within a day to organize a flow of activities, and 2) across days to monitor one's progress

reading. This use of time can be viewed against the use of time as a resource for other class activities such as math for example.

Students view the passage of time as a resource for math differently than they do for reading. While math is also a chunk of time during the day with its own particular activities, math is not viewed in terms of a longer context across days and weeks. Math is something to "get done quick," so it's over. Recall that reading is never quite finished. There are no symbols for math which act as the reading record sheets to show students' progress over days and weeks. Even though students sometimes work at math stations for three or four days, this record of time spent is still viewed differently. The time with stations still comes to an end. New stations will be planned by the teacher, but the old stations have been completed. New math papers will be planned by the teacher, but completed math papers are considered finished.

The symbols of time as a resource for reading are considered to be different as well in comparison with spelling which regularly continues across several days. Spelling requires a week to complete from the time of the pretest on Monday to the posttest on Friday. The spelling list papers serve as a symbol for the passage of time. They are organized on Monday and saved for use until Friday's test. Even though the list papers are used over time, they are still completed each week, taken home and used no more. Spelling words on the list papers may be repeated for several weeks on subsequent tests until they are spelled correctly. Spelling words which need to be repeated over several spelling tests come closest to imitating the use of record sheets as symbols of the passage of time. Even so, once the words are spelled correctly, they are dropped from the list and the student continues with other words.

Symbols related to reading may be seen as unique measures of time in comparison with symbols/forms related to other classroom activities. The use

of symbols such as books and reading records are understood to extend over long periods of time and to continue indefinitely.

Limits of time as a resource for reading are that it is confined to the activity called silent reading. While students consider that other times of the day may involve reading such as reading lunch tags, or posters, time for reading is limited to silent reading. While the classroom teacher encourages students to consider reading at other times of the day, the structure of time for silent reading is so ingrained in students' expectations and plans for the day that reading is considered to occur at a particular time. All students reported that "reading" took place after lunch. The way time is managed sends messages to students about what reading is in school.

The organization of time as a resource for reading is also affected by ideas about time promoted by the school community. The willingness of students to see a period of time just after lunch as reading time reflects the ways adults in the school community organize time. Students are allowed to use time in particular ways and for particular purposes. While time is organized for many purposes which help schools as institutions to operate from day to day, this same way of organizing time also teaches students to block time for reading, for math, for music, for spelling, and so on. It should come as no surprise that reading is limited by definition of time to a particular portion of the school day. Thus, while the classroom teacher, in theory, could organize the school day in various alternative ways as necessary for students; in practice, the management of time by the institution overrides the students' uses of time. The classroom teacher reported that much of the work in second grade was

"organizationally-based, you know it's helping kids to realize that when you sit down you have an idea of what the task entails, you have a sense of what kind of tools you're going to need in order to be successful with that task, what completion of that task should actually look like to you..."

In order to succeed in school, students have to be willing to live with the way that the resource of time is organized by the institution for the completion of tasks.

A Resource for Reading: A Particular Activity

There are specific activities that count as reading for students in the study. These activities are discussed in terms of 1) how reading activity functions in students' communication, 2) what symbols/forms for reading activity are like or unlike in comparison with symbols/forms used for other classroom activities, 3) how symbols/forms related to reading activity are used on other occasions and for other purposes, and 4) what limits are placed on symbols/forms which students relate to reading activity.

According to interviews with students, there are several kinds of reading activities in which students engage while reading. These are: what students think while they are reading, what students do with material objects during reading time, and how students distinguish reading activity from other activities in the school day. Each of these kinds of reading activities and their symbols/forms is discussed more fully in the following paragraphs.

One way that reading activity functions in students' communication is that students not only tell other people about books, but they try to communicate with books. That is, students see that reading books requires them to speak the text and to react to what the book is saying. During interviews, students talked about reading:

Second Grade Text XI

Meg: Well, I get kinda like dizzy, cause when I look at the pictures for a long time and I keep turning them my hands get tired and we umm we do a lot of stuff plus, well your brain gets gets like a lot of reading stuff and then you just keep thinking of the words and stuff like that and that's what happens to me a lot cause ummm after I'm done your brain has all the words in it from when you read and you look at the pictures and stuff and you have the pictures and the words and you keep, and after you're done you keep saying the words all over again like when you say comma and you don't talk you can you can say it and your mouth can't move you can just hear it in your brain and stuff like that.

Students see that reading activity requires thinking and communication. Students think about words, they think about what the book is saying, they think about things in general which might help them as they read, and they tell what the book is about. Thinking about words is important because this helps students carry on the process of sounding out words.

Sounding out words in order to think about what the book is saying is reading for students. Thinking about words is especially focused on the vowel sounds and what sounds to make for these letters. All students who responded to sentence frames five and six, agreed that sounding out words and thinking about words and things in general were the activities which characterized reading activity. Sentence frame five states "At reading we (I) ____" and sentence frame six states "In the book you have to think of ____". More information about these frames can be found in Appendix D.

In addition to thinking about sounds for letters and words, students also think about what the book is saying. In other words, students come up with an

idea for what they believe a book is about. This assertion is interpreted from students' interviews and from their responses to sentence frame 6. Students reported that they thought about what they had seen and heard in order to think about the book. Students take action with the book in accordance with what they think the book is saying. What the book is saying may take the form of a story which the student retells (one example is the retelling which Lena gives of Rapunzel in Second Grade Text XVIII, page 197), it may take the form of an impression the student had about the book, and it usually takes the form of a brief review which students write on their reading record sheets.

Students also think about things in general, 'everything', as they read. For reading, students believe various knowledge is necessary in order to finish a book. Sounds, the ABC's, what to do with illustrations, what the print is about, and what the illustrations are about, are part of what students indicate is necessary to think about as they read. The concept of "everything" is described more fully below under the resource labeled prior contexts. Students' responses to sentence frame 6 indicated that thinking about words, sentences and periods, and sounds was activity which characterized reading.

The forms/symbols of reading activity are like and unlike forms/symbols used for other activities. Forms/symbols of reading activity are books, sound, reading records, and particular physical actions with material objects during reading time. Actions students take with forms/symbols of reading are: blinking eyes, moving lips, turning pages, filling out information about the book on the reading record sheets, and reading words. For students, reading activity requires using their heads. Besides thinking about what the book is saying, students indicate that eyes and lips are crucial for reading. Directing one's gaze at print means periods of concentration. Several students use their index finger or pencil to direct their eyesight

along lines of print. Blinking helps students to manage the strain which is produced.

Moving lips to make sounds for letters is another physical activity which students associate with symbols/forms for reading. Interviews and observations of students' reading activity show how prominent sound is as a reading activity. In addition, students' responses to sentence frame 5 show how sounding out words is typically associated with reading. Students read by following print with varying combinations of eyesight, lips and hand movements (either through using a finger or writing implement).

What is important to notice about reading activity is that it is focused specifically on the lines of symbols in a book. Reading is distinguished from other class activities by particular uses of forms/symbols. Math, for example, requires drawing of pictures, numbers and words with numbers, working with other tools or materials such as using a clock to help read the time of day or other actions which are used to focus the activity. Reading on the other hand, is associated with letters, the alphabet, and sounds.

While the teacher encourages students to use a variety of materials to help them concentrate on reading, the material forms/symbols for reading are understood by students to consist of a book, the record sheet, and a pencil. Observations of reading periods and students' reports indicate that materials necessary for reading are a book and a record sheet. Even though students use symbols/forms related to silent reading activity for other purposes such as: reading spelling words from posters mounted on the wall, reading name tags to find out whose desk is where, reading lunch tags to find out how many cold and hot lunches there are on a given day, reading poems aloud with other students during the morning meeting, listening to the teacher and to parent visitors read aloud, these other purposes are not considered to be the

same as silent reading. Instead, students' and teacher's interaction places constant limits around what symbols/forms would be used for silent reading. Books, for example, are considered the material for reading.

In addition, students limit how the forms/symbols are used for reading. For example, sounding out and thinking of words is the activity associated with reading, not with math. In addition, students used other forms such as stuffed animals (teddy bears) as silent reading partners. Observations of classroom reading periods show that the use of teddy bears as silent partners for students to work with is limited to silent reading time. The perceptions of students about what forms/symbols are necessary for silent reading means that the activity itself has strict limits to it. Students' actions with materials and interviews indicate that materials for reading activity are limited in number and they are also limited in the ways they can be applied to reading.

There are other ways that the symbols/forms related to reading activity are distinguished from other class activities. For example, reading activity was distinguished from other activities on the basis of sequences of action. For students, reading involves a sequence of actions with specific symbols/forms which follow a pattern. First students obtain a book, either from their desk-one they are currently reading, or else from the bookshelves. Second, students read the book. They turn pages as they read each book. They sound out words. They read words they perceive as easy or hard. They use their eyes to look at words and pictures, authors' names and titles. There is constant motion during the activity of reading. Lips move, legs swing under chairs, students whisper to a classmate. Third, students write on record sheets the author, title, and a brief review for each book. Fourth, students then return the book to a shelf or counter or trade books with a friend. Fifth, students repeat the process.

When students read aloud with partners from time to time, this activity is viewed as related to reading because it involves similar uses for symbols/forms of silent reading. Words are sounded out, fingers are used to follow along with the print, and the idea is to find out what the book is saying.

When students perform other activities during the reading time such as reading aloud to the teacher so that informal reading assessments can be accomplished, these kinds of actions are not viewed as part of silent reading, but in addition to it. In comparison with other sequences of activity such as math, students' interviews and classroom observations indicate that reading is distinguished by specific sequences of activity. Doing math, for example, requires students to color, to add, to count, to subtract, to write equations, to think about the equations after they were written. Sequences of activity involve materials such as: chalkboards, worksheets, manipulatives, markers, and crayons. In addition, pictures and group discussion are also part of math. Reading, on the other hand, is viewed as silent, as by yourself for the most part, as sounding out words, getting a teddy bear if desired, involving books and record sheets with pencils, copying the author, and the title of the book on the record sheet, and creating a brief review.

A Resource for Reading: Objects and Ideas

Students make use of particular objects and ideas at reading. They have a book, they have pages with print and illustrations, chapter divisions, table of contents, pencils for writing on record sheets, and record sheets for recording some information about each book. Students make use of bookshelves, desks, chairs as they read.

The use of objects and ideas will be discussed in terms of 1) how objects as reading resources function in students' communication, 2) what objects used as reading resources are like or unlike in comparison with objects used

for other classroom activities, 3) how objects used as reading resources are used on other occasions and for what other purposes, and 4) what limits are placed on objects which students relate to resources for reading.

Objects and ideas as resources for reading function in students' communication in a number of ways. Students are observed making gestures to friends with books. They wave books to indicate "Quiet! I'm reading." Students also point to record sheets to show how many books they have read. Also, students report that writing the author, title, brief review on their record sheets means that they have finished a book. Students use objects associated with reading to tell the teacher that they are reading, that they are doing school work. During reading periods, the teacher looks to see if students have a book. If students are holding a book, this is a signal that they are participating. Students' communication with objects for reading announces to others that they are also reading, that they are also readers. The activity of reading is specifically focused on doing things with books. Each object is used in a way that contributes to making that point very clear to the teacher. The ways objects are used communicate student success with the task of reading to the teacher. Some students report that they are beginning to appreciate books for entertainment, but the process of sounding out and trying to keep track of where they are in the printed text also means that students have to deal with a certain amount of laborious and sometimes tedious concentration.

Objects and ideas used as reading resources may be compared with objects and ideas used for other classroom activities. Students report that they recognize similarities between resources for reading and for math. Words were considered to be part of reading and math for example. Students understand that math requires words to tell a story and to set up a situation

which requires the use of numbers. The use of words for reading and math is a link between the two class events.

However, objects and ideas for reading are also unlike those used for other classroom activities such as math. Students indicate in interviews and through their responses to sentence frames that objects and ideas for reading are books, letters or the ABC's, different sounds, pages, and words. For example, students understand that reading requires them to use books (no other activity in the students' school day required consistent, daily use of a book). Letters are used for other events such as: spelling, writing, penmanship, morning meeting, and math. However, reading demands students' concentration on letter sounds. According to students' reports, sounding out letters and words is understood to be the main task at reading because knowing the sounds is considered to give access to what the book is saying. In addition, pages are something students indicate that they have to deal with in the course of reading books. Pages have to be turned over and over again. The use of books on a constant daily basis sets reading apart from other classroom activities, most of which require students to work with a sheet of paper at a time instead of pages and pages in addition to the reading record sheet.

Objects and ideas used as reading resources are used on other occasions and for other purposes. Students are observed using books for partner reading where each student has opportunity to read aloud with a partner and talk about books. Classroom observations indicate that students and the teacher use letters are used for Spelling, Penmanship, Science, Music, Art, PE, Recess, lunch tags, posters, bulletin boards and so on. That is, the classroom and the school grounds are marked with print in a number of ways. However, students' report that what is unique to reading is the extended concentration upon what the book is saying and upon word and letter sounds. Purposes for

using letters and words on other occasions are: tell what's for lunch, tell who's absent, read aloud the morning message on the easel, read a poster on a bookshelf, find a folder, organize work to take home, prepare for field trips by checking who has paid for the trip, and innumerable other purposes. Reading is unique in that its purposes are limited to reading books as the primary source of print.

Limits are placed on objects and ideas which students understand as resources for reading. Letters have sounds. Books are for reading. Reading is quieter than other activities. Letters make different sounds and some words are hard because of the sounds. Students consider reading as difficult sometimes because students have to do it alone much of the time and because it requires attention over extended time. Reading is limited to a certain time of day by the schedule of the school day.

A Resource for Reading: Social Relations

Students are observed whispering with classmates. They ask a question of their teacher. They read with other students if a partner read is announced. For the most part, students are by themselves and they are directed to remain quiet so that others can read. They are also told to use a quiet voice if they have to talk during silent reading. Observing students' and teacher's interactions indicates certain social relations that are allowed.

Discussion about social relations as a resource for reading is organized in five ways: 1) how the social relations function in students' communication, 2) what symbols/forms related to social relations as a reading resource are like or unlike in comparison with symbols/forms used for other classroom activities, 3) how symbols/forms related to social relations are used on other occasions and for what other purposes, and 4) what limits are placed on symbols/forms of social relations as a resource for reading.

Social relations function as a resource for students' communication about reading in at least two ways. First, social relations serve to indicate what is allowed or what is not allowed for student-to-student contacts. During silent reading for example, student contacts with other students are usually kept brief. Extended periods of whispering (over 15-20 seconds) are likely to receive a reminder from the teacher about not disturbing anyone while they are reading. Silent reading is observed to be an individual task, not a group project. For example, one student commented during an interview:

Yeah, there's a right way to read by keeping silent and when people are reading don't bother 'em and when you're reading people won't bother you, so they, if you don't bother them.

Each student is left on their own for much of the time. During partner reading, students are allowed to read together. In each case, social relations about reading organized by the teacher make various student groupings for reading possible.

Second, as students talk about reading with classmates during the school year, certain social identities may be ascribed to them by classmates. That is, one of the ways students appear to become known as readers is by what they do or do not say about reading. During students' evaluations about the wording of sentence frames, several students remarked about who would be most likely to make such statements. In many cases, students' guesses accurately reflected the speaker of the phrase, even though the interviews had occurred months before. This is discussed more fully in connection with students' perspectives about reading resources.

Symbols/forms associated with social relations as a resource for reading are of two main types. These types are: 1) what voices represent, and 2) what student groups represent. Voices represent what is going on with reading. Loud voices mean that reading is not happening or that the entire class is the audience for what is being read. Both teachers and students monitor voices as an indication of whether reading is happening or not. This holds whether students are reading during silent reading or whether they are reading with partners. Social relations are affected by how students' voices do or do not indicate compliance with the behaviors which are expected for reading to occur. Voice as a symbol/form for social relations during reading is unique in comparison with voice used in other classroom activities. Voice for reading is quieter. The room is more silent. Quiet voices of the kind represented during reading are expected only at a few other occasions. These occasions are: during library times, during family meetings with the other two second grade classes, and for brief periods of time when the teacher is giving directions. Students talked about quiet voices for reading during interviews. For example:

Second Grade Text XII

Landis: OK. And when does reading happen?

Shonnie: Umm after lunch, and sometimes we have, when we have it after lunch it's called silent reading with the reading record sheets and sometimes like now, like now we have just reading... quietly to each other.

Landis: Umm what makes both of these times, what makes these times reading times?

Shonnie: We're supposed to read in both of them. Umm and like all the reading times we have to do it like, really quietly, we can't like yell out the words, like say 'em really loudly.

Landis: OK, are there any other things besides saying the words quietly that make them reading times?

Shonnie: We have to like read to ourselves or sometimes we can read to each other. If it's quietly.

Quiet voices during reading represent students' social position as listeners. Quiet voices represent a way that students' social relations are limited during reading.

Student groups and reading occur in three ways. Students read alone, they read with a partner, they read as a group. Reading with a partner and reading with the whole group represent alternative ways for students to read in comparison with silent reading. Student groups as a symbol/form for social relations during reading are also unique to reading. During math, for example, the student groups are larger and work together for longer periods of time than they do for reading. Student groups of the types associated with reading times are also not common in comparison with the rest of the school day. Library time comes closest as another occasion which duplicates the social relations formed for reading. Students in the library form groups of two or three at most, as they look for books to check out. Otherwise, the students are kept together as a group. The size of student groups and the extent of social relations during reading is limited.

A Resource for Reading: Posture

Students usually sit during reading whether they are reading silently or with a partner. They understand that a certain posture tells their teacher

that reading could be going on. During interviews, students talked about what reading posture looked like. Students reported that readers had to be sitting down with a book opened in their hands. One student commented:

Second Grade Text XIII

Landis: I see. Something that you can do by yourself. How do you do reading?

Evie: You take a book and there's words in the book...

Landis: OK.

Evie: Ummm and you start taking the pages and reading them all and then read that page then go to the other page.

Landis: OK, so flip the page and read that one, flip the page, anything else about how you do reading?

Evie: No.

Landis: OK. Ummm what, what counts as reading?

Evie: What do you mean counts?

Landis: Well, what do you have to be doing in order to be reading in second grade?

Evie: Sitting down and reading a book.

Landis: OK. Sitting down, where?

Evie: On the floor or in a chair.

Landis: OK, and you have to be reading a book. Anything else that you have to be doing?

Evie: Nope.

Landis: OK, so what does reading a book look like? How would I tell if you were reading a book?

Evie: Ummm you would see a book in my hands...

Landis: OK.

Evie: Opened up...

Landis: OK.

Evie: And then if you peeked over inside the book...

Landis: If I peeked over...

*Evie: You would see ummm you would see my lips reading the book and
you would hear me...*

Landis: I would hear you, would I hear some words?

Evie: Yep.

Reading posture includes arms extended forward and bent at the elbow with hands holding a book. The eyes are directed at a book. The body as a whole is drawn towards a book whether the student is sitting fairly straight or sliding down in the seat. Even when students stand by the bookshelf, there are reminders of a book-directed posture. The gaze is directed at books and the arms and hands are extended towards books.

Posture as a resource for reading is described in terms of: 1) how the posture functions in students' communication, 2) what symbols/forms related to posture are like or unlike in comparison with postures as symbols/forms used for other classroom activities, 3) how posture as a symbol/form related to reading is used on other occasions and for what other purposes, and 4) what limits are placed on posture as a symbol/forms for reading.

Posture as a reading resource functions in students' communication in at least two ways. First, posture is another means for signaling what a student is doing during reading time. Students consciously adopt the posture of bending over a book and directing their gaze toward it to send a message of identification as a reader to the teacher and to other students. The posture can

be altered to indicate that a student who appears to be reading is interested in talking with someone. This happens when the reader looks up and attracts the gaze of someone else. When the posture is altered, the reader signals that reading is suspended for a time. Also, students use posture to signal that reading is beginning. This happens when reading is first announced by the teacher. Students who have been looking around direct their gaze toward a book and away from the glances of other students and the teacher.

Second, posture is used by students to signal their compliance with a social role as students. By following the teacher's instructions to begin reading, students are not only identified as readers, but as students who are learning how reading is done in second grade.

Symbols/forms related to posture as a resource for reading are: position of the hands as they hold a book, the gaze of the eyes, and the stilled movements of the body. Each of these aspects of posture represents the attention of the reader towards printed text. Aspects of posture related to reading are like postures assumed for other class activities such as seat work for math, science, penmanship, spelling, and projects. Postures assumed for reading are used on other occasions and for other purposes, but reading is unique in the sense that participation in reading demands extended use of a particular posture. What is common to all the purposes is that the posture represents getting work done. Whether students are bending over a book or over a calendar page for scheduling special activities, the posture represents students' concentration on their work. The posture means work is getting done.

Limits to the use of posture as a symbol/form for reading are indicated by the position of the arms, the head and eyes, and the stillness of the body. The posture for reading represents a limited range of motion. As such,

reading places unique demands on how and when students can move about as they read.

A Resource for Reading: Goals

When it's time for reading in second grade, this is not an opportunity for playing or goofing around. Even though the teachers' gaze is not directly on each student the whole period, students usually show that they are willing to concentrate, to study a book "to find out what it is saying and stuff like that." Effort and concentration are required from students in order to "find out how the book is" and "see what it means". During interviews, students talked about their goals for reading. During a check on data about the distribution of students' goals for reading, five of seven students commented that they were "trying to be quiet", "to get work done", "to concentrate while they were reading". These goals for reading were similar to those voiced by Dennie above on page during an interview. Students who do play or goof off during reading time risk suspension of recess privileges and a stern talk with the teacher if the offense is repeated.

The resource of goals is discussed in terms of: 1) how this resource functions in students' communication, 2) what symbols/forms for goals as reading resources are like or unlike in comparison with symbols/forms used for other classroom activities, 3) how symbols/forms related to goals and reading are used on other occasions and for what other purposes, and 4) what limits are placed on symbols/forms which relate to goals as a resource. The following section describes goals more closely.

Goals function in students' communication as indexes for what students believe is expected of them. The goals of the teacher are discussed by students. The teacher talks with students about what readers do and about how reading is learned. In both instances, the teacher talks about the goal of becoming a

better reader by reading every day and by thinking about what is read. During an interview, the teacher talked about how his goals for students' reading in terms of reading and thinking connections:

Second Grade Text XIV

Mr. P.: I don't know if you notice this, but a lot of the work in second grade this time is organizationally based, you know it's helping kids to realize that when you sit down you have an idea of what the task entails, you have a sense of what kind of tools you're going to need in order to be successful with that task, what completion of that task should actually look like to you and if you can think about all this and have all this organized before you start, you don't start blank, you start with all that xxx and that's why I talk about it, and I want kids to know about it, I want them to almost parrot back to each other that piece of what I'm saying to them so they begin the task thinking and questioning each other about their thinking...

I think children see reading and writing more as related to the task or the event that takes place, what is reading to many of these children is that time of the day when we're sitting down at our seat with our books and we're going through and we're going through and we're reading those words. I don't think children see reading as the time when you're collecting information from a text, even though I try to help them see by giving them that log...

And going back to your first question about focusing on the thinking piece, that's another reason for focusing on the thinking piece, so

what is it that readers think about when they're reading, and getting children to understand that it's more than just sitting and looking at a page and having words come in, it's more than just deciphering of those sounds but there are whole thought processes that are involved and some things that you're not even aware of, but if you become more aware of them I think it's going to make you more efficient and successful when that task xxxx...

Reading in second grade is represented by the goal of finding out information about the book through accurate recall of words and phrases. In addition, noting the author, the title, and a brief review of the book on the reading record sheet represents part of the goal of finding out about the book. Finally, sounding out appropriate words represents part of the goal of finding out about the book. Goals as reading resources symbolize what reading is for and what it can do for teachers as well as students.

The goal of finding out information from books as symbol/form of reading is unique in comparison with other goals for other activities in second grade. Other activities are focused less on finding out information and more on contributing information to a class discussion. When the goal of finding out information is used on other occasions, it tends to be associated with finding out information for completing a class project. An example is the use of library books to find out information about Alaska wildlife. Goals for reading are limited to the use of books to practice reading and to find out information. In comparison with other activities such as math, science, art, penmanship, reading has a unique set of goals.

A Resource for Reading: Prior Contexts

Students make use of what they know about how reading is done from prior activities called "Reading". Students must know the ABC's and different sounds which letters make in order to participate in reading. Handling a book properly signals that a student is a "reader". Students also know from prior contexts what the teacher expects for reading. This knowledge is gained by experience with previous periods of reading.

The reading resource of prior contexts is identified in five ways. These are: 1) how the resource of prior contexts functions in students' communication, 2) what symbols/forms related to prior contexts as a reading resource is like or unlike in comparison with symbols/forms used for other classroom activities, 3) how symbols/forms related to prior context as a reading resource are used on other occasions and for what other purposes, and 4) what limits are placed on symbols/forms which students relate to prior context as a resource for reading.

The reading resource of prior contexts functions in students' communication as a way to monitor what they are doing with books and print. Prior contexts help students to know when reading is going well and when it is not. Students talk with prior contexts in mind about how to do reading and what reading is for. During an interview, a student commented:

Steve: Ummm that we have reading... that umm this reading... that second grade reading is a much quieter than other times.

Landis: Ummm what happened in first grade reading that wasn't so quiet?

Steve: Ummm everybody just got loud.

Landis: Just got loud?

Steve: Yeah.

Symbols/forms associated with students' prior contexts about reading are: letters, words, pages and how they are handled, and sounds for letters and words. These symbols/forms represent for students what has been done with reading and what is supposed to be done. Students' responses to statements about semantic relations (see page) for reading indicated the importance of the alphabet, words, and sounds for reading activity. The use of prior contexts to monitor what is being done is part of other school activities also. Reading is not unique in this respect. The tendency for students to see the school day in terms of defined academic events each with its own phases of activities places limits on what prior reading contexts will serve as reading resources. Consequently, limits are also placed on what symbols/forms from prior contexts will serve as resources.

Students' Semantic Relationships About Reading Resources

The data descriptions in this part of chapter four are constructed from interviews, a series of framing statements about reading, from observation of the students, and from audio and videotape recordings of classroom interaction. Data from observations, sentence frames, and recordings are used to round out the discussion.

While students' perspectives can be investigated partially through formal and informal interviews, it is also necessary to look at students' perspectives in terms of what they need to know to participate in classroom reading lessons. In other words, what students perceive about reading instruction does not just reflect a series of mental processes with printed materials. Instead, what students perceive about reading also reflects the ways teachers and students organize resources for reading instruction

through their actions and reactions over time. Demands upon students in order to participate in classroom interaction are also considered part of the resources available to students for making sense of reading lessons. Consequently, it is necessary for a closer look at classroom reading lessons in order to investigate what demands are being made upon students.

Discussion of students' participation in reading lessons is included later in this chapter (see page 202). The following section describes students' semantic relationships about resources for reading.

Introduction

A series of semantic relationships (Zaharlick and Green, 1991) related to students' perspectives about resources for reading is visually portrayed below. Semantic relationships are defined as meanings that link or connect words or expressions (e.g. Lemke, 1990). Exploring semantic relationships provided a way for me to check my developing interpretations of students' perspectives about resources for reading. The kinds of connections which students made between words and expressions about reading is one way of understanding what reading means to the students. Nine kinds of links or connections between words or expressions are examined in this study with regard to students' perspectives about resources for reading. Please refer to Table 5 on page 179. Each kind of connection or relation has been stated in terms of reading. The kinds of connections are: 1) inclusion (e.g. news articles are a kind of reading, reading science fiction is a kind of way to spend vacation time); 2) rationale (e.g. reading is a reason for having book stores, learning about the planets is a reason for reading); 3) function (e.g. reading is used for ordering food in a restaurant, printed texts are used for reading); 4) space (e.g. reading is part of school subjects, a book is part of what can be read); 5) location (e.g. reading is a place for meeting story

Table 5. Students' Semantic Relationships About Reading

Semantic Relations	Students' Responses
Inclusion: (_____ is a kind of reading) (Reading is a kind of _____)	-thinking -learning activity
Rationale: (Reading is a reason for doing ____) (____ is a reason for doing reading)	-school -needing to learn
Function: (Reading is used for _____) (_____ is used for reading)	-helping people do things and learn -words, pictures, listening to sounds, ABC's
Space: (Reading is part of _____) (_____ is part of reading)	-learning and school subjects we have to know -sound
Location: (Reading is a place for doing _____) (_____ is a place for doing reading)	-learning unknown words -my room, home, school, a group of people who are learning
Means to-an-end: (Reading is a way to do____) (_____ is a way to do reading)	-learning -reading silently or aloud, telling stories, looking at pictures, thinking of words
Sequence: (Reading is a step in _____) (_____ is a step in reading)	-learning words, reading chapter books, telling a story, a hobby, moving up a grade -little books, chapter books, reading hard & easy words, writing
Attribution: (Reading is a characteristic of _____) (_____ is a characteristic of reading)	-words, posters, name tags, labels -retelling, thinking, long words, changing what we know
Cause and effect: (Reading is a result of _____) (_____ is a result of reading)	-school, time spent reading -learning words

characters, my room at home is a place for reading); 6) means-to-an-end (e.g. reading is a way to learn about history, looking at print is a way to do reading); 7) sequence (e.g. reading is a step in learning about solving story problems in math, reading a paragraph is a step in reading a chapter); 8) attribution (e.g. reading is a characteristic of educational settings, reading books is a characteristic of classroom instruction); 9) cause and effect (e.g. reading is a result of time spent reading, learning about the formats for comic strips is a result of reading comics). Semantic relationships about reading are included in this discussion as a way to "uncover the complex relationships among persons to objects and places in the environment" (Zaharlick and Green, 1991, p. 46). Investigating semantic relations helps to explore features of the students' perspectives about resources for reading. Semantic relations are important for this study because they are useful for exploring students' perspectives about relationships among reading resources. By exploring how students describe reading insight is gained about students' perceptions of available resources for reading.

Semantic Relations of Inclusion: Kinds of

Students understood that reading was included in certain kinds of activities. These activities emphasized what students called thinking or learning. The following interview segment is a record of a students' observations about reading and learning.

Second Grade Text XV

Landis: So how is reading done?

Shonnie: Like first we have to like learn how to do it. First I didn't know how to read and then I started and now now I'm reading pretty good, but I still have to, but I'm still not perfect.

Landis: How do you do reading? What do you do?

Shonnie: Umm I read and umm like I practice reading and I like try to sound the words out. And Sometimes I go to adults and say What's that word? And then like I learn the words and so then like ummm I started out learning easy ones, then I tried to learn the harder ones and now I can read umm some of them I can read real hard ones and some of them, some of the hard ones I can't and some even, some easy ones I can't but most of them I can. Words are easy.

Landis: When you say easy ones are you talking about words or books?

Shonnie: Words.

Landis: Words, can you give me an, an example of an easy word?

Shonnie: Umm it,

Landis: It. What's a hard ...

Shonnie: And.

Landis: Ohh, OK, and is a easy word?

Shonnie: Yep. A hard word is like dinosaur.

Landis: Umm.

Shonnie: D-i-n-o-s-a-u-r.

Landis: Umm great spelling, Shonnie

Shonnie: E-r.

Landis: Great spelling, it is a-u-r. Right. What makes that a harder word, do you think?

Shonnie: Like it's really long and like the longer ones are harder to learn cause then like you can forget some of the word, the letters.

Landis: Ohh, OK, so some of the letters at the beginning you kind of forget...

Shonnie: Yep.

Landis: By the time you get to the end of the word?

Shonnie: Yep.

Shonnie's understanding about reading as an activity which requires learning is echoed by other the class in general. Students view reading as an activity about learning words, learning letters, and learning sounds. The reading resources of activity and prior contexts inform students' views of reading as learning and thinking. In addition, a goal for students is to learn longer words. This goal is difficult because of the concentration required to remember letters and sounds for long words.

Other patterns of inclusion may be seen in the ways that students classified kinds of reading. For example, kinds of reading words include relations between easy words, harder words, and real hard words. Other kinds of reading included various formats: easy books also known as little books (indicating thin books with illustrations covering most of each page and a few sentences at most on each page), picture books, and chapter books (indicating books that were harder to read and divided by chapter breaks), posters in the room. The interview segment below helps to illustrate how kinds of reading were classified by the ways print was displayed.

Second Grade Text XVI

Landis: OK. Are there some things in second grade that are the same as reading?

Meg: Yeah. Umm reading something that's not a book like say, like that's kind of like a book, but it's not really like a book. And you can read the words just like reading a book, but it's not like a book, just like a poster or something like that.

Landis: A poster? Does that count as reading in second grade?

Meg: Like reading like the bottom, like that's kind of like a poster

/points at print on the back of the shelf/

Landis: Uhhuh.

Meg: And you would like read the bottom and see what it means and stuff like that.

It's interesting to note that reading books appears to be a standard for comparing other kinds of reading like posters. Reading posters and books is the same kind of reading in one respect. That is the idea that reading is to "see what it (print) means and stuff like that".

Summary

Students perceived that reading was a kind of learning activity. In particular, reading is a kind of activity about learning words, learning letters, and learning sounds. Students also reported several kinds of reading: reading easy words, reading hard words, reading easy books, reading picture books, and reading chapter books.

Semantic Relations of Rationale: A Reason For

Students also understand reading in terms of rationales. One rationale for reading is that it helps students do school. For example, some students understand reading as a help for doing other school-related tasks such as writing, and learning words to use in school. In the following interview segment a student talks about rationales for reading.

Second Grade Text XVII

Landis: OK. Ummm what does, what are some reasons for reading?

Jeri: Ummm, reasons why we..

Landis: Yeah.

Jeri: Like umm...

Landis: What does reading do?

Jeri: It helps you learn, it helps you write better, it helps you learn how to write, it helps you learn how to read words better..

Landis: Uhuh. OK. How does it help you learn how to read words better?

Jeri: Well if you read them and you get em wrong you can just read them over again and sometimes I get em right without anybody helping me, I just read them over and over again and I finally get em right.

Landis: You finally get em right. OK. And how does reading help you with writing?

Jeri: Well, you read the words and then after you read em a lot and they show up a lot you can learn how the letters and stuff xxxx and the order and then you can write them.

Jeri views reading as a help for learning words. As such, the semantic relation can be worded to say learning words is a reason for reading. Getting the words right is a goal for the student. Reading words over and over helps the student to accomplish the goal. The rationale that reading is a reason for doing school also points to the activity of reading which is associated with what is supposed to happen at school. The rationale also includes various objects and ideas about objects related to reading. Words are for reading and they are also for writing. Words are repeated frequently and this redundancy helps with learning them. A particular activity with words is that words are read over and over again until they are read correctly.

Students' replies to sentence frame one "Reading helps you _____," also indicate their concern with learning words correctly. This frame,

responses to the frame and other information about the sets of responses is included under Appendix C. The frame had two sets of equivalent responses. The first set of responses could be labeled as about learning in general, while the second set could be labeled more specifically as learning words. Reasons for learning reading show students as learners and achievers. That is, a reason for reading is to show progress in school by reading harder words and by learning to use words.

Summary

Students reported that reading helps them to accomplish school tasks. Examples of tasks which students identified were writing and learning new words. Students frequently indicated that learning words was a principal reason for reading. A second rationale for reading which students reported was that reading is for showing progress in school. Progress with reading in terms of reading harder words and reading chapter books was viewed as progress in school. Progress in school was seen as advancing to the next grade.

Semantic Relations of Function: Is Used For

Students understand that reading is related to certain functions in two ways. First, reading is for other purposes like learning words and helping people do things in their daily lives. For example, students understand that reading is involved with social relations of people and that reading is useful for doing things. One student talked about how reading helps at home with activities like doing homework and engaging in particular relations with family.

Second Grade Text XVIII

Landis: OK. what does reading help you do?

Shonnie: Umm it helps me like, like now I can read little books to all my family like when I do that and like I can read how, the directions to my homework.

Landis: Umhmm.

Shonnie: Cause there's a lot of homework. Umm one, they send out one a week.

Landis: Umhmm.

Shonnie: Which has lots of pages on it, three or five...

Landis: So reading helps you do your homework and it helps you read to your family.

Shonnie: Yep.

Students also understand that certain features are useful for reading. Words and pictures are most often chosen as what is used for reading. Objects such as books are considered what reading is usually about in school. In addition, knowing the ABC's and sounds are considered useful for reading.

Sentence frame two, "In reading you usually use _____," indicates similar kinds of perspectives about what resources were useful for reading. This frame has two sets of equivalent responses. One set of responses focuses on the idea that one's eyes are useful for reading. A second set of responses emphasizes the idea that one's head is useful for reading. Responses that are about sounding out words are not included in either set. Part of the discrimination of responses has to do with the way the sentence frame above is worded. The responses for this frame indicate *what is useful for reading*. Students were more likely to understand sounding out as *what happens at*

reading time. Please refer to sentence frame five for more on sounding out words. I connect students' understanding of the two frames in the following way: What we do at reading requires what is useful for reading. In other words, what students do at reading (sounding out words) requires what can be used for reading (one's eyes and head).

Summary

Students indicate that reading is used for doing things like homework and for engaging in particular social relationships. Students also report that certain materials, images, and body parts are used for reading. Books are used for reading. Visual and sound images are also used for reading. In addition, students report that the eyes and the head are used for reading.

Semantic Relations About Space: Is Part Of

Students understand reading as part of school activities. Reading is a school subject that "we have to know". Reading is also considered part of learning. In this respect students made similar kinds of distinctions between two semantic relations: reading is a kind of learning and reading is a part of learning. Students talked about memories of reading and their progress.

One student comments, "First, I didn't know how to read and then I started and now I'm reading pretty good, but I still have to, but I'm still not perfect." The memory of prior contexts with reading provides a way for students to compare reading this year in second grade with reading in the past. Other students looked ahead to school subjects which would occur in third grade.

Second Grade Text XIX

Landis: OK, so sometimes math can be...[boring

Dennie: Boring]

Landis: Can reading ever be boring?

Dennie: Yeah.

Landis: When's reading boring?

Dennie: When you have to read a book that you don't want to.

Landis: OK. When does that happen?

Dennie /smiles/: Usually in third grade. [I don't have...

Landis: What's that?]

Dennie: Usually in third grade, but I don't have to worry about, about that.

Landis: Ohhh, usually in third grade?

Dennie: Yeah.

Landis: How do you know about that?

Dennie: My sister and my brother have went through third grade.

Landis: Ohhh.

Dennie: And second.

Landis: And they told that...

Dennie: Yeah.

Landis: OK, but you don't have to worry about that?

Dennie: /shakes her head no/

Landis: How come?

Dennie: Because it's a year away.

Dennie considers reading as part of a long term parade of school subjects. One standard for evaluating subjects is how much choice she has a student to read what is of interest to her. Her knowledge of reading as a school subject takes into consideration what has happened before as well as what is likely to happen in third grade.

Another second aspect to the semantic relation about space and reading is what is part of reading. Students view sound and sentence structure as a part of reading. Sentence frame six, "In the book you have to think of _____ and stuff like that", provides ideas about what is considered part of reading. Students indicate that thinking about words and things in general is part of what reading is about. Responses to this frame are of two types. The first type is that students think of words and use what they know about sentences, periods, and sounding out as part of reading. A second type of response to the frame is that thinking of things in general which have been seen, heard and so on is part of reading. These prior contexts help students identify what is going on with the print. One student remarked, " Reading is a part of like what you do at school and stuff and it's also a part of like how you read and stuff like that." Students agree that knowing about lots of things is part of reading. however there is less agreement about what exactly has to be known besides words, sounds, sentences, and periods.

Summary

Students perceive that reading is part of what school is about. Reading is a subject that is a must for them. That is, reading is part of learning in school. Students also report that sound images for letters and words as well as conventional markers of sentence structure such as capital letters and periods are part of reading.

Semantic Relations About Location: A Place For Doing

Reading resources such as activity and goals are indicated by students' semantic relations for reading as a location. Students understand that reading is a place for learning unknown words. Reading from this perspective is a meeting place where the reader encounters words that are new. Students' responses to sentence frame six labeled as "In the book you have to think of

_____ and stuff like that", provide some ideas about how students perceive reading as a location for meeting unknown words. Responses which are salient across all sorters of the responses are those which have to do with sounding out and thinking about new words. Sounding out words, thinking about words, and using sentences and periods are all ways that students perceive managing the task of finding out about unknown words. Students view finding out unknown words using ideas about sounds and sentence structure as an activity, an activity known as reading. In addition, reading resources such as the memory of prior contexts about sounds and sentence structure also are part of what students understand about reading.

Students also see that there are particular locations for doing reading. Locations inside and outside of students' homes are possible locations. Also there are a variety of locations in the classroom which are places for reading. There is one location which is not a place for reading. That location is sitting at someone else's desk. This unwritten rule about reading locations is observed in the analysis of a silent reading event in section C of this chapter. This same rule is defined by a student who talked about classroom reading locations during an interview.

Second Grade Text XX

Landis: OK. Alright, ummm, where can you read?

Manzo: Ummm, anywhere around the room.

Landis: OK. Can you give me some ideas?

Manzo: Over there (points) by the bathrooms, ummm, over there and over there, or at the meeting area.

Landis: OK, so you can read over here by the sink area, and you can read in that entrance to the bathroom...

Manzo: Over there, and right there, you can read anywhere... there

*Landis: In the closets, under the art table, and you can read what over
by the door to Mrs. D's room....*

Manzo: Yeah..

*Landis: Is that right? And this middle area by where the bear chairs
are...*

Manzo nods.

Landis: Any other places?

Manzo: All over the room.

Landis: All over the room

Manzo: Except in people's desks.

Landis: Except in what?

Manzo: Except in people's desks.

The rule is that students' seats are their own during class time. The desk where a student sits is considered their own place and the things in the desk are off limits to everyone. Even the teacher will not dig for things in student desks without checking that it is alright with the student.

Summary

Students perceive that reading is a place for learning new words. Thinking about words, sounding them out, and knowing how to use sentences and periods were ways that students identified new words. Students also report several locations for reading. Students could read at a variety of places in their room as well as at home.

Semantic Relations of Means-To-An End: A Step In

Reading is considered a way to learn about things. Again reading is associated with learning by students. Learning is seen by students as a goal

for them in school. Reading is a way to accomplish the goal. While reading for fun is mentioned by some students during interviews, the idea of fun is almost added as an afterthought. Reading in second grade is less for fun and more for learning. When students are asked to tell about what they do in school, they tend to list class activities in terms of what they like and like less. Hanging around school meeting friends, Art, watching the fish, being the class helper, playing at recess, having lunch, are some of the commonly listed activities. Reading is mentioned much less frequently.

Second Grade Text XXI

Meg: Ohh, umm I play with my friends, we write in our journals, we have recess, and we have PE together. We play outside, we have writing workshop together, and we talk together.

Landis: OK. Anything else?

Meg: I don't know.

Landis: OK. Umm, now you mentioned that you had things like writing workshop and recess and PE together, ummm are there are some other things that you do at school that are like writing workshop or PE?

Meg: Well, yeah ummm we do math and we kind of like write math, we umm it's kind of fun cause it's like writing a whole different bunch of stories and especially those with numbers.

Landis: OK. Do you have reading at school?

Meg: Yep.

A view of reading as a way to learn is reinforced by students' responses to sentence frame one, "Reading helps you _____." All of the students'

responses to this frame (12 responses altogether) have to do with learning about words, getting smarter, learning more answers and so on. Students' responses about what reading is for are of two types: reading is a way to learn a lot, and reading is a way to learn about words. Students' perspectives about the goals of reading are that reading is for learning. In addition, students' perspectives of the activity of reading are that reading is for thinking and learning.

Ways to do reading are considered in terms of reading silently, reading aloud, telling stories, looking at pictures, and thinking about words. Students' responses to the sentence frame labeled "What is needed at reading _____." offer interesting observations about ways to do reading. Students identified two sets of responses to the frame. The first set can be labeled as pictures and words. A second set of responses identified books as an item which is needed to do reading. Students indicated that they needed to pictures and words, a book or things like a book for reading. Posters, name tags, lunch menus, written messages from the teacher on the easel, poetry written on poster board are examples of other opportunities for reading in the classroom. However, these materials for reading are not included with books. Part of the emphasis by students about books as ways to read perhaps comes from the use of books to evaluate students' progress with reading. The classroom teacher, the Chapter I reading teacher, and the Special Education teacher all make constant use of books as the reading material of choice when reading with students. There are no newspapers, maps, recipes, or other types of reading materials used to evaluate students' reading. In addition, the instructions about silent and partner reading indicate that students have to have a book.

Emphasis upon books as ways to do reading is also noticed in the students' ideas about marking their progress with reading. Students are

building a system for marking their progress with reading in terms of books available in the classroom. Their system of evaluation is based on the books stored in shelves under the calendar in front of the room. The books under the calendar are evaluated by the students in terms of thickness, the amount of type on pages, and the presence or absence of chapter divisions. The books are classified in three categories. The first category is known as little books. These books are very thin, small books with illustrations covering entire pages and a few lines of print on each page. Next are books known as other books. These books are trade books, picture books from the library or from class book club orders. These books tend to be larger and somewhat thicker than the little books. Most students are reading these books. The highest level of reading is the chapter books. These books are thickest of all. There is usually a table of contents with chapters indicated. These books are grouped by themselves in the upper right corner of the bookshelf.

Summary

Students' perceptions about the semantic relation of means-to-an-end indicates that the resources of objects, goals, and activity are common means for accomplishing reading. Students' have two perspectives about these resources for accomplishing reading. These perspectives are: 1) reading activity is a learning activity (the goal of reading activity is to learn by sounding out the printed letters and looking at the pictures); and 2) objects used for accomplishing this goal are books.

Semantic Relations of Sequence: A Step In

Students understand that reading involves phases or sequences of activity. Reading activity is part of two sequences according to students' perspectives. The first sequence locates reading in a long term series of achievements in school. Students describe this series in terms of learning

words, telling a story, reading chapter books, moving up a grade in school, and reading as a hobby. This list of reading achievements is also described above in relation to the ways that students classify books according to level of reading achievement (e.g. little books, other books, chapter books). Students also describe reading in first grade in comparison with reading in second grade. Shonnie and Steve described reading as getting quieter and quieter now that they were in second grade.

A second sequence about reading locates various reading activities as steps in accomplishing reading at a particular time. Some students describe reading in terms of a sequence which looks like this: "look at the word and sound it out". Other students said that a reading sequence would be: "Taking a book, taking (some) pages and reading them all, then go(ing) on to the other page." Other students understand reading sequences of activity in second grade as a series of actions which are required to do reading. The list of reading achievements above represents a list of actions that students take with reading. Students' actions with reading records are another example; students are required to write the name of the author, title, and a brief review for books listed on their reading record sheets.

Reading is also perceived by some students as step in accomplishing other classroom tasks like writing. One student, Jeri, describes how reading leads to writing.

Second Grade Text XXII

Landis: What does reading do?

Jeri: It helps you learn, it helps you write better, it helps you learn how to write, it helps you learn how to read words better..

Landis: Uhuh. OK. How does it help you learn how to read words better?

Jeri: Well if you read them and you get em wrong you can just read them over again and sometimes I get em right without anybody helping me, I just read them over and over again and I finally get em right.

Landis: You finally get em right. OK. And how does reading help you with writing?

Jeri: Well, you read the words and then after you read em a lot and they show up a lot you can learn how the letters and stuff xxxx and the order and then you can write them.

Jeri speaks of reading as part of a sequence which includes getting the order of letters right so that the words right so that the words can be used in writing. Reading is a step in learning during second grade as well as a step in school achievement over the long term.

Summary

Students report two kinds of sequences about reading. First, reading is long term activity. Students see that progress with reading can be compared with progress in school grades. As students advance in school, they also reading more complicated reading material. One way that students measure their progress in school is by seeing progress in reading harder books such as chapter books. Second, reading is also present activity. Specific actions like turning a page and reading it before continuing on to the next page are actions which students identify with reading. In addition, students reported that reading is a step in writing because it is important to get the words right when writing. To do this requires reading.

Semantic Relations of Attribution: A Characteristic Of

Second Grade Text XXIII

Landis: Is there anything else you want to tell me about reading in second grade?

Lena: Yeah.

Landis: Yeah?

Lena: There are a lot of books you can read.

Landis: There are a lot of books you can read. Can you tell me some of the books that you've read?

Lena: (Laughs) I forgot what they were.

Landis: You forgot what they were. Do you have a favorite book?

Lena: /nods/

Landis: Do ya? What's it about?

Lena: It's called xxx.

Landis: It's called what?

Lena: It's called Rapunzel

Landis: Rapunzel...

Lena: and ummm she braided her hair and a witch cutted it

Landis: Yes.

Lena: And that's not all...

Landis: Yes.

Lena: And it grew back. And then she braided it and made a rope...

Landis: Uhuh.

Lena: It was fun.

Landis: What was fun about it?

Lena: It was funny.

Landis: It was funny. OK. How does the story end? What happens?

Lena: Ummm. I forgot.

Landis: You forgot. Does Rapunzel get away from the witch?

Lena: /nods/

Lena retells the story of Rapunzel and the witch. In the process, Lena also speaks about a characteristic of reading. In this case, retelling is a characteristic of reading in second grade. Lena is thinking of "what the book is saying" as she retells the story. As Lena retells the story, she also evaluates it as fun. As Lena reads the story, her opinion of it affects what she already knows about reading. Some students went as far as to say that a characteristic of reading is that reading activity changes what we know.

Characteristics of reading can be described in terms of reading resources. Students like Lena understand what a book is saying in a particular way and then communicate that understanding to other people. Retelling stories also affects social relations as a resource for reading by enabling students and teachers to build understanding with one another as Lena has done with her retelling.

Meg describes social relations about reading in terms of a right way and a wrong way to read. In so doing, she gives clues about her perceptions of social relations as a resource for reading.

Second Grade Text XXIV

*Meg: Like if... say I was reading a book right now and that was the book
and you came over and I and and I started reading a different way
and then you went back and I started reading the right way...*

Landis: OK. Is there a right way to read?

Meg: Yeah, there's a right way to read by keeping silent and when people are reading don't bother 'em and when you're reading people won't bother you, so they, if you don't bother them.

Landis: OK. And is there a wrong way, a wrong way to read?

Meg: Yes. [

Landis: What's that?]

Meg: The wrong way to read by just scribbling up the pages and thinking about it and saying oh, well I'll crumple up the pages instead of reading the book and hide it in my desk so nobody can read it cause when Eden was trying to read and study a book, somebody just took the book and left in their desk and they, and she went over to the right person and said do you have the book and they said no so she went around again and she saw A is for Angry in that desk, that's what she was looking for.

Landis: I see. So somebody took the book.

Meg: Yeah and she was studying it so somebody just took the book.

For Meg, reading is closely tied with certain social relations in the classroom. Reading the right way is keeping quiet so that other people are not bothered. Reading the wrong way is annoying other people by crumpling pages instead of quietly reading a book. In addition, other people are annoyed when books are hidden so that they can not read them. According to Meg, sometimes people will lie to one another in order to hide a book. Meg's statement that there is a right way to read is also the basis for a sentence frame. The frame is stated, "There's a right to read by _____." Students' responded to this frame by talking about being smart, holding a book with

both hands, not fooling around, finding one's place on the lines of print, looking at the words, and sounding the words out.

Summary

Students report various characteristics about reading in second grade. Retelling stories, offering evaluations about what was read, and using reading to engage in social relationships in the classroom are three characteristics students identify with reading. In addition, students' perceptions in relation to other semantic frames indicate that reading is characteristic activity students engage in when they see print on posters, labels, tags and so on in the classroom and around the school.

Semantic Relations of Cause and Effect: A Result Of

Students understand reading to be the result of time spent reading in prior contexts whether at home or at school. Students also indicate that reading results from, or happens as words are learned. The idea that learning results from reading is difficult to separate from ideas expressed previously in this discussion indicating that reading also results from learning words as well as learning more about the world in general. What is interesting is that students' perceive a consistent link between reading and learning in school.

The reading resources of prior contexts about reading as well as goals and reading activity seem especially visible in relation to causes and effects about reading. Students perceive that prior contexts about reading help them with reading in second grade. The time they spent reading in first grade is of help to them this year. In addition, the goal of learning about reading which was introduced to students in their past continues to be perceived as operative in second grade. Reading activity this year is also part of the cycle of causes and effects about reading. Learning words today is both a cause of reading

which will occur later in the school year as well as an effect of reading accomplished in earlier in the year.

Summary

Students report that reading in the present is the result of past experience with reading. Students perceive that reading is the result of learning about words. Students consistently link reading activity with learning in school.

Summary About Semantic Relations

Students view reading in terms of how reading is done and what is required for reading. Ideas about reading are established during the interactions between teachers and students. Classroom observations and interviews point to specific resources which students use to characterize reading. The resource types are: activity, time, social relationship, certain objects and ideas, postures and nonverbal communication, goals, and prior contexts.

Students perceive that resources can be used in specific ways to accomplish reading. The ways in which resources are used depends on how the classroom teacher and the students make use of them. Reading uses resources in particular ways which are different in many respects from other class activities. Reading is viewed by students as closely connected with learning. Students learn about print and they also learn about things in general. Learning is viewed as a primary reason for reading.

The discussion in the next section takes up the reading resources identified and described above. The next section explores how students' perspectives about reading resources are reflected in what happens during a reading lesson.

Influences on Reading Instruction

This section describes an activity which students perceived as "Reading" in their classroom. The activity serves as a representative case for the purpose of describing how students' perspectives about reading resources influence reading instruction. Principles from ethnography of communication and social interaction analysis are incorporated for building a description. Discursive, textual, and social practices (e.g. Fairclough, 1992) of students and their teacher during the reading period were investigated in order to look at the influence of students' perspectives about reading resources.

Influence was described in chapter one as: 1) a change over time in ways that students use reading resources during reading instruction, and 2) on-going negotiation between students and teachers about how reading resources are interpreted. In the first case, students' perspectives about reading resources may influence reading instruction through alternative actions with resources. In the second case, students' perspectives may influence reading instruction through alternative interpretations about what resources mean for reading. Each of these types of influence is discussed in relation to the reading period described in this section.

The activity described in this section was recorded September 29, 1994. This particular reading period was selected for at least two reasons from the corpus of data. First, it is situated fairly early in the school year. This means that the social interaction observed during the lesson provides an opportunity to see how students' ways of participating in silent reading are being formed and established early in the school year. A second reason is that two interactions occur which show evidence of communication breakdowns

and the teacher's and students' attempts to repair the breaks. One repair occurs through correction, the second repair is an exceptional disfluency where an unusual repetition occurs (Fairclough, 1992, p.230). These instances show how communicative practices around silent reading are already undergoing transformation at an early point in the school year.

The procedure I'm using to analyze this particular reading lesson is based on that suggested by Fairclough (1992). This procedure begins with the observer analyzing communicative practices at a broad level, then moving to analyze what language or other symbol systems is used during the communication, and lastly analyzing the communication in terms of the social practices which are contemporary with the interaction. Fairclough's procedure is helpful for analyzing the reading lesson because it takes into consideration the social practices of the participants in the discourse sample. Understanding the social practices involved in reading instruction is beneficial for looking at how students' perspectives of reading resources are reflected in reading lessons.

Discussion of the reading period and the influence of students' perspectives follows in two parts. The first part describes the context of the reading lesson. The second part discusses how students' perspectives about resources influence the reading activity.

Describing Reading Instruction

The reading period described in this section follows a fairly typical sequence of activities. Reading occurs almost every day right after lunch. The time allotted to silent reading, as teacher and students call it, begins with a few minutes of quiet in the room. Some students use the bathrooms, most sit quietly with heads on their arms waiting for lights to be switched on as the signal to begin reading. While students are waiting, the student helper for

the day is responsible for making sure that lunch tags are replaced to the bottom of the lunch chart for use the next day during morning meeting.

The teacher will ask the student helper to turn on the lights once the lunch tags have been replaced and students at that point will begin doing the activities which are known as silent reading. These activities include: getting a stuffed bear to sit with (many students will get a bear); getting a book to read, if there is not one in a student's desk already; getting out reading record sheets and folders for storing the sheets; and getting a pencil to write with.

Students will spend the next 20 minutes or so reading to themselves. As they finish a book, their job is to record the title, author, and a "brief review" about the book in the appropriate boxes outlined on the reading record sheet. An example of a reading record sheet is found in Appendix A. When students finish one book, they are to begin reading another book without interrupting other students. This procedure continues through the remainder of the time.

When the clock reads about 12:26 or so, the teacher will announce that silent reading is over for the day and ask students to put books, record sheets, folders, and pencils away and stand behind their chairs. When students standing behind their "pushed-in chairs" this is a signal that they are ready to move on to the next event of the day. After silent reading are classes called "specials". The word specials stands for: Art, PE, or Music. Students attend the same class four times each week. The following week students attend a different special. Thus each group of students rotates through all three special classes once every three weeks. Table 6 on pages 205-206 portrays the principal phases of silent reading.

Table 6: Silent Reading: 9-29-94

Time	Events	Actions/Reactions	Group/ Location	Language of Actions/Reactions
12:01	Coming back from lunch	T reminding Sts Sts lining up on the left side of hallway T standing by the door to the classroom	whole class in the hall	When you go you know what to do You know what to do
12:02	Entering the room	Sts putting lunch things in closets Sts going to rest room or to their desks Sts sitting down at desks with heads down on desk or resting on arms St helper organizing lunch chart for the next day	individual students /hallway, closet, bathrooms desks, lunch chart	look who knew what to do Would you do the lunch chart please Shhh
12:05	Get ready for a signal to start	T announcing that when lights are turned on by student helper then silent reading will begin	whole class /seated at desks	When the lights come on silent reading has begun
12:05	Silent reading	St helper turning on lights Sts opening books Several Sts getting stuffed bears to sit with Sts sitting at desks with books and bears Sts returning books to bookshelf, getting other books	whole class/ Sts at desks, at book shelf	Shhh Look! (student showing a book to other student) Please don't bother....

Continued, next page

Table 6 continued

	Silent reading	<p>Sts recording titles, authors, brief reviews on reading record sheet</p> <p>T reading articles at student desk</p> <p>T watching students from time to time</p> <p>Chapter I teacher arriving to read aloud with student</p> <p>T announcing that it's difficult to read with too much noise</p>		<p>I only have two more to go. (showing reading record sheet to other student)</p> <p>Boys and girls, it's very difficult for people who are trying to read quietly when you are talking</p>
12:22	Get ready for what's next	<p>T announcing it's time to clean up and get ready to leave</p>	whole group	<p>Boys and girls would you please....</p> <p>Stand behind your pushed-in chairs</p>
12:24	Line-up	<p>T directing Sts to line-up by the coat closets</p> <p>Sts walking to lineup spot</p>	whole group	<p>Who's ready? If you're ready would you walk gently to line-up....</p>
12:25	Lights out	<p>T waiting for Sts to be quiet before leaving room for PE</p>	whole group	Let's go
12:26	Leaving	<p>T leading class to PE</p> <p>Sts walking out the door</p>	Whole group	Shhh

Figure 8 on pages 208-211 displays a transcript which represents videotaped speech and physical activity of students and their teacher during the reading lesson.

Analyzing Reading Instruction

The transcript of the activity is analyzed in three ways. These ways are: 1) as discursive practices, 2) as textual practices, and 3) as social practices (Fairclough, 1992). Each analysis also includes discussion about how the kinds of influence described above are realized. The following section analyzes the reading lesson as discursive, or communicative practice. Notations follow the pattern of page number:line number (e.g. page 208:3-6).

Discursive Practices

Conversation and physical activity during the reading lesson resemble other instances of activity where the teacher is assigning a task to the class. The teacher uses particular language to indicate that students are expected to perform certain kinds of activities. On page 208: 3-6, the teacher repeats the phrase, "You know what to do" as a signal to students. Students are expected to act on these statements in predictable ways. Thus the teacher produces a predictable text for students to act on and expects the students to act on the text, or consume it in predictable ways as well.

The talk and action follows a predictable sequence of actions or phases of activity: the teacher announces a signal for the students, the signal is given by the teacher or a student helper, the teacher looks to see who is following directions, the students do the task, the teacher does a task, some students signal that they are not following the teacher's directions, the teacher reminds students to do the task, the teacher checks to see who is following directions, this process continues until the teacher announces the next task. These phases are noted in the event map above.

Teacher

1 /Standing by the hallway entry door/
2 We have a *full* afternoon.
3 When you go in you know what to do.

4
5
6 When you go in, you know *what* to do.

7
8
9
10 /Standing by the coat closets/ *Look* who knew what to do.
11 JS, would you do the lunch chart please.

12
13
14 //Watches M// Good manners, M, that was
15 terrific.

16 /Watches another student/ D, come see me please.

17
18 /T motions with index finger for M and JL to come help/

19
20
21
22
23 Put them up by the ABC books please.

24
25
26 //T watches JS work with the lunch tags--he waits for her to
27 almost finish//
28 OK, when JS turns the lights on, *you know* what your jobs
29 are.

Students and Other Speakers

//Students walk in line through the doorway and into
the classroom//

//Students talk quietly, put lunch things away, some go to
the bathroom, others sit down at desks with heads resting
on arms//

//JS starts organizing the lunch tags//
/M helps another student with lunch things/

//D walks over to T//

//Students carry piles of library books up to front of
classroom//
/Student humming tune to 'Jingle Bells'/

//JS works with lunch tags//

Figure 8. Classroom Interaction II: Silent Reading

Continued, next page

Teacher

1 //T watches students--waits for all to sit down//
2
3 We should all be settled now.
4
5 //T watches, then sits down at a student desk--holding papers
6 to read--holds a pencil in one hand//
7
8 Please don't bother I.
9
10 //T gets up to answer phone--listens//
11 /motions for class aide--it's a call in the office for you/
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27 //T looks up//

Students and Other Speakers

//Some students sit up and look around--JS finishes
moving the lunch tags and walks over to the light switch
and pushes it up//
//Many students get up from chairs--they get books,
some get teddy bears from chairs--other students have
books at their desks, they open covers--there is some
talking as students move about--students with books
sit back in chairs looking at open books//
/Most students are sitting with books/
/Another teacher arrives to read aloud with a student/
/Student at same cluster of desks T is sitting at whispers
loudly to another student/
/Class phone to office buzzes--some students look around/
/Aide talks on phone quietly/
/Classroom aide whispers to teacher and leaves/
/Student gets up to choose a different bear to sit with/
/Two students begin talking/ I have only two more to go.
/shows record sheet--other student replies/ I read an easy
book.

Figure 8 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

Boys and Girls, it's very difficult for people who are trying to read *quietly* when there is so much talking.

/T returns to looking at his reading material/

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30

/T looks at clock/ Boys and Girls, would you please return your record sheets, /hears D talking and looks at her/
D,
/talking again to whole group/to your folders, books back on the shelf if you're finished or in your desk if you're still reading them.

Students and Other Speakers

//Students stop talking and look down again at books//

/Every few seconds another student gets up from chair and returns a book to a bookshelf and looks for another book/

/About five students have returned books/

/JK gets up with a book and takes it up front to the book shelf--she looks for another book and finds one after about 10 seconds of looking/

/JK walks back to the student desk cluster area looking at the cover of the book/

/JK sits down at a desk which is not hers in a desk cluster adjacent to her assigned cluster group/

/Another student looks up from book and at JK/

/JK notices student looking at her/

/JK looks around--her face blushes--she grins at other student and then looks around/

/JK gets up from desk and walks over to her assigned seat/

/JK sits down and whispers to M/

/JK and M giggle/

/Student props book on desktop to show pictures to bear/

/Two students trade books, two students writing quickly/

Figure 8 continued

Continued, next page

Teacher

1 ABC books need to go in the ABC collection for
2 writers later, and I need you to stand behind your pushed-in
3 chairs and get ready to go to gym.
4

5 //T smiles// Thank you I, you were listening, not gym. PE.
6

7 //T watches students//
8

9 Who's ready?
10

11 //T watches students//
12

13 If you're ready would you walk gently to line-up please.
14

15 //T looks at students//
16

17 /T flicks lights off/
18

19 /T leads students out the door and down the hall toward
20 PE/
21
22

Students and Other Speakers

//Students begin talking, walking with books and bears,
putting things away//
/I looks at T/ Not gym! PE!

Not me!

/Students stand behind chairs looking at teacher/

//Students walk over to coat closet area and stand in a line
extending along the closets with the end of the line
curving around past the yellow metal bookcase towards the
class meeting area//

//Students cease talking, a few whispers heard//

Figure 8 continued

The predictable nature of the assignment is reflected in the ways that students go about their reading. Students are not asking what to do. Reading is understood as an activity that everyone knows how to do. It does not matter whether one is reading a chapter book or a little book. Each student goes about the task of reading with few reminders or clarifications from the teacher about how to read.

As the lesson begins, the teacher occupies a position as producer or initiator of activity (page 208:2-6) by giving directions directly to students. The students are placed in the position of responders or consumers/doers of assignments. However, students also show that they are willing to take up other roles such as initiating conversation with other students as well as the teacher. On page 211:6, for example, a student corrects the teacher. Even so, the teacher maintains his role as leader by transforming the student's correction so that it sounds like the teacher was testing the students.

The communication produced by the teacher and the students during the lesson is transitory in that none of it was meant by the teacher or students to be recorded. However, there is another sense in which the events of this reading lesson are meant to be more permanent. In other words, the teacher's emphasis on looking for which students knew what to do means that the procedures for silent reading are meant to be remembered for future contexts. Students are expected to pay close attention to what is to be done and the order or sequence of activity for reading. There is a sense in which the teacher's comments, page 208:2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 23, and 28-29 indicate to students what to do to prepare for reading. In order to read, there are certain tasks that need doing. The relationships of the teacher with the students are influenced by a somewhat business-like, brisk tone. There is a lot to do and we all have to do our part in order to accomplish the work. The teacher's

expectations for students' work during reading are communicated through a variety of means. Speech, writing (the record sheets), the collection of books in the classroom, movement of lunch tags, the clock, and signals such as lights are all used by the teacher to let students know what has to be done.

Communication about what to do undergoes a series of transformations during the reading lesson. Each of the transformations are related to a particular way to use reading resources. An example follows below. Arrows indicate a link (e.g. response by listener to what speaker has said) between texts. Transformations of what to do with reading resources occur as students and the teacher take up what has been proposed by a speaker. The textual chains established about what to do during reading show signs of a stable pattern. What is of interest is the ways resources such as activity, posture, social relations and so on are taken up by students and teacher as examples of the idea of what to do. Ideas about what to do are passed along in the following sequence on page 208: (lines 1-3) teacher (show me what to do) ----> (lines 4,5) students show what to do by sitting down---> (line 6) teacher (show me what to do)---> (lines 7-9) students show what to do by sitting and resting---> (line 10) teacher (look who knows what to do and shows it)--> (line 11) JS should have known what to do (she is the line leader and lunch tag helper)--> (line 12) JS shows what to do by working with the lunch tags---->(line 13) M shows what to do without being reminded---> (lines 14-15) teacher recognizes what M did (showing good manners is what to do)---> (lines 16,19, 20) students show what to do when teacher asks for help---> (line 21) student shows what not to do---> (line 22) teacher ignores (shows what to do?) ---> (lines 24-27) Js still showing what to do ---> (lines 28-29) teacher reminds students to show me what to do by doing their jobs correctly and so on.

The textual chain of relationships about "what to do" shows seven instances of "what not to do": six by students-(five involve doing something wrong, one involves forgetting what should have been done), and one by teacher (involves labeling something the wrong way). Ideas about what to do involve a number of additions. The first part of the reading lesson is a lesson on proper behavior in preparation for reading. That is, the reading lesson begins with *you know what to do* and this idea is transformed into at least five formulations. Each formulation draws from reading resources described earlier in this chapter:

- 1-proper use of voices and posture is what to do
- 2-proper show of social relations: manners and cooperation is what to do
- 3-proper use of material objects is what to do
- 4-proper physical actions is what to do
- 5-proper preparation for reading by quietness is what to do

The teacher's idea of what to do was added to by students in various ways. One student extended the idea in the direction of helping a classmate with lunch. Another classmate extended the idea in the direction of what not to do by not working with the lunch tags when it was time to do so. In a sense, resources reflected in this reading lesson serve as potential ways to work with the teacher's meaning for what to do. Students and the teacher both draw from their understandings or perspectives about reading resources in order to participate in the extension of the chain of relationships which is constructed from their communication during the reading lesson.

The relationships which are created serve other participants as opportunities to take up or not take up what the teacher is asking for (show me what to do) and what other students have proposed already for what to do. The ties made by students and teacher for what to do during the reading lesson are opportunities to show acceptance (this is what we do and this is

how we do it), to show resistance, to show alternative ways of understanding what to do. In each case, the textual ties which are created represent unique opportunities for students to learn about who readers are and what readers can do. The texts which are created through student and teacher interaction in the lesson described above form a particular set of ways to define reading and readers in Mr. P.'s classroom during the time the lesson was recorded. As students and their teacher participate in making the textual ties, they establish a common language about what can be done with the reading resources at their disposal. In addition, students and their teacher also establish common identities about who readers are.

During preparations for the reading lesson, both teacher and students have illustrated a number of ideas about what should occur during silent reading. Included in the preparations for the lesson are ideas about how to help a classmate in school, as well as further instruction about what to do with books, postures, and voices. The teacher recognizes students who are being quiet, showing good manners, or helping the teacher with jobs like lunch tags and carrying books that need doing.

One aspect unique to this reading lesson is the interaction occurring on page 211:3-211:7 between the teacher and a student. Through the interaction, the student and teacher repair a possible break in communication which could result from a role which the student assumes. The teacher shows a strategy for dealing with textual chains which catch him by surprise. He turns a chain of conversation about the proper label for PE around by taking focus off himself and pointing it back at the student speaker. This is a way of contesting an intertextual relationship because it contests the role for the addressee. The teacher in this case, didn't show what to do with the label. The addresser or student made use of the teacher's

reference to correct what the teacher had said. This change would be an uncomfortable set of social relations for both students and teacher so the moment passes quickly and the teacher resumes a position of leading.

A second unique circumstance about the lesson also reflects a concern for what to do. This circumstance is recorded on page 210:9-22. One student (JK) obtains a book and begins looking at it on the way back to her desk. What is unusual is that she sits in the wrong desk. The desk is located in a desk cluster where JK had been seated in the past. However, where she sat in the past does not seem to provide any excuses for her. As she sits down, a boy begins to stare at her. This continues until JK looks up from her book. Looking about her, she notices for the first time where she is sitting. Her face blushes and she grins at him. She looks around, then gets up and moves to her assigned seat which is nearby. Once seated, she whispers for a few seconds with another girl at her cluster. Through her grin and her moving back to her assigned place, JK avoids any further breaks in communication and saves herself from any further embarrassment. The lesson seems to be that readers know where to sit.

During the rest of the lesson a number of other interactions occur which reinforce what the teacher and students have been talking about. Other instances of what to do include: using the proper group signal for starting a task, doing the proper things with books, doing the proper things with your voice (not bothering others who are reading), responding to telephone calls from the office, doing the proper things with your voice (not talking when someone else is reading), doing the proper things by putting things away the first time the teacher says something and lining up when told to, doing the proper thing by following teacher in the hallway and not running and so on.

Students show what to do by responding to teacher directions, helping others with lunch things and lunch tags, helping the teacher with books, waiting for the proper signal to begin, doing the proper things with books and record sheets and pencils, putting things away when told to, lining up when told to, and following the teacher when told to.

The classroom interaction is not ambivalent. The teacher, for example, relies on students to interpret fairly rapidly and easily what to do next. Inferences are made throughout the lesson, but not much effort is required to make them. The teacher's emphasis on you know what to do tends to imply an automatic response by students to the reading event and the reading materials.

Phases of the interaction are: preparation for the activity, doing the activity, preparation for the next activity. This order could be called tell and show. The teacher tells and the students show what to do.

The interaction also does social work. The teacher uses the interaction to carry out reading. The students use the interaction to cooperate with the teacher and to show they what they know about reading.

Discursive practices indicate how students' perspectives about resources influence the reading period. Students' responses during the preparations for the reading period represent alternative actions with resources in relation to the teacher's instruction about knowing what to do. These actions were described above. Also, during the time when most students are reading, some students are concerned with showing alternative ways to use the reading record sheets (e.g. page 209:24-26). For some students, progress with reading is interpreted the same as participating in a read-a-thon. Recall that alternative interpretations represent one kind of influence of students' perspectives upon reading instruction. While the teacher does not

talk about reading in this way, it is evident from classroom observations, the transcript of the reading period and students' interviews that some students had altered what could be done with the reading record sheets. In this case, students' perspectives about reading resources influence conversation during reading instruction through alternative actions with resources like the reading record sheet.

Textual Practices

The rights of the participants are asymmetrical. That is, the teacher is in charge and gives the most directives. Obligations of the participants are more symmetrical because both teacher and students assume obligations in order to participate. The teacher is obligated by legal agreement with the district and by moral obligation to protect the students and carry out instruction. The students are obligated by moral principle to respond to the teacher's authority. Obligation to act in certain ways implicates obligation to use resources in certain ways as well since the use of resources is closely tied to the actions and reactions of participants. Actions of students portrayed on page 208:1-10, for example, show how resources such as social relationships, activity, use of objects such as furniture, posture and behavior are all drawn upon in order to communicate to the teacher that students know what to do when it's time for reading.

Topics are developed and introduced mostly by the teacher although some students show control over the topic (like M does) by taking initiative with the topic and extending it to include manners. The agenda for the topics is set by the teacher and policed by the teacher. An example of this occurs on page 209:17 where the teacher tells a student to stop talking. One student polices the teacher with a correction-an evaluation of the teacher. This is discussed more in detail later in this analysis. The teacher initiates topics and

means of communication for much of the lesson (e.g. page 209:11). Through the initiation of topics the teacher also gives clues to students about what resources to draw from at what particular time (e.g. page 210:25-26), where the teacher gives instructions for the use of the record sheets). The reading period is jointly maintained in that the teacher and students take turns communicating and responding to one another.

The teacher uses particular cohesive relations which indicate social positions of the students. Clauses and sentences are connected together on two levels: 1) by functional or deep ties, and 2) by surface connections. At the functional level a series of pronouns is used by the teacher to indicate what is expected. *You know* is a functional relation. The pronoun *you* is repeated throughout the text and is used to refer to the whole class as well as to individuals. What makes the pronoun *you* significant is that there are only two instances of *we* in the text (pages 208:2 and 209:11). The rest of the time the pronoun *you* is used by the teacher. This sets up a distance relationship between the teacher and the students (I and you). Even the use of *we* on page 209:11 is primarily aimed at the students because the teacher is ready to be settled-he is waiting for the students. The use of *we* (page 208:2) is meant for the teacher as well as the students-both teacher and students will have to cooperate to accomplish their work this afternoon.

In regard to reading resources, the distance between the teacher and students indicated by the pronoun *you* shows that the students are continually in the position of demonstrating what to do with the resources at their disposal. On page 210:1-3 and 25-28, for example, the students are to show uses of resources such as social relationships, use of materials, activity, and postures which conform to what is considered appropriate for "reading".

The teacher ties students' cooperation with what is expected in terms a chain of reasoning that runs something like: students can accomplish silent reading because they already know how to do what the teacher is asking of them. Silent reading is not supposed to be too difficult for the students. There is no reason why they can not read. The rationale for this argument is the appeal to prior contexts (e.g. page 208:3, 6, 23, 28-29; page 209:11; and page 210:25-30). What students need to know about how to participate has happened so much that everyone should understand what to do and how to do it. The schema for this argument is a time-order relationship-when this happens, you know what to do-the teacher is giving steps in the process of attending to silent reading. For example, the teacher's talk on pages 210:25- 211:3 is time order because the relation the teacher uses is: return the record sheets to folders, books back on shelf or in your desk, ABC books to their spot for use later, then push in chairs and stand to get ready to leave for the gym.

At the surface level, there are several explicit cohesive markers. References in the early part of the interaction about knowing what to do are repeated. *Know* is interesting because it is used as an encouragement by the teacher-you students already know how to do this. The reading lesson is more a lesson in extending what students should know by this time than it is introducing something which is unknown. The teacher relies on students' knowledge about prior contexts as a resource for maintaining appropriate uses of materials, time, social relationships, activity, purposes, and postures.

On page 208:28, the phrase *your jobs* replaces what to do. This cohesive tie shows how what is being done with reading is also considered as part of our job at school. The word *when* is a key conjunctive word which is used several times. Examples are: when you go in, when there is talking, when (if minimizes the directive already given with who's ready) you are ready. This

indicates the close connections with concepts about time as a reading resource.

Politeness is used by the teacher during the interaction. The teacher guides students through the reading period with a series of politeness conventions while relying on his social position to structure what to do with resources and when. The teacher uses politeness to express affinity with the students and minimize the effects of the objective statements which are made.

Ethos is the total manner of the teacher-student relation and this is phrased as friendly but business-like. The teacher is firm about what is expected, and the students reply back with cooperation, and even some teasing to the teacher. The atmosphere is supportive and encouraging and the teacher is able to make requests that are very prescriptive, and yet this is accepted.

Themes of the interaction are what the teacher takes as given. In this case, the teacher takes as given the process of reading and how to use the materials. This is selected as the theme by the teacher. The common sense assumption is that students know what to do before reading begins, you know what to do after the lights come on, you know why too much talking does not mix with quiet reading, and you know how to get ready for PE. Part of the reading lesson is about recognizing nonverbal signals for what to do with print and when to do it. One exception is on page 210:1-2 where the teacher reverses the order of the clause and puts the signal last instead of first. In this case, the teacher points out how social relations are to be structured and what postures are appropriate.

Several key words are culturally salient. These are: ABC, books, lunch chart, read quietly, talking, record sheets, your desk, PE not gym, and lineup. These words have meaning potential for the students and the teacher. Each

word or phrase is understood in the context of the reading lesson. For example, the relation between gym and PE is noticed by a student and called to the teacher's attention. Meanings of other words do not seem to be altered, although some students do attempt to interpret silent reading as a chance to talk.

One metaphor which the teacher uses often is the notion that a day is full of activity. One example is found on page 208:2, *We have a full afternoon*. This phrase shows again how the notion of time in second grade is being constructed. There is no time that is not spent doing something. There are no empty time slots here. Teachers and students are busy and the school day is full. Time as a resource is being constructed in certain ways. Time is meant to be chunked or blocked: from this time to this time we do this and so on.

Textual practices of the students and teacher also indicate how students' perspectives about resources influence the reading period. In this case, the text of the reading period portrayed in Figure 8 indicates a continuous expectation that students know what to do. The teacher relies on students' knowledge of what to do with resources in order to influence the reading period in positive ways. Textual practices make clear to students what appropriate uses of resources are like during this early part of the school year. To the extent that students comply with the teacher's perspective, their actions with resources influence the reading lesson in appropriate ways. Textual practices make clear that students' interpretations of the resources are also expected to be similar to those expressed by the teacher.

Social Practices

The way in which time and other resources are managed during the course of the reading period shows how reading works in second grade. The school as an institution regulates time in particular ways for large groups of

people. Reading lessons become an activity which is very structured with particular uses of resources which are necessary to participate and be seen as a reader.

The sample of classroom interaction described above represents a typical kind of interaction about reading in the second grade room which is the study site. The language used and the sequence of activity are typical of reading lessons observed in the classroom. By structuring the use of resources in this way early in the year, the teacher hopes that students will take up appropriate uses of resources during reading of their own accord later in the school year and be able to conduct themselves with less instruction from the teacher.

The teacher draws from orders of discourse about what teachers and students should do in order to carry out reading lessons. The teacher draws from resources such as time, objects, social relations, posture, prior contexts and so on in particular ways which reflect common ideas held by other teachers on the staff, the school administration, and the wider community for what teachers and students should do in school. The teacher's reminders on page 208:2, 28-29 that the class has lots to do this afternoon and that each student has a job to do draws from conceptions of school as a place where work is done.

In addition, students also draw from wider orders of discourse in order to participate in reading lessons. They use commonly held ideas about what to do with time, with books, with information from books, postures to communicate and so on to participate in reading lessons. One discourse which students draw from, in addition to what the teacher proposes, are social practices which compare. The transcript (e.g. page 209:24-26) indicates that some student talk was about how many books had been read in comparison

with other students. Students' perspectives about what it means to compare oneself with other students influence what they do with resources like the reading record sheets. Students' perspectives about using resources to compare themselves with other students show the influence of alternative ways (like comparisons) to interpret the record sheets. In addition, students' interpretations about the use of the resources leads to alternative actions with the resources. In this case, the fact that author, title, and a brief review has been included is secondary for the students' purposes. What is primary for some students is the number of books read.

Another example of student influence concerns the use of material objects like the teddy bears. As students pick up the bears during the beginning of the reading period, (e.g. pages 209:5 and 210:23) this represents how students draw from certain social practices which accompany reading in the primary grades in Mapleview School. During student interviews, some mention was made about partner reading. While the teacher had not actively promoted the use of the teddy bears as partners for reading, students began to actively seek the bears during the last couple weeks of September and on into October. Although students do not read with other classmates as partners during the reading period on 9-29-94, the bears in some way represent a way that students could read with a partner. In this way, students' perspectives about how to interpret the use of resources like stuffed animals influence what is observed during reading.

Summary

A second grade reading lesson was investigated in terms of three communicative practices suggested by Fairclough (1992). Discursive, textual, and social practices about the reading lesson were investigated in order to

understand how students' perspectives about reading resources might be reflected in reading lessons.

Discursive practices of the teacher and students show that students draw from resources in order to participate in reading instruction. One resource that students draw from is predictable ways of communication. Certain postures and signals (e.g. heads down) are used to signal cooperation and readiness to participate. The activities which make up reading instruction (e.g. recording titles, authors, brief reviews on record sheets) also follow predictable sequences each day. Predictable activities serve as resources which students draw from in order to know what to do next. What to do at reading time is automatic and quickly set in motion. Part of the predictable activity of reading lessons is the business-like tone which the teacher uses to set the reading lesson into motion. Reading is part of the students' job at school. This is signaled in several ways by the teacher both verbally and nonverbally.

What is not so predictable about reading lessons is the ways that students draw from resources and transform what reading lessons can be about. While the teacher emphasizes reading instruction in terms of what is proper to do with the resources of time, materials, social relations, physical activity, postures, and prior contexts, the students use these resources for their own purposes (e.g. reading aloud with teddy bear partners, engaging in read-a-thons). What students do with resources influences the perspectives they take about resources. Students take the initiative with resources at times during reading instruction. Their initiative may be acknowledged by the teacher (e.g. the student-teacher interaction about the proper name for the physical education class). Students' initiative with resources may also be unacknowledged or challenged by the teacher (e.g. when students use

resources like the teddy bears to read to or record sheets to make comparisons or compete with other students).

It is interesting to note that the reading lesson is marked by several indicators of what to do and what not to do with resources. This suggests that reading lessons are as much about learning proper behaviors commonly associated with reading as much as they are about learning about print. A common language and identity about reading are established as students and teachers interact about what kinds of material resources count as reading, how to draw from the resources of social relations and ways to communicate with postures, how to incorporate the resource of prior contexts about reading, how to manage time for reading in order to engage in reading instruction. Students understand that books count as the primary reading material in their school, that readers do not annoy other readers, that print is for sounding out because it's important to get the words correct, and that reading is for learning.

Students' perspectives of resources for reading are reflected in, and influence the reading lesson in the following ways. First, the resource of time is reflected through the actions students take with materials during reading instruction. Students' actions and interpretations for how to use resources such as teddy bears, record sheets, and books show how students introduce changes in reading activity or ways to interpret reading resources over time.

Second, activity as a resource for reading is reflected through students' interpretations about the use of resources. Reading a book for several minutes, writing reviews and noting the title and the author are activities which are recognized as part of what readers do in second grade. Students' understand that their primary activity during reading is to sound out words so they can tell what the book is saying. Students' perspectives about reading

activity also influence the reading period. Students' reports that reading is for learning and that learning about reading is by sounding out words indicate how students approach reading activity. Their perspectives influence the way they approach reading and thus potentially influence the reading period.

Third, social relations as resources are reflected by what kinds of interaction are allowed during the reading time. Students begin to understand that loud voices and reading do not mix while reading in school. During reading lessons, students are learning that readers behave in certain ways towards other readers. In addition, students look for ways to introduce social relations into the task of reading-through reading partners, trading books with one another, through comparison or competition with other students and so on. The relations students establish and maintain represent another way that students' perspectives can influence what happens during reading instruction.

Fourth, materials as resources are reflected by what students do with books, posters and so forth. Students understand that reading is letters and words. During reading lessons, students learn uses for the alphabet and they learn that reading chapter books counts as progress in school. Students' interpretations about reading materials such as letter forms, record sheets influence reading instruction in subtle ways.

Fifth, postures and nonverbal communication as resources are reflected by how students learn to communicate what they are doing to other people. During reading lessons, students learn that certain postures and nonverbal signals with printed materials mean that reading is taking place. Students' use of various postures to communicate carries the potential to influence reading instruction to the extent that the postures are used with

other resources (e.g. trading books, comparing record sheets, showing a book to a friend, and so on).

Sixth, goals and purposes as resources are reflected by how students decide what they are supposed to do with print. Students closely "read" teachers' actions with reading in order to find out what to do. During reading lessons, students are learning how teachers measure reading progress. Whether students adopt the teacher's goals and purposes for reading instruction (e.g. learning how to read for information in second grade) or introduce their own goals and purposes (e.g. engaging in read-a-thons), students' perspectives about goals and purposes carry the potential to influence reading instruction.

Seventh, prior contexts as resources are reflected in reading lessons by students' actions with reading materials. The actions students take as they read show what reading has been about in the past. During reading lessons, students are learning what is necessary to prepare for future reading in school. The perspectives students have about prior reading contexts (e.g. reading is sounding out, reading chapter books is a way to move up from easy books) are brought forward to present reading situations and have the potential to influence reading instruction.

Discussion and Summary of Key Issues About Reading Resources

Observations from this study were presented in three main sections. The first section provided details about the classroom setting of the study. Descriptions of the school and classroom were presented so that the reader might better understand the students and their daily life in the classroom. In addition, details about a typical class meeting were described and the interaction was analyzed. The second section of the chapter described seven resources for reading. The resources were defined and described in terms of how students draw from them for participating in the life of the class. The third section presented a typical reading period.

In this section, I discuss three key issues about reading resources and reading lessons which have been raised previously in this chapter. The three key issues are: 1) students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction reflect how students and teacher establish common language and common identities for what readers do and talk about and for who readers are; 2) the ways students make use of resources or tools in order to engage in reading instruction is what defines reading for them; 3) students' perspectives about resources required for reading instruction serve as sources of change for what goes on in reading lessons so that definitions of reading are constantly being proposed and negotiated through student and teacher interaction. Each of these issues is discussed below.

Students' Perspectives Reflect Common Language and Common Identities

The first section of this chapter described the classroom setting and details about the daily life of the students. Analysis of the classroom setting indicates that what students and teacher do in the classroom can be described in terms of the establishment of a common language and common identities

for what students and teachers do as well as for who students and teachers are. Seven resources were described which students and their teacher drew from in order to participate in the life of the class. Students and their teacher reported about the influence of activity, time, social relationships, use of objects, goals, and memory of prior contexts. Descriptions of routine communication events were presented in order to understand ways students and teacher made use of resources at their disposal.

Students' Perspectives About Reading Resources Define Reading

The second major section of this chapter described resources for reading which students believed were necessary in order to accomplish reading. Each of the resources was defined. Observations of students' and their teacher's interactions were brought together with interview data, responses to sentence frames, and whole class discussions about semantic relations for reading in order to describe students' perspectives about the resources. Students' perspectives about reading resources show the influence of particular ways of defining reading in addition to particular ideas about what readers do. Students reported that reading was for learning. They indicated that books were what readers used and that success with reading was defined in terms of progress with certain kinds of books such as chapter books. The influence of time was another key influence upon students' ideas about reading and readers. Students indicated that reading is activity bounded by certain actions such as sounding out words and learning from books. The activities students perceived for reading made it possible for students to identify when reading was taking place. However, the ways students identified reading also meant that it was more difficult for them to identify ways that other activities during the day incorporated reading.

Students' Perspectives Influence Reading Instruction

The third major section of this chapter described a period of reading instruction. A transcript was used to represent phases of activity of a typical reading period in the daily life of the students. Analysis showed that students' perspectives influenced reading instruction through alternative actions with resources and alternative interpretations about what resources could represent. Students' alternatives were sometimes acknowledged by the teacher. Students' perspectives about resources for reading influenced social relationships during the reading period.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate students' perspectives about what they believe is necessary to participate in reading instruction in their classroom. What was required for students to engage in reading and writing has been defined in terms of material, social, or intellectual resources or tools which students draw from. This conception of resources contrasts with a customary view of resources as materials or people located in a particular location, collection, or room. The resources students draw from can be characterized in terms of what students know about language, the natural and social worlds students inhabit, and various values, beliefs, and propositions about readers and writers (see Fairclough, 1989).

For the purpose of this study, constructs from a view of reading as social interaction were used to support hypotheses, the research design, the methods of data collection and the data analysis. Social interaction theory seeks to make visible the social and academic demands for taking part in classroom life from the perspectives of students and teachers. Constructs which support a view of reading as social interaction find their roots in what is known as ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974). An ethnography of communication perspective looks for patterns of communication between people and uses the patterns to make visible social life. In addition, this study used constructs from social semiotics as a way to approach questions about how students interpreted and represented what was occurring in their classroom. A social semiotic perspective seeks to explain meanings expressed by people through patterned, habitual uses of symbols/forms.

Data sources for this study included observations in a second grade classroom for about 2/3 of the school year, interviews with students and their teacher, audio and video tape recordings, systematic checks of my interpretations, and examination of students' written artifacts. Data sources were more fully described in chapter three.

Observations from the study were presented in Chapter 4 in four major sections. The first section provided descriptive information about the school and classroom settings, and classroom interactions. This information was provided to help the reader understand a surrounding context for what students did in the classroom. This information helps the reader consider the classroom setting and serves as one way to compare the classroom in this study with other second grade classrooms.

The second section described resources for reading instruction which were identified from the corpus of data. This section also described students' perspectives about the resources in terms of how students made use of them in their daily life in the classroom. This section focused on answering research question #1: What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction? This research question looks at how students describe and define reading.

The third section provided a closer look at a classroom event identified as reading by the students. This reading event was described and analyzed in order to serve as a representative case for reading instruction in general in the classroom. This section focused on answering research question #2: How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading? This question looks at the influence of students' perspectives about resources for reading in two ways: 1) through changes over time in ways that students use reading resources during reading instruction, and 2)

through on-going negotiation between students and teachers about how reading resources are interpreted.

The fourth major section described key issues about students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction. The key issues identified were: 1) students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction reflect how students and teacher establish common language and common identities for what readers do and talk about and for who readers are; 2) the ways students make use of resources or tools in order to engage in reading instruction is what defines reading for them; and 3) students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction influence what goes on in reading lessons so that definitions of reading are constantly being altered through student and teacher interaction.

Discussion

This section will address the two questions posed for this study:

- 1) What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction?
- 2) How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading?

Table 7 on pages 235-239 displays a summary of the main findings from the data analysis in chapter four. The findings summarized in the table form the basis for the discussion which follows. This discussion is organized in three sections. The first section discusses data about daily life in the classroom. The second section discusses students' perspectives about resources required for reading instruction. The third section discusses how students' perspectives influence what occurs during reading instruction.

Table 7. Summary of Findings About Research Questions #1 and #2

<p>The classroom setting:</p> <p>What resources are used for classroom instruction?</p>	<p>There are seven resources used for classroom instruction. They are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Particular Activity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Students and teacher use particular labels to stand for particular activities -Particular tasks are considered appropriate for certain activities -Students and teacher use particular spoken and written labels to indicate what activity is expected to occur -Activities are identified by students and teacher in terms of what tasks to do 2. Time <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Students and teacher arrange their activities with particular ideas about how to use time -Students and teacher have conceptions about how to use time which are not always similar to one another -Schools as institutions operate with certain uses of time -Students consider past and future events across time to make decisions about how to participate in classroom activities today. 3. Social Relations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Students and teacher use particular symbols/forms such as voice to signal what social relations are appropriate during any given activity -Students and teacher decide how to participate in activities based on what social relations are expected -The size of student groups indicates what behavior is appropriate during a given activity 4. Particular uses for objects <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Students and teacher use objects to signal to others what they are doing -Students recognize activities through ways particular objects are used -Students rely on particular uses of objects to participate in classroom activities
---	---

Continued, next page

Table 7 continued

<p>The classroom setting:</p> <p>What resources are used for classroom instruction?</p>	<p>5. Postures/gestures -Students and teacher use postures, gestures to communicate to others -Students' postures reflect the influence of the teacher's training about what to do and when to do it -Students and teacher observe the postures of people around them to make decisions about what to do next</p> <p>6. Particular goals -Students and teacher make decisions about how to participate with certain goals and purposes in mind -Goals for students and teacher are affected by what social relations are desired -Students' and teacher's goals are affected by what they perceive as criteria for success in school as an institution</p> <p>7. Memory of prior contexts -Prior contexts are remembered in terms of previous actions during activities -Learning what to do frames the contexts which are established -The interaction of students and teacher forms a series of unique prior contexts</p>
<p>Answers to research question #1:</p> <p>What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction?</p>	<p>Students' perspectives about the resources required for reading instruction are:</p> <p>1. Activity -Reading activity is a kind of learning -Reading activity involves thinking -Reading activity is what students have to know how to do</p> <p>2. Time: -Reading happens at certain times of the day regardless of how often students read environmental print -Students consider past, present, and future times of reading for making decisions about reading today -Students monitor their progress with reading over time in terms of perceived change or lack of change in their use of reading resources</p>

Continued, next page

Table 7 continued

<p>Answers to research question #1 continued:</p> <p>What are students' perspectives about resources necessary for reading instruction?</p>	<p>3. Social Relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Reading can be done alone or with a group of people who are learning-Students' social relations during reading reflect what students believe they are expected to do by the teacher-Students may develop known identities in the classroom in relation to what they say about reading resources and in relation to what they do with reading resources <p>4. Particular Uses For Objects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Kinds of books read serve as prominent indicators of reading achievement-Students rely on auditory images for printed texts to tell them if they are reading-Books are for learning-Printed texts, illustrations are used for reading-Reading is learning what to do with print <p>5. Postures/Gestures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Volume of voice is used to communicate that reading is taking place-Body position, especially positioning of the head is used to communicate that reading is taking place <p>6. Particular Goals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Goals for reading are to understand print-Goals for reading are to signal control of printed texts <p>7. Memory of Prior Contexts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">-Memories about the alphabet-Memories about particular sounds-Memories about how to hold printed texts and what to do with the material
---	--

Continued, next page

Table 7 continued

<p>Answers to research question #2:</p> <p>How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading?</p>	<p>Students' perspectives about reading resources influence reading instruction in the following ways:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Activity:<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Students' interpretations about the use of resources constitutes reading for them-Use of resources which do not appear similar to students' interpretations are less likely to be considered reading2. Time:<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Students introduce changes with resources over time-Students reinterpret what resources can mean over time3. Social Relations<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Students introduce social relations into reading instruction-The social relations students establish and maintain serve as ways for students to introduce their perspectives4. Particular Uses For Objects<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Students' interpretations for the use of objects/materials are subtle influences-Students' uses of objects are linked by textual chains with other participants and offer potential for influence5. Postures/Gestures<ul style="list-style-type: none">-Students copy, try out, adopt, adapt postures/gestures to communicate during reading instruction-Students use postures with other resources participate in reading instruction
---	---

Continued, next page

Table 7 continued

<p>Answers to research question #2 continued:</p> <p>How is reading instruction influenced by students' perspectives about resources for reading?</p>	<p>6. Particular Goals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Students' perspectives about reading reflect goals and purposes of the teacher and parents -Students' perspectives about reading reflect their goals and purposes and carry the potential to introduce change or alternate interpretations about resources -Students' goals for reading are to find out what the print is saying to them (students' goals for reading are focused-not reading for enjoyment) so that what happens during reading instruction from the students' view is an effort to translate print <p>7. Memory of Prior Contexts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Students bring memories of reading activity from first grade with them as they read in second grade. Their memories about what was done with reading in the past form a basis for what they perceive about reading instruction in the present. Their memories influence what actions they take with reading today.
---	---

Resources for Classroom Instruction

Data about students' perspectives about classroom instruction in general indicated that they drew from several resources in order to participate in classroom instruction. From the first day of school onward, students and teacher worked out a system of organized activities and arrangements for how to structure each school day. Resources which students utilized in order to participate were: labels for activities, time, ideas about what social relations were appropriate, ideas about what uses of objects were appropriate, what postures and gestures would send what messages to classmates and the teacher, what goals the teacher had in mind as well as what goals students thought were appropriate for each activity, and finally,

the memory of contexts for past activities which the students considered to be similar to those they were participating in at the present time. These resources are characterized as mental and social strategies as well as physical objects which students group together for each activity in order to participate in the activity. Each of these resources is discussed in turn below.

Activity

Students used labels to represent activities in school. The labels functioned as shorthand references for a whole set of expectancies about activity, use of time, social relations, use of objects, appropriate postures and gestures, goals, and memory of prior contexts. In this sense, the label for an activity served as a powerful sign for what students expected to happen as well as for helping students to explain what did happen. The teacher recognized that he could incorporate reading in other class activities at other times of the day, but those times and activities would not count as reading for the students. For students, reading occurred when it was supposed to occur in the daily schedule. The powerful influence of the label as a sign is partially explained by 1) students' perceptions of classroom activity as what to do and how to do things, reinforced by 2) a theory of how signs work. These ideas are discussed below.

Particular terminology is adopted by the teacher and the students for accomplishing tasks in a timely fashion. Labels are used to identify events during the day. Labels such as "morning meeting", "poems", "lunch", "family meeting", "recess", and so on are adopted in order to guide students through the day. The use of labels for school day events serves important functions for students as well as teachers. Labels for events serve students by clueing them in to what resources will be used and how they will be used. Labels for events serve teachers as a way to manage resources and guide students through a

continual series of interactions during the day. Ways to use resources become associated with particular labels for events during the day. Labels serve students and teachers as a shorthand way of indicating a whole set of understandings about what can be done, who can do things, and what purposes are desired. Labels for classroom events serve to represent a whole host of expected uses for resources.

The use of labels by the students and their teacher in this study to indicate what activities are expected to occur is best explained by a theory of signs which looks at people creating representations as an interpretive activity. The labels used to indicate classroom events such as "reading", "lunch" and so on represent constructions that the teacher and students have proposed and accepted for their use. What is important is to recognize that students and teachers act and react in ways that establish what labels can mean. Labels come to be established as part of a common language and common system of identities for the classroom community.

Analysis of classroom interaction showed three typical phases of communicative activity between teacher and students. These phases are: sequences of communication which prepare students for tasks, help students to accomplish the tasks, and prepare for the next task. These phases are employed by the classroom teacher to guide students to know what to do as well as how to do tasks during the school day. These ways of communication serve to guide students through ways to use the physical spaces and uses of time promoted in the school.

Time

Students and their teacher also drew upon concepts of time as a resource for classroom instruction. The data collection showed an underlying emphasis upon how to use time during the day. Interviews for example with

the students and their teacher indicated that time during the school day was considered in terms of segments, "snippets" as the teacher put it. The concept of time which the school advocated required students to think of time in terms of starting and stopping a number of activities during the day. Time for students' engagement in activities was not based upon students' interests and motivation for the activity, but instead upon what was necessary to happen next because many events such as recess, lunch, and special classes in addition to chapter one services and ESL classes were scheduled for students only at particular times of the day. Students' perspectives about time were not only influenced by the school's schedule, but also by the teacher's expectations. Data also showed that the teacher's instruction during the first month of school focused on showing students how to use time during classroom activities.

Students' time in the classroom is directed towards learning a common language for understanding and displaying how to use the resources during the first months of school. The teacher works to establish a common language for what to do, when, and how. Patterns of time use which are formed early in the school year form the basis for all subsequent uses of time during the remainder of the school term. During the spring months, Mr. P and his students negotiate some alterations in the daily routine. For example, silent reading may occur at other times of the day. However, students' understandings of what can be done with time remains consistent with their understandings displayed earlier in the year.

Interviews with the teacher and observations of students showed that sometimes students acted with varying conceptions of time in comparison with the teacher. This was especially apparent during the first months of school. For example, the teacher recognized that some children consistently

arranged their time according to their level of interest in an activity. When their interest in an activity subsided, then it was time to find something else to do. This conception of time was at odds with the use of time promoted in the school that interest in an activity would be sustained during a certain time frame after which the clock would signal for students when to end an activity.

Another observation from the study concerning time was that students considered time in relation to past memories of events and in relation to what they expected to happen to them in the future. For example, interviews and data checks showed that students had ideas about first and third grade which they relied upon as they made decisions about how to participate in second grade. Students seemed to operate with a sense of time which reflected what they expected was likely to happen within events (shown by their expectations for what would occur during phases of an activity) as well as across events (shown by their memories of what happened in the past and what was likely to happen in the future). This sense of looking at time both within as well as across events points to how carefully students observe what is going on around them. That is, students are able researchers of the social interaction around them.

Social Relations

Data from classroom observations and taped recordings in particular showed that students and their teacher interacted with generally unspoken rules about what social relations would be allowed or not allowed during the day. Furthermore, students would identify classroom events based upon what social relations were allowed (partners, groups, individual work, and so on). Each classroom event during the school day could be characterized in terms of what social relations were displayed. Morning meeting, for example, was

marked by certain displays of social activity such as the greeting time, the sharing time, the group time for looking at the calendar and so on.

Another observation about social relations from the data was that the size of student groups served as a signal to indicate what behavior was appropriate during a classroom event. Small group work during math, for example, served to signal that students could use normal talking voices. On the other hand, individual work during spelling indicated that students were to work on their own lists and not interfere with the work that others were trying to do. The size of the social group allowed during class events appeared to signal to students how they were expected to participate during particular phases of activity which made up the event.

Particular Uses for Objects

Observations from the data indicate that students used objects to signal a variety of messages to themselves and to others what kinds of behavior were allowed or not allowed. For example, data gathered during events like math or spelling can be used to show that students used objects to signal that cooperation and engagement in the activity. This was fostered by the teacher's reliance on signals from students as a way to discern who was "following along" and who was not. Recall that during the morning meeting which was analyzed in chapter four, students were to raise their picture envelopes to signal to the teacher who was ready and who was not. This kind of signaling by students for the teacher was a common pattern of interaction.

In addition, observations from the data showed that students perceive activities partially through the actions taken with particular objects. For example, students described morning meeting in terms of what objects were used (lunch tags, calendar, straws, and so on) as well as the order they were used. Classroom observations and video recordings can be used to also show

that objects helped students and their teacher to orient themselves as to what was happening. For example, the teacher would often use objects as a way to remind students what was going on if it appeared that they were not paying attention. It was not uncommon to hear the teacher remark, "Everyone should be holding...." and for students to look around and see what everyone else was doing and to copy that.

Postures and Gestures

Observations from the data showed that students and their teacher used certain postures to communicate with others and to orient themselves as to what was occurring at the time. The teacher looked for certain postures as a way to observe the class and to check for compliance with instructions. For example, the quiet time after lunch was signaled by students sitting quietly at their seats with heads down. Another common posture for students was to look up and toward the speaker ("eyes and ears up here") as a way to show attention to whoever was speaking to the class. In a way similar to that of objects, students the teacher observed the postures of those around them as a way to orient themselves as to what was going on.

Also, students' postures with objects served as ways to recognize what to do and how to do it. The instruction students received for spelling, for example, required the use of particular objects such as the spelling list papers. The teacher gave special attention for several weeks during the fall months of school to how to set up the spelling study guide as well as the list papers for the weekly spelling test. Each of these procedures required certain postures and gestures from students so that they could participate in appropriate ways (raising hands, for example, for help during spelling).

Particular Goals

Data from classroom observations, interviews, and systematic checks showed that students and teacher made decisions about how to participate in classroom activities with certain goals or expectations by others of appropriate goals. Students desired to establish certain friendships, for example, and would act in ways to help a friendship happen. For example, certain students were invited to birthdays and special events at the homes of other students. Sharing time during the morning meeting was sometimes marked by reports of what students had done together outside of school.

Students' goals were sometimes oriented towards what they perceived was considered successful by the teacher, or by the school in general. This was most evident in the students' observations of themselves as readers. For example, students had specific ideas about what they had to do in order to be a reader. This is discussed more in detail in the chapter area marked as students' perspectives about resources for reading below.

Memory of Prior Contexts

Students described previous classroom events in terms similar to that of labels. Prior contexts were remembered in terms of what students had done and what activities had occurred. The theme of knowing what to do carried over from past contexts into present ones as well. Contexts which were established by teacher and students consistently included instruction about what to do. For second graders in this study, the content of learning in second grade often was about what to do and when to do it. In this way, the interaction of students and teacher in the classroom formed a unique learning environment in comparison with other second grade rooms next door. As the school year unfolded, students and teacher established a series of prior contexts unique to their classroom.

Students' Perspectives About Resources for Reading Instruction

Data analysis in Chapter 4 explored what students perceived was necessary for reading in their classroom. Students' perspectives are discussed below in relation to each of the seven resources.

Activity

All of the students participating in the study considered reading activity as learning. Data supporting this statement was checked again by the classroom teacher. Students consistently linked reading and learning together. Students also consistently believed that reading involved thinking and that thinking about print made extra-ordinary demands on their attention and posture. During interviews, some students thought reading was difficult because it required so much concentration in order to keep in mind "what the book is saying". Students also reported that reading demanded special kinds of knowledge about letters, sounds, books, and pages which added to the task. Students viewed reading as something which had to be done in school. That is, reading was part of what students had to know how to do in order to make progress in school and be considered successful.

Students believed that reading activity was marked by a focus on letters, sounds, words, and pictures. In particular, students perceived that reading was thinking of words as well as thinking of everything that might help figure out what the print "was saying". While students commonly believed that reading could occur because of the application of certain techniques such as sounding out words, students characterized reading as a process of learning and achievement marked by experience with different kinds of books. In other words, students' perspectives about reading appear to involve aspects of all three of the principal definitions of reading posed in the introduction to chapter one.

Students' focus on letters, sounds, and sounding out appear to support a definition of reading as decontextualized skill. Students' responses to the sentence frames also indicate a constant focus on sounding out words and letters in order to figure out words that are unknown/unrecognized. Reading occurs through sounding out activity.

However, data from observations, video and audio tape, and interviews showed that students consider that retelling stories and learning new things to be characteristics of reading. That is, reading is understanding what "the book is saying". Students also perceive that reading tells a story. This viewpoint supports a definition of reading as comprehension activity.

In addition, students also recognize ideological aspects about reading. For example, students indicated that reading successfully is a step in school progress. In their classroom, reading activity with different kinds of books was used by students to reproduce certain social relations, especially between good readers and those who were not so good. Students indicated that the reading books in their classroom were organized by them into various levels of reading ability which closely mirrored the kinds of reading ability they believed were widespread through out the school. Students understood reading ability from a variety of social interactions which they had with older siblings, acquaintances and friends in special education and as well as the materials which special teachers brought into the room. For example, the special education teacher brought books into the classroom which students believed were easy books because they were thin, with large pictures in proportion to the page, and few lines of print. According to the students' scheme of reading activity, books which met the criteria discussed above were easy books and represented the lowest level of reading achievement in second grade.

Time

Students perceived that reading occurred at certain times of the day. Almost always, students reported that reading was silent reading which occurred right after lunch and before a special class which began at 12:30. Only one student mentioned that reading aloud was also reading, but qualified that by saying that reading aloud and reading silently were the same because a person had to hold a book at both times. Reading time for this student was a time when students and their teacher held books. Holding a book was perhaps one way this student appeared to consider what readers did across more than one daily event. Other students reported about reading experiences in first grade and about what they expected would happen in third grade. This is an example of how students consider reading across events in time. Another example of this kind of view about time was students' self-evaluation of their progress with reading in terms of the changes they noticed in the kinds of books they read. Reading easy books, picture books, chapter books represented kinds of books as well as kinds of readers for the students. Students monitored their progress with reading over time in terms of their what changes they perceived about themselves as readers.

Students considered reading in terms of time within a reading event as well as across events. For example, students viewed time within a reading event in terms of specific activities such as holding a book, sounding out, thinking, and filling out information about books such as author, title, and brief review.

The use of concepts about time as resource for reading indicates a complex field of understanding which students hold about reading. Students' perspectives about time for reading could indicate how it is that students appear to view reading in terms of multiple definitions as suggested above.

Concepts of time as what is presently happening in addition to time extending forward into the future and backward into the past could provide a way for students to juggle various definitions about reading. Students' views about reading as sounding out (a kind of decontextualized skill) would appear to represent reading activity within a present reading event. Students' views about reading as retelling and learning (a kind of comprehension) would appear to represent reading activity across reading events. Students' views about reading in terms of progress with reading they believe is valued by the school (an ideological statement) would also appear to represent reading activity across reading events. In other words, to speak about these definitions of reading may imply that differences between them are about different relations of time and reading activity. .

Social Relations

Students reported that reading could be done with different size social groups. All students reported that they looked forward to partner reading which occurred periodically as part of the silent reading time. Observations of video tape and of the classroom indicate that students also established certain social relations which they believed were appropriate for reading. These kinds of relations varied. Some students established trading relationships with other students. For example, students would agree to trade books with certain other friends. Other students established competitive relations around reading. For them, reading was a like a read-a thon where the object was to read as many books as possible and to try to read more than someone else. One student even referred to the reading record sheets as "read-a-thon" sheets.

Particular Uses for Objects

All students reported that reading activity involved the use of particular objects. Objects which students indicated were part of reading were: books, illustrations, print, and photocopied pages for recording titles, authors, and brief reviews about books students had read. Students believed that each of these objects had specific uses for reading instruction. Three uses for books which students reported were: 1) as an arena for learning; 2) as markers of reading progress; and 3) as what was needed for reading activity to occur. Each of these areas is discussed below.

Students perceived that books were for learning. The sentence frames which students sorted helped to make visible what learning meant for students. Frame one showed that students discriminated between learning in general (a lot, answers to things) and learning words in particular. Books were perceived by students as objects which they used in reading which helped them learn about things in general and words in particular. Both ideas about learning were implicated in reading by all students who sorted the sentence frames.

Students also reported that books were used in another way in addition to learning. That is, books served as prominent indicators of reading progress or achievement. Students took notice of what books they read in addition to books that other students read in order to reach conclusions about progress with reading. Students commonly perceived that books in the classroom could be arranged into easy books, picture books, and chapter books, with chapter books representing the highest reading achievement possible in second grade. Students believed that to be reading chapter books was a sign of making real progress with reading. In addition, interview data showed that students believed that reading in third grade would mean more frequent use

of chapter books. In order not to be seen as falling behind, and in order to get to the next grade level, students believed that they needed to start reading chapter books as soon as possible.

Finally, students believed that reading a book meant that they engaged in certain activities. For example, print in books was used for sounding out words and letters in the book in order to find out what "the book was saying". Students believed that auditory images which they created as they looked at print were markers or indicators that reading was actually going on. While some students also indicated that illustrations were important helps for readers, sounding out words was seen as the main activity of readers.

All students who sorted frames perceived that thinking about words was also part of reading activity. Students believed that thinking while reading meant that they thought about words they recognized. In addition, students tried to think about words and things in general when they saw a word they did not recognize. Furthermore, thinking about reading was a way to show that a person was smart and therefore was reading in an appropriate way. Thus it is possible to summarize students' perceptions about books in terms of two signs: 1) the creation of auditory images (sounding out) while looking at print represents reading activity for students; and 2) books students read represent what they use to understand how they are making progress with reading.

Postures and Gestures

Observations of students and students' reports indicated that certain postures and gestures were used to communicate that reading was taking place. One of the postures which students used to communicate about reading was body position. One of the parts of the body which most often communicated that reading was occurring was the head. For example, there

were times when students were "goofing around" during reading. When students who were misbehaving perceived that the teacher might notice them, they used the positioning of their head to serve as a signal to the teacher that they understood how to cooperate even though their misbehavior might continue for a time. By inclining their head toward their desk and toward a book, students would try to send a signal that reading was occurring. Sometimes students would stand or walk about the classroom during reading events. However, this kind of behavior was accepted by the teacher if it was accompanied by the position of the head towards a book.

Gestures which students used to communicate that reading was taking place involved hands and voice volume. Hands extended toward a book were a signal that reading was taking place. Hand position was indicated by all students who sorted the sentence frame about right ways to read as one indicator that reading was being done appropriately. Voices were supposed to be quieter than normal talking volume. Students perceived that voice volume during reading events became quieter as they made progress in school.

Particular Goals

Students perceived two main goals for themselves during reading instruction. The first goal was that they understand print. Understanding print meant that students learned about words and about the world in general. Learning has been discussed above under uses for objects as a resource for reading. A second goal for students could be phrased as signaling that they are in control of printed texts. This goal is indicated by the students' perceptions that reading books is part of a sequence of progress or achievement in school. Goals for reading are discussed more extensively below in relation to how students' perceptions of goals affect what happens during reading instruction.

Memory of Prior Contexts

Students reported that they drew from several memories of prior contexts in order to accomplish reading. These memories are: 1) memories about the alphabet; 2) memories about particular sounds; 3) memories about book handling and what to do with books. Students perceive that each of these memories influences how they accomplish reading in the present. It is interesting that students talked about reading in the past in terms of how it related to the reading they had done in school. While students reported that they read at home, these memories did not seem to influence students' perspectives about reading to the extent of memories of reading in school and first grade in particular. Students commonly mentioned that reading was for learning and for "school subjects we have to know". It may be that students' perspectives about reading are established early in their schooling. One perspective about reading held by students appears to indicate that by second grade, what students learn about reading in school is that reading has limited application to their daily lives. That is to say, students' perspectives about reading appear to indicate that reading is for learning and for school subjects and that these special applications of reading take precedence over other memories and uses of reading at home and out in the community.

Findings from this study about the dominance of school reading parallel observations about school reading argued by Street and Street (1991). They report that uses of literacy at home and in the community "are marginalized against the standard of schooled literacy" (p. 163). They also note that

"reinforcement of schooled literacy in the community contributes, alongside that of the school itself, to the construction of identity and personhood in the modern nation-state. The home and community practices feed back in turn into

school practice, helping to assert and refashion there too (educational notions) of literacy. These, then, are the characteristic social processes and values through which literacy is construed and disseminated in mainstream America today, very different processes and values than those evident from the ethnographies of literacy currently emerging from research in the Third World, in the history of America, and in sections of contemporary American society itself" (p.163-164).

What students perceive about reading appears to be conformed and constrained by particular uses of reading for schools.

Social Practices/Ideologies and Reading Resources

Ideology built into symbols/forms of reading is reflected through the activities of reading: reading is letters and sounds of letters, reading is sounding out, reading is books, and reading is thinking of what books are saying. In all cases these are ideological constructions because the way reading activities are constructed are discourse practices which reflect certain ideas about reading among people in society. Schools are societal institutions. As such they reflect social relationships and social identities.

The limits on voice and social relations during reading times represent ways that particular social practices and ideologies about reading are maintained. Reading is an individual activity. Books are for individuals or small groups. Reading is not a loud talking time. Readers need quiet in order to understand what the book is saying. As such, readers listen for a voice as they read. Reading occupies a unique position in comparison with the rest of the school curriculum when social relations as a resource for reading are explored. Reading is an activity set apart from the norms of group interaction which characterize morning meeting, science, math, music, and recess. Reading in school is a matter of showing individual effort and focus on a task.

One way to interpret reading in school as individual effort and achievement is to see reading and writing activity as a form of human labor

(Luke, 1992). That is, reading is human activity with representations. In our society, activity with representation is economic activity (e.g. the stock market, manufacturing and so on). Traditionally, the resources for such activity are closely tied with particular sites or locations. This conception about resources mirrors the customary view about resources which is portrayed in the education literature (see chapter 2). That is, schools are viewed as one of the sites for the location of reading resources.

Wall (1994) notes that divisions between places of work and places for family life have existed in the United States since the early 1800's. Thus, it is no surprise that resources for reading are also affected by a split between home and workplace. Schools are places where students do their work. Along with a conception of schools as a place of work is some idea about what bodily efforts, postures, or skills are required to do work. That is, the body's traditional role in labor is as a source of effort and skill acting on and with resources (Zuboff, 1988).

Posture as a reading resource reflects the social practices and ideologies of students' and teachers' roles in the classroom. Certain postures are assumed in order to identify with what it means to be a student and a reader. Postures associated with reading help to maintain the social practices which teachers and students adopt for the school day. Reading, in particular, makes unique demands on students' willingness to adopt postures associated with school. That the school makes demands on students physical activity is closely tied with ideas about human labor and training in modern industrial societies. Zuboff (1988) notes that factories are one form of teaching institution where

"standards of conduct and sensibility, generally referred to as "labor discipline" would be learned.... The notion of labor discipline signaled a very concrete problem: how to get the

human body to remain in one place, pay attention, and perform consistently over a fixed period of time" (p.33).

The training which students receive with resources at school follows a similar pattern of getting the human body to remain in one location with attention focused on tasks for specific periods of time. In this case, the task or job to be done is learning to read for information. As a consequence, part of the teacher's measure of success with students' training is whether students adopt or adapt to the requirements posed by the school situation. Success for the teacher with regard to teaching reading is signaled by the students' focused use of resources in one location for a fixed period of time.

In the case of this study, the use of particular resources for reading reflects the teacher's planning which in turn reflects what the teacher perceives are the requirements of the school district curriculum as well as the relations between members of the school staff. The teacher plans for reading instruction by recognizing 1) how school scope and sequence of curriculum make demands for what was to be taught during the school day; and 2) how teachers in the future would receive the students next year and with what expectations they would have for the students and reading activity, and 3) how teachers in the past had responded to students' reading. What is important to note is that reading curriculum reflects the use of particular resources in particular ways at particular times. That is, reading curriculum includes procedural definitions about reading (Heap, 1991) (e.g. what reading is, how it is done in various situations, what materials are valued for reading, and what readers look for as they are reading).

Students' reports indicate that they are aware of how their present reading activities have been shaped by reading in first grade and they read in certain ways as second graders in order to deal with the demands they

perceive teachers will make for reading in third grade. Students reports indicate that time plays a role in their perceptions about learning to read. The data analysis in chapter 4 highlighted two conceptions about time: time managed in "snippets" for students and time managed by students' interests. Each of these ways of managing time is discussed below.

While the daily school schedule for students is regulated by clocks and calendars, behind these artifacts lie assumptions about time shaped by schools as cultural institutions. Time allocated to various activities serves as an index of what is valued by the teacher and the school. The priority, duration, and frequency of activities represents a way of exploring what is valued (Nöth, 1990). Notions about time are used to structure language and communication through pauses, silence, and rhythm. Thus, concepts about time also influence classroom language and communication about reading instruction. Heath (1983) notes that time can be viewed as bounded or unbounded:

"At school, there was a time to sit down, a time to listen, a time to draw, a time to eat, and a time to nap; once engaged in an activity, one was not bound by the limit of the completion of the task, but by the limit of time allotted for that task" (p. 275).

Discussion about social practices and ideologies with reading in schools raises a series of tensions. First, on the one hand, reading and writing activities in schools are viewed as human labors characterized by particular ideas about ways to use resources at a particular site. On the other hand, students also perceive reading and writing as human labors which occur outside of school with various resources in various sites. Second, on the one hand, schools rely upon customary notions about the body's role as a source of effort and skill acting with various resources. Students are expected to remain still and attentive to various tasks assigned to them. Learning about reading

in school is affected by customary notions about particular kinds of training in an industrial society. Tasks with reading are portrayed as tasks with valueless skills and practices. On the other hand, students also perform tasks with effort and skill using resources according to their interest and values about the task. Students form beliefs about how they learn and about what resources they value. Students' perceptions about learning are not always congruent with perceptions about learning in school. Third, on the one hand, students in school attend to predetermined tasks for fixed periods. On the other hand, students also attend to tasks outside of school for extended periods of time according to their interest in the tasks.

Students respond in various ways to the tensions described above. Their responses inform their perspectives about school in general and reading in particular. One way of responding to the tensions is to adopt a dialectical position (Fairclough, 1992). On the one hand, students recognize to some extent that the kinds of reading they do in school position them in certain roles. They recognize that their social role as students in school means that certain activities with reading resources are required of them. Sounding out words is an example. On the other hand, students are also "capable of acting creatively to make their own connections between the diverse practices and ideologies to which they are exposed, and to restructure positioning practices and structures" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 91). Choosing certain books to read this year because they will not be acceptable next, or adopting certain practices with the reading record sheets and with reading to change the socially isolated structure of silent reading are examples of how students act to restructure social practices. Students' social actions do contribute to social consequences for them. Students are not caught irretrievably in ideological traps. Instead, students take up opportunities to make their own social

practices and in so doing, their perspectives about resources influence classroom instruction. In this way, students deal with ideologies about schools and about reading in school.

How Students' Perspectives About Resources for Reading Influence Reading Instruction

Observations about data from field notes, interviews, analysis of audio and video tapes, as well as the systematic data checks indicated that students' perspectives about resources for reading influenced the progress of reading instruction in the classroom. Conclusions about ways that students' perspectives affected reading instruction are discussed below in relation to each of the resources.

Activity

Students report that a particular set of activities constitutes reading. The set of activities is constructed by the teacher and the students through their interaction. For example, two typical reading activities are sounding out words and reading from books. What students recognize as reading activity is a consequence of the teacher's "success" in shaping reading events. That is, the teacher can talk with students about reading at other times of the day, however, if the instruction is not sufficiently similar to activities which students associate with reading during scheduled reading periods, then the activity is not recognized as reading in the ways that students have come to expect reading to be. Students' interpretations about what activities count as reading influence the ways that they approach reading events.

Time

Observations from this study suggest that the ways that teachers use time for reading are influenced by what students associate with "reading". The teacher's use of time for reading is influenced by students' expectancies

for what should happen and when. Recall that students' expectations about time were influenced by the daily schedule of activities and the teacher's instruction about how to use time. Observations suggest that students' and teachers' expectations about time and activity form a set of mutual interactions. That is, teachers' expectations about the use of time for reading, for example, influence what students come to expect will happen at reading. In turn, students' expectations about what should happen which are established during the first days and weeks of school, influence what teachers can do with reading instruction at other times of the day not specifically recognized by the students as reading. Students' actions with resources shows how students introduce changes in reading activity and ways to interpret reading resources over time.

Social Relations

Data from this study showed that students and teachers constructed a series of ways to understand what reading instruction can be about as they interacted with one another. Students' and teachers' responses to one another often were in the form of proposals for how else to use the resources at their disposal. When students interpret what to do at silent reading for example in terms of what else can be done with reading record sheets, for example, this connection represents a way that students' perspectives about what can be done at reading affect the teacher's instructional plan. There are social consequences to such moves by students as there are social consequences for the teacher based upon his responses to students. One of the social consequences for students is that they engage in competition with other students. Social consequences for the teacher may involve intervening if students' behavior is not appropriate.

Particular Uses for Objects

What happens during reading instruction is affected by students' uses for objects which are associated with reading. Through the construction of intertextual chains, students propose additional uses for objects which begin to transform what reading is about. For example, classroom observations showed that two students used the reading record sheets not only to record books read, but also to engage in competition with one another for who could read the most books. This kind of activity during reading had not been advocated by the teacher. In this way, reading instruction periods were altered and became periods of competition to see who could read the most books. The construction of a chain of responses between the students which was proposed, recognized, and carried social consequences represented an opportunity for the two students to transform the set of appropriate activities with objects which were associated with reading instruction. Thus, students proposed uses for objects which changed what could happen during reading.

Postures and Gestures

Students' uses of postures and gestures also influenced what happened at reading instruction. For example, data from the reading lesson described in chapter four showed how the choice of seating by one student during reading instruction led to a chain of communicative activity which visibly represented what students know about seating assignments in the classroom. Observations like this suggest that part of reading instruction for students is learning what postures and gestures are appropriate for reading periods.

Particular Goals

Students' perspectives about goals for the use of reading resources influenced what went on during reading instruction. Some students perceived that ways they used some resources such as sounding out did not

measure up to ways they saw other students using sounding out. Students' evaluations of their progress with reading influenced the kinds of books they read, traded with friends and so forth during silent reading for example.

Memory of Prior Contexts

Another observation from this study is that students' perspectives about reading resources affected reading instruction in more subtle ways. One example is the influence of prior contexts for reading from first grade which was carried into reading during second grade. Students' understandings about reading as learning and as sounding out represented students' experience with who readers are and what readers do. This way of identifying reading was incorporated by the teacher into his planning and into his instruction. He relied upon students' ideas about sounding out to help him converse about reading as well as spelling.

In addition, both the teacher as well as the students also acted upon plans for the future they perceived for reading. That is, both the teacher and the students interacted in ways which reflected what they expected would happen with reading in the future. For example, the teacher's concern was that students learn how to take up information from books. This concern was part of the teacher's intent for requiring students to complete reading record sheets. The teacher acted on this concern recognizing that students would be asked to do more content area reading in third grade. Some students also acted in certain ways with resources during reading instruction mindful of what they expected reading would be like in third grade, in high school and so forth.

Main Findings of the Study

There were several main findings from this study. These are listed below:

1) Labels for activities like reading are used by students and their teacher as a way to represent and interpret a series of actions with resources. Students and their teacher use labels a) to indicate appropriate uses for resources and b) to predict what activities are likely to happen next.

2) Students have varying conceptions of how to manage time which affect their participation in classroom activities. The length of time students use resources for activities like reading may differ from what the teacher and/or the school expects.

3) Learning what to do with resources for reading leads to a unique series of interactions between students and their teacher over time. How groups of students and their teacher use resources establishes a common language and common identities for participants.

4) Students use resources for reading such as books to monitor their own progress with reading. Students monitor their progress by: a) noting changes in the ways they use resources over time, and b) by comparing their uses with reading resources with ways that the teacher and/or the school values.

5) Students' concepts about time as a resource for reading indicate a complex field of understandings and ways to define reading. One way to explain students' perspectives is to define reading within reading events and across reading events.

6) Young students' memories about reading are affected by ways that the school defines reading. This means that students' uses for reading are constrained by uses the school has for reading.

7) Students' and their teachers' expectations for reading and reading resources mutually reinforce each other and also act to constrain and define future reading activity.

8) Students and their teacher propose alternative uses for resources within reading periods which can be used to transform what reading instruction is about if the alternative uses of resources are taken up by participants.

Implications for Teachers

By talking about reading resources, this study contributed to definitions of reading as social and cultural activity. The argument of this dissertation has been to suggest that student readers draw from resources available to them much the same way that people participating in other activities draw tools from a tool kit. However, the tools are not simply physical objects, they are also intellectual and social tools as well. The view of the reader which this study proposes is a that of a person who acts and reacts with other people through the use of a variety of resources. This view of readers and what they do raises a series of questions for teachers in particular.

1) What are the shared standards or expectations for the use of resources for reading among students? Among teachers?

2) What are the similarities and differences among various student groups for the use of resources for reading? Among various teacher groups?

3) What are the meanings students assign to resources for reading in various situations?

4) How can teachers work with students' conceptions of resources for reading so that students' interest and motivation in activities can be encouraged?

5) In what ways do teachers' plans for the use of resources for reading differ from the ways resources are actually employed in classroom reading?

6) How do students' uses of resources for reading in the classroom compare with students' uses of resources for reading outside the classroom?

7) How do students' uses of resources for reading within reading events compare with students' uses of resources for reading across reading events?

Discussion

One finding from this study with implications for teachers is that they must take into account what students do with resources for reading even as they also try to address what schools as institutions say must be done with reading resources. Students' perceptions about resources for reading may or may not reflect the ways that school as institutions organize resources for reading. Teachers occupy a mediating role between uses of resources deemed appropriate by the school as an institution and uses of resources which students are familiar with. Teachers' plans for reading instruction inevitably must account for both institutional as well as students' uses of resources for reading. While this balancing act may appear difficult for teachers, it also is the case that teachers can be instrumental in helping school administrators and policy makers aware of ways that students use resources for reading. The questions listed above can provide teachers with ideas about what to look for as they observe students' activities with reading. Observing what students do with resources for reading can help teachers consider new or alternative actions with reading which build from what students can do.

Another main finding from this study which has implications for teachers is that what students learn about reading reflects classroom interactions with a variety of resources in addition to printed materials. What teachers talk about is not the only way that students learn about reading. A look at resources used by students helps teachers to understand what students are learning about reading.

A third main finding from this study with implications for teachers is that students use resources to help them evaluate their progress with reading. Students considered their progress with reading in terms of which resources they used in addition to how they used them. By understanding more about how students evaluate their progress, teachers are helped to see ways that students define failure and success in school. Evaluation about students' progress with reading is made not only by the teacher, but also by the students as they look at how they use resources for reading. Evaluation about the use of resources for reading occurs constantly and in myriads of ways as resources are taken up by students or turned away.

Implications for Future Research

By talking about students' use of resources for reading, this study also suggests implications for future research efforts to understand reading as social and cultural activity. Several possible research questions are raised. Among the questions that need to be asked are:

1) How might students' uses of resources for reading reflect students' development with reading over time?

2) What are ways that students, parents/guardians, and teachers can work together with ways to use resources for reading so that students experience success with reading and writing in school?

3) What are various ways that teachers organize resources for reading? What definitions of reading are being promoted?

4) How does students' and teachers' use of resources for reading lead to ways that students are defined as successful readers? As average readers? As failing readers?

5) What new understandings about reading evaluation are raised by investigating how students and teachers use resources for reading?

6) How does the use of resources for learning reading compare or contrast with the use of resources for learning math, science, writing, music and so on?

7) How might different education settings (classrooms, schools, homes, workplaces) offer various resources for reading for use by students? If resources for reading at students' disposal differ by setting, what are students learning about reading?

A finding from this study which has implications for future research is that investigating reading instruction within a classroom setting also requires a look at reading practices across the school as an institution. This is because students' perceptions about reading reflect the ways that school as institutions organize reading.

A second related finding from this study is that what students learn about reading reflects what students do with resources at their disposal. In terms of future research, this means that research designs must take into account how students are learning about reading in the setting where reading activities occur.

Final Summary

Findings from this study of students' perspectives about resources for reading instruction indicate that the students who participated in the study held common views about what readers do and what readers are like. Students agreed unanimously that reading instruction in their classroom was marked by certain characteristics. These included time of day, what could be talked about, what students did and did not do, as well as what materials could be used, as well as goals for reading. Students also believed that reading was for

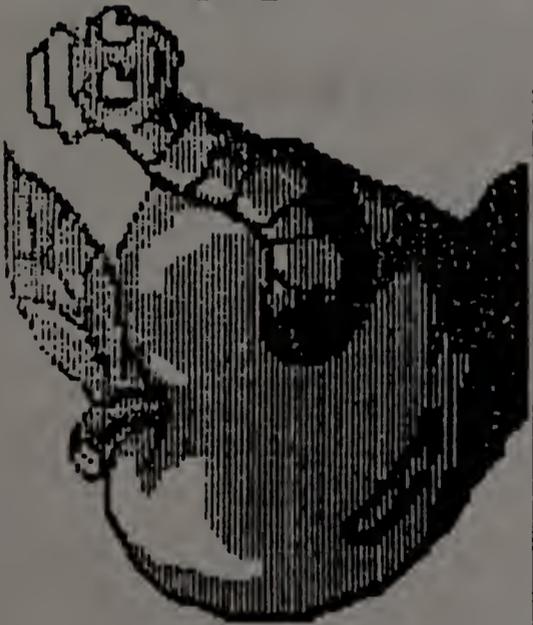
learning and that progress with reading was indicated by outward signs such as what types of books they read.

Findings from this study indicate that the ways teachers and schools organize the school day sends messages to students about reading in school. While schedules help schools as institutions to operate efficiently, schedules also lead students to see their day more and more in terms of blocks of time when only certain activities can be accomplished. A result of this view about time is that students view reading within certain time boundaries. This view makes it more difficult for teachers to teach reading and writing across the curriculum.

This study has explored some ideas about reading which have been discussed in prior research. Certainly, prior research has looked at students' reading as social and cultural activity. What was new about this research was that students' reading was investigated through their perspectives about what resources or tools were required for reading. One result of this study is that it suggests a broader definition than had been proposed before about what constitutes resources for reading. By looking at resources for reading, this study has explored ideas about what reading means for students. Implications for teaching and curriculum have been suggested. A look at reading resources suggests that reading is a human activity, occurring in time, in the context of particular social relations, with certain expectations for the use of materials and print, with particular goals, and with the aid of prior experiences with reading. What students perceive about resources for reading represents a common language students and teachers establish about reading as well as common ways students and teachers identify what reading is and what readers do.

READING RECORD SHEET

My Reading Record



Name: Holly



Title of book	Author	Brief review
Franklin in the Dark	Brenda Clark	A truce that is Afraid of the Dark
Splash all about Baths	Susan Kovacs	Baths
messy Room	Jan Berentain	a messy room that gets clean
the valentine Star	Blanche Sims	and to friends Valentine day
the candy coin contest	Blanche Sims	
Digging up DINOSAURS	ALIKL	

APPENDIX B

TYPICAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS ABOUT READING INSTRUCTION

Name:

Date:

Time:

Current class activity:

Place of interview:

1. Is there reading in second grade?
2. How is reading done?
3. Where do you read?
4. When do you read?
5. Who can read?
6. What does reading do for you?
7. What happens to you after you're done reading?
8. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about reading in second grade?

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE PROCEDURE FOR SORTING SENTENCE FRAMES

The frame procedure used in this study is suggested by Agar (1980). The frame below provides an example of the procedures used for sorting the students' responses to the frames. Explanation is also given for how measures of agreement between students' responses are calculated.

Using the frames helped me to look at specific questions I had about resources for reading. Sentences used for framing were gleaned from interviews with the students. One sentence was taken from the teacher's interview. A total of 10 students recorded responses to the frames (6 girls and 4 boys). A total of 10 students participated in sorting the responses (5 boys and 5 girls). A convenience sampling of students was used to select those who helped. Four students (2 girls and 2 boys) helped me determine whether the sentence frames sounded like something a student would say.

Example frame:

There's a right way to read by _____.

Card #	Response	Frequency.
1	being smart	1
2	by reading	1
3	hands because you have to hold a book	1
4	turning the pages	1
5	hold it and turn the page with one hand	1
6	just reading. instead of fooling around and stuff	1
7	instead looking at, no looking at the pictures is reading	1
8	reading words	1
9	reading where it starts	1
10	read a sentence and if you don't think it's correct, right then you read it over	1
10a	sound it out	1
11	thinking	1
12	looking at the words actually	1
13	reading different ways	1
Total Responses		14

Three sample sorts:

<u>First sorter</u>	<u>Second sorter</u>	<u>Third sorter</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
1. 3, 5	1. 3, 5	1. 3, 5, 4
2. 4, 10a	2. 11	2. 6
3. 7, 12	3. 1	3. 7, 9, 10a
4. 6, 10	4. 13	4. 11, 1, 12
5. 2, 13	5. 2	5. 13
6. 1, 11, 9	6. 8	6. 2, 8, 10
7. 8	7. 12	
	8. 10	
	9. 7	
	10. 6	
	11. 4	
	12. 10a	

Sorting Procedures:

1. Disregard sorts where all items were elicited from only one student.
2. Inspect sorts for those shared by all students.
3. List sorts on sort table where nth column lists responses from nth student.
4. Highlight the responses that are shared in all sorts
5. When sorts are partitioned a second time do not calculate the shared responses counted in the first partition. Otherwise they would be counted as residuals when in fact they are shared.

Sort table: Matching sorts underlined

Partition One

<u>First Sorter</u>	<u>Second Sorter</u>	<u>Third Sorter</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>1. 3, 5</u>	<u>1. 3, 5</u>	<u>1. 3, 5, 4</u>

There is a residual (4). This response is not linked with responses 3 and 5. A measure of agreement between the sets of responses containing 3 and 5 is figured below:

-There are seven responses total among all three piles which contain responses 3 and 5. Responses 3 and 5 are said to be equivalent for these sorters since they are linked together as ways of saying the same thing. Response 4 is not linked with 3 and 5 by all three sorters and is counted as a residual. It is not considered to be salient for this classroom culture. A measure of how many responses were linked by all three sorters is calculated for the example frame. The calculation is shown below. "U" represents how many responses were linked by all sorters in relation to the total number of responses to the frame.

U= number of responses linked by all sorters/ total number of responses to the frame

$$(U= 2/14 \text{ or } .14)$$

-A measure of agreement for each set of equivalent responses is calculated to see to what extent the responses of the sorters are shared. The calculation is shown below. In the example above, the first pile of cards for each sorter are considered a set of equivalent responses since each pile contains cards 3 and 5. "A" represents a measure of agreement for the equivalence set of responses 3 and 5. The range of measures theoretically extends from total agreement (no residuals) among all three sorters ($1-0/6$ or 1.00) to no agreement (all residuals) among all three sorters ($1-6/6$ or 0.00).

A= 1- (the number of residual responses in a set of equivalent responses/ the total number of responses in the equivalence set)

$$A= 1-1/7$$

$$A= 1-.14$$

$$A= .86$$

There is a high degree of shared response in this particular equivalence set. Response 3 (using hands to hold a book) and 5 (holding a book and turning a page with one hand) are actions sorters link for reading the right way.

APPENDIX D

FRAME STATEMENTS AND SORTING RESULTS

Frame

1. Reading helps you _____.

Card #	Response	Freq.
1	get smart	1
2	learn	3
3	learn words and vowels and all different kinds of stuff especially hard words	1
4	learn words	1
5	learn a lot	1
6	to think and to learn and it helps you to understand some other things if you don't understand	1
7	learn a word	1
8	learn more answers	1
9	think faster	1
10	learn words if you don't know the word	1
Total responses		12

Partition One: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-boy</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
<p>pile cards</p> <p>1. 10, 7, 3, 4</p> <p><u>2.</u> 2, 5, 8</p> <p>3. 6</p> <p>4. 9</p> <p>5. 1</p>	<p>pile cards</p> <p>1. 3, 6, 10</p> <p><u>2.</u> 1, <u>2</u>, 4, <u>5</u>, 7, <u>8</u>, 9</p>	<p>pile cards</p> <p>1. 9</p> <p><u>2.</u> 1, <u>2</u>, <u>5</u>, 8</p> <p>3. 3, 4, 7, 10</p> <p>4. 6</p>

Partition Two: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-boy</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
<p>pile cards</p> <p><u>1.</u> 10, <u>7</u>, 3, <u>4</u></p> <p>2. 2, 5, 8</p> <p>3. 6</p> <p>4. 9</p> <p>5. 1</p>	<p>pile cards</p> <p>1. 3, 6, 10</p> <p><u>2.</u> 1, 2, <u>4</u>, 5, <u>7</u>, 8, 9</p>	<p>pile cards</p> <p>1. 9</p> <p>2. 1, 2, 5, 8</p> <p><u>3.</u> 3, <u>4</u>, <u>7</u>, 10</p> <p>4. 6</p>

Equivalent Response Sets: Total responses linked by all sorters is five.

Set I: Cards:

2-learn

5-learn a lot

8-learn more answers

Set II: Cards:

4-learn words

7-learn a word

Frame 1

"U" represents a measure of how many responses were linked in sorts across the entire inventory of responses for the frame. $U = 5/10$ or 50% of possible responses used.

"A" represents a measure of agreement in each equivalence set.

<p>Set I</p> <p>A= 1-4/14 A= .72</p>	<p>2-learn 5-learn a lot 8-learn more answers</p> <p>residual responses-1, 4, 7, 9</p>
<p>Set II</p> <p>A= 1-6/15 A= .60</p>	<p>4-learn words 7-learn a word</p> <p>residual responses-1, 3, 9, 10</p>

Frame

2. In reading you usually use _____.

Card #	Response	Freq.
1	books	4
2	eyes	1
3	sounds to sound out the word	1
4	your head	1
5	your head is where, kind of controls your eyes and you think up there if you don't know a word	1
6	and your eyes	1
7	and your mouth if you're reading out loud	1
8	quiet voices	1
9	your eyes	1
10	your thinking and your brain	1
11	books and your words	1
Total responses		14

Partition One: Matching sorts underlined

<u>First sorter-boy</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>1.</u> 8, <u>5</u> , 4, 10, <u>2</u> , 6, 9	<u>1.</u> <u>5</u> , 2, 6, 9	<u>1.</u> <u>5</u> , 4, 10, <u>2</u> , 6, 9, 1
2. 3	2. 1, 3, 11	2. 7, 11, 8, 3
3. 1, 11, 7	3. 8, 7	
	4. 4, 10	

Partition Two: Matching sorts underlined

<u>First sorter-boy</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>1.</u> 8, 5, <u>4</u> , <u>10</u> , 2, 6, 9	1. 5, 2, 6, 9	<u>1.</u> 5, <u>4</u> , <u>10</u> , 2, 6, 9, 1
2. 3	2. 1, 3, 11	2. 7, 11, 8, 3
3. 1, 11, 7	3. 8, 7	
	<u>4.</u> <u>4</u> , <u>10</u>	

Equivalent Response Sets: Total responses linked by all sorters is six.

Set I: Cards:

2-eyes

5-your head is where, kind of controls your eyes and you think up there if you don't know a word

6-and your eyes

9-your eyes

Set II: Cards:

4-your head

10-your thinking and your brain

Frame 2

"U" represents a measure of how many responses were linked in sorts across the entire inventory of responses for the frame. $U = 6/11$ or 55% of possible responses used.

"A" represents a measure of agreement in each equivalence set.

<p>Set I</p> <p>A=1-4/18 A= .78</p>	<p>2-eyes 5-your head is where, kind of controls your eyes and you think up there if you don't know a word</p> <p>6-and your eyes 9-your eyes</p> <p>residual responses-1, 4, 8, 10</p>
<p>Set II</p> <p>A=1-2/16 A= .87</p>	<p>4-your head 10-your thinking and your brain</p> <p>residual responses-1, 8</p>

Frame

3. There's a right way to read by _____.

Card #	Response	Freq.
1	being smart	1
2	by reading	1
3	hands because you have to hold a book	1
4	turning the pages	1
5	hold it and turn the page with one hand	1
6	just reading instead of fooling around and stuff	1
7	instead looking at, no looking at the pictures is reading	1
8	reading words	1
9	reading where it starts	1
10	read a sentence and if you don't think it's correct, right then you read it over	1
10a	sound it out	1
11	thinking	1
12	looking at the words actually	1
13	reading different ways	<u>1</u>
Total responses		14

Partition One: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-girl</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
1. <u>3, 5, 4</u>	1. <u>5, 3</u>	1. <u>4, 5, 3</u>
2. 6	2. 10a, 4	2. 6, 7
3. 7, 9, 10a	3. 7, 12	3. 10
4. 11, 1, 12	4. 6, 10	4. 12, 9, 2, 8
5. 13	5. 2, 13	5. 1, 11
6. 2, 8, 10	6. 1, 11, 9	6. 13
	7. 8	7. 10a

Partition Two: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-girl</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
1. 3, 5, 4	1. 5, 3	1. 4, 5, 3
2. 6	2. 10a, 4	2. 6, 7
3. 7, 9, 10a	3. 7, 12	3. 10
4. <u>11, 1, 12</u>	4. 6, 10	4. 12, 9, 2, 8
5. 13	5. 2, 13	5. <u>1, 11</u>
6. 2, 8, 10	6. <u>1, 11, 9</u>	6. 13
	7. 8	7. 10a

Equivalent Response Sets: Total responses linked by all sorters is four.

Set I: Cards:

3-hands because you have to hold a book
5-hold it and turn the page with one hand

Set II: Cards:

1-being smart
11-thinking

Frame 3

"U" represents a measure of how many responses were linked in sorts across the entire inventory of responses for the frame. $U = 4/14$ or 29% of possible responses used.

"A" represents a measure of agreement in each equivalence set.

Set I A = 1- 1/8 A= .87	3-hands because you have to hold a book 5-hold it and turn the page with one hand residual response-4
Set II A= 1-2/8 A= .75	1-being smart 11-thinking residual responses-9, 12

Frame

4. For reading I need _____.

Card #	Response	Freq.
1	the book	1
2	a book	2
3	pictures	1
4	like words on pictures and posters	1
5	my eyes	1
6	my body	1
7	books	1
8	stuff to read	2
9	words	1
10	thinking caps for sure	<u>1</u>
Total responses		12

Partition One: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-boy</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>1.</u> 1, 2, <u>3, 4</u> , 7, 8, 9	<u>1.</u> <u>3, 4</u>	1. 6, 5
2. 5, 6, 10	2. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10	<u>2.</u> <u>3, 4, 10</u>
	3. 6	3. 1, 2, 8, 7, 9, 11

Partition Two: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-boy</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>1.</u> <u>1, 2, 7, 8, 9</u>	1. 3, 4	1. 6, 5
2. 5, 6, 10	<u>2.</u> <u>1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10</u>	2. 3, 4, 10
	3. 6	<u>3.</u> <u>1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 11</u>

Equivalent Response Sets: Total responses linked by all sorters is seven.

Set I: Cards:

- 3-pictures
- 4-like words on pictures and posters

Set II: Cards:

- 1-the book
- 2-a book
- 7-books
- 8-stuff to read
- 9-words

Frame 4

"U" represents a measure of how many responses were linked in sets across the entire inventory of responses for the frame. $U = 7/10$ or 70% of possible responses used.

"A" represents a measure of agreement in each equivalence set.

<p>Set I</p> <p>A= 1-6/12 A= .50</p>	<p>3-pictures 4-like words on pictures and posters</p> <p>residual responses-1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10</p>
<p>Set II</p> <p>A= 1-3/18 A= .84</p>	<p>1-the book 2-a book 7-books 8-stuff to read 9-words</p> <p>residual responses-5, 10, 11</p>

Frame

5. At reading we (I) _____.

Card #	Response	Freq.
1	read with a partner	1
2	sound out the words	2
3	look for commas	1
4	write words and letters	1
5	read	1
6	learn how to read	1
7	sound out	1
8	we read books	1
9	we sit down quietly with a partner and if you don't have a partner we just read a book really quietly at our desk or anywhere else	<u>1</u>
Total responses		10

Partition One: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-girl</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
1. 5, 9, 8	1. 5, 6	<u>1.</u> <u>2, 3, 7</u>
2. 3	2. 1, 8, 9	2. 1, 5, 6, 8
<u>3.</u> 1, <u>2</u> , 4, 6, <u>7</u>	3. 4	3. 4, 9
	<u>4.</u> <u>2, 3, 7</u>	

Equivalent Response Sets: Total responses linked by all sorters is two.

Set I: Cards:

2-sound out the words

7-sound out

Frame 5

"U" represents a measure of how many responses were linked in sorts across the entire inventory of responses for the frame. $U = 2/9$ or 22% of possible responses used.

"A" represents a measure of agreement in each equivalence set.

Set I A= 1-4/11 A= .64	2-sound out the words 7-sound out residual responses-1, 3, 4, 6
----------------------------------	---

Frame

6. In the book you have to think of _____ and stuff like that.

Card #	Response	Freq.
1	sentences and periods	1
2	what are the words going to be	1
3	what are the pictures going to look like	1
4	words that you seen if you're stuck on a word	1
5	the vowels and sound it out	1
6	the vowels	1
7	if you've seen it and think hard you might remember it	1
8	the things	1
9	words	1
10	pictures	1
11	mysteries	1
12	everything	1
13	like think of the words you don't know and you gotta sound them out	1
13a	the words	1
14	sound them out	1
15	sound out the words that you don't know or you won't know 'em in high school	1
Total Responses		16

Partition One: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-girl</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>1.</u> <u>1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 13, 13a,</u> <u>15</u>	1. 9, 10	<u>1.</u> <u>1, 3, 7, 13, 15</u>
2. 8, 12	2. 6, 8, 11, 12, 13a, 14	2. 8, 12
3. 2, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14	<u>3.</u> <u>1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 13, 15</u>	3. 4, 5, 6, 14
		4. 2, 9, 10, 11, 13a

Partition Two: Matching sorts underlined:

<u>First sorter-girl</u>	<u>Second sorter-boy</u>	<u>Third sorter-girl</u>
pile cards	pile cards	pile cards
<u>2.</u> <u>8, 12</u>	1. 9, 10	<u>2.</u> <u>8, 12</u>
3. 2, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14	<u>2.</u> 6, <u>8</u> , 11, <u>12</u> , 13a, 14	3. 4, 5, 6, 14
		4. 2, 9, 10, 11, 13a

Equivalent Response Sets: Total responses linked by all sorters is five.

Set I: Cards:

1-sentences and periods

13-like think of the words you don't know and you gotta sound them out

15-sound out the words you don't know or you won't know 'em in high school

Set II: Cards:

8-the things

12-everything

Frame 6

"U" represents a measure of how many responses were linked in sorts across the entire inventory of responses for the frame. $U = 5/16$ or 31% of possible responses used.

"A" represents a measure of agreement in each equivalence set.

<p>Set I</p> <p>A=1-7/20 A= .65</p>	<p>1-sentences and periods 13-like think of the words you don't know and you gotta sound them out</p> <p>15-sound out the words you don't know or you won't know 'em in high school</p> <p>residual responses-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9</p>
<p>Set II</p> <p>A=1-4/10 A= .60</p>	<p>8-the things 12-everything</p> <p>residual responses-6, 11, 13a, 14</p>

APPENDIX E

COMMENTS ABOUT THE SENTENCE FRAMES

The frames helped to look at specific questions I had about resources for reading in the classroom in more depth. A total of 10 students participated in sorting the responses (5 boys and 5 girls). Ten students responded to the frames (6 girls and 4 boys). Four students (two boys and two girls) helped with determining the appropriateness of the wording. Each of the frames is discussed below:

1. Reading helps you- This frame had two sets of equivalent responses. The first set could be labeled as learn more in general, while the second set was more specific-learn words. Under the set of responses labeled more in general, students thought that reading helped them learn a lot, learn more answers. For the second set, students thought reading helped them learn words. The first set of responses had more agreement between responses when compared with the second set. It's of interest to note that responses 2-learn, 5-learn a lot, and 8-learn more answers, were placed with one another by every sorter. Response 7-learn a word was always placed with 4-learn words. Gender did not appear to correlate with any particular set of responses.

The responses for this frame were more usable compared with other frame sorts. At least 50% of the responses were used for making equivalent sets. This is a fairly high figure compared with other frames.

2. In reading you usually use- This frame had two sets of equivalent responses. Students indicated that using your eyes was one set and using your head was a second set. About 1/2 of the total responses were said to be equivalent by all three sorters. Responses which had to do with sounds were separated out of the total collection during the sorts by the students, however,

which responses were considered as sounds or sounding out did not hold up as constant across all three sorters. The responses about the eyes and the head held up as constants for all sorts. This could also be due to the phrase *in reading* which gives the idea of reading as activity.... The use of the eyes and thinking for reading makes for an interesting contrast to the notion of sounding out words which was constant across all sorters in the frame for what happens at reading time (*at reading we*, see #5 below).

I connect frames 2 and 5 with the phrase "what we do at reading requires what we use for reading". In other words, what we do (sounding out words at reading time) requires what we can use for reading (our eyes and our head/thinking/brain).

Reading is useful to students in that they perceive reading as helping them to learn more in general as well as to learn more words. Reading helps students learn more reading.

3. There's a right way to read- That is there is a right way to go about reading by performing certain activities. Holding a book is held as a sign or indicator that someone is reading. Turning the pages of a book is another index of reading. Also showing people that you are thinking about the book is a sign of reading. In this classroom there is emphasis from the teacher to show that you are part of the group: lining up, nodding heads to indicate understanding, raising hands to show interest, direction of gaze to show attentiveness among others.

Students indicated that they used eyes and their head for reading. Looking at a book is another sign that you are a reader. Using their head was reinforced by the teacher's emphasis on thinking about reading, in figuring out how to learn.

Students consider that there are a variety of ways to indicate how reading is to be accomplished. Responses to this frame include comments about being smart, ways to hold a book, not fooling around, finding one's place on the lines of print, looking at the words, and sounding the words out. Students who sorted responses for this frame made 6-7 piles or ways to discriminate among the responses into piles so that each pile was about the same thing. This was a finer discrimination than existed among the other frames. Students sorted other frame statements into 2-4 piles of responses. This is interesting and suggests that students are aware of several ways to show that they are reading whether this is through thoughtful comments about the book, through a certain posture while holding a book, through appropriate behavior, through a focus of attention on print, or through the process of figuring out how to identify the sounds of letters.

4. What is needed at reading- Students identified two sets of responses. The first set can be labeled as pictures and words. While students acknowledged that words and pictures could be found on posters, and other printed materials, what was needed for reading was described as books. The use of the word *need* in the frame seemed to point students to consider print and books while the words used for the frame *In reading you usually use* (#2) directed students to describe what was used such as eyes and thinking or head. Frame #4 had the highest usability score of all frames (.70). This is perhaps because the responses that were chosen for the frame revolved around books and words. Thinking as something needed for reading was identified by only one student.

Students indicated that they needed pictures and words, a book or other stuff to read. Posters, name tags, lunch menus, written messages from the

teacher are other examples of opportunities for reading in the classroom. These were not sorted with books. Books were held as the stuff to read.

Another part of the emphasis by the students about books comes from what they are evaluated with for determining their progress with reading. I'm not surprised that students identify books as the printed material for reading. This is the message that is sent by the classroom teacher and the other teachers who come into the classroom to offer special services to the students. For example, the special education teacher, and the chapter one teacher both make use of books for their instruction with students. Also when Mr. P. holds conferences with the students, it's always with a book. In addition, the instruction given at the beginning silent reading and reading is to have a book to read.

The students understand an elaborate system of marking their progress with reading. This system is based on the appearance of the books which are stored on the bookshelf along the front of the room under the calendar. There are books stored under the fish tanks in the back of the room, but those are not used nearly as often as those in the front. The books under the calendar are graded by the students according to thickness, to amount of type on the pages, to presence or absence of chapter divisions (chapter books are held to be the hardest books of all) and are spoken of as the crown of reading achievement in second grade. The divisions of books described by the students are: little books, other books or picture books, and chapter books. Little books appear as very thin, small books with many illustrations, and some print. These books are grouped by themselves in the lower right corner of the bookshelf. These are also the books that the special education teacher brings to the classroom in plastic tubs with hand grips. Each book is matched with a particular set of worksheets or practice pages.

The next division is other books or picture books. These books are the trade books, the picture books from the school library, or from the class book club orders. Most students are reading these books.

The final division is the chapter books. These books are thicker than books in either of the other groups. There is a table of contents with chapters indicated. The chapter books are grouped by themselves in the upper right bookshelf.

5. **At reading we (I)**- Responses to this frame indicate that students consider reading as activity. Reading activity can be identified in terms of: certain social relations with other students (e.g. have a partner read); certain postures such as using a quiet voice or sitting in a place holding a book; and certain activities such as turning pages, holding a book, or writing on the record sheets.

What students did at reading was to sound out words. While students gave several responses to the frame including reading with a partner learning how to read and sitting quietly, these responses were not used by the sorters to describe reading. Instead, the students focused on sounding out words. Sounding out is the reading activity which students point to, the culturally salient activity. This is reinforced by the regular practice students had with vowel sounds in class. This practice focused on the short sounds -a alligator, i-insect, o-octopus, u-umbrella, e-elephant. Of 9 responses to this frame, only 22% were linked together by all three sorters. This measure of the usability of the responses could be used to indicate that students perceive sounding out as the main activity which is accomplished at reading. Students made distinctions between what social activities they did while reading (read with a

partner, read quietly and what they did with print (which was to look for words and sound them out).

Frame #5, *at reading we*, appears to be interpreted by students more in terms of what we do with our voice in order to use our eyes and our thinking. The phrase *at reading* is matched with responses that have to do with noise level that accompanies reading whether silent or with a partner. Silent reading has its own noise level—a quiet voice for the purpose of sounding words out while partner reading or reading as it is also called has louder voices for talking with friend.

6. In the book you have to think of- Students also indicated that thinking was part of what happens at reading because thinking was necessary to consider things in general while reading and to think of words in particular. Thinking appears to be for the purpose of identifying what is being read, and what the words are.

Responses to this frame were of two general types: students had to think of words they didn't know and use sentences, periods, and sounding out to help with words they didn't know; a second type of response to thinking and reading books was thinking of things in general that one had heard of, seen, and so on in order to identify what was going on with the print. Reading is calling upon what you know. The frame can be used to indicate that students agreed that they had to know lots of things. There was less agreement on what exactly had to be known.

REFERENCES

- Adams, M. J. (1991). Beginning to Read. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Agar, M. (1980). The professional stranger: An informal introduction to ethnography. New York: Academic Press.
- Agar, M. H. (1986). Speaking of ethnography. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Altheide, D., & Johnson, J. (1994). Criteria for assessing interpretive validity in qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research (pp. 485-499). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Pub.
- Aukerman, R. C. (1984). Approaches to beginning reading (2nd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bloome, D. (1989). Locating the learning of reading and writing in classrooms: Beyond deficit, difference and effectiveness models. In C. Emihovich (Ed.), Locating learning: Ethnographic perspectives on classroom research (pp. 87-114). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Bloome, D. (1991). Anthropology and research on teaching the English language arts. In J. Flood, J. M. Jensen, D. Lapp, & J. R. Squire (Eds.), Handbook of research on teaching the English language arts (pp. 46-56). New York: Macmillan.
- Bloome, D., & Egan-Robertson, A. (1993). The social construction of intertextuality in classroom reading and writing. Reading Research Quarterly, 28(4).
- Bloome, D., Puro, P., & Theodorou, E. (1989). Procedural display and classroom lessons. Curriculum Inquiry, 19(3), 265-291.
- Bloome, D., Sheridan, D., & Street, B. (1993). Reading Mass-Observation writing (Mass-Observation archive occasional paper no. 1). Sussex, UK: University of Sussex.
- Burkey, L. C. (1993). The student as literacy researcher: A two year study of second graders' perspectives on literate classroom environments. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Kent State University.
- Carbaugh, D. (1994). The ethnography of communication. In D. Cushman & B. Kovacic (Eds.), Watershed theories of human communication Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Davenport, M. R. (1993). Talking through text: Selected sixth-grade students' metacognitive awareness of their learning and reading processes. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri.
- Demchuk, A. E. M. (1992). So this is fiction? Eastern Arctic responses to literature (Inuit). Unpublished masters thesis, University of Alberta (Canada).

- Eco, U. (1976). A theory of semiotics (Midland Books ed.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Eldridge, R. G. J. (1982). Children's Insights into reading instruction-An ethnography. ERIC ED 220800.
- Ellis, D. G. (1991). Post-Structuralism and language: Non-sense. Communication Monographs, 58(June 1991), 213-224.
- Erickson, F., & Shultz, J. (1981). When is a context? Some issues and methods in the analysis of social competence. In J. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 147-160). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and power. London, England: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and social change. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Floriani, A. (1994). Negotiating what counts: Roles and relationships, texts and contexts, content and meaning. Linguistics and Education, 5, 241-274.
- Gilmore, P. (1987). Sulking, stepping and tracking: The effects of attitude assessment on access to literacy. In D. Bloome (Ed.), Literacy and schooling (pp. 98-120). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Goodenough, W. (1981). Culture, language, and society. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Goodman, K. (1982). Reading: A psycholinguistic guessing game. In F. Gollasch (Ed.), Language and literacy: The selected writings of K. Goodman, vol.1 (pp. 33-43). Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Goodman, Y. M., Watson, D. J., & Burke, C. L. (1987). Reading miscue inventory. New York: Richard C. Owen.
- Green, J., & Wallat, C. (1981). Mapping instructional conversations-a sociolinguistic ethnography. In J. Green & C. Wallat (Eds.), Ethnography and language in educational settings (pp. 161-205). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Green, J., & Weade, G. (1987). In search of meaning: A sociolinguistic perspective on lesson construction and reading. In D. Bloome (Ed.), Literacy and schooling (pp. 3-34). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Greimas, A., & Courtes, J. (1979, 1985). Semiotique-dictionnaire raisonne de la theorie du langage. (English translation by Larry Crist, Danile Patte, and Gary Phillips titled: Semiotics and language, an analytical dictionary. Bloomington: Indiana University Press ed.). Paris: France: Hachette University.

- Guba, E. G. (1978). Toward a methodology of naturalistic inquiry in educational evaluation. Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Evaluation, UCLA Graduate School of Education, University of California.
- Halliday, M. (1993). Towards a language-based theory of learning. Linguistics and education, 5(2), 93-116.
- Halliday, M., & Hasan, R. (1989). Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social semiotic perspective. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Harste, J., Woodward, V., & Burke, C. (1984). Language stories and literacy lessons. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Heap, J. (1991). A situated perspective on what counts as reading. In C. D. Baker & A. Luke (Eds.), Towards a critical sociology of reading pedagogy (pp. 103-139). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Heras, A. I. (1994). The construction of understanding in a sixth-grade bilingual classroom. Linguistics and Education, 5, 275-299.
- Hughes, C. K. (1992). Students' perceptions of literacy activities within a whole language classroom. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University.
- Hymes, D. (1972). Introduction. In C. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes (Eds.), Functions of language in the classroom (pp. xi-lvii). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Hymes, D. (1974). Foundations of sociolinguistics: Sociolinguistic ethnography. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Johansen, J. (1993). Dialogic semiosis: An essay on signs and meaning. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Larson, L. H. (1993). Harder may be easier: Rethinking remedial instruction in a second grade. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Lemke, J. (1990). Talking science: Language, learning, and values. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Lemke, J. L. (1987). Social semiotics and science education. The American Journal of Semiotics, 5(2), 217-232.
- Luke, A. (1992). The social construction of literacy in the primary school. In L. Unsworth (Ed.), Literacy, learning, and teaching: Language as social practice in the classroom. Melbourne: Macmillan.

- McDermott, R. P., & Hood, L. (1982). Institutionalized psychology and the ethnography of schooling. In P. Gilmore & A. Glatthorn (Eds.), Children in and out of school (pp. 232-249). Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Meyer, J. E. (1992). An interpretation of children's perspectives of transition first-grade placement. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University.
- Morris, C. (1985). Signs and the act. In R. E. Innis (Ed.), Semiotics, an introductory anthology (pp. 178-189). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Nöth, W. (1990). Handbook of semiotics. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Oldfather, P. (1993). Students' perspectives on motivating experiences in literacy learning. (Perspectives in Reading Research No. 2). National Reading Research Center, Athens GA; National Reading Research Center, College Park, MD.
- Parsons, P. K. (1992). Effects of the Wisconsin Writing Project on teacher and student perceptions of the teacher's role in writing. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin at Madison.
- Peirce, C. S. (1985). Logic as semiotics: The theory of signs. In R. E. Innis (Ed.), Semiotics, an introductory anthology (pp. 4-23). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Perfetti, C. (1992). The representation problem in reading acquisition. In P. Gough & R. Treiman (Eds.), Reading Acquisition Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Philips, S. U. (1983). The invisible culture: Communication in classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation. New York: Longman.
- Phinney, M. Y. (1992). Writing, sociality, and identity in Kindergarten: An ethnographic study. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- Samway, K. D. (1991). Reading the skeleton, the heart, and the brain of a book: Students' perspectives on literature study circles. Reading Teacher, 45(3), 196-205.
- Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1994a). Classrooms as cultures: Premises guiding the study of life in classrooms. Paper presented at the meeting of National Reading Conference, San Diego, CA.
- Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group (1994b). Ethnography as a language for learning. Paper presented at the meeting of National Council of Teachers of English-Impact Conference II, Orlando, FL.

- Saussure, F. (1985). The linguistic sign. In R. E. Innis (Ed.), Semiotics, an introductory anthology (pp. 28-46). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Saville-Troike, M. (1982). The ethnography of communication: An introduction. Baltimore, MD: University Park Press.
- Sesko, S. C. (1993). On the meaning and uses of computers: Case studies of gifted children. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon.
- Smith, F. (1988). Understanding reading (4th ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Smith, K. (1993). A descriptive analysis of the responses of six students and their teacher in literature study sessions. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Solsken, J. W. (1993). Literacy, gender, and work in families and school. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Spradley, J. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Stanovich, K. (1990). Concepts in developmental theories of reading skill: Cognitive resources, automaticity, and modularity. Developmental Review, 10, 72-100.
- Street, J. C., & Street, B. V. (1991). The schooling of literacy. In D. Barton & R. Ivanic (Eds.), Writing in the community (pp. 143-166). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Tierney, W. G. (1987). Semiotic aspects of leadership: An ethnographic perspective. The American Journal of Semiotics, 5(2), 233-250.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). Mind in Society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press.
- Wall, D. d. (1994). The archaeology of gender. New York: Plenum Press.
- Zaharlick, A., & Green, J. (1991). Ethnographic research. In J. Flood, J. M. Jensen, D. Lapp, & J. R. Squire (Eds.), Handbook of research in teaching the English language arts. New York: Macmillan.
- Zuboff, S. (1984). In the age of the smart machine, the future of work and power. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

