The Bridges of Courtland County: Literacy in the Families of Successful Latinx Readers

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Degree

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DEDICATION

To my students: past, present, and future. You are the inspiration for my work.

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There are so many people who have been a part of this endeavor that it is hard to know where to begin. I will start with my academic mentors. To Dr. Amy Broemmel, thank you so much for your help and guidance through this process. Multiple times I had obstacles that threatened the success of this degree, and multiple times you helped me through it. I can never repay you enough for helping to make this degree a reality.

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ABSTRACT

In the United States, family literacy is considered a vital part of a child's literacy success. Culturally and Linguistically Diverse families, however, are often judged as being incapable of providing literacy support to their children. This is an unfair judgment, as most culturally and linguistically diverse families have some form of literacy lives outside of school.

This study explores what leads to literacy success in the lives of three Latinx, Spanish-speaking families in a small city in the southeastern United States. Every focal child in the study is considered a successful reader based on grades and lack of English Language Learner services. It is unique in that the children in this study attend school in contexts with relatively low racial, ethnic, or linguistic diversity, In addition, all students attend school in environments where instruction is only provided in English. The study is qualitative in nature and based on photo elicitation and subsequent interviews.

Findings and analyses show that each child in the study has a different "bridge," created by family literacy events that are in turn informed by the family's schema, that enable them to use family literacy to achieve literacy success in their academic environments. The bridges varied greatly both between and even within families, and were based on a number of individual family, language, and cultural variables. This paper discusses some of the more common factors and literacy events utilized by these families. It then gives overall implications for research based on these findings.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Chapter

When I was an itinerant English as a Second Language teacher in a rural county in northeast Tennessee, one of the things I often heard from colleagues was that my students were disadvantaged, because they had parents who "could not help at home." It seemed a given to many teachers that culturally and linguistically diverse students had no educational life outside of the walls of school; once they left the school building each day, they received absolutely no literacy instruction and were, as a result, educationally deprived. The parents were considered too deficient to do things that other parents were encouraged to do, such as reading with children, helping with homework, or encouraging and monitoring child reading. This is not a view exclusive to the schools in which I taught; it is instead one which is well-documented in literacy research (e.g. Auerbach, 1989; Huss-Keeler, 1997; van Steensel, 2006).

This view is unfortunate, however, because almost all of the families with whom I worked had a rich home literacy life. A conversation with many parents or caregivers revealed that adult family members were willing and able to enhance their children's educational life, and that they independently practiced family literacy in some form or fashion. Despite these family educational strengths, the record of family literacy success for my students was uneven, according to indicators such as test scores and grades, with some families able to successfully enhance their children's academic growth, and others less able to influence school literacy. What made the difference? This study seeks to shed light on the topic of family literacy among successful culturally and linguistically diverse students.

Statement of the Problem and Research Question

Family literacy is considered a vital part of a child's educational life in the United States. It is considered such an important part of education that it was included in the No Child Left Behind Act (No Child Left Behind Act of 2001) and the subsequent Every Student Succeeds Act (2015); schools must include documented family literacy efforts to receive federal funding. Morrow, Paratore, Gaber, Harrison, & Tracey (1993) claim it is the most important factor in education. There is good reason for this emphasis. The Progress in International Literacy Study (PIRLS) finds that, across 53 countries, students who reported more home learning resources, more technology at home, and who had parents that enjoyed reading all do better academically than those who did not have these home benefits (Mullis, Martin, Foy, & Hooper, 2017). Clearly, family literacy is a strong indicator of school achievement.

Family literacy among culturally and linguistically diverse families in Tennessee is complicated by Tennessee's educational English-only policy and practices. Tennessee is fairly unique in that it is one of twelve states in the United States with essentially no bilingual education program (Office of English Language Acquisition, 2015). Tennessee educators are generally barred from bilingual education programs by a law that requires all teaching to be conducted to English "unless the nature of the course would require otherwise." (TCA § 4-1-404). At the time of this writing, there are only two public bilingual general education programs in the state of Tennessee. One is a highly-competitive magnet program in Nashville (Metro Nashville Public Schools, n.d.b), which enrolls mostly White, middle- and upper-class students

(Tennessee Department of Education, n.d.b.), and the other is a diverse school in Memphis (Tennessee Department of Education, n.d.b) that has an optional dual-immersion program for roughly equal numbers of Spanish and English speakers (Shelby County Schools, n.d.). Thus, the clear majority of the 9% of children in Tennessee who speak a language at home other than English (Kids Count Data Center, 2018) learn to read and receive their reading instruction primarily in English. This situation presents an interesting opportunity to study of the workings of family literacy, in contexts in which parents and other adult family members read primarily in a language other than English, while their children are taught only English.

The following question is proposed for this study:

What does family literacy look like for the families of culturally and linguistically diverse children who are highly successful readers?

Significance of Study

There is currently a scarcity of recent research concerning successful family literacy practices of bilingual families in English-only school settings. As the literature review section of this document shows, much of the research concerning culturally and linguistically diverse families simply documents practices without any regard for whether these practices benefit children (e.g. Mercado, 2006; Plata-Potter, 2013; Purcell-Gates, 2013, Volk & de Acoasta, 2004). There are only a handful of pertinent qualitative studies of practices that have led to reading success in English, and these are primarily studies of students who are attending bilingual education programs (e.g. Gillanders & Jiménez, 2004; López-Velásquez, 2011; López-Velásquez & García, 2017). Only Burbano's (2015) study took place in an English-only setting, and that study took place in an urban area where there was a relatively large Latinx population.

In addition, these studies overwhelmingly deal with very young children, as opposed to children who have been in school for several years. With the exception of Purcell-Gates (2013), who studied a migrant education program, all found research takes place in either urban areas or suburban areas of very large cities.

The research does not encompass the geographic diversity of culturally and linguistically diverse families in the United States, who often live outside of major cities and attend schools that do not have majority-minority populations. Johnson (2012) found that outside of metropolitan counties, there was a 54.3% increase in Latinx children from 2000 to 2010, and minority populations accounted for 82.7% of overall growth in nonmetropolitan areas from 2000 to 2010. The National Center for Education Statistics (2018) reported that 54% of Kindergartner English language learners nationwide were attending schools where fewer than 50% of their Kindergarten peers were English language learners. Schools with smaller populations of English Language Learners face special challenges, as they often lack both resources and funding for English Language Learners that schools with larger populations have and they employ teachers with limited education and experience working with culturally and linguistically diverse students (Tennessee Educational Equity Coalition, 2019).

Furthermore, bilingual education is not the norm in schools in the United States. Seven states have official English-language only laws that encourage the use of English-only policies and greatly restrict the use of native-language teaching (Marschall, Rigby, & Jenkins, 2011). In addition, only 43% of English Language Learners receive any form of native-language instruction. Most culturally and linguistically diverse students in the United States are taught in English (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). The research, however, largely ignores

this fact and primarily focuses studies on children in bilingual education programs. This study strives to contribute to filling the large gap in this research base, as it seeks to uncover the reading lives of bilingual students who fit the growing population of students outside of major cities, in schools with relatively low populations of ELLs, who are taught in English in school.

Definitions of Terms

Below are the definitions of terms selected for use in this study. In literature outside of this study, these terms vary in their meanings.

Bilingual Education- Education designed to foster the acquisition of two languages (García, 2009).

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Families-Families where a language other than English is the primary language spoken at home (Gonzalez, Pagan, Wendell, & Love, 2011).

English Language Learners (ELLs)-Students who have a first language or languages other than English and receive services in school because of limited English (Gonzalez et. al, 2011).

English Only Policy-A policy that encourage the use of English as the language of instruction in the classroom and restrict the use of other languages. In the United States, English only policies are generally enacted on a state level (Marschall et. al, 2011).

Family-People who maintain close ties, generally through blood or marriage, and provide social and emotional support for each other (Little et. al, 2016).

Family Literacy-The way children, parents, and other family members use literacy at home. It may be purposeful or an indirect part of daily life and may reflect the cultural heritage of the family (Morrow, Paratore, & Tracey, as cited in Morrow, 1995).

Kindergarten-The first year of universal public education in the United States. In Tennessee, Kindergarten is required, and students must be age 5 before August 15 of Kindergarten year to enroll (Education Commission of the States, 2018).

Latinx- People of Latin-American heritage (Monzó, 2016).

Literacy-While there are many definitions of literacy, this study uses the definition of White & McCloskey (as cited in National Center for Education Statistics a., n.d., para. 3): "Literacy is the ability to use printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential."

Literacy Events-interactions with written language (Heath, 1982)

Preschool-An early childhood education center for children before they attend formal school (USNEI, 2008).

Sequential Bilingual-Someone who first acquires a native language, then later acquires an additional language (Blume & Lust, 2017).

Simultaneous Bilingual-Someone who has been exposed to and acquired two languages essentially from birth (Blume & Lust, 2017).

Socioeconomic Status -The economic and social standing of a family. There are many measures for socioeconomic status used for research in education (Dickinson & Adelson, 2014). For

purposes of this study, socioeconomic status uses occupational prestige as based on Boyd &Nam (2015). In cited studies, however, socioeconomic status may be measured in different ways.

Limitations

To increase validity and ensure accuracy, the following limitations will be followed for this study:

1. This study will include Latinx families in one Tennessee county.
2. Spanish will be spoken in the homes of participating families.
3. While families may have multiple children of various ages, focal children of the study will all be in the fourth grade or above.
4. Children will have attended an English-only school in Tennessee in the last school year.
5. None of the focal children will have identified disabilities.

Organization of Study

This study seeks to shed light on family literacy in cases where children primarily receive literacy instruction in a different language than their home language of Spanish. In this preceding chapter, I have given a brief overview of the components of the study. In Chapter II, I will give a thorough literature review about theories, literacy practices, and bilingual language development among culturally and linguistically diverse families. In Chapter III, I describe the methods and procedures for data collection and analysis, while Chapter IV contains the findings of the study. Chapter V discusses the implications of the study for further research and educational practices.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I first begin by explaining some of the second language acquisition research that undergirds family literacy research about culturally and linguistically diverse families. Next, I discuss predictors of successful reading as described in general reading research, among culturally and linguistically diverse children and families in general, and among Latinx families in particular. I then discuss literacy events common among culturally and linguistically diverse families. Finally, I discuss English-only policy and its effect on literacy.

Second Language Acquisition Research

There is a rich amount of second language acquisition research that helps to explain how culturally and linguistically diverse children acquire language that enables them to read proficiently in English. In the following section, I explain some of the key theories that inform a discussion of how successful culturally and linguistically diverse readers might learn to read in English. This is not a complete list; however, it is a selection based on the theories that are most pertinent to the subject of family literacy in culturally and linguistically diverse families.

Simultaneous and Sequential Bilingualism

There are two types of bilingualism. Simultaneous bilingualism is when two languages are acquired at the same time from a very young age (Blume & Lust, 2017); this is the case when children essentially grow up speaking two languages. That does not mean that the languages have equal dominance; however, there may be a lack of proficiency or less linguistic knowledge in some areas of one of the languages (Blume & Lust, 2017). In contrast, sequential bilinguals acquire a native language first, then acquire a second language sometime after early childhood.

As with their simultaneous bilingual counterparts, there may be some differences in proficiency levels or areas of knowledge between the two languages (Blue & Lust, 2017).

There is very little information regarding the performance of sequential v. simultaneous bilingual students. Thorardottir (2019) notes that research suggests that simultaneous bilinguals typically perform worse than their peers in the early grades of school, but that sequential and simultaneous bilinguals have very similar rates of acquisition of the target language in bilingual education situations (Thorardottir, 2019). Hoff, Place, Rumiche, Señor, & Parra (2012) find that young children have weaker vocabularies in each individual language than monolingual children do of their one language, but that this negative effect usually does not persist in the long-term. This suggestion is backed up by research from Sladden et. al (2011) finding that bilingual children, who learn in two languages, initially score lower on standardized tests but outperform their bilingual peers by the time they reach secondary school. In short, it takes longer to learn two languages but eventually works out for children, especially if there are critical large amounts of input in both languages (Hoff et. al, 2012; Thorardottir, 2019).

Language Transfer

In language transfer, speakers or readers of a first language use what they know in the first language to acquire and use the second language. Faerch & Kasper (1987) note that language transfer is very complex. On a receptive basis, such as children use when learning to read, the transfer occurs at lexical, syntactic, and phonological levels. The transfer can aid in enhancing understanding of the new language, or it can hurt understanding in a process called interference, when a reader inappropriately uses knowledge of the first language in ways that do not apply in the second (Faerch & Kasper, 1987). Examples of interference might include

misunderstanding a vocabulary word that has a similar spelling but different meaning in the first language or decoding a word incorrectly because of the difference in the phonological systems of the two languages. Nitschke, Kidd, & Serratrice (2010) illustrate the negative and positive aspects of multilingualism with a discussion about how readers of English, German, or Italian as a first language used their knowledge of the first language to read in the second language. In some cases, language transfer aided comprehension, while in others it inhibited understanding. Language transfer is thus a double-edged sword that can be both beneficial and harmful to readers of a new language.

Interdependence Hypothesis

Cummins' (1981) theory of an "interdependence hypothesis" (p. 211), in which proficiency in one language is connected to proficiency to another, is related to language transfer. In other words, knowledge of one language has the potential to positively affect knowledge of another, especially with use of acquisition of higher-level academic skills. Cummins's (1981) hypothesis this is based on a neurological "underlying proficiency model" (p. 25) in which the brain processes both languages using the same mechanism. According to this theory, knowledge of any language can transfer to another language, since there is a transfer between languages that can lead to cognitive, linguistic, and literacy success. In the context of family literacy, strong knowledge of the first language, as developed by adult family members, leads to knowledge of the second.

Threshold Hypothesis

Cummins (1979) also purports a "threshold hypothesis" (p. 229), a complex theory which maintains that, among bilingual children, low levels of proficiency in one language leads to low

levels in the other language. On the contrary, if there is a high level of proficiency in one language-if a threshold of proficiency is reached-then it is much easier for the child to develop and maintain proficiency in the other language. Based on this hypothesis, it is critical for children to have adequate exposure to both English and the first language in order to succeed in English literacy. While biliteracy was maintained by Cummins (1979) as necessary for optimal success in reading in the second language, Ardasheva, Tretter, & Kinny (2012) found children learning in English-only settings who had high levels of oral proficiency in the first language were also successful in developing English literacy.

Basic and Academic Language

Cummins (1981) also writes about the differences between the vocabulary demands of Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICs), and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). BICs are basic social language, which tend to transfer easily across languages and which is fairly easy for language learners to acquire. CALP, on the other hand, represents proficiency in academic language used in school settings, which is much more difficult to acquire than BICs. In the context of family literacy, practices such as joint book reading in English and English academic talk could theoretically lead to the development of CALP. Using the theory of language transfer (Faerch & Kasper, 1987), family members might develop English CALP vocabulary through the presentation of concepts and ideas in the first language, which then transfer into the second language.

Input Hypothesis

Krashen (1989) proposes an "input hypothesis" (p.2) for second language acquisition. In this hypothesis, language can only be acquired through "comprehensible input" (p.2), or

language that is at or right above the understanding of person who receives it. Exposure to copious amounts of English is thus important for students to acquire the English needed for reading proficiency. Transferring this hypothesis to the realm of family literacy, family members provide comprehensible input through language interactions with children.

The great body of knowledge about second language acquisition shows that language acquisition is complex and is largely based on both knowledge of the first language and exposure to the second. In the context of family literacy, this means that children must have large amounts of exposure to both English and their first language. In an English-only educational environment, the onus is largely on the family to foster this bilingual development.

Family Demographic Predictors of Successful Readers

Socioeconomic Status

A large body of literature links socioeconomic status to academic achievement. The disadvantage of low socioeconomic status starts young; the Brookings Institute (Isaacs, 2012) found that only 48% of children living in poverty were ready for school at age five, based on socio-emotional, academic, and health indicators, compared to 75% of children of middle and high socioeconomic status. Kuhfeld, Gershoff, & Paschall (2018) found a significant difference in academic achievement between students of varying socioeconomic statuses in students of all ethnicities that tends to increase as students age. Singh (2013) found that the effect of low socioeconomic status never goes away (in a longitudinal study of indicators of student success). Kieffer (2010) found that socioeconomic status was the key factor in reading difficulties that emerge in late elementary school. Chiu & Chow (2015) used international data to determine that

the relationship between socioeconomic status and academic achievement is an almost universal global phenomenon.

Parenting practices related to socioeconomic status have largely been cited as explanations for the socioeconomic gap. Kaushal, Manguson, & Waldfogel (2011) found that parents with higher incomes generally spend more on educational enrichment programs to help their children succeed. Hart & Risley (2003) found that lower-income parents talked to their preschool children much less and of a lesser quality than middle and higher-income parents, leading to a large vocabulary gap that affects reading achievement, something also found in Phillips' (2011) study about socioeconomic status and parent talk. At the same time, these results have been questioned by a study by Sperry, Sperry, & Miller (2018) which found that the variation of talk in the communities of children was the predictor of the number of words children heard, not the socioeconomic status of families.

On an international scale, Guryan, Hurst, & Kearney noted that parents in countries with higher income levels generally spend more time caring for children (Guryan et. al, 2008), which could theoretically link to Hart & Risley's (2003) and Phillips's (2011) results. In a study of Dutch, Turkish, and Surinamese-origin elementary-aged students in the Netherlands, Leseman & de Jong (1998) found that socioeconomic predicted literacy success for the Turkish and the Surinamese-origin students, but not for Dutch students, suggesting that the minority students were more sensitive to the role of socioeconomic status than those who were part of the mainstream culture.

There are complicated findings about the role of socioeconomic status in the reading achievement of Latinx families. Duursma et. al (2007) found in a study of fifth grade Spanish-

English bilingual students that socioeconomic status was positively correlated with English vocabulary achievement and led to higher home environmental supports, here defined as the number of books in the home and the frequency parents read, which was another predictor of English vocabulary achievement. Howard et. al (2014) found that socioeconomic status predicted overall reading ability in the third but not the fifth grade, and that in Kindergarten, it was barely significant in letter-word identification scores. Thus, it appears that socioeconomic status may be a predictor of reading success, but only in certain situations.

Family Education

Parent education has been found to be a predictor of academic achievement. Chui & Chow (2015) found that parent education was almost universally positively correlated with student achievement in 38 countries worldwide. Erola, Kilpi-Jakonen, Prix, & Lehti (2018) found that both parent education levels and the education levels of extended family members like aunts, uncles, and grandparents influenced student success in populations in both Finland and the United States. The gap may be partially explained by the ability of family members to assist with schoolwork and reading development; Lareau (2000) found that many parents with limited education felt incompetent to help children succeed academically and had difficulty advocating for their children and communicating with teachers.

Research on bilingual families shows a similar pattern. Yulia (2014) found, in a study of bilingual children in Singapore who were learning English, that parent education was a significant factor in English reading scores. Farver, Xu, Lonigan, & Eppe (2013) found that parent education correlated with English oral language and print knowledge in Latinx children attending Head Start programs, while Jaekel, Scholmerich, & Leyendecker (2011) found that

parent education level was the only demographic predictor of the success of Turkish-German preschoolers in Germany. The research thus suggests that parent education is key in the literacy success of bilingual children.

One reason for the correlations between parent education and achievement may be the level of interaction and involvement of parents based on their education levels. In a study of bilingual Kindergarten families, Reese, Balzano, Gallimore, & Goldberg (1995) found that the education level of the mother did not predict reading achievement, and that the education level of the father only indirectly influenced reading achievement, as fathers who were better educated were more likely to be involved in the literacy lives of their children and thus contribute to the education of their children. Hunter (2015), on the other hand, found that maternal educated correlated with child English language use, which in turn predicted higher English literacy scores. Crosnoe, Ansarai, Putell, & Wu (2016) found that maternal education correlated with every school achievement variable in a longitudinal study of Latinx families.

The education of family members other than parents may also influence child achievement. Reese, Garnier, Gallimore, & Goldenberg (2000) found that the education level of grandparents may also affect reading achievement in their study of seventh-grade bilingual students. They found that the higher the education level of the grandparent, the more likely the child was to attend preschool and thus have higher early literacy success that followed them throughout their school career. They also found that the grandparent level of education influenced the socioeconomic status of the parents, which led to parent education levels and parent work status that in turn influenced literacy success. They also found that higher levels of

grandparent education were associated with more literacy events that led to child interest in reading.

Household Structure

Does the family makeup affect child achievement? Research suggests that when variables such as education and income are removed, household structure generally either has no effect on student achievement, or there is a positive effect for families where extended family lives in the same household. Foster & Kalil (2007) found few correlations with living arrangements and child achievement in their study of preschool-aged children. Entwisle & Alexander (1996) found that reading scores were actually higher for young children who lived in extended families than those who did not, but that this advantage went away by the end of second grade. Erola et. al (2018) found that, in families struggling economically, the resources of aunts and uncles could help compensate for low parent resources in both Finland and the United States.

Several studies documented the role of the structure of the household in predicting literacy success. Gonzalez & Uhing (2008) completed a study of Latinx, Spanish-speaking children in the United States and found that literacy pre-readiness skills were associated with the involvement of extended family members. Reese et. al (1995) found that, among bilingual Spanish-English speaking kindergarten families, the single-parent families with grandparents who were very involved were just as likely to succeed academically as two-parent families. These results suggest that extended family members may provide support that helps students succeed academically. Alternately, Schick (2013) found a negative correlation between the number of people living in the homes of bilingual preschoolers and their English reading skills, suggesting this pattern is not always consistent.

This research suggests that demographic factors affect child literacy success in linguistically diverse families. There is diversity, however, in how much each factor matters, based on individual family situation. The child with the most advantageous educationally is that with well-educated, middle or upper-income parents with family support. The presence of what many might considered disadvantages, however, such as lower socioeconomic income or parent education, does not necessarily doom a child educationally.

General Reading Predictors

Oral Language Development

Research links oral language development to literacy skills. Kendeou, White, van den Brock, & Lynch (2009) found that oral language skills were the most important skills for decoding in the lower grades of elementary school. They also found that oral language significantly predicted reading comprehension, and that oral language skills lasted as predictors of reading success for two years. Mol (2010) found in a meta-analysis that oral language had a moderate effect on basic reading skills. Storch & Whitehurst (2002) Hammill (2004), however, found only a marginal relationship between oral language knowledge and reading skills.

Oral language development among culturally and linguistically diverse students is somewhat complex. Lesaux & Geva (2006) found in a meta-analysis that oral proficiency in the first language did not significantly correlate with decoding skills in the second language. Dufva & Voeten (1999) found that, among Finnish students acquiring English, Finnish listening

comprehension indirectly influenced English reading comprehension through an increase of Finnish reading comprehension. Miller et. al (2006) found that oral Spanish narrative skills significantly predicted English reading comprehension. Ardasheva et. al (2012) similarly found that oral proficiency in the first language may be enough for English literacy success.

Oral language proficiency in English is more clearly correlated to English literacy skills. Lesaux & Geva (2006) found a modest but consistent correlation in a meta-analysis of studies of the relationship between English oral language and literacy skills. More recently, Babayigit (2015) found that oral language skills in English was the most powerful predictor of reading comprehension skills in English language learners in one study. Among Spanish-English bilinguals, Miller et. al (2006) found a relationship between oral English skills and English reading proficiency.

Phonics

Phonics, as used in reading development, refers to the knowledge of how letters and letter combinations represent sounds (Stahl, Duffy-Hester, & Stahl, 1998). Successful readers use phonics to decode unknown words. They also use phonics to spell and write successfully (Strickland, 2011). A large body of research suggests that phonic knowledge, especially letter-sound awareness, is a strong predictor of reading ability, especially in the early years of school. The National Reading Panel (2000) overwhelmingly found that the teaching of phonics improved students' reading ability through the first grade, and also found that phonetic knowledge led to higher spelling scores among English Language Learners. Hammill (2004) found a large correlation between letter naming and letter-sound knowledge and reading abilities in emergent readers.

Among language learners at large, there is a great deal of research that suggests knowledge of phonics in the first language leads to success in the second language. DaFontoura & Siegel (1995) found phonetic knowledge in the first language of Portuguese correlated with phonetic knowledge in the second language of English. Gholamain & Geva (1999) found similar results with native Persian speakers acquiring English. D'Angiulli, Siegel, & Serra (2001) found correlations between phonics knowledge in both languages for bilingual speakers of English and Italian. This research thus supports the interdependence hypothesis in the area of phonics.

Phonological Awareness

Phonological awareness is the knowledge of how to analyze sounds in words. It includes things like segmenting and combining words, rhyming, knowledge of sounds, and spelling patterns (Layton, 2013). Hammill (2004) found in a meta-analysis that phonological processing had a moderate effect on overall reading skills. Landerl et. al (2018) found that phonological awareness skills predicted reading fluency in first and second grade students who read in five different languages.

There is a great deal of research suggesting that phonological awareness in the first language leads to phonological awareness in the second language. Da Fontoura & Siegel (1995) found that bilingual Portuguese-English children with learning difficulties had higher phonological awareness scores in English than their monolingual English peers, theoretically because they transferred their skills from Portuguese to English. O'Brien, Mohamed, Yussof, & Ng (2018) discovered a correlation between syllable awareness, but not rhyme awareness, in the first languages of Singaporean children of various language backgrounds and English phonological awareness, while although the significance of the effect varied based on the first

language. Among Spanish speakers, Gottardo (2002) found in a study of migrant first-grade bilingual Spanish-English speakers that there were correlations between Spanish phoneme deletion ability on English reading measures.

Brice (2005) found that bilingual English-Spanish emergent readers tended to have lower phonological awareness scores than their monolingual peers. Chiappe, Siegel, & Gottardo (2002) found a similar result in their study of Kindergarten students; however, in their study, the differences in phonological awareness were only significant at the beginning of kindergarten and largely dissipated by the end of the year. Brice (2005) suggests that language interference may be partially to blame for the phonological awareness score differences. In phonological language interference, the sound system of the first language interferes with use of the second language. This has been found in Spanish speakers, particularly when sounds in Spanish are pronounced differently than in English (Amengual, 2012). Li, Goldrick, & Gollan (2017), however, found that lack of exposure to the second language led to more phonological processing problems in learners of English than simple interference (Li et.al, 2017). The information in the preceding paragraph suggesting phonological skills transfers between languages (e.g. Da Fontoura & Siegel, 1995; Gottardo, 2002; O'Brien et. al, 2018) lends credence to the idea of lack of English knowledge as an explanation for why some studies show phonological awareness is reduced in bilingual students, as compared to language interference.

The large body of literature about predictors of reading success suggests that a number of predictors lead to reading success among culturally and linguistically diverse readers. Generally, skills related to phonics and phonemic awareness in the first language correlate to these skills in the second language. Family literacy could bolster achievement in the second language by

fostering awareness of skills in the first language. At the same time, this is complex and there can be interferences between languages.

Predictors Related to the Home Literacy Environment

A measurement of how much parents provide a literacy-rich environment conducive to literacy development is commonly called the Home Literacy Environment, or HLE, "a measurement loosely defined as "all elements of the environment provided by the family that facilitate a child's acquisition of linguistic skills" (Niklas & Schneider, 2014, p. 492). Van Steensel (2006) notes that qualitative studies often report HLE in ways that children interact with written language, while quantitative studies predict literacy outcomes based on predetermined HLE indicators, which vary widely, often from a middle-class, White perspective. Van Steensel (2006) included almost all literacy activities that occur in the home in a study of Dutch first-graders of varying ethnicities and language backgrounds and found an overwhelming correlation between HLE and literacy abilities.

HLE has been widely associated with success among culturally and linguistically diverse readers. Chow, Chui, Lai, & Kwok (2017) found that among Chinese first-graders in Hong Kong learning English as a Second Language, HLE practices, such as encouraging children to use interactive e-books and reading to children in English, led to increases in English vocabulary knowledge. Farver et. al (2013) also found HLE correlated with oral language skills in both languages among preschoolers. Reese et. al (1995) also found HLE, based on variables such as the presence of print materials in the home, adult responsiveness to child-initiated literacy events, and child opportunity to see literacy events modeled, successfully predicted the English literacy scores of bilingual Latinx children in Kindergarten and the first grade. Gonzalez &

Uhing (2008) found that literacy pre-readiness was connected to variables such as adult modeling and library use among bilingual Latinx preschoolers.

Reese et. al (1995) developed a "home literacy rating,"(p. 62), a concept similar to HLE, which included the amount of printed material home, responsiveness to adults and siblings to children, and literacy events. These researchers then used the home literacy rating for their study of Latinx farmworker families with children in Kindergarten and first grade and found that the home literacy rating predicted literacy success. Schick (2013) found that the number of English books in the homes of preschoolers correlated with expressive language skills in English, but there was no correlation between the number of books and literate language after controlling for household size and child age.

In the following sections, I reference variables related to HLE. I note the research on these variables in general, with culturally and linguistically diverse children, and with Latinx children in general. This list is not comprehensive, but a survey of the literature as it exists.

Modeling of Print

Leseman & deJong (1998) claim that for children to learn about print awareness, they need to see literacy modeled, through the viewing of visual print and seeing family members model literacy. Sénéchal (2012) notes that there is an assumption that the modeling of literacy practices by adult family members leads to child literacy development. This is a near-universal situation. Van Steensel (2006) likewise purports that in societies where written language is central, no child is deprived of literacy exposure at home. Mol (2010) found that print exposure was strongly related to a variety of skills, including word recognition, spelling, and reading comprehension.

While there is little research about bilingual print awareness, available information suggests that bilingual children can easily transfer knowledge of print across languages. Pratt (2017) found that, among bilingual English-Spanish children, print awareness was similar in both languages. Bengochea, Justice, & Hijilkema (2017) found that bilingual Mayan-Spanish children could identify print in both languages, despite having very little exposure to the written Mayan language. Bialystok (1997) found bilingual children had an advantage over monolingual children when matching pictures to print, and that bilingual French-English children had a larger advantage than Mandarin-English children, theoretically because of language similarities. These studies all suggest that language transfer takes place between languages for bilingual children, suggesting that learning literacy skills in any language can boost skills in a separate language.

Joint Book Reading

Adults reading to children, here referred to as "joint book reading," (Bus, IJzendoorn, & Pellegrini, 1995) is a common theme in family literacy literature. Anderson, Lenters, & McTavish (2008) found in a study of family literacy websites that most family literacy websites depicted family literacy as parents reading to children. Teachers in western society generally expect parents to read to their children, especially at lower grade levels (Edwards, 1995; Peterson & Heywood, 2007). Former First Lady Barbara Bush equated parents reading to children with a more literate society (Bush, 1995). The belief in reading to children is so strong that Kenner (2005) claimed that if parents are not able to read to children, there is a belief that there is "no literacy" (p. 289) in the home.

Furthermore, it is not enough for parents to simply read to children. On the contrary, experts promote a specific form of interaction between parents and children for literacy development. Strickland & Morrow (1990) prescribe asking children questions and having them comment on books read aloud. Edwards (1995) purported that parents in a low socioeconomic school did not adequately know how to support their children's learning because they did not discuss the book with their children or ask them questions. According to these experts, reading aloud must be an interactive process for it to be successful.

The research on storybook reading to children is overwhelmingly positive. Sénéchal and Lefevre (2002) found that storybook reading predicted receptive, but not predictive language, and predicted oral language in four and five-year-old children. Eagle (1989) found in a large longitudinal analysis that the positive academic effects of parents reading to children throughout childhood lasted until high school. In a large meta-analysis, Mol (2010) found that joint book reading in elementary school led to a moderate increase in reading scores.

Among culturally and linguistically diverse children, there is also some evidence it is especially effective in raising the literacy achievement of bilingual Spanish-speaking children (Jiménez, Filippini, & Gerber, 2006; Jeynes, 2003). Boyce et. al (2004) found that, among Latinx preschoolers, literacy strategies and the promotion of interactive reading during joint book reading contributed to child vocabulary. Schick (2013) found that "challenging utterances" (p. 22) by parents while reading to preschoolers, such as predictions and discussion of the text, led to higher expressive language and print awareness. Caspe (2009) found that "abridged storytellers," (p. 318), those who told a story concisely, were especially effective in increasing the literacy skills of Latinx students in preschool.

Reese et. al (2000) found no significant difference in the reading test scores of bilingual Kindergartners whose parents received small books to read to children and those who did not receive the books. Baker, Mackler, Sonnesnschein, & Serpell, (2001) found that, while the parent reading of chapter books in first grade was predictive of literacy skills, discussion about text made no difference. There needs to be more research on how joint book reading affects the literacy skills of culturally diverse elementary-aged children.

Encouragement of Reading

There is strong evidence that independent, wide reading of texts is a strong predictor for literacy success. In both their own studies and syntheses of other studies, Cunningham & Stanovich (1998) found that the volume of reading directly contributed to vocabulary and world knowledge in both children and adults. Anderson, Wilson, & Fielding (1988) found that it was the strongest predictor of reading proficiency outside of school factors. Krashen (2006) goes a step further and claims that reading of large amounts of texts is as effective, if not more so, than most conventional teaching methods. Mol (2010) is finding support that this student reading of books at home positively correlates with success, especially for struggling readers.

Encouragement of Writing

Writing practice can greatly influence writing skills. Graham, McKeown, Kiuhra, & Harris (2012) completed a meta-analysis analyzing what practices contributed to increased writing skills among elementary-aged students. In four out of five studies, extra writing significantly improved writing scores. Early (2010) completed a case study of successful Mexican-American writers in a Texas college. The students were all the children of immigrants with low levels of education. Early (2010) developed three main findings in the case. First,

parents consistently praised writing and encouraged their children to write. Secondly, parents provided access to writing tools like books and computers, often at great financial sacrifice, and gave their children free time away from chores to write. Finally, parents were very strict and somewhat isolated their children; thus, the successful writers wrote to avoid feeling so isolated and to understand their experiences better. None of the students reported their parents writing, and all students reported that their parents could not help them academically in a traditional, North American manner because of low levels of education. Parents nevertheless found ways to support their children's writing abilities throughout their childhood.

Home Language Use

Studies have also examined the role of parent language preference or English proficiency in child literacy development. Duursma et. al (2007) found that paternal language preference was a predictor of English vocabulary, with fathers who spoke English having children with higher English vocabularies. The same authors, however, found that sibling language preference was a bigger predictor. Baker (2014) found that the English proficiency of mothers of preschoolers led to higher reading achievement in English, and that English proficiency of mothers was also correlated with a higher frequency of home literacy events. Farver et. al (2013) found that the preliteracy skills of bilingual preschoolers transferred to develop oral language skills; however, provision of an HLE in Spanish led to lower literacy skills in English. Schick (2013) likewise found that bilingual preschoolers with caregivers who primarily spoke in English had higher English literacy scores than those whose caregivers primarily spoke in Spanish. Hunter (2015) found that English use in the home led to stronger English reading scores in preschool children. Lewis, Sandile's, Hammer, Sawyer, & Méndez (2016) likewise found that child exposure to

English and child English usage were the biggest predictors for English vocabulary. Boyce et. al (2004) found that the mother's vocabulary largely correlated with the child's vocabulary.

Alternately, there is research that suggests that a strong knowledge of the first language can lead to higher literacy scores in the second language. Gottardo (2002) found in a study of migrant first-grade bilingual Spanish-English speakers that there were correlations between Spanish reading and Spanish phoneme deletion ability on English reading measures. Howard, Páez, August, Barr, & Malabonga, (2014) studied bilingual (Spanish/English) students in Kindergarten, third grade, and fifth grade to discover links between home language proficiency and English literacy. They found significant links between oral Spanish vocabulary and English literacy skills, as well as parents reading in Spanish and English literacy skills. Hancock (2002) found that children who read books in their native language of Spanish had better English literacy skills in Kindergarten than those who read only in English.

Taken together, the research suggests that literacy is strongest when the family has competency in both the first and second languages. Children do best when they have wide exposure to both languages. The research would suggest, therefore, that families in which parents spoke both languages would have higher literacy success than those who only spoke the first language. Returning to the interdependence hypothesis, the strong basis of one language influences the other.

Literacy Events

In her landmark work describing the socio-linguistic lives of children in working-class and middle-class families, Heath (1982) describes literacy events as "occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes and

strategies" (p. 50). Common literacy events include such things are book reading, discussion, and storytelling. Literacy events are not universal; they vary according to the culture of the community (Heath, 1982).

Below is a review of literacy events found in culturally and linguistically diverse families in the United States. This is not a comprehensive list and does not represent each culturally and linguistically diverse family; rather, each family has individual practice. Patterns in research will be discussed in this section, however. First, I discuss several sociocultural factors affecting literacy events among culturally and linguistically diverse families. I then give a list of literacy events are organized by the first three categories of Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Goodman, & Hemphill's (1991) Family as Educator Model: "literacy environment" (p. 60), "literacy environment of the home" (p.60), "direct teaching" (p. 62), and creating opportunities to learn (p. 62).

Sociocultural Factors in Literacy Events

Families do not exist in isolation. They are part of larger cultural and societal networks. Thus, a family's culture affects their home lives, including family literacy. Below, I give some information about typical cultural beliefs and practices of Latinx families. As with discussion about any group of people, these practices vary based on the individual family, their specific cultures, and the individual situations of families.

Beliefs in the role of parents. Traditionally, the role of the parent is different in Latinx cultures than it is in the United States. Hammer, Rodriguez, Lawrence, & Miccio (2007) found that Puerto Rican mothers held both traditional beliefs in the role of parents in their children's educations, but also had adopted more progressive beliefs. The mothers believed that the schools

were responsible for education, and it was their job as parents to teach children obedience. At the same time, they adopted the more western attitudes that children should have their own views and perspectives on life, and that parents should teach their children. Reese et. al (2000) found a similar situation among immigrant families from Mexico and Central America.

Moral education is important to many Latinx families. Reese et. al (1995) completed a study of Latinx immigrant families of elementary school children in the Los Angeles area. They found that literacy events revolved around the value of "educación" (p.63), moral teaching that accompanies academic teaching. Parents, all of whom were immigrants, taught literacy skills mainly to accompany values such as respect, obedience, and family unity. For example, parents might use books and magazines to explain the dangers of disobeying parents or doing drugs. Parents also read to children for entertainment and to teach children to read. Reading to children, teaching words, and helping children acquire English were the lowest priorities of parents, but these skills were indirectly fostered through the fostering of moral education. De Acoasta & Volk (1999) reported on a similar belief among Puerto Rican families in the northeast United States; in their study, however, to be well-educated also meant to understand and value the teachings of Christianity, and parents saw their responsibility as instilling Christian virtues in children. Farver et. al (2013) found that 41 percent of families of young children only read aloud to children as part of moral education.

In her research on Mexican immigrant families living on the border between Mexico and the United States, Valdés (1996) discussed how educación was practiced in their homes. In this study, mothers largely fostered the *educacións* of children through "consejos" (p. 125), stories that served to teach messages to children. For example, to stop gossiping behavior in her

granddaughter, her grandmother told a story about how a girl gossiped about how her grandmother had money, which led to the grandmother's home being robbed. Sometimes consejos were told in response to a certain event, but sometimes they were simply told during daily life.

Many people interacting with children in literacy events. Research has documented literacy interaction with multiple family members in culturally and linguistically diverse children from a variety of backgrounds. Kelly, Gregory, & Williams (2001) found that, in many Bangladeshi-British family members, often older siblings, helped their younger family members memorize texts in school readers in an Islamic style. Mui & Anderson (2008) found that, in one Indo-Canadian family, child teachers strategically planned games and activities that taught specific skills to their younger family members. Song (2016) documents a Korean grandmother teaching her granddaughter to read through the use of a hymnbook.

Dinah Volk and Martha De Acosta documented many family members interacting with children in their studies of Puerto Rican children living in the northeast United States in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Volk & de Acoasta (2004) found that older siblings of Kindergarteners helped their younger siblings learn through practices such as guiding them through workbook practice and scaffolding the pronunciation of words. de Acoasta & Volk (1999) found that many people interacted with literacy in the lives of Puerto Rican children living in the northeast of the United States, including parents, cousins, brothers, and uncles. Volk (1998) found that siblings scaffolded literacy instruction more than parents.

Role of religion. Religion is a common source of literacy in many culturally and linguistically diverse families. Religion is a common purpose for adult literacy, noted in Puerto

Rican families (de Acoasta & Volk, 1999), a Filipino family (Li, 2000), Chinese families (Taylor Bernhard, Garg, & Cummins, 2008), and Sudanese refugee families (Perry, 2009). In the Islamic faith, the Qur'an as a home literacy text has been found in a number of cultures, including Bangladeshi immigrant families (Gregory & Williams, 2000), Guajarati Indian communities (Snedden, 2000), and Arabic families (Markose, Symes, & Hellstén, 2011). For all the Muslim families cited in the literature, the Qur'an is read in Arabic, as is traditional in the Islamic faith, although most of the families speak a first language other than Arabic. Thus, the children acquire an additional language through the reading of religious text.

The Bible has been found to be a primary text in many Spanish-speaking Latino families and communities (e.g. Mercado, 2006; Reese et. al, 1995; Volk, 1999; Volk & de Acoasta, 2001). De Acoasta & Volk (1999) found that Bible study was a primary practice in the literacy lives of the Puerto Rican families they studied, that parents modeled Bible reading for children and encouraged them to read the Bible and that one parent also purchased a Bible coloring book. Blair (2016) described a mother helping her child with his catechism homework. Use of religious texts have been cited in a variety of ways, including parents or grandparents reading religious texts with children (Mercado, 2006; Volk, 1999; Volk & de Acoasta, 2004), parents reading religious texts to children (Reese et. al, 1995), and the use of religious texts during daily life (Purcell-Gates, 2013). In addition, children were exposed to literacy through the modeling of a parent or grandparent reading religious texts in several studies (Mercado, 2006; Reese et. al, 1995). In a study of one successful Latinx family, Burbano (2015) found that the family practiced literacy largely through religion.

Identity-based practices. Arzubiaga, Rueda, & Monzó (2002) found that, among the Latinx children of immigrants in an urban city, the connectiveness of the family influenced how much the children wanted to read. They also found that religious literacy in the family was associated with increased self-concepts of children as readers. Gonzalez & Uhing (2008) found that literacy pre-readiness among bilingual Spanish-English preschoolers was influenced partly by family members working together and practicing recreation together. Thus, it appears factors outside of those traditionally thought to be related to reading might influence child reading.

Next, I discuss some literacy events related to the literacy environment. This is not a comprehensive list, as families practice literacy in different ways. They are, however, some of the events of which there is research in the context of culturally and linguistically diverse families.

Events Related to the Home Literacy Environment

Joint book reading. There is evidence across many cultures and languages that culturally and linguistically diverse families often include some form of joint book reading as a literacy practice. Peterson & Heywood (2007), and Taylor et. al (2008) found that parents in diverse Kindergarten classes almost universally read to their children. Snedden (2000), & Taylor, et. al (2008) documented joint book reading in Asian immigrant families. Cross-culturally, there is especially a great deal of evidence suggesting that the reading aloud of religious text is an especially common practice (de Acoasta & Volk, 1999; Markose et. al, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2007; Reese et. al, 1995).

In some culturally and linguistically diverse families, however, joint book reading is not practiced. There are a variety of reasons for this. First, culturally and linguistically diverse

families, especially immigrant families, are much more likely to live in poverty or near-poverty than families at large (Haynes, Page, & Stevens, 2006), and research has shown that, in many families of low socioeconomic status, there is more of a skills-based approach to literacy, rather than text-based. This is possibly because of a lack of access to books (Baker et. al, 2001). Some culturally and linguistically diverse parents also do not have the language or literacy skills to read to their children, especially if the books are written in English (Blackledge, 2000).

There are also cultural reasons why adults may not read to children in some families. Asian families often do not see reading to children as an enjoyable or worthwhile practice. In Chinese families, there is generally a belief that one learns to read by the development of skills and practice; thus, reading aloud to children is rarely practiced (Li, 2000; Markose et. al, 2011). In one Indonesian family, adults in the family were not read to and the children did not enjoy it, thus it was not done (Mui & Anderson, 2008).

There is evidence that most Latinx families practice some form of joint book reading. Brady (1999) found over ninety percent of elementary Latinx immigrant parents read to their children in one large quantitative study. Menard-Warwick (2007) and Kenner, Kress, Al-Khatib, & Tsai (2004) also cite examples of Spanish-speaking parents practicing joint book reading. The reading aloud of religious text is an especially common practice (de Acoasta & Volk, 1999; Volk & de Acosta, 2001; Menard-Warwick, 2007; Reese, et. al, 1995). Brady (1999) found that, in a study of Spanish-English bilingual families, 40 percent of parents reported reading both Spanish and English books to their children, one in five reported reading only English books, and almost one in four reported only reading Spanish books.

Several studies of successful bilingual readers note joint book reading as a practice. López-Velásquez (2011) completed a study of a successful reader in the first grade of a Spanish-English transitional bilingual education program in the Eastern United States. All home literacy was conducted in Spanish. Both parents read to their child in Spanish as a key literacy activity, but the methods and focus of instruction were different. The mother utilized narratives and poetry and focused largely on fluency and vocabulary; the father utilized expository texts almost exclusively in instruction and used large amounts of questioning and connection to real life to enhance comprehension skills. López-Velásquez & García, 2017, found that, in one home with a successful bilingual reader, the Spanish-dominant mother read with the child in Spanish, and the English-dominant father read with her in English.

While most Latinx families practice joint book reading , those that do not adopt this practice do so for many different reasons. Sims & Coley (2016), for example found that Spanish-speaking Mexican-American mothers and fathers read to children less than Anglo-American parents. This is partly economic, with immigrant families being more likely than other families to live in poverty (Haynes et. al), and therefore more likely to take a skills-based approach to reading (Baker et. al, 2001).

There are also sociocultural reasons for the lack of joint book reading in culturally and linguistically diverse families. Reese & Gallimore (2000) found that, in many Latinx immigrant families, joint book reading is practiced for moral reasons-to teach a child a lesson through the text-or if child enjoys it, but generally not because reading aloud is something that is viewed as benefiting a child's early literacy skills. Reese & Gallimore (2000) found that parents in their study of Latinx families rarely read to their young children because of the belief that the children

were too young to enjoy or understand the text. Once the children became older, the parents began reading books aloud. Goldenberg, Reese, & Gallimore (1992) found that sending books home with Latinx immigrant parents and encouraging them to read with their children did not lead to significant increases in parent-child interactions during reading, suggesting that reading aloud is something that is foreign to some Latinx cultures.

Furthermore, children's books are not a common part of many traditional Latinx cultures. Plata-Potter (2013) found that none of the Latinx immigrant parents of preschoolers specifically remember having children's books in their homes growing up. The first time students were introduced to books was at the elementary school level or later, and the only books students had been those the school gave them. Parents only gave books to children at an older age, and many never gave them books at all.

Janes & Kermani (2001) discovered in the process of an early literacy parent intervention that, in some Latinx cultures, reading aloud is used as a punishment. The immigrant parents in their program either often read to their children using a "castigo" (p.460), or punishment, style. This style is punitive in tone and includes the following characteristics:

- lack of physical contact between adult and child;
- typical side-by-side position with book in front of adult;
- adult's control of book and page turning;
- lack of eye contact;
- body stillness or rigidity;
- low or monotone reading by adult;
- flat intonation and effect on part of both adult and child;

• lack of pause or wait time;

• minimal responses by child, usually nonverbal or monosyllabic;

• lack of topic initiation or questioning by child;

• little use of pictures to explain text;

• lack of visual or other attention to book from child;

• adult's reading interrupted often for behavior control (e.g., "/Portate bien/"Be good!");

• evident relief from both adult and child when session was over Q'/Ya s'acabdr "It's done!"); and

• lack of smiling, laughing, jokes, kidding, or other evidence of enjoyment of activity (p. 461).

Storytelling. There is little research about how culturally and linguistically diverse families promote oral language. One practice that has been documented is that of storytelling, the "oral interpretation of a traditional, literary, or personal experience story" (Peck, 1989, p. 138). Which has been found to benefit reading comprehension, productive language, writing, and listening skills (Peck, 1989). Reese (2012) found that, in the homes of Mexican immigrants in one study, storytelling was observed among 9/10 of families. The most common type of story told was "family anecdotes" (p. 284), which are stories of family members and family histories. Family members also told jokes, legends, horror stories, and stories about the history of Mexico.

Events encouraging print awareness. Rodriguez-Brown (2011) notes that it is often difficult to discern how print awareness is used in bilingual homes, due to research limitations. Still, there are some common things that are found in the research, which are discussed below. As the research shows, culturally and linguistically diverse families of elementary-aged children

are not print-deficient. On the contrary, there is a wide amount of print in culturally and linguistically diverse homes.

A common theme cited in the literature is that of texts being used for daily life, a form of text also called environmental print (Adams, 1990). Environmental print has been found in a variety of cultures. Kenner et. al (2004) found Chinese calendars and Chinese New Year messages as sources of literacy in daily life in Cantonese-speaking homes. Ro & Cheatham (2009) note letters and birthday cards from relatives as a source of print awareness in one Korean family. Wason-Ellam (2001) noted sources of print such as medical guides, dictionaries, and writing materials in the homes of Chinese immigrants.

Researchers have cited multiple sources of environmental print in Latinx families, including food packaging (Mercado, 2006), directions (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987), mail (de Acoasta & Volk, 1999; Purcell-Gates, 2013; Rodriguez, 2006; Volk, 1999), medical information and literature (Mercado, 2006; Purcell-Gates, 2013), bills and financial information (Mercado, 2006; Reese et. al; Rodriguez, 2006), and letters to and from family members (Reese et. al, 1995). Purcell-Gates (2013) found that the amount of print related to daily life varied depending on the family situation. There were few documents present in homes of temporary migrant workers, although some documents, such as school and vaccination records, were present. Once the family began more permanent residence, the amount of text related to daily life greatly increased, as family members had to navigate print sources such as school communications needed for parent involvement, utility bills, and insurance forms.

Another common type of literacy event involves direct teaching, where children are taught skills by family members. Below, I discuss direct teaching among culturally and

linguistically diverse families. This discussion will show that direct teaching is a very common event for culturally and linguistically diverse families.

Direct Teaching

Direct teaching is common in literature about culturally and linguistically diverse families. Asian cultures often take a skill-based approach to education. Anderson & Gunderson (1997) found that Indo-Canadian parents did not see learning to read as a holistic task, but often saw reading as primarily the memorization of facts. Research shows that many East Asian parents also tend to prefer to teach their children directly, often through the teaching of phonics skills (Li, 2006; Li, 2010; Markose, Symes, & Hellstén, 2011), or the teaching of letters (Anderson & Gunderson, 1997; Li, 2001; Li, 2010; Wason-Ellam, 2001).

Families from Latin America commonly see literacy as a skill-based practice and help their children through direct teaching of skills. Goldenberg et. al (1992) found that, in a study of Mexican-American families with Kindergartners, many parents typically did not read the "libros" (p. 504), or small primer readers, that were sent home in a parent-reading intervention. Rather, the parents used the libros in a "worksheet" (p 527) style, making the task of reading more school-like than enjoyment-based. de Acoasta & Volk (1999) found that in Puerto Rican families, there is a belief in reading as knowledge of letters, and families put a strong emphasis on decoding. This belief was largely instilled through the parents' own teaching, which was phonetic based. Volk (2013), for example, found that the Puerto Rican mother in her study was taught with the use of the "Cartilla Fonética,"(p. 242), the standardized phonics book that teaches children to read in Puerto Rico; thus, she taught her child in a similar format. Plata-Potter (2013)

found that many Latinx immigrant parents remember their first books being that of learning how to learn vowels and sounds. Reese and Gallimore (2000) expressed that Latinx immigrant parents in their study believed that one learns to read by putting syllables together and believed in doing a task repetitively to learn. Goldenberg (1987) found Latino immigrant parents primarily tutored their children in word-recognition skills, not through holistic readings of texts.

Family members enforce practice direct teaching in many ways. Family members often help with homework (Soltero Gonzalez, 2007; Volk & de Acosta, 2001; Volk & de Acosta, 2004). The use of traditional materials is common in direct teaching in bilingual Latinx homes. Delgado-Gaitan (1987) found that textbooks were present in 7 out of 8 Mexican-American immigrant homes studied. Multiple studies (de Acoasta & Volk, 1999; Volk & de Acosta, 2004; Volk, 2013) found that workbooks were a common medium of instruction in Puerto Rican homes.

Goldenberg (1987) gives an extreme example of a mother who taught her first-grade child how to read in Spanish without any help from her child's teacher. The mother taught her child the way she had been taught, through the sounding out of words, and bought plastic letters for her child to use as manipulatives. She also gave her child extra assignments for practice. The child developed into an excellent reader in both English and Spanish.

Gillanders & Jiménez (2004) identified two families who had first-grade, bilingual Spanish-English children who all had higher emergent literacy than their peers. The children attended a transitional bilingual education program in a largely Latinx school, were of low socioeconomic status, and had parents who had low levels of education. The authors found that family literacy largely took place through direct instruction, including such things as assigning

and helping children complete word puzzles, teaching letters, helping children put syllables together to make words, and asking children to copy words. Children did much of the work; the parents simply assigned work to them and guided them through the tasks.

Volk & de Acosta (2004) describe the extended families of Puerto Rican families in their study as "mediating networks," (p. 25), where family members, especially siblings, work to help younger family members. They cited direct instruction in homework and school skills that was often related to homework and school skills. They also found that children tend to teach in a play-related style, something noticed by other research (Volk, 1998; de Acosta & Volk, 1999; de Acosta & Volk, 2001; Volk 2013). Volk (1988) found that siblings scaffolded direct teaching to their brothers and students more than their parents did during direct instruction.

Literacy events at home do not have to involve family members actively working with children. They can include family members simply providing encouragement, opportunities, and support. This discussion now turns to families creating opportunities to learn.

Creating Opportunities to Learn

The final category in the Parents as Educators model (Snow et. al, 1991) is opportunity to learn. For this section, I have chosen a number of practices that culturally and linguistically diverse families use to provide opportunities for children to learn new literacy and language skills. This section will show that children from culturally and linguistically diverse families are not deprived of learning opportunities.

Reading encouragement. Research shows that when culturally and linguistically diverse families have access to adequate and appropriate reading materials in a form that works for their living situations, they greatly encourage their children to read. Several studies have found that

culturally and linguistically supportive parents of elementary schoolers often encourage their children to read. Janiak (2003) found that many culturally and linguistically diverse families did not initially have access to books but were eager to choose books for their children when given the opportunity. Song (2016) found a Korean family greatly encouraged their children to read. Li (2000) found that taking children to the library to read was commonly practiced in one Chinese Canadian family, and Taylor et. al (2008) cited library use among diverse families of multiple cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Riches & Curdt-Christiansen (2010) found that Chinese immigrant parents often encouraged their elementary-aged children to read books.

Miano (2011) documented Mexican-American immigrant parents enforcing book reading and discussing books with their children. Janiak (2003) found that many culturally and linguistically diverse families did not initially have access to books but were eager to choose books for their children when given the opportunity. De Acoasta & Volk (1999) found that libraries were commonly used by Puerto Rican families in New York. Reese (2008) found that Latinx families often encouraged their children to read books brought home from school. Most studies have found that children's books are present in most homes of culturally and linguistically diverse families in some form or fashion (Brady, 1999; de Acoasta & Volk, 1999; Reese et. al, 1995).

Sometimes, however, books are not available, or they are not practical for the family's living situations. In studies of low-income Mexican-American communities, Mercado (2006) and Reese et. al (2008), both found that books were too expensive for most parents to afford, and that there was very limited access to bookstores and libraries. There is often a lack of availability of books in the home language, as well. De Acoasta & Volk (1999) found that there was limited

access to Spanish texts in the Puerto Rican community studied in New York, a finding reiterated years later in an article by Barack (2015), which found that nationally there is a shortage of high-quality, high-interest texts in languages other than English.

In addition, space is a factor that prevents the encouragement of reading in some families. Purcell-Gates (2013) found that migrant families were often given books from their Head Start program, but the books were rarely found in homes. While teachers thought this meant families did not value literacy, this was not the case. Migrant families must pack everything for their frequent moves, and there is often not enough space for everything the family owns. Therefore, the books must be left behind so that clothes, household items, and other necessities can be taken to the families' new home.

Writing encouragement. Culturally and linguistically diverse families encourage literacy learning through the encouragement and enforcement of writing. This is done in several ways. First, letter writing is a common occurrence, and has been documented across Navajo (Hartle-Schutte, 1993), Puerto Rican (Volk & de Acoasta, 2004), Chinese (Jiang, 1997; Li, 2006), and Mexican-American (Reyes & Azuara, 2013) families. There are other anecdotal ways families encourage writing. Ran (2000) and Ro & Cheatham (2009) documented children, at parents' requests, keeping Chinese and Korean-language journals, Reyes & Azuara (2013) documented a child making a bilingual English-Spanish prayer book, and Kenner (2005) documented parents making a menu with their children. Early (2010) found that the parents of high-performing Latinx writers in college often enforced writing at home during their children's school years. The parents were able to build their children's writing skills through the

encouragement of writing, even though they were not often able to directly help with writing homework or practice (Early, 2010).

Families are not the only influence in a child's educational achievement. Other factors, including policy, influence a child's literacy and language development. Below, I discuss how English-only policy negatively affects a child's literacy development.

Effects of English-only Policy on Literacy

English-only language policies have been found to negatively impact the literacy success of students in English reading. Thomas & Collier (2002) completed a large, longitudinal study of the effects of bilingual education v. English-only education for students who had very little English proficiency when they entered Kindergarten or the first grade in schools in the United States and found superior results for English reading for middle school students who were enrolled in bilingual education programs during elementary school. Similarly, Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass (2005) conducted a meta-analysis of 17 studies which found that there was a large difference in English reading scores of bilingual education students and students educated in English only, with bilingual education students scoring markedly better. Umansky & Reardon (2014) found that Latinx English Language Learners were more likely to be reclassified as fully English proficient if they attended bilingual education programs, rather than English only programs. This may be because students are able to access enough of each language to be successful bilinguals, as theorized in the threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1979).

There is, however, somewhat of a lag in the English reading advantage for students

enrolled in bilingual education programs. Slavin, Madden, Calderon, Chamberlain, & Hennessy (2011) found in a study of bilingual education students, however, that this shift may take several years to fully emerge. First-graders scored well below their English-only peers in English reading scores, but the gap narrowed, and by fourth-grade the students educated largely in Spanish were fully literate in English. Thomas & Collier (2002) similarly found that, while students enrolled in ELL services initially outperformed their peers who were enrolled in bilingual education programs, by middle school the bilingual education students were on par with their English-only counterparts, and by high school, the students enrolled in bilingual education outperformed those in monolingual English education programs. Thus, while eventual results for bilingual education are better than English only, the results do not become evident until the end of a child's elementary school career.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter has given a brief overview of the literacy predictors and practices of reading success in culturally and linguistically diverse children. It is not fully comprehensive, as there is still much research to be done. The review does show, however, that culturally and linguistically diverse families find ways to nurture the literacy growth of their children. These ways do not, however, always look like the ways of the mainstream United States. In the next chapter, I give a theoretical framework for the study and outline the methodology I used to shed light on this understudied topic.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the methodology for this study. It is my intent that this chapter will explain the backbone of how the study is conducted. Below, I discuss first the theories that influence this study, then the methods that are used.

Theoretical Framework

The topic of family literacy in culturally and linguistically diverse families is one that is complicated and relies on a number of individual, cultural, and educational factors. A theoretical framework for this topic must, therefore, also be complex. In this section, I present a theoretical frame, based on literacy and social theories, that details how family literacy practices contribute to success in a bilingual culturally-diverse child attending an English-only school in the United States. The framework is ultimately based on the interaction between schema theory and new literacy studies.

Schema Theory

According to schema theory, successful reading requires schema, or background knowledge, to comprehend text. The cognitive input plus the schema leads to text understanding. Schema is related to culture; if learners do not have background knowledge about the subject they are reading about because of lack of cultural knowledge, they will not understand the text (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983). Anderson (2013) maintains that schema enables a number of processes in reading, including providing a scaffolding to helping readers understand text, enabling readers to identify important and non-important information, enhancing the reader's ability to make inferences, allowing the reader to search memory to get information that needs to

be remembered to comprehend the text, and helping the reader to understand information where there are gaps in knowledge.

Schema is largely based on culture (Anderson, 2013). This explains why things like dual-language books (Jiménez et. al, 2006; Naqui, Thorne, Pfistcher, Nordstekke, & McKeough, 2012) and environmental print (Adams, 1990) have been found to be effective in increasing child literacy skills. Schema theory suggests that other materials commonly found in culturally and linguistically diverse homes, such as religious texts, might help increase literacy skills in culturally and linguistically diverse children. On the other hand, school materials that do not activate the schema of culturally and linguistically diverse children would not activate the schema, and therefore would lead to academic disadvantage (Anderson, 2013).

New Literacy Studies

Gee (2008) writes that, in new literacy studies, "meanings are ultimately rooted in negotiation between different social practices with different interests by people who share or seek to share some common ground" (p. 12). Literacy practices are generally part of other practices involving talk, interaction, and values. Power influences the meaning of literacies in this theory (Gee, 2008). Lankshear & Knobel (2011) add that literacy is based on "socially recognized ways" (p. 33) and is a social phenomenon. In this perspective, literacy is a sociological concept compared to reading, which is more of a psychological concept.

Based on this perspective, family literacy practices are considered valid based on what is socially recognized in society. While culturally and linguistically diverse families practice family literacy in lots of ways, those that will benefit their children the most are those that are socially

recognized. Those that are outside of what is expected by the educational system, which is largely oriented towards a White, middle-class perspective, are not considered valuable and therefore are less likely to lead to success for children. Based on this theory, culturally and linguistically diverse families either practice the socially recognized form of literacy or find a way to bridge their family literacy practices with those that are socially recognized.

Model of Family Literacy

Fig. 1 illustrates a model of family literacy among successful readers in bilingual Latinx families. Families that succeed in developing successful readers use literacy events to bridge the schema of the child with the reading success that is considered valuable according to the school. In effect, students become successful readers based on school norms through the bridge of literacy events.

It is through the lens of this framework that I view my research for this study. I examine the schema of each family. I then look to see how the schema leads to literacy events, and how those literacy events form what is considered acceptable literacy in a North American context. I then view how these events lead to a bridge to successful literacy.

Introduction to Methods

Qualitative research focuses on "naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). It is used for locating meaning of events, structures, and processes, as experienced in people's lives, and how people connect meanings to their social



Fig.1 Model of Successful Reading in Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Families

worlds. In this case, the study is a search for how the events, structures, and processes of family literacy in bilingual, culturally diverse families translate into success, as it applies in the social world of school.

A series of concurrent case studies are being used for this study. A case study is defined as "an examination of a specific phenomenon such as a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group" (Merriam, 1988, p.9). Case study methodology is a form of social inquiry, which is used to help people form better understandings. Social inquiry maintains that understandings of human life are formed mostly through personal experience. It is focused on the natural powers of people to understand and experience life (Stake, 1995). In this research, the phenomenon being studied is family literacy among successful readers of culturally and linguistically diverse families.

There are multiple types of case studies. This study is based on a series of sociological case studies, as they involve social life and social problems. It is also interpretive (Merriam, 1998), as I gather info to theorize or interpret about the phenomenon of family literacy among successful bilingual culturally and linguistically diverse readers. This case is instrumental, in which the researcher is seeking to discover something other than the experiences of the cases being studied. The case is not pre-selected; the study is not chosen based on the case, but the case is chosen to shed light on the information being studied (Stake, 1995). I am using this case as an

instrument to discover more about the family literacy lives of successful bilingual culturally and linguistically diverse readers.

Saldaña (2011) notes that a qualitative study may incorporate more than one genre, or type, of method. This study is informed by the work of ethnography, which aims to investigate the way people live and increase cultural understanding, based on the knowledge that every culture is valuable and holds valuable knowledge (Spradley, 1979). Ethnography is a good match for case study, as both seek to discover the dynamics of a social world in context (O'Riain, 2012).

The topic of family literacy in culturally and linguistically diverse families is one that is complicated and relies on a number of individual, cultural, and educational factors. A theoretical framework for this topic must, therefore, also be complex. In this section, I present a theoretical frame, based on several theories, that details the processes that go into whether family literacy practices contribute to success in a bilingual culturally-diverse child attending an English-only school in the United States. This theory draws on several literacy and social theories.

Subjectivity Statement

This study stems from my unique experiences as a traveling English as a Second Language teacher in rural East Tennessee. The schools I served had very low numbers of English Language Learners. Some schools had only one English Language Learner, and the school with the largest population had only approximately twenty English Language Learners, out of a school population of over six hundred. Many times, students were the first English Language Learners for their veteran teachers.

The predominant opinion among other teaching staff was that culturally and linguistically diverse students "had no support at home." I saw through my communication with families, however, that parents wanted to be involved in literacy. Oftentimes, children's academic achievement surged after just one short conference or phone call explaining the school's expectations or what the child needed to learn. I began doing things like sending books home with children for parents to read with their children and informing parents of their children's progress at school. When requested by parents or classroom teachers, I would send home activities and materials for families to do with their children. Almost universally, families would begin to complete the activities and read the books. There was a lot of support at home, and, given the chance, families could greatly help their children succeed.

Sometimes, family literacy made a tremendous difference in a child's education. I remember the child who was in the third grade and could not decode even simple vowels. After becoming aware of her daughter's needs, her mother, illiterate in any language, set up a system where she encouraged her daughter to read simple words, and, later, to read entire texts. Within three years, the child was on grade-level. I remember conferences where parents were asked to work on sight words with their child, and the child caught up on sight words within weeks. I think fondly of the kindergartner who took book homes with her, became an avid reader, and increased her vocabulary drastically by the end of the year. Furthermore, I remember families who never even needed my services, or needed them for a short time, because their children quickly became fluent readers, writers, and speakers of English.

At the same time, I remember valiant parents who tried to help their children greatly. They took books home and brought them back, read. They worked to reinforce academic

concepts with their children at home. Yet these children did not seem to show improvement in the same way as others. Sometimes, the differences were within families; one child would excel, while a sibling would flounder, despite having very similar home and academic lives. Why the difference?

That question is what led me to this study. It is my hope that this will shed light on this subject in a way that empowers families to better serve their children in a new environment, in a way that works for their individual families, cultures, and situations. It is my belief that families and educators are partners on the road to literacy success.

While my experiences give me the empathy and context that motivates me to do this research, it is also a liability. I am emotionally invested in this study and have expectations and feelings about the work that make my viewpoint subjective. This subjectivity is managed through IRB regulations, feedback from committee members, and an attempt to code and report objectively. It is also managed through use of a member check, where a member of the Latinx community will check my writing to ensure it correctly represents the Latinx culture.

Context

The context for this study is suburban "Courtland County," Tennessee, an area in the Appalachian region of the southeast United States that has a population of 465,289 people countywide. Courtland County is somewhat more homogenous than most counties in the United States. A full 86.1% of its residents are White, non-Hispanic, compared to 76.6 nationally. Only 5.0 residents are foreign-born, compared to 13.4% nationwide. People of Latinx descent only comprise 4.3% of the population, compared to 18.1 percent in the United States (United States Census Bureau, n.d.).

Except for one student who attends a private Christian high school, all students in the study attend the same school district, "Courtland County Schools." Slightly less than ten percent of students in the district are of Latinx origin, and 4.6 percent of the students are English Language Learners (ELLs).(Tennessee Department of Education, n.d.). The district is unique in that it has schools that are urban, suburban, and rural. With the exception of a teenager in one family who attends an urban magnet high school with open countywide enrollment (but attended a suburban elementary and middle school), the children attend schools classified as suburban (large) by the National Center of Education Statistics (n.d., b.). These schools report low frequencies of English Language Learners, ranging from 0.2% to 5.8%, and between 4.4% and 8.3% of students identify as Latinx. Notably, these schools all have lower levels of economic disadvantaged students and higher standardized test scores than Courtland County at large (Tennessee Department of Education, n.d.).

As with almost every Tennessee school, Courtland County Schools operates within an English-only framework. The district follows regulations mandated by the Tennessee Department of Education (2018). Upon enrollment, every student completes a home language survey, which asks three questions about the first language the child learned, languages spoken at home, and languages spoken outside of school. If the answer to any of these three questions is anything other than "English," students complete a screener for English as a Second Language (ESL) services, which asks students to complete language-based tasks in the areas of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The child then may be placed in ESL services and become an English Language Learner (ELL), based on the score on the screener. Each year, all ELLs are tested using the World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) Access Test, a

standardized assessment of language proficiency. ELLs receive ELL services until they pass the WIDA Access test; they then are monitored for four years to ensure they are not struggling because of language proficiency programs (Tennessee Department of Education, 2018).

Participant Selection

For a number of reasons, participants were all families of children grades four or above. First, there is a lack of research about students in this grade range. More importantly, ELLs are likely to be reclassified as English proficient by around the end of elementary school (Umansky & Reardon, 2014). In addition, students in bilingual education often catch up to their English-only peers in reading by fourth grade (Slavin et. al, 2011), meaning the results of families who fostered literacy in the native language will likely be seen by this age, and the effects of a lack of second language vocabulary will be minimized somewhat. Finally, this age mitigates the effects of outside factors, like teacher effectiveness, as students will have experienced many teachers and classroom contexts by this point in their academic careers.

There are several criteria for this study. Spanish must be spoken in the homes of each participant in order to ensure that students grew up in bilingual families. Focal students must not actively receive English as a Second Language services. Focal students also must have grades of no lower than a B in English/Language Arts for the proceeding school year and must have no identified disabilities. The academic criteria ensures that students are successful readers.

To obtain participants who met these criteria I worked with a local community center whose purpose is to provide educational and social services for the Latinx community in Courtland County. The center gave interest fliers to families that they believed met the criteria, based on experience and available data. Four families responded to the interest forms. I

followed-up with each family to confirm that they met the criteria, explain the consent and enrollment process, and schedule initial meetings with the families. One family chose to leave the study after providing consent, leaving three participating families.

Participants

Each of the three families participating in the study greatly differed in both their backgrounds and how they approached family literacy. One had children of various ages, one had one adolescent at home and two older children at college, and one had two school-aged children. An overview of each family is below.

The Jimenez Family

Family background. The Jimenez family is led by Oscar and Gloria. Oscar is the primary breadwinner for the family and is starting a tree-cutting business. Gloria is in her early 30s and works two mornings a week at a community center teaching preschool. Both parents immigrated from Mexico almost twenty years ago, settling in Michigan before coming to Tennessee. There are no extended family members who live locally.

Parent education. Both families have relatively low levels of education. Gloria said Oscar went to school up to the fifth or sixth grade. Gloria likewise left education young but has recently enrolled in classes to get her General Education Diploma, with the goal of eventually obtaining higher education that will enable her to have a career either in education or interpreting. Few people in Gloria or Oscar's extended family have graduated from high school.

Socioeconomic status. On the Boyd & Nam (2015) scale, there is no occupational category for the scale for a forester or tree-cutter. Therefore, for Oscar Jimenez, I used the category of "first-line supervisors of landscaping, lawn service, and groundskeeping workers"

(p.42), the closest category I could find. This occupation is a 42, putting it towards the median of listed occupations. As a part-time preschool teacher, Gloria is a 52 on the scale (Boyd & Nam, 2015), putting the family, based on occupation alone, in the middle-class.

Children. Children in the Jimenez family include Myrna (focal child), age 16, Manuel (focal child), age 10, Miguel, age 4, and Rosa, age 2. Both Myrna and Manuel attend highly-rated public schools in Courtland County. While both children live in the same household, they are very different in their educational and language backgrounds, as discussed below.

Myrna. Myrna attends a science and math magnet school that attracts students from throughout Courtland County. The school has one of the lowest economically disadvantaged rates in the district. Her school has no English as a Second Language program, and only 6.5 percent of the students are Latinx (Tennessee Department of Education, n.d.b). She is considering either going to college to become a teacher or doctor or graduating early and getting a vocational degree that will allow her to be financially self-sufficient.

Myrna is a sequential bilingual, having first acquired Spanish, then later, English. When she was young, her family lived in Michigan, where Myrna had very minimal exposure to English. Books were read to her in Spanish and Spanish was spoken exclusively in her home. She was largely cared for by her grandparents, who only spoke Spanish, and her primary playmates were her cousins, who also came from Spanish speaking households. When the family moved to Tennessee and she subsequently began attending an English-only school, she began acquiring English. Myrna is now fully bilingual and biliterate in both languages.

Manuel. Manuel attends the school he is zoned for, a highly-rated suburban school. Slightly over 8 percent of students at his school are Latinx, and 4.4 percent are English Language

Learners (Tennessee Department of Education, n.d.b). Manuel has never been enrolled in English as a Second Language services. He prefers playing soccer to reading, but at his mother's insistence, he often reads action books. His favorite books are books from the *Goosebumps* series. Manuel's dream is to become a professional soccer player.

Unlike his older sister, Manuel is a simultaneous bilingual, having been exposed to both English and Spanish from infancy. Like many simultaneous bilinguals (Blume & Lust, 2017), Manuel's language development in one language is stronger than the other. Specifically, he speaks, reads, and writes almost exclusively in English, only understanding Spanish, making him a receptive bilingual (Blume & Lust, 2017). This is largely by circumstance, and largely by design. The family moved to Tennessee shortly after Manuel was born. In Tennessee, there were fewer Spanish cultural and linguistic resources, and Spanish-speaking extended family was not present. In addition, Gloria decided to interact with Manuel primarily in English in an effort to help him academically. Manuel's literacy environment is entirely English-based.

Parent views of education. Gloria's goals for her children's education are simple. She wants her children to have a career they enjoy, and also one that will enable them to provide for themselves and their families. She wants them to obtain higher education if it gets them to their career goals but is not against a career path that does not require college. As an immigrant who does not have a strong educational background, she says she wants her children to have more than she had.

The Caldera Family

Family background. The Caldera Family includes the mother, Daniela, father, Julien, and children Luis, 20, Ana, 18, and Carlos, 12 (focal child). Luis and Ana currently spend most

of their time at universities in Texas. The Caldera family is originally from Venezuela. Ten years ago, the family left Venezuela because of deteriorating economic conditions, and first lived in Costa Rica for four years, where the children attended a private bilingual school. Next, they moved to Texas, then two years ago to Tennessee, both times for Julien to pursue work opportunities. Julien works as an engineer, and Daniela as a receptionist at a local community center. While the family has full bilingual abilities, Spanish is the language spoken in the household.

Parent education. Both Julien and Daniela have high levels of education that they have carried into their adult lives. Julien has a college degree in engineering. Daniela has a bachelor's degree in accounting and also a master's degree in project management. Daniela is an avid reader and says Julien reads some but is more technically-inclined. Daniela can read a limited amount of English, although she prefers to read in Spanish.

Socioeconomic status. The Caldera family enjoys a high social class based on Julien's position as an engineer; his job scores 90/100 (Boyd & Nam, 2015). As a receptionist, Daniela's occupational socioeconomic score is relatively low at 36 (Boyd & Nam, 2015), placing the family in the middle-class range. It is important to note, however, that Daniela is trained as an accountant, an occupation that has a high score of 86 (Boyd & Nam, 2015). Thus, the family many ways resembles more of an upper-middle-class socioeconomic status than that of middle-class families. Daniela personally searched for and sought out a summer speed reading course for Carlos, for example, and is able to afford the $300 fee for the course (Institute of Reading Development, 2019) and transport him to and from the site. Participation in this program is a luxury many parents would not be able to afford.

The Caldera children. Luis is studying mechanical engineering in a university in Texas. He was nine when his family left Venezuela, and thirteen when he arrived in the United States. Daniela reports that he generally does not like to read but prefers to study math. He does, however, read a book every once in a while, and can read in both English and Spanish. He has never been enrolled in English as a Second Language services, but his mother reports he had some mild difficulty with writing in English when he moved to the United States.

Ana is studying at a different university than Luis, also in Texas. She was seven when her family left Venezuela, and eleven when she arrived in the United States. Daniela reports that Ana likes to read, especially biographies and historical fiction. Ana also plays a role in helping Carlos grow academically, checking his homework and writing assignments. She reads in both Spanish and English. She has never been enrolled in English as a Second Language services, but, like her older brother, Daniela reports she had some mild writing difficulty when she first moved to the United States.

Carlos is the only one of Julien and Daniela's children still living full-time in their household. He attends a suburban middle school; his middle school is new and does not yet have demographic data, but in the feeder elementary school where he attended last year, there were 4.4% English Language Learners and six percent Latinx students (Tennessee Department of Education, n.d. b). He was only one when his family moved from Venezuela to Costa Rica, and five when he moved to the United States. Carlos reads widely. His favorite types of books to read are biographies and what the family calls "thrillers," suspenseful literature.

Carlos is a sequential bilingual, having been in a Spanish-speaking household when he was young and later acquiring English. He began learning English in a bilingual school

environment, first in Costa Rica and later in Texas. He is fully bilingual and biliterate and has never been in enrolled in English as a Second Language services. Carlos speaks and reads both languages, although he tends to read somewhat more in English.

Parent views of education. Daniela feels that the education in public schools in the United States is inferior to that of private schools in Venezuela, where her older children attended, but that she and Julien are financially unable to put Carlos in private school in Tennessee. She especially is concerned that there are fewer resources and extra opportunities in the public school here. She also dislikes that the schools in the United States do not teach logic in-depth. Because of this, she specifically tries to give her children extra opportunities and academic enrichment.

The primary goal of Julien and Daniela for the education of their children is economic self-sufficiency. They see higher education as vital in that mission. They are dedicated to supporting all three of their children so they can go to a university and have an economically-sound future ahead of them. The children have free choice in what they study and what career path they choose.

The Fernandez Family

Family background. The Fernandez family consists of Moises and Andrea, and their children, Laury (focal child), age fifteen, and Mariana, age ten. The family fled Venezuela two years ago due to political instability and has been granted asylum by the United States government. Moises works at a local boat company designing boats. Andrea was a domestic violence attorney in Venezuela; she is currently starting a small business making and selling

tequeños, a traditional Venezuelan dish. Unlike the other two families in the study, the English of Moises and Andrea is still quite limited.

Parent education and socioeconomic status. Parent education and socioeconomic status in the Fernandez family is mixed. Moises only has the equivalent of a high school education. Andrea, however, has a specialized college degree in law. As a designer (score of 69), and food preparer (score of 13), the family is barely in the middle class (Boyd & Nam, 2015). Andrea was an attorney in Venezuela, however, a job that is at the very top of the scale with a score of 99 (Boyd & Nam, 2015). Thus, the family may have some characteristics of a high-socioeconomic family.

The Fernandez children. Laury is fifteen and attends a small, private Christian high school in suburban Courtland County. There are no English as a Second Language services at her school. The school is based on a very structured model of learning and includes curriculum like the memorization of lots of Bible verses. She is considered a very good student. Laury is a typical teenager and likes makeup. She does not read much except for what she has to read for school and the religious texts her mother encourages her to read.

Mariana is age ten and attends her zoned suburban elementary school. She is still enrolled in English as a Second Language classes, which disqualifies her as a focal child, and struggles somewhat in school. Andrea reports that it is harder for Mariana to learn than it is for Laury, and she often needs content demonstrated to learn it. Her English knowledge is still low. Mariana loves art and fashion and wants to be a graphic or interior designer someday.

The language background of the Fernandez children is complicated. Both children attended Spanish-English bilingual school from the age of two, which should make them

resemble simultaneous bilinguals, according to language acquisition theory. In actuality, however, only Laury resembles a fully-fluent, fully-bilingual young person. Mariana struggles greatly with English-language skills and literacy. This may be because of a variety of internal and external factors, but the children's language use may also be influenced more by the home language of Spanish, which the children heard more of, as it was spoken at both home and school, in contrast of English, which was only spoken at school.

Parent views of education. More than the other two families, the Fernandez family has a traditional, Latin American view of education. When talking with Andrea, she constantly brings up moral educacíon (Reese et. al, 1993), although she does not use the term. She chose Laury's school because "they discipline the child and everything is in order" (Interview, June 20, 2019). The main texts in the household, and those that were used when the children were younger, are moral and religious texts. Andrea mainly reads books about how to raise children correctly in the Christian faith. It is obvious that she sees her job as one that means building up character, although she and Moises also participate in other literacy events.

While Andrea wanted her children to attend college in the United States, even when the family lived in Venezuela, her main goal for their education is moral.: "Yo lo que espero como madre es que sean buenas, buenas personas, este../What I hope as a mother is that they are good, good people" (Interview, June 20, 2019). She desires that her children have good morals and values. Career goals are secondary to this.

Data Sources

Two data sources were used for this study, and they are interconnected. First were photographs of literacy events in homes. The second were interviews. Below, I discuss these two sources.

Photographs of Literacy Events

This study utilized photo elicitation as a primary method. In photo elicitation, a photograph is used to guide an interview (Harper, 2002). Photo elicitation was ideal for this study, because using photographs may help connect culturally-distinct worlds (Harper, 2002), in this case, my primarily English-speaking, Anglo world, and the largely Latinx, Spanish-speaking world of participants.. It also allows a deeper picture into a phenomenon than interviews alone, and is collaborative (Harper, 2002), which can serve to enhance the study.

Hamilton (2000) suggests four elements in photographs of literacy events in a model that were utilized for this study. I have organized these elements into Table 1.

This study was informed by an ethnographic lens. Ethnographic photographs are designed to show everyday moments (Hamilton, 2000, p. 22), and this study strove to uncover moments of everyday life. Families were asked to take 10 photographs of interactions in literacy events at home using disposal cameras. After two weeks, participants turned in their cameras, and I processed the photographs and used them to guide the interviews. Photographs used for this study are included in Appendices B, C, and D at the end of this document.

Table 1: Elements in Photographs of Literacy Events

Element	Description
Participants	Who is in the photo.
Settings	Where the photographs occur.
Artifacts	Tools involved in the interaction.
Activites	Actions during the literacy event.

Interviews

This study relies primarily on the interview. A qualitative interview's primary purpose is to create a conversation that leads to the telling of stories that inform the research question. The goal is to gain accounts of experiences, not necessarily just information (Ruthellen, 2013). For this study, the aim to gain the account of the experiences of family literacy in culturally and linguistically diverse families, guided by photographs. This study relies on the "ethnographic interview" (Spradley, 1979, p. 58), which is generally a set of informal discussions that allows the interviewees, or informants, to give information about their culture.

This study followed the model of a "responsive interview" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. 31). This form of interview was based on interpretive constructionist philosophy and critical theory. In a responsive interview, the goal is to discover how interviewees understand their experiences. It focuses on the interviewees' knowledge and their ease in discussing. The goal of a responsive interview is depth, not breadth. Recognizing that each interviewee has different experiences, interpretations of experiences, and knowledge, there are different, individually-tailored questions for each interviewee. Questions in a responsive interview are open-ended, and the interviewer

strives to create a comfortable and open relationship with the interviewee (Rubin & Rubin, 2012).

This interview form was a logical choice for this study for multiple reasons. First, there needed to be individuality with each interview, as each family had a different set of photographs and each family had a different situation, with variations in culture, language use, child ages, and approaches to literacy. Secondly, the focus on the comfort and experiences of the interviewees was important in this study, as Latinx families are unfortunately often marginalized in the United States and face a climate of fear in the current North American political climate. Third, the focus of building relationships fit well with family interviews.

The initial questions created for the interview questions were developed from the photographs submitted by families. Each family's questions were thus a bit different. In addition, interview questions were flexible and sometimes led to unexpected discussion. Fig. 2 gives an example of a photograph; following this is a question and an excerpt from a participant response to the question.



Fig. 2 Carlos Reading

E Sherwood: Tell me about this picture.

Daniela: If you saw, we have two pictures, different pictures. He's reading because it's important for me he choice the place for the reading. It's different with the homework. With the homework, you need a space, you need a chair, you need the tools, but when you need to read, you need only the book and you can move with the book for any place. You can go to the beach, or you can go to the mountains, or you can go to the bed, or you can go the floor. It's important, not important. It's because they can choice what is the place he feel where to read.

He felt where to read in the floor one day. Maybe he can feel where reads in the bed, or maybe in the kitchen during I made the dinner in any place.

This short dialogue is indicative of the pattern for interviews in this study. A photograph was introduced. A question was asked about the photograph, and the participant responded. In the Fernandez family, where an interpreter was present, there was also interpretation during each exchange. In this way, each interview was tailored to the specific situations of each family. The general flexible interview guide is included in Appendix A of this document.

Data Analysis Procedures

Recorded and transcribed audiotapes were coded or labeled and categorized (Flick, 2009). Coding produces concepts based on the data. Interpretation then followed. During interpretation, the information was put into context. This study used a thematic analysis, where themes explain the data. Themes were then broken into subthemes and codes and the results then presented (Flick, 2009), broken into the large categories of language schema, cultural schema, and Snow et. al's (1991) Parent as Educator Model. Fig. 3 shows the evolution of categories, themes, and codes.

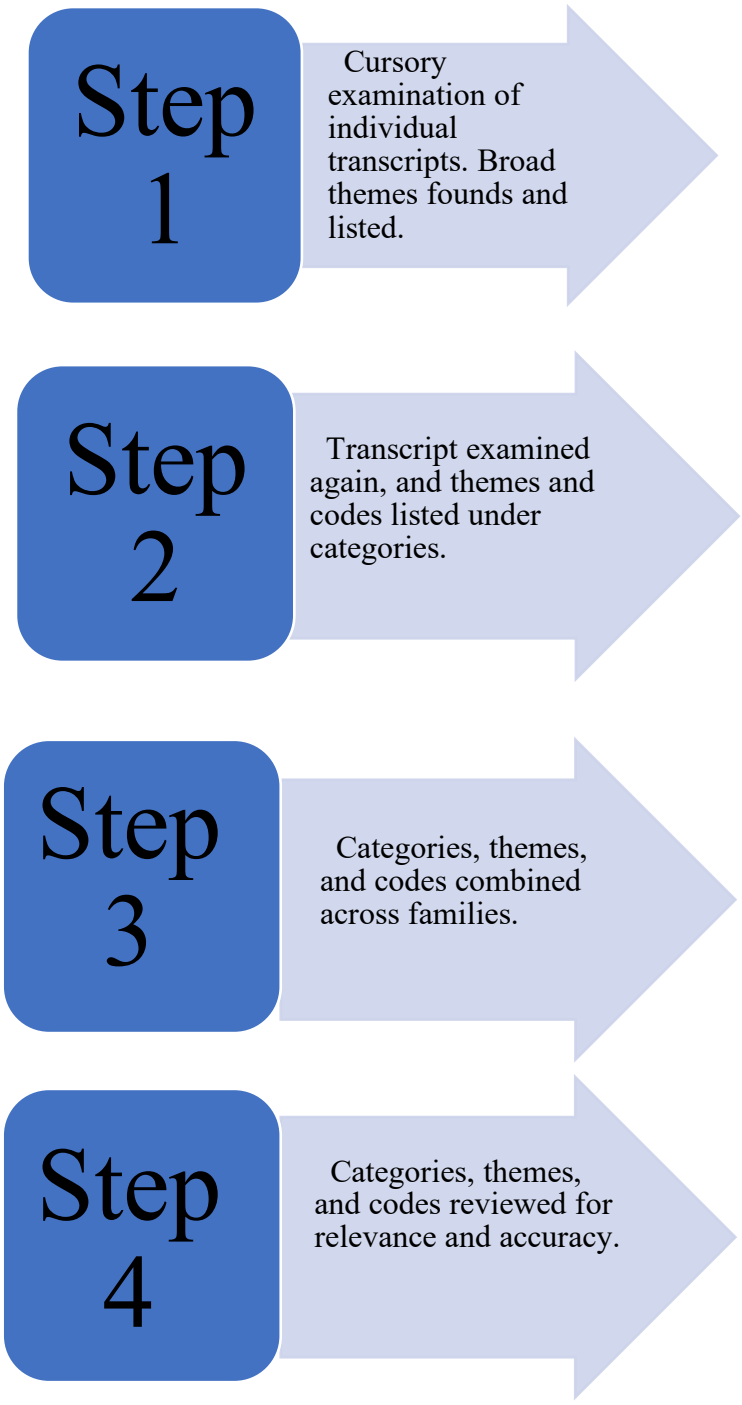


Fig.3 Evolution of Coding

To increase validity, I also used an emic informant to help me review information. An emic perspective is that of an insider in the group being studied (Harris, 1968). In this case, a member of the Latinx community was chosen. This person is originally from Guatemala, is fully bilingual and biliterate, and works with Latinx people of many backgrounds as an interpreter and youth worker. This member promoted validity through the use of a member check. In member checks, members of the group are asked to check if research findings correctly capture the experiences in a way that is fair to participants and gives meaning to their experiences. Member checking is meant to ensure that the voice of participants are heard (Given & Sage, 2008).

Study Procedures

Participating families were asked to take photographs of literacy events. Participants were each issued a disposable camera to take the pictures and asked to take at least ten pictures. I collected the photos at a time and place convenient to participants, then developed the photographs and chose photographs to use for the interview. While photographs were chosen randomly based on legible photographs, many also had to be excluded because they were identical or almost identical to other photographs. In addition, only one family took ten pictures. Table 2 details the number of pictures, usable pictures, and pictures used for each family.

Interviews took place 1-3 weeks after photographs were collected. Two of the interviews took place at the community center, and one took place at a coffeeshop . Whole families, including the successful reader, parents, siblings, and anyone else the family wished to include who has been part of the child's literacy life, were invited to the interviews. Ultimately, one interview included a mother and two school-aged children, one included a mother and one school-aged child, and one included only a mother. Two of the participating families preferred

Table 2: Photographs Collected from Each Family

Family	# of Photographs	# of Legible Photos	# of Photographs Utilized
1	10	8	4
2	5	5	4
3		4	3

conducting the interview in English; the third interview took place with the assistance of a professional interpreter. Interviews lasted from 28 minutes to 52 minutes. In keeping with the structure of a responsive interview (Rubin & Rubin, 2012), each interview had somewhat different questions.

As a reward for participation in the study, participants received five books. The books were chosen by the families. On the date of the interview, students were administered a Reading Interest Survey distributed by Scholastic Zimmerman, 2014), and also informally asked about the books they enjoyed (Reading Interest Survey is included in Appendix E). This information was only used to choose books for families, and children chose whether to receive their books in English or Spanish. In two of the three families, books were chosen for individual children, who had different linguistic and developmental needs and interests. Books were then ordered and delivered to families within two weeks of the interviews. Table 3 shows that there were varying interests for the children in participating families.

Table 3: Reward Books

Family	Child	Book Title	Author	Language	Genre	Reason Chosen
Jimenez	Myrna	*The Glass Sword*	Victoria Aveyard	English	Fantasy	Interest in fantasy, read first book in series
	Manuel	*Sloppy's Tales of Horror (Goosebumps Graphix)*	R.L. Stine	English	Horror	Interest in Series
	Miguel/ Rosa	*I Love You Sun/I Love You Moon: Te Amo Sol/Te Amo Luna*	Karen Pandell	English/Spanish	Board Book	Parent request for bilingual book, interest in board books.
		Besos for Baby: A Little Book of Kisses	Jen Arena	English/Spanish	Board Book	Parent request for bilingual book, interest in board books.
		Counting with/Contando con Frida	Patty Rodriguez	English/Spanish	Board Book	Parent request for bilingual book, interest in board books.
Caldera	Carlos	*The Lightning Dreamer: Cuba's Greatest Abolitionist*	Margarita Engle	English	Biography	Interest in biographies.
		Stormbreaker	Anthony Horowitz	English	Action	Interest in action books.
		Refugee	Alan Gratz	English	Action/Historical Fiction	Interest in action books.

Table 3 Continued

		Found	Margaret Peterson Haddix	English	Mystery	Interest in mystery books.
		The Maze Runner	James Dashner	English	Action	Interest in action books.
Fernandez	Laury	*Your own Beautiful: Advice and Inspiration from Chelsea Crockett*	Chelsea Crockett	English	Beauty	Interest in beauty.
		In Your Face: The Culture of Beauty and You	Shari Graydon	English	Beauty	Interest in beauty.
	Mariana	*Historia de la Arte Para Niños (History of Art for Children)*	Eleonara Barsotti	Spanish	Art	Interest in art.
		Taller de Dibujo para Niños- Segundo Nivel (Drawing for Children- Second Level)	Roland Borges	Spanish	Drawing	Interest in drawing.
		Tu Estillo a la Moda: Un libra de Colorerar y a la Vez Guia Sobre Cómo	Anna Zubrytska	Spanish	Fashion	Interest in Fashion.

All research procedures were subject to IRB approval and were based on IRB guidance. This included keeping participant identities confidential, avoiding potential for participant harm, and storing data safely both on paper and electronically. Consents were translated into Spanish, and an interpreter was made available. Participants had the right to discontinue participation in the study at any time. The timeline for this study is outlined in Table 4.

Conclusion

The format and methodology for this study was designed to provide rich insights into the background factors and literacy events of successful Latinx, bilingual readers. The families in this study had integral parts of the decision-making process, through photograph selection, selection of interview place and time, and reward book choice. It was the goal of this study to shed light on the important topic of culturally and linguistically diverse family literacy in a way that is empowering to families.

Table 4: Timeline for Study

Date	Tasks
February 2019	IRB application submitted.
April 2019	IRB application approved. Community center began distributing interest forms.
May 2019	Participants selected. Consent obtained. Disposable cameras distributed.
June 2019	Photographs collected. Interviews conducted.
July 2019	Data analyzed. First draft of report written.
September 2019	Member check conducted. Final report written and presented.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

To obtain findings in this study, I relied upon a system of qualitative coding. First, broad categories were identified. There are two broad sections for the coding: schema and literacy events. Schema was broken down into the two broad categories of language schema and cultural schema. Categories for literacy events were chosen based on categories listed in Snow et. al's (2001) Parents as Educators Model. Next, the categories were broken into themes. Finally, codes were identified. Section headings as reported are generally based on themes, with codes listed under the headings. Table 5 provides an overview of categories and themes. In addition to the themes listed in this chart, there are also subthemes for many themes.

The research found that each of the three families practiced literacy in different ways that worked for their families. Just as there is diversity in all family practices, there was diversity in how literacy is fostered in homes. Each family's practices were unique to their specific situations. Even within the families themselves, there was sometimes diversity in schema and practices among children.

Below, I discuss my findings about family literacy among the families I studied. I start with an overview of family literacy based on each case. Then, I discuss the family schema and literacy events. This chapter is designed to give a rich description of family literacy among families and their successful readers. Through this information, readers will get a sense of family literacy among the family studies and how the schema and literacy events varied among the families.

Family Literacy Overview

Each family practiced literacy in its own, unique way. The characteristics of each family reflect the family's unique schema and family characteristics. None of the families did things in exactly the same way. They did things "their way," in a form that worked for them.

Jimenez Family

Literacy in the Jimenez family is characterized by flexibility, individuality, and choice. The children are largely responsible for how and when reading takes place. Gloria provides a very loose framework and structure by enforcing and encouraging reading activities for her successful readers. For Myrna, this means enforcing homework and school-assigned reading. For Manuel, this also means enforcing homework, especially spelling, yet she also encourages Manuel to perform other literacy events. Some of the more salient events are reading to the younger children, writing in response to reading, and reading at all possible opportunities. Joint book reading was also a very salient activity when Myrna and Manuel were younger. There is little attention paid to what the children read and little set structure. Literacy is largely English-based.

Caldera Family

Literacy in the Caldera family is based on student choice wrapped around structure. Carlos's primary literacy activities are reading and completing homework. Like the Jimenez family, there is wide choice in books. Unlike the Jimenez family, there is a set structure for reading and homework, enforced by Andrea. Literacy in the Caldera home has language flexibility; both English and Spanish are valued as written languages.

Table 5: Categories and Themes, by Family

Category	**Theme**	**Families Involved**
Language Schema	Differs Within Families	Jimenez Fernandez
	English Literacy Rules	Jimenez Caldera Fernandez
Cultural Schema	Child Interests	Jimenez Caldera
	Role of Family	Jimenez Caldera Fernandez
	Disney	Jimenez Fernandez
	Educational Experiences	Jimenez Caldera Fernandez
Home Literacy Environment (HLE)	Joint Book Reading	Jimenez Caldera Fernandez
	Adult Modeling of Reading	Caldera Fernandez
Direct Teaching	Research Help	Caldera Fernandez
	Facilitating Homework	Jimenez Fernandez
	Creating Space and Structure for Homework	Jimenez Fernandez Caldera
Creating Opportunities to Learn	Providing Books	Jimenez Caldera
	Encouraging Lots of Reading	Jimenez Caldera
	Reading for Daily Life	Jimenez Fernandez
	Encouraging Library Use	Jimenez Caldera

Fernandez Family

The Fernandez family indirectly acquires literacy through daily life and school life. There is little free reading in the home; rather, reading is done for daily life, largely for religious and moral education. Other literacy events are based on direct instruction. Literacy events in this family are not performed just for the sake of literacy or improving literacy skills; they are byproducts of actions meant to provide education or help children acquire school content.

While there are many overlaps that will be discussed later in this chapter, each family has widely different ways of doing family literacy. Why the differences? This next section explores that with a discussion of schema. The schema of each family influences how literacy events occur.

Schema

The families in this study all carry schema, or background knowledge (Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983) that they use to create literacy events that work for them. Some of the literacy events are intentional and others are just part of the families' daily lives. The schema varies greatly by family, however. It even varies somewhat among family members, who have had different language and cultural experiences which they employed in order to bridge the cultures of Latin America and that of the United States. Fig. 4 shows a graphic organizer of primary family schema.

Language Schema

While all three families speak English and Spanish to a degree and also read both languages to some extent, there are wide variations on language use.. Sometimes, there is variation even within families. I detail these language use patterns below, and Fig. 6 describes family language schemas.

Language schema differs within families. Individual family members within families had varying language schemas. Some family members know English better than Spanish; others know hardly any English. Some are biliterate, and some are only literate in one language. The differences in schemas are largely based on the situation of each individual: educational situation, age at entering the United States, parent language use, and language exposure.

Among the three families in the study, the Jimenez family has the widest variation in language schema. Myrna's early childhood was almost entirely Spanish-based. Spoken language was entirely in Spanish. Her mother and, to a lesser extent, her grandparents read to her in Spanish, and participated in other literacy events, namely grandparents teaching vocabulary through television. She describes how her grandparents increased her vocabulary:

Myrna: Whenever we watch TV, they would tell me what it said on the screen

E. Sherwood: You learned a lot of words orally?

Myrna: Yes, It was through speech (Interview, June 10, 2019).

Myrna did not learn English until she went to school, where she rapidly acquired English. Myrna is now totally bilingual and biliterate in both English and Spanish, with the ability to read complex texts in both languages. She has very strong schema in both languages which, based on the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981) could be part of the reason why she has been

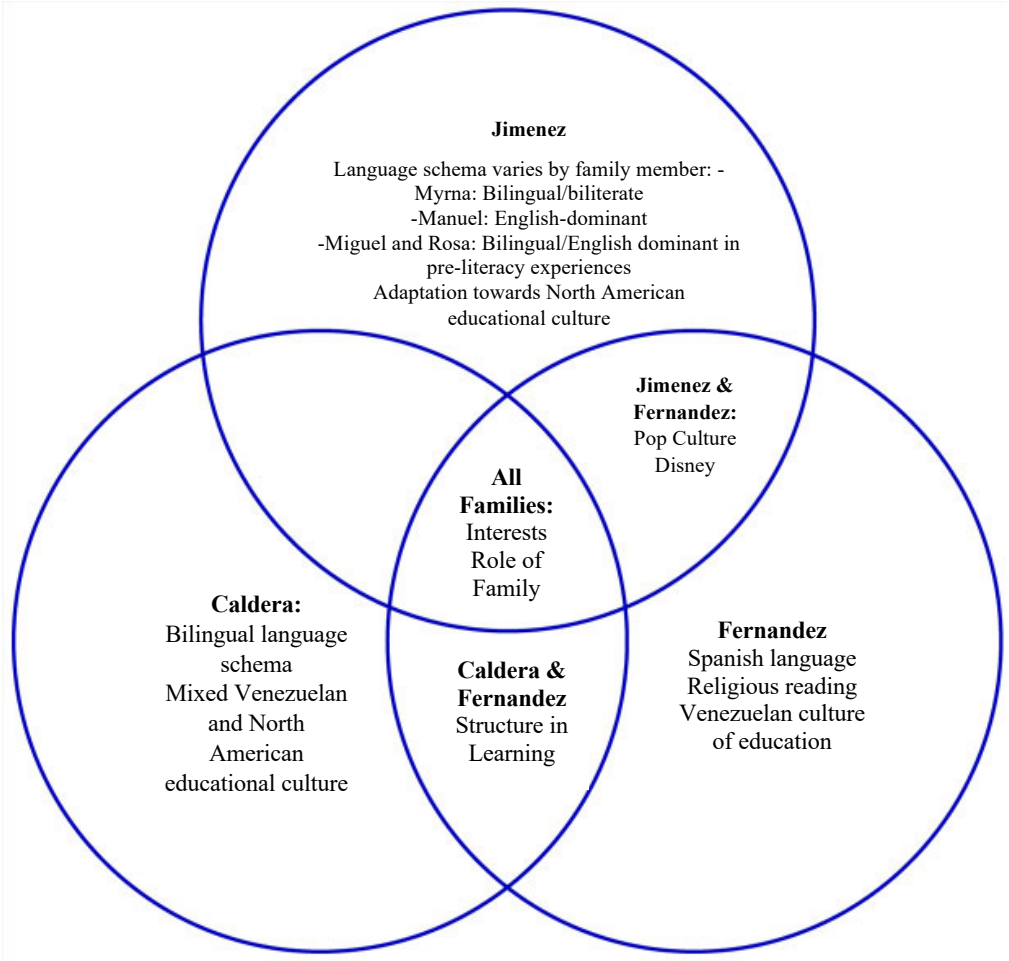


Fig. 4 Participant Schema

successful in school. As a sequential bilingual, she got a plethora of language input in both languages. She reads more in English, largely because of lack of availability of books in Spanish in Courtland County and because of English-only curriculum, which may make her more English-dominant in language schema, but she has a strong schematic base of both languages.

Manuel's language schema is very different from Myrna's. This is a result of language choices Gloria made when her children were small. With Myrna, she spoke Spanish almost exclusively. When Manuel was born, however, she felt that he would benefit from being in an English-dominant household, as English was spoken at school. Manuel became English-dominant. Manuel now claims that he cannot read Spanish at all. He reports that he had some ability when he was young but lost it as he entered formal education. "When I was young I was better at talking Spanish than reading Spanish but since everywhere around everybody just talks English I forgot it all," he says. (Interview, June 10, 2019). As both Myna and Manuel have strong reading skills in English, it may be that Manuel received enough spoken language in his home language (Ardasheva et. al, 2012) to acquire English at school. The English he learned as a young child may have helped him to be academically successful early on and avoid English as a Second Language classes.; were the languages learned more simultaneously, he may have struggled more in his early grades of school. This came at a cost, however, of loss of the first language. His schema is based almost entirely on English. While both students are successful readers, they have very different schema.

Likewise, in the Fernandez family, each child has different language schema. Laury has strong English schema, while Mariana has limited English language schema. This is despite having roughly equal exposure to English in their educational careers and at home. Laury's

stronger English schema may be one variable that influences her success in school. The input Laury received was enough to form successful simultaneous bilingualism in all areas, but with her sister, it was not.

English literacy rules. All three families have members that claim biliteracy yet read primarily in English. This makes these children's literacy more English dominant. There are, however, individual differences in written language schema even between children. I discuss this below.

As someone whose early literacy life was almost entirely Spanish-based, Myrna's literacy has shifted towards English. She now claims biliteracy but reads mainly in English. This is largely because of a lack of Spanish texts available in Courtland County. "I never check out books in Spanish. At the Courtland Library, to where we always go, they have a really small section," says Myrna. Myrna also has to read large amounts of text in English for school. She explains her assigned readings in the quote below:

> For English, this year-- I mean for English last year when I was a freshman, we had three assigned readings. This year, I had to do four choice books over the summer and then two assigned readings. During the year, I read seven books. Yes, it's a lot (Interview, June 10, 2019).

Thus, while Myrna's schema in Spanish is strong, it is more English-based on a daily basis.

In the Caldera family, there is also a large difference between spoken and written language. Spanish is exclusively spoken at home. The children speak Spanish with their parents and among themselves. For reading however, English is prominent. Daniela reports that all three children read very well in both English and Spanish. The children read much more in English

than Spanish, however. Daniela explains Carlos's reading patterns: Yes, he reads in English, but I tried. I try, he reads in Spanish maybe one book a month, or maybe every two months" (Interview, June 13, 2019). The older children, likewise, occasionally read "big books"(Interview, June 13, 2019) in Spanish; Luis just read *Cien Anos de Soledad (100 Years of Solitude)*. The Caldera family has an abundance of books in Spanish. Most of the Spanish books Carlos reads are passed down from the older children, and sometimes the family gets books in Spanish from the library as well. The children have the chance to read whatever they want at home in English or Spanish.

In Laury's case, reading is mostly done for school. Since her school is English-only, she reads mainly in English. This preference shifts over to other types of reading as well. When Andrea wanted to buy Laury a devotional book, she did so in English as she thought she could understand it better. Laury requested her reward books for her family participating in the study in English as well, unlike her sister.

These situations show how society affects schema. Both in Courtland County and at the universities the older Caldera children attend in Texas, the medium of instruction is English. Thus, children get almost all their exposure to academic language in English. This leads all the children to read more in English in school and thus develop more English schema. As a community with relatively low levels of diversity, books written in English for an English-speaking audience are also the norm in Courtland County. When Carlos read the "thrillers" that are popular with his friends, he reads them in the English they were written in. When Myrna goes to look for a book about gardening, odds are it will be in English. Just by living in an area with high English resources and low Spanish ones, schema is affected.

Cultural Schema

In addition to linguistic schema, families also have cultural schema that they use to create literacy events. As with linguistic schema, the schema is based largely on both the individual families and the society in which the families find themselves. A discussion of cultural schema by theme is below.

Child interests. In the Jimenez and Caldera families, child interests are a key part of schema, largely influencing book choices that allow students to access texts. Carlos likes suspense books and biographies. Myrna prefers realistic fiction or books that help her learn new skills:

> I either like fictional books that can be based off real life. Stuff that could happen but someone just made it up, or stuff like that, cookbooks, or stuff to start a garden, or stuff to learn how to sew. Stuff like that (Interview, June 10, 2019).

Manuel likes action books, especially books from the *Goosebumps* series.

Role of family. In Latin American families, family members other than parents often help with family literacy events of children (Volk, 1999; Volk & de Acoasta, 2004). In every family in the study, family members, mostly siblings but also grandparents, have practiced or practiced literacy with children. The Jimenez family is the strongest in this form of schema, developing literacy events specifically designed for the older siblings to interact with the younger ones. Fig. 3 shows an example of Manuel and Miguel reading. There was also great involvement from grandparents when Myrna was young. Gloria describes children reading during car trips to Michigan to see family: "That's a long drive so then when we go she (Myrna) reads to them or he reads to them. We pack some books. If not, they just look—she (Rosa) just

likes to look at the books, he (Miguel) likes to read the books" (Interview, June 10, 2019). This practice not only helps the younger children acquire language; it also gives the older children practice reading. Both the Caldera and Fernandez families utilize siblings for help with learning at school. In all these cases, extended family is a resource used for literacy development.

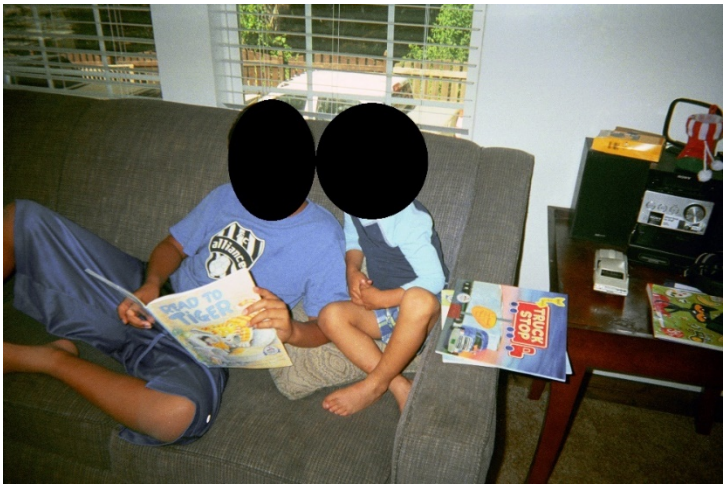


Fig. 5 Manuel and Miguel Reading

Disney. Both the Jimenez and Fernandez families mentioned the use of Disney in book choices, especially for joint reading practices. Gloria enrolled in a Disney book program when Myrna was young. She describes Myrna's interactions with the Disney book below:

> I just ordered her like, if she saw Micky and the cover was like "where is the red ball"? We still have some books there yes. I would read those to her. Then I got her the other books. We still have them too, but they were bigger. She always had books and she would look at the pictures and make something from those pictures (Interview, June 10, 2019).

Andrea also read Disney books to her children when they were young. “Ahá. O los cuentos tradicionales de no-de... qué se yo. De Dumbo, Pinocchio, eh, este. /So, and also the kid's books like Pinocchio, Dumbo or... the elephant” (Interview, June 20, 2019).

Disney is a global concept, with large popularity and animated television in both the United States and Latin America (Artz, 2015). Thus, the knowledge of Disney characters spans the bridge of the cultures of home and the predominant society of the United States. It creates schema that can be used for literacy events.

Educational experiences. Each of the families has spent a different amount of time in the United States and has a different cultural frame of reference to the education system of North American society and their home cultures. They thus have a different level of adaptation towards family literacy (Hammer et. al, 2007; Reese et. al, 2000). Essentially, the Jimenez family has a North American frame of reference, the Caldera family has one in-between that of the United States and their home country, and the Fernandez family retains a cultural schema of the Venezuelan educational culture.

North American view of education. The Jimenez family has a traditional North American view towards education. Literacy is flexible and based on child interests and needs. There is little to no evidence of educational cultural schema typically found in Mexican culture. Gloria was influenced by North American teachers for many of the choices she made about literacy decisions, especially involving language use. This view of education may be influenced both by experiences of Gloria in Mexico, and also the long length of time Gloria has been in the United States.

Mesh of educational cultures. The Caldera family meshes the traditional educational schema of Venezuela with that of the United States. Like the Jimenez family, they create literacy events that are based on child choice and interests. On the other hand, the Caldera family still retains some of the traditional educational and literacy schema of Venezuela. Daniela believes that the Venezuelan system of education is superior to that of the United States because it provides more opportunities. Therefore, it is important to her to provide opportunities on top of those her children can get from school. The hybridity of the Caldera family's schema is largely influenced by its situation: relatively new to the United States, but with strong bilingual and bicultural backgrounds, including living and working in three countries. Individual family characteristics, including education in the home country, may also be a factor in the educational decisions of the family.

Venezuelan model of education. The Fernandez family operates largely on a traditional Venezuelan model of education, with little adaptation to a North American system. This model includes strong moral development, discipline, and teaching of direct skills. Every literacy decision is made based on this framework. Andrea displays frustration with not understanding the public North American school system Mariana attends, although she likes Laury's private school, based on a traditional education, better.

Literacy Events

Linguist Shirley Brice Heath writes that literacy events, in which children interact with written language, take place on a community level, and vary by culture (Heath, 1982). The families in this study straddle between two cultures: that of their own family and that of Tennessee. The cultures, in these cases, are very different. The families combine their schema

with that of their adopted country to create unique literacy events. These literacy events contribute to their children's education. Below is a description of the literacy events, categorized by Snow et. al's (1991) Parents as Educator Model.

Events Related to the Home Literacy Environment

The Home Literacy Environment (HLE) has been found to predict successful literacy in bilingual, Latinx children (Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008; Reese et. al, 1995). HLE is loosely defined as a home environment that promotes literacy development of children. The HLE of each family varied greatly, with wide variation to the events and how they are performed. It is to these events I now turn.

Joint book reading. Joint book reading was found in some form or fashion with all three families. Only the Jimenez family is currently practicing joint book reading; the others practiced joint book reading when their children were younger. As with every other literacy event in this study, what and how joint book reading occurs or occurred varies by family. None of the three families practice or practice joint book reading in a traditional North American way. There was no discussion of text cited, as is recommended by experts in the United States (Edwards, 1995; Strickland & Morrow, 1990), and it was not always reported as being done by parents, in the way joint book reading is often viewed in the United States (Edwards, 1995; Strickland & Morrow, 1990). Books were not even always read in the hopes of helping children with pre-literacy. Instead, families practice or practiced joint book reading in ways that worked with their schemas to help their children succeed. Furthermore, the Jimenez family utilized joint book reading to help Myrna and especially Manuel acquire better reading skills through reading to younger children.

Language use in joint book reading. In the Caldera and Fernandez household, joint book reading took place entirely in Spanish. In the Jimenez family, however, joint book reading takes and took place in multiple languages. When Myrna was young, the reading was done mostly in Spanish. With Miguel, it was done in English, in an effort to get him ready to school.

Joint book reading based on family culture and characteristics. The Jimenez and Fernandez families largely base or have based their joint book reading practices on the families' culture and characteristics. The Jimenez family's joint reading practices are largely based on the large size of the family and opportunities for Manuel and Myrna to practice reading to children. In the Fernandez family, the family's strong cultural background in religion is key to joint book reading.

A key literacy event for Myrna and especially Manuel is reading to Miguel, who loves being read to. Manuel reads to Miguel at least 30 minutes a day, and often more. "We wake up, we eat breakfast. Then sometimes I do it in the morning to right about now," says Manuel (the interview took place at 11:30 AM, meaning Manuel sometimes spends entire mornings reading to children). Myrna and Manuel also read to children on long car trips to Michigan.

When her children were young, the primary text Andrea used for joint book reading was a children's Bible, written in Spanish. Faith is very important to the Fernandez family. Thus, Andrea took her religious schema and created literacy events with it. This fits her educational schema of educating for moral reasons.

Adult modeling of reading. Both the Caldera and Fernandez family have adults who model reading for children. In the Caldera family, Daniela reads widely, mostly in Spanish, and mostly non-fiction books. In the Fernandez family, Andrea widely reads Christian parenting

books: "Porque los libros cristianos es de educación para padres, como criar a las hijas.../So the Christian books are mainly more for parents and to teach them how you educate your kids"(Interview, June 20, 2019). Parent modeling is a predictor of child reading achievement (Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008), thus, the parents are helping their children by modeling reading. They are using their language and cultural schema, based on Spanish and religious instruction, to help their children learn.

Direct Teaching

Each family showed some evidence of direct teaching. Direct teaching, however, was primarily done in the context of help with school-based assignments. Each family, in some form or fashion, helps enforce and facilitate school-based assignments for their children. The way this is done, however, varies between and within families. Each child has a different pattern for getting assignments done for school.

Research help. Both the Fernandez and Caldera families mentioned helping children with research projects. Andrea describes a project where she helped Mariana get information and plan for a school project:

> Eh, sí, una de las cosas que hicimos cuando llegamos este, me saqué el carné de la biblioteca pública de acá, y este, yo buscaba libros eh, el año desde que llegamos, buscando libros para-que ellas necesitaban para la escuela. Mariana por lo menos hizo el año pasado, por ejemplo, de Mary Todd Lincoln entonces buscando la historia, ahá, Laury representó a Marie Curie entonces también buscando la historia de varios libros, este…./Yes, since I've got here, one of the first things I did is get a library card and I usually uses it for um, for the girls if they have to check for a book or something like,

> their project um, Mariana and Laury did is they have to like search-well, Mariana had to do a research on Mary Todd Lincoln where she had to perform and she had to have like back information, information on-information on her, Laury represented Marie Curie and also searched for various books….(Interview, June 20, 2019).

In this case, the girls worked together for a joint community-based school-like project at the community center. Andrea used her schema of school as a place of structure and opportunities to help her daughters succeed. In the meantime, the children had the opportunity to practice research and writing skills.

Daniela correlates the need for research help with what she perceives as a lack of opportunity in the public schools of the United States. She relates how she helps Carlos with research projects:

> You need a new book or you need to find something for the electricity or you need to do any project. I try to find information for them because for my oldest kids they studied in Venezuela in the private school there, they have a different opportunity to my youngest kid (Interview, June 13, 2019).

Facilitating homework. For their children in the upper grades, there is often a hands-off role for parents in assisting with homework. Laury and Myrna are both very independent and do their homework independently; Laury is shown doing homework in Figure 6. Their mothers,



Fig.6 Laury doing Homework

however, help them in various small ways to get their homework done. Andrea reports that Laury often asks her mother a word in Spanish if she does not know it; alternately she sometimes "usa el celular para ayudarse/uses the cell phone for help" (Interview, June 20, 2019). In the pictures submitted by Andrea, however, a parent is always nearby to help supervise learning.

Gloria acts as a motivator for Myrna when she finds it hard to finish reading a book she has to read for school. This exchange below discusses this:

E. Sherwood: What do you do to motivate yourself when you have to?

Myrna: If I have to read for school I tell my mom and then she's like, "Why aren't you reading what you're supposed to be reading."

E. Sherwood: You would force it.

Myrna: Yes. That's why I tell her because I know that then she will tell me something or I'll read to her sometimes.

Gloria: Yes, because she's like, "I have to read four chapters by Friday and it's like Wednesday." I'm like, "Okay, then let's start reading," and then she reads to me (Interview, June 10, 2019).

This quote reflects the child-directed pattern of learning at the Jimenez home. Myrna takes the lead in the situation and independently comes to her mother for help Gloria does not hover or check on Myrna's work, as a middle-class White mother might do. Rather, Myrna simply reads to Gloria so she gets the reading done. Gloria serves as a warm body to help her child succeed but takes no active role in the situation; rather, Myrna directs the steps to make her own learning possible. She uses her own schema of her school culture plus her individual awareness of the need for motivation to create a literacy event that works for her.

During the previous school year, Gloria also helped Manuel practice his spelling words. He had about twenty words a week. Manuel's teacher emailed Gloria his words, and Gloria tested him on the words Monday-Thursday. Gloria corrected the words Manuel did not know, and Manuel had to practice writing the words over until he knew them. As with other things in the Jimenez house, this was largely student-driven; Manuel decided if he wanted to practice the words or not. "He would practice that at school too, so that was just if he wanted to practice at home more," says Gloria (Interview, June 10, 2019). This honors Gloria's schema of education, which is flexible.

Creating space and structure for homework. The families each have created a space and time to do homework. This is in spite of what is sometimes cramped conditions and the busy schedules of family members. It is important for the families that their children have a place to do work.

In both the Jimenez and Fernandez families, the kitchen table is a primary site for learning. In the Jimenez family, only Miguel does homework at the kitchen table. This space is chosen because Gloria is often in the kitchen. At the kitchen table, she can help him. In the

Fernandez home, both daughters work at the kitchen table. This is for practical reasons. The apartment where they live is relatively small for four people, and the table is the only good place to work:

> Es el-la-viv-vivimos en un apartamento, es bien pequeño, dos habitaciones, dos baños. Y-y este es un-una mesa, es la única mesa que tengo para comer y ellas hacer la tarea./So this-this here is our very small apartment we live in and it has two bedrooms and two bathrooms and where Mariana is doing her homework it in the only table we have in the house. This is where we eat dinner and this is where the girls do their homework (Interview, June 20, 2019).

The Caldera family provides a desk full of school supplies for Carlos to do his homework and complete school-related tasks; a photograph of this workspace is included in Fig.7 . Daniela describes the reason for the space below:

> I like it my kids have the space for the homework, I like it in this space they have all tools, they have the scissors, the pens, the pencil, the colors, the glue, everything in the same space….I think the most important for us in the house is they have this space, and they the tools in the same place in the house. When they need to start to do the homework, they do their homework (Interview, June 13, 2019).

Both the Caldera and Fernandez families have a set schedule for homework. This is based on their educational schema that values structure and discipline. The two ways the families implement the structure, however, are a bit different.

As shown in Fig. 8, the Caldera family has a large calendar that tells Carlos what he will do every minute of the day. There is a section for homework or reading. During the summer,

homework turns into reading. It is a schedule, part of a system that Daniela has used for all three of her children. She describes it:

> I like it to work with my three kids, and now who is the youngest, I used the schedule and when they start the new school year, we made together the new schedule for the next year. We talking about this, "Okay, this is your responsibility, do you want to maybe homework maybe after school, or do you want to rest for one hour so we'll start the homework maybe after, or do you want to read before go to the bed, or do you want to read in the morning?" Is their choice, but we put everything for granted, is like a contract (Interview, June 13, 2019).

The Fernandez family also has a set time for homework. In its case, homework begins about two hours after the children get home from school:

> Luego que llegan del-de la escuela, descansan un rato, un rato bastante [LAUGH] A veces y... y, no sé, luego de dos horas por decirle, co-comienzan a hacer las tareas/ After they get home from school, they rest for a while, a little while [LAUGH] Sometimes and

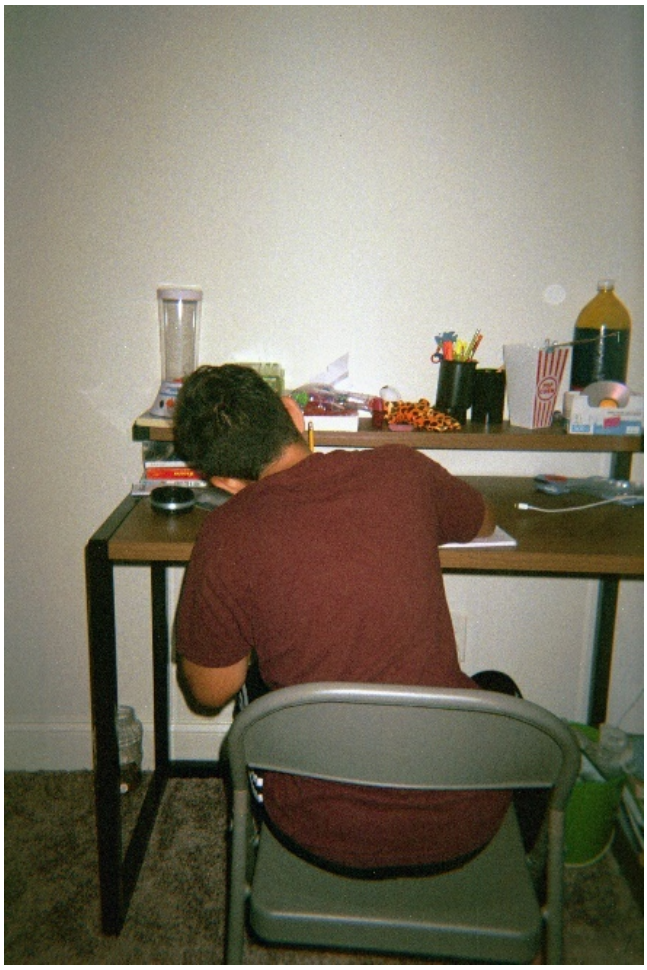


Fig. 7 Carlos Doing Homework

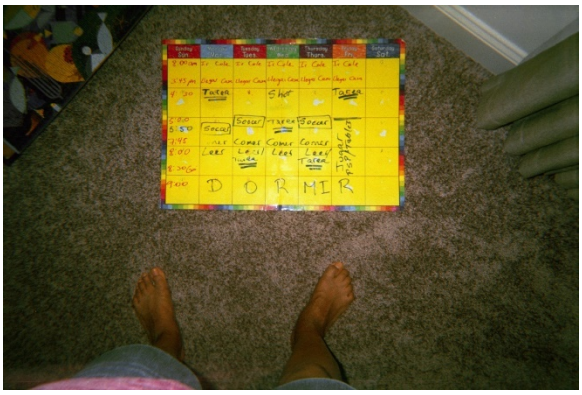


Fig. 8 Caldera Family Calendar

> ... and, I do not know, after two hours to tell you, they co-start doing homework (Interview, June 20, 2019).

> I like it to work with my three kids, and now who is the youngest, I used the schedule and when they start the new school year, we made together the new schedule for the next year. We talking about this, "Okay, this is your responsibility, do you want to maybe homework maybe after school, or do you want to rest for one hour so we'll start the homework maybe after, or do you want to read before go to the bed, or do you want to read in the morning?" Is their choice, but we put everything for granted, is like a contract (Interview, June 13, 2019).

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Creating Opportunities to Learn

Snow et. al's (1991) third category is creating opportunities to learn. The families in this study did events in this category in abundance. They used their unique schema, based on their cultures, home resources, and community resources, to develop events that gave their children

literacy opportunities they otherwise might not have. This section explains these literacy events in-depth.

Providing books. In Fig. 9, a picture submitted by the Jimenez family, Manuel is sitting at a table in the living room reading a *Goosebumps* book. The table is covered with other books of various genres and reading levels. This is but one place that the Jimenez family keeps books. "I have books everywhere," says Gloria (Interview, June 10, 2019).



Fig. 9 Manuel Reading at the Book Table

Indeed, there is copious access to books in the Jimenez home. There is the book table in the living room where books of all types are kept. The Jimenez family describes book locations in their home:

Gloria: In the living room, we have a table.

Myrna: It's just more books. Just books and stuff [crosstalk]

Gloria: Then we have the other room where they [Miguel and Rosa] have the toys and we have a bookshelf. It's full of books, too.

Myrna: Then there's downstairs where the tv and stuff is.

Gloria: He (Manuel) has books in his room, the ones that he read, like *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* (Interview, June 10, 2019).

Myrna, an avid reader, utilizes "Brunswick's," a used bookstore, to get books. She reads books, then takes them to Brunswick's and gets credit and buys new books. In this way, she is able to read with little financial investment. She takes herself to Brunswick's now, but when she was younger, Gloria took her and assisted her in choosing books. Below, Gloria and Myrna talk about Brunswick's:

Myrna: I have this bookshelf in my room. I don't really have that many books because what I do with my books, if I do want to get some is go to Brunswick's. I get books and then I just go to Brunswick and get credit and then get more books. It's just cycling them out….

E. Sherwood: Who takes you to Brunswick's?

Myrna: Me.

E. Sherwood: Okay, you're old enough now.

Myrna: Yes.

E. Sherwood: When you were younger, did you take them?

Myrna: My mom, yes.

Gloria: Yes, we'll go there and she would just switch whatever she wants.

Myrna: In Michigan, I didn't really know that that was a thing, so when we moved here, I had a lot of books from when I was a kid and I gave him [Manuel]some, or I just traded them all in at once. I got some money and then some other books. That's what I've been doing.

Gloria: Right now, she has a bag that we need to take to Brunswick's so she can get more books now that the school year is going to start.

The Caldera family also has a variety of books, both in English and Spanish. The books were largely handed down to Carlos by his older brother and sister. The family values books and reading.

Encouraging lots of reading. Both the Jimenez and Caldera families encourage lots of reading of multiple texts, of the children's choosing. In fig. 10, a photograph submitted by the Jimenez family, Manuel sits in the family car, calmly reading a *Goosebumps* book. The car is



Fig. 10 Manuel Reading in Car

just one place where Gloria encourages reading (Interview, June 10, 2019). Gloria is very insistent that Manuel read, enforcing it when he would rather "play, run, jump, run." Gloria

adapts the schema of the family: the culture of reading lots of books, as well as the situation of long car rides, to enforce reading for her son.

In the Caldera family, 30 minutes a day is allotted for homework or reading. Daniela keeps a variety of books in both Spanish and English for Carlos to read. She allows him to read wherever and whatever he wants:

> He's reading because it's important for me he has choice in the place for the reading. It's different with the homework. With the homework, you need a space, you need a chair, you need the tools, but when you need to read, you need only the book and you can move with the book for any place. You can go to the beach, or you can go to the mountains, or you can go to the bed, or you can go the floor. It's important, not important. It's because they can choice what is the place he feel where to read (Interview, June 13, 2019).

Myrna is interested in realistic fiction, but more interested in practical nonfiction that helps her learn practical skills. She recently checked out a book from the library about gardening, because that is something she is interested in. She also likes to collect recipes. Recently, Myrna baked some cookies with her friend. They used the back of the recipe on the back of the box to bake the cookies (Interview, June 10, 2019), a unique form of using environmental print. She also desires to collect cookbooks. "She wants to get books, cooking. She'll want to read about that, and what's healthy and what's good. She always likes to do it," says Gloria (Interview , June 10, 2019).

Reading for daily life. In both the Jimenez and Fernandez families, reading is often done indirectly in the course of daily life. This reading draws on child interests, as in the Jimenez

family, and the cultural and religious background of the family, as in the Fernandez family. Below, I give a discussion of these literacy events.

"Casi que es-siempre hacemos devocionales de la Biblia/Almost what it is, we always do Bible devotionals" (Interview, June 20, 2019), says Andrea.

When the Fernandez children were young, they were primarily read to from a children's Bible. Recently, Andrea gave Laury what she describes as books of "consejos" (Valdés, 1996, p.125), a book meant to give advice. She describes the books:

> Laury tiene libritos-ultima-o sea-a ella le com-le compré algo como más sencillo porque no po-a-es a-tiene eh, es adolescente, tiene... y está como, bueno, cambio de pers-de personalidad, ¿verdad? de personalidad. Entonces le compré un libro sencillo, eso lo lee en las noches, antes siempre de acostarse. Eh, de pocas palabras./ Isabela has simple books because she cannot, is a teenager, has ... and is like, well, change of pers -of personality, right? of personality. Then I bought her a simple book, that he reads at night, before always going to bed. Eh, of few words.

The Fernandez family takes their Christian beliefs and harnesses it for increased literacy.

The Jimenez family plays board games involving written text, especially *Monopoly* and *The Game of Life*. This encourages the children, especially Manuel, to read. Myrna notes that Manuel sometimes tries to get her to read the cards because he does not like it: "Sometimes, he's so bad about reading those. Sometimes he's like read the card to me because he doesn't want to read" (Interview, June 10, 2019). Gloria says this is because he had difficulty reading the text, but he is able to read them "more and more" (Interview, June 10, 2019).

Encouraging library use. Both the Jimenez and Caldera families frequent libraries. The Jimenez family frequents a library near their home. The children often borrow books there that they enjoy reading. Generally the books are in English, because there is a very small section of Spanish books. Myrna often chooses realistic fiction, or nonfiction books that have a practical purpose. Recently, Myrna began a garden, with help from a book from the library.

The Caldera family also frequents their local library. Daniela reports that her family can generally find books they like. Like the Jimenez family, library staff sometimes assists with helping to find books: “We have a lot of books there, or maybe when we didn't find any book, we can talk with the person and they can look for the book for me. It's great” (Interview, June 13, 2019). Unlike the Jimenez family, the Calderas family often borrows Spanish books from the library, but at a lower rate than English books. “…maybe when we go to the library, we take maybe one book in Spanish” (Interview, June 13, 2019), says Daniela.

Conclusion

Each individual in each family in this study has a unique schema that is used to create literacy events. The schemas and literacy events are uniquely tailored to the individual situation of each individual and family. A wide variety of factors contribute to the schema and literacy events of the family. It is not just as simple as the primary home language of the parent or the culture from which the family originates. It is complex and depends on how families adapt to the culture of the United States to create a bridge. The next chapter analyzes how these individual factors and adaptations influence child literacy achievement.

CHAPTER 5

INTERPRETATION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter takes the findings and marries it with research to explain what the information found in this study really means in the grand scheme of the phenomenon of family literacy in bilingual families where children attend English-only schools. While the findings are correlational, they show how family literacy works in some situations to provide for children's literacy and, in one case, how they do not. This chapter is broken up into four sections. First, I give some limitations to this study and its findings. Secondly, I discuss some key findings seen across the families in the study. Next, I discuss the individual "bridges" of the successful readers in the study. Finally, I give some implications and interpretations based on this study.

Limitations of Study

Due to logistical, ethical, and legal concerns, parents self-reported the grades and English Language Learner status of their children to determine eligibility of this study. Use of a rather subjective measure such as grades to define who is a "successful" reader has less validity than a more objective measure such as standardized test scores. Likewise, parent self-reporting of grades and English Language Learner status is less valid than having concrete information from school records. While there is no reason to believe that any of the information presented in these findings are inaccurate or misrepresented, the use of this criteria is not as valid as it might be with more objective data sources that have been verified through official records.

A multitude of factors also exist that affect a child's reading development and success, such as teacher effectiveness and school practices. Some schools also encourage family-based reading practices outside of school; a key example of this is that some schools have reading

motivation programs where children are encouraged to read outside of school and earn points for passing quizzes about books. School variables and factors were outside the scope of this research study. While this study presents some information about family literacy practices that lead to successful reading, therefore, it does not give all the reasons why a child might be successful.

Each family was given instructions about how to choose and document literacy events. Despite these instructions, however, families had subjective interpretations of what a literacy event was. Specifically, all three families interpreted "text" as that which was a book or homework assignment made from paper. There was little mention of technology in interviews, and technology was not portrayed as a primary text in any photograph. In a digital age, this lack of discussion of technology does not encompass the wide variety of literacy that is found in North American homes.

While the findings are important to the limited body of research about family literacy in Latinx families, they should be considered with findings from other studies, as well as current and future research on bilingual literacy and family literacy. Future research should consider more stringent methods of criteria and interpretation.

Discussion of Key Findings

There are multiple key findings in this study that can provide light on the research question: "What does family literacy look like for the families of culturally diverse children who are highly successful readers?" While these findings are descriptive, they give an idea of some practices that some bilingual families use to promote literacy success. Below, I discuss these findings in light of the research on literacy. What does successful family literacy look like for these families?

There is Privilege in the Home

It was very hard to get a sample for this study. Out of all the families the community serves, only four were identified. Of the three families who ultimately became a part of the study, all show a high level of privilege, defined as "the outcome of advantages some have and others do not" (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017, p. 81). All three families in the study could be considered middle-class by the Nam & Boyd (2016) scale. Research suggests that socioeconomic status leads to more family expenditures on educational enrichment and opportunities (Kaushal et. al, 2011), and this rings true with these families. One of the families has the ability to send their child to a private school, and one can enroll their son in a summer speed reading program. The third is able to provide their child with transportation to travel to and from a magnet school each day. Andrea is the only mother who works full-time, and she has a flexible job. Culturally and linguistically diverse families are more likely than the North American population at large to live in poverty (Haynes et. al, 2006); these families have major socioeconomic privilege that many of their counterparts simply do not have, privilege that enables them to help their children achieve literacy success.

There is also privilege in the education backgrounds of the families. Two of the three families have at least one parent with a college degree or higher. One family consists of two advanced degree holders. Only one family has what could be termed a low level of education. Parent education is found to be highly correlated with higher educational achievement of children (Chiu & Chow, 2015; Crosnoe et. al, 2016), and this is reflected in my study as well.

In addition, there is linguistic privilege among both parents and children in the families. Two of the three families have children who attended bilingual education programs before moving to Tennessee, something which is found to be advantageous to later academic success (Thomas & Collier, 2002). Among parents, two of the three families have parents that speak high levels of English. The one family where parents do not speak English well is the family where not all children are currently successful readers, backing up research that suggests that parent language proficiency affects child proficiency (Boyce et. al, 2004).

In short, the privileges of these families gives them advantages that contribute to the success of their children. Other families without this privilege would likely have a more difficult time producing successful readers. The effect of having privilege is strong. This is true despite diverse family literacy practices.

Language Use Varies

Two of the three families in this study have a parent or parents that are fully bilingual, and all of the successful readers in the study primarily read in English. Several studies (Baker et. al, 2014; Boyce et. al, 2004;Duursma et. al, 2007; Schick, 2013) suggest that the English language skills of the parent correlate with the English reading success of children. This appears to be the case in this study as well.

At the same time, most of the children in the study have strong bilingual abilities. Two of the families have children who attended bilingual schools, and the third has a child who is fully biliterate. This suggests that the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981) and threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1979) are supported and that language transfer (Faerch & Kasper, 1987) is largely positive. As in Thorardottir's (2019) study, it does not appear that there is a large

difference between simultaneous and sequential bilinguals; it is the amount of language input that is important rather than the timing.

At the same time, Manuel has limited bilingualism and no biliteracy, yet he is a successful reader. There are multiple reasons why this might be. He may have received a high enough threshold (Cummins, 1979) in Spanish that he was able to acquire English. Alternately, he may resemble more of a monolingual speaker as his mother primarily spoke to him in English when he was young; therefore, there is not the need for a threshold.

In light of Gee (2008), high English skills, either in parents or children, are considered valid. The parents can foster English literacy in their children, and the children use the English literacy they know to succeed in school. In the context of an English-only education system, Spanish is not particularly valued, and English holds a much higher and more acceptable place in school culture. Thus, while bilingualism may support the language development of the children, it is seen as useful to the school only as a mechanism to help the children learn English. As Manuel's case demonstrates, English counts more than Spanish in determining English success in an English-only environment.

Literacy Events Are Based on the Individual Cultures and Characteristics of Families

Based on previous research, one might think that family literacy among culturally and linguistically diverse Latinx families was monolithic. Parents are moral educators (e.g. de Acoasta & Volk, Farver et. al, & Reese et. al, 1993), use religious text (e.g. Mercado, 2006; Reese et. al, 1995), and prefer direct teaching (e.g. Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Volk, 2013). They do not like to read to their children, because it is not part of the culture (e.g. Goldenberg et. al, 1992;

Plata-Potter, 2013). In short, one might be led to believe that family literacy in all Latinx cultures was uniformly foreign and nothing like that of the United States.

In reality, this study showed great variation in the family literacy cultures of the participants. The Jimenez family has an educational orientation that largely resembles that of the United States, including lots of joint book reading, but has adapted parts of their traditional culture, such as siblings being involved with family literacy, in ways unique to the family. The Caldera family largely operates on the idea, common in the United States and supported by research, that children and young adults need to read to gain literacy skills. Only the Fernandez family showed strong resemblance to traditional Latinx culture, including the promotion of educacíon and direct teaching.

The individual cultures of the families were largely influenced by the individual characteristics of the families. Manuel read to younger children in part because he was from a big family and Gloria was sometimes busy and could not read to them. In the Caldera family, this practice would not work, as there is only one child at home. Likewise, the Fernandez family uses religion as a primary text because it is something that is a key part of the individual culture of the family. It would not be an event practiced in a family that did not practice religion. Families are greatly influenced by their home cultures, but also their specific situations. They take their individual cultures and circumstances to develop literacy events that work for their particular family situations.

There is Lots of Reading of Large Amounts of Text

In the homes of both the Jimenez and Caldera families, there was copious access to a wide variety of texts that children used for independent reading. The families utilized community

resources, such as libraries and a local used bookstore, to obtain texts that their children wanted to read. Furthermore, the reading of texts was enforced in both households, including practices such as siblings reading to younger children and enforcing reading.

The reading of large amount of texts has been correlated with student literacy success (Anderson, Wilson, & Fielding, 1988; Krashen, 2006; Mol, 2010). The Caldera and Jimenez families use texts to encourage their children to read. Books are highly valued in these families, and children benefit from reading large amounts of texts.

Joint Book Reading is Practiced

All three families in the study practiced joint book reading when their children were younger, and the Jimenez family still practices it with younger children. There is a wide body of literature that suggests that joint book reading correlates with literacy success in general (Eagle, 1989; Mol, 2010; Sénéchal & Lefevre, 2002), and among bilingual students (Reese et. al, 2000). This may be, in part, because joint book reading is a very socially acceptable form of family literacy expected by schools for younger students (Edwards, 1995; Kenner, 2005; Peterson & Heywood, 2007). It leads to the skills young children are expected to know to be considered successful readers, those which are included on standardized testing that measures literacy skills.

At the same time, discussion of joint book reading is not part of the practices in any of the three households in the study. Rather, children are simply read to, or were read to when they were young. This suggests that, contrary to the belief of several literacy scholars (i.e. Edwards, 1995; Strickland & Morrow, 1990).

Parents Promote School-Based Literacy

All three families promote school-based literacy in one way or another. Based On Gee (2008), they work towards promotion of literacy practices considered valid by the school and society in which they live. In this context, this means helping their children to access the school-based curriculum so that they can succeed based on school standards and norms.

The way the families do this largely varies. In the Jimenez family, Gloria encourages promotion of school-based literacy through enforcing homework with Manuel, asking Manuel to write, and providing motivation for Myrna to do her assignments. Responsibility for learning is mostly on the child. The Caldera family provides space and structure for Carlos to do his curriculum-based work, but a sibling also provides support for academic writing. In the Fernandez family, Laury works independently, but also uses family and linguistic resources to access school literacy. Thus, in most cases, successful readers work mostly independently, with little active parent involvement.

Family Members other than Parents Help with Family Literacy

In both the Caldera and Jimenez families, family members other than parents were involved in children's literacy. Carlos's sister provides writing and homework help. In the Jimenez family, Myrna's grandparents were fundamental to her literacy development. In addition, Myrna and especially Manuel contribute to the literacy development of his younger brother and sister by reading to them. While research suggests this helps Miguel and Rosa (i.e. Eagle,1989; Mol, 2010; Reese, 2000), it also may contribute to Manuel's literacy development, as this gives him the chance to read large amounts of text, something that has been found to greatly boost literacy skills (Anderson, Wilson, & Fielding, 1988; Krashen, 2006; Mol, 2010).

This study supports other studies that have found that Latinx families often have multiple family members interacting with children in literacy events (Volk, 1999; Volk & de Acoasta, 2004) In addition, Duursa et. al (2007) found that sibling language use was a key predictor in the English literacy of bilingual children, and Reese et. al (2000) found the level of education of Latinx grandparents was a key factor in the educational success of grandchildren, suggesting these family members play key roles in child literacy development in many Latinx families. Literacy events are created from the cultural practice of siblings being involved in the education of younger family members that contribute to literacy success.

So far, this chapter has broadly discussed successful family literacy across families. But what does successful family literacy look like on an individual level? For this, I form individual bridges for each successful reader, discussed below.

The Bridges of Courtland County

In the framework I created based on multiple theories, culturally and linguistically diverse families create bridges that help their children to use what they have learned in ways that positively influence school-based literacy success. The bridges are created from the schema the family has-largely based on things like culture and language, which leads to literacy events, that create the bridges. Below, I discuss the bridges for each successful reader.

Carlos's bridge is depicted in Fig. 11. Carlos has very strong schema. He has strong bilingualism and biliteracy skills, likely bolstered through large amounts of oral language fostered both through his parents, who benefit from high socioeconomic status and therefore can provide more oral language support (Hart & Risley, 2003) and by his experiences in bilingual education, which, as a community with a high level of linguistic support, may foster strong oral

language development (Sperry et, al, 2019). Through this strong language background, Carlos has received the input he needs for second language development (Krashen, 1989), and has achieved the threshold of first language needed for his second language of English (Cummins, 1979). As an early sequential bilingual, his strong background in Spanish influences his knowledge of English literacy (Faerch & Kasper, 1987), and leads to academic success. Specifically, he has the language background schema needed to access English literacy that the school values and sees as valid.

Carlos also has strong interests that help foster his schema. He chooses to read "thriller" books, and before that he liked to read biographies. Reading in these genres has developed schema that allows him to perform difficult tasks related to literacy, such as helping him to understand text, scaffolding the text, develop inferences, and search his memory to understand text (Anderson, 2013). His parents support him in this endeavor by buying lots of books and taking him to the library.

Carlos's Bridge: Strong and Steady

Carlos's sister also serves as a resource to help him access text. She provides needed support and scaffolding to help him achieve his goal. In doing so, she follows the pattern, often seen in Latinx families, of family members other than parents interacting with children (deAcoasta & Volk, 1999; Volk, 1998). She is a key part of his education.

Carlos also benefits from the rich educational backgrounds of his parents. Since they are bilingual, he is able to access resources in both English and Spanish, and his parents are able to be deeply involved in his school life. They are able to provide enrichment activities that help

him to have a stronger education. They are able to foster what Gee (1998) would describe as acceptable literacy: school-based, middle/upper-class, and in English.

Based on his schema, Carlos and his family are able to develop rich literacy events that form the bridge between his own literacy schema and the literacy accepted by the school. His

Carlos's Bridge: Strong and Steady

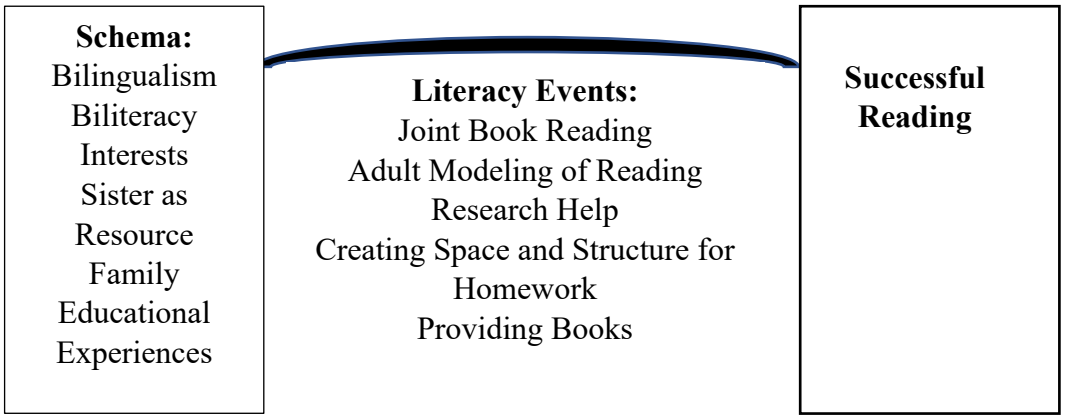


Fig. 11 Carlos's Bridge

parents had the educational background and experience to read with him when he was young, something that has been shown to influence literacy development (Eagle, 1989; Mol, 2010; Sénéchal & Lefevre, 2002). His parents, especially his mother, models reading and therefore helps him develop literacy (Leseman &deJong, 1998). His family also supports him academically, by having him read every day and thus increase his literacy (Anderson, Wilson & Fielding, 1988; Krashen, 2006; Mol, 2010), and providing homework support. All these events are made possible only by the schema in Carlos's life, especially family educational experiences, bilingualism and biliteracy, interests that enable him to read large amounts of text, and support

and structure from his sister. The bridge is strong and sturdy, largely based on the family circumstances and ability to work towards literacy success.

Myrna's Bridge: Independent and Wide

Myrna's bridge, shown in Fig. 12, is based on a strong early childhood of Spanish literacy. As a young child, she lived in a Spanish-dominant household and was largely cared for by her grandparents, who brought their strong linguistic schema to her life. Using a relatively strong socioeconomic status, Gloria was able to purchase books for Myrna from Disney and read to her in Spanish. In these ways, she fused the schema of her traditional culture and the culture of the United States.

As with Carlos, this rich history of biliteracy aided Myrna's biliteracy development. Myrna received comprehensible input in Spanish at home, and in English at school, allowing her to develop a strong grasp of each language (Krashen, 1989) and become a successful sequential bilingual. Based on the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981) and theory of language transfer (Faerch & Kasper, 1987), Myrna was able to use her early knowledge of Spanish to assist her in acquiring English language and literacy. The use of her grandparents as resources

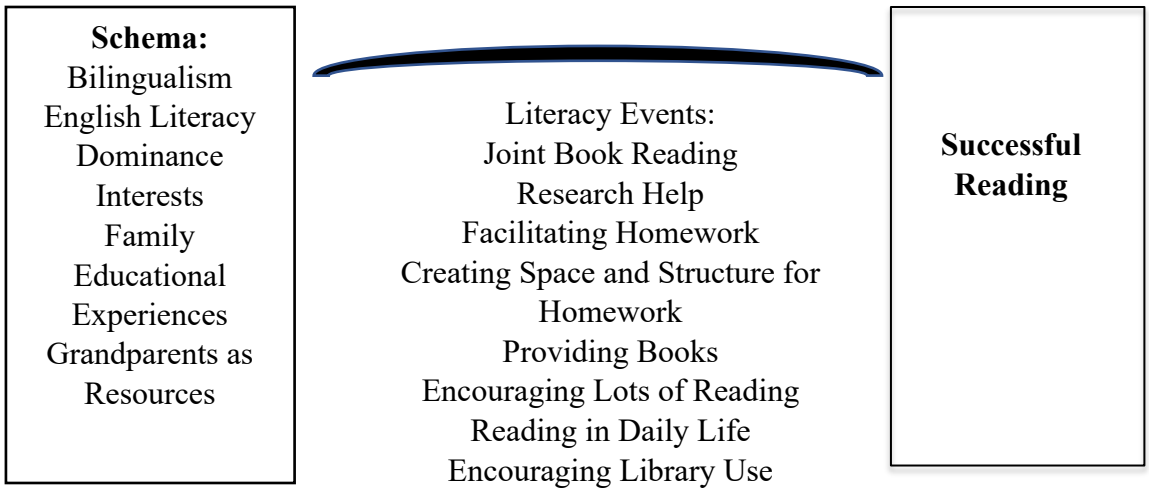


Fig. 12 Myrna's Bridge

gave her an additional boost in Spanish language acquisition.

In addition to this, Myrna has some schema that aided her acquisition of the socially acceptable and valid literacy at school. As someone who lived in the United States for most of her adolescence, attended high school in the United States, and has good English skills, Gloria knows the school literacy expectations and school culture more than most Latinx immigrants. Gloria's experience give her schema that she is able to use to help develop literacy events that develop what the school sees as valid literacy.

Myrna also has some strong interests. When she was young, she liked Disney characters. Now that she is an adolescent, she has strong interests in practical skills, like gardening and cooking. With Gloria's assistance, Myrna is able to harness this schema for things like understanding texts, scaffolding, making inferences, and searching her memory to comprehend texts (Anderson, 2013).

Gloria, and later Myrna herself, have created literacy events that harness this schema for literacy success. Gloria initially provided joint book reading for Myrna in Spanish, based on Disney, a key interest when she was young. The copious amounts of joint book reading Myrna received when she was young likely greatly contributed to her literacy success, as joint book reading has tremendous correlations with literacy scores (Eagle, 1989; Mol, 2010; Sénéchal & Lefevre (2002). Later, Gloria provided lots of books and encouraged lots of reading based on Myrna's strong interests, giving her wide reading opportunities that are correlated with literacy success (Anderson, Wilson, & Fielding, 1988; Krashen, 2006; Mol, 2010). This undoubtedly was made easier by the relatively strong socioeconomic status of the family; Gloria was able to take Myrna to the library and purchase books for her. Gloria further encouraged reading success through activities such as encouraging her to complete school-based assignments.

Myrna's bridge is independent and wide. She had a wide breadth of experiences when she was young, then the experiences changed as she aged. Gloria encourages her to be independent with her literacy life. She serves primarily as a motivator and coach but gives Myrna a wide hand in designing her own literacy events. Through her solid schema and literacy events, Myrna has developed what her school considers successful literacy.

Manuel's Bridge: Family-Focused and Parent-Encouraged

Manuel's bridge is shown in Fig. 13. Despite living in the same family, Manuel and Myrna have very different schema. By the time Manuel began to read, the family had moved from Michigan. The schema was altered somewhat. There were no longer as many rich resources of Mexican culture and the Spanish language, as extended family stayed behind in Michigan. Instead, there was a plethora of English-language books and resources, and out of concern for

Manuel's academic ability, Gloria also communicated with Manuel primarily in English. To this day, Manuel's language schema is primarily in English, although he understands Spanish to a degree. Thus, while he shows some signs of simultaneous bilingualism, which can boost

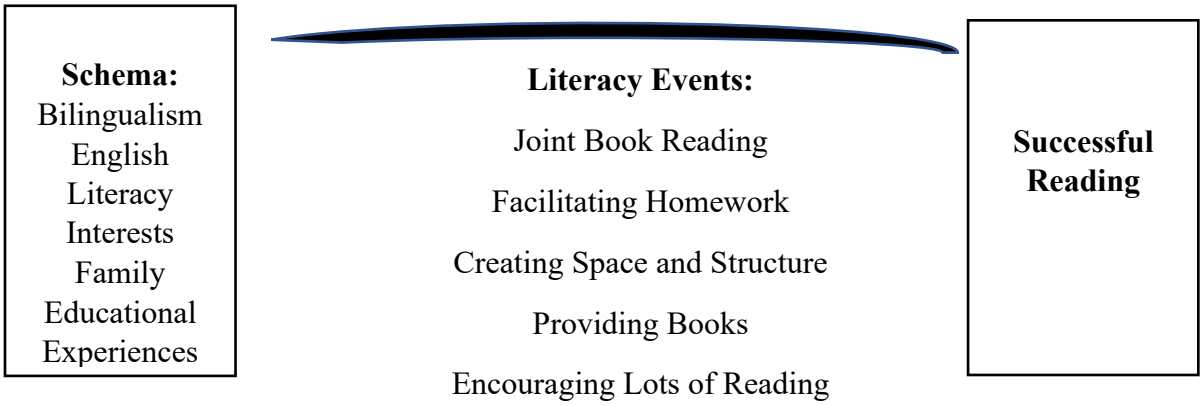


Fig. 13 Manuel's Bridge

academic achievement by secondary school, he also somewhat resembles a monolingual English reader.

This gives Manuel a different set of skills to work from. On the one hand, his English-dominance has benefited him in some ways. He more easily acquired what is considered valid literacy by the school system: that which is in English. He was never enrolled in English as a Second Language services. On the other hand, research suggests that the lack of first-language exposure could potentially have hurt his language and reading development (i.e. Cummins, 1979 Cummins, 1981; Faerch & Kasper, 1987).

Manuel's schema is different from his older sister's in other ways as well. He would rather play soccer than read and prefers action books. Uniquely, he also has a particular role based on his need to help his mother care for and educate his younger brother and sister. As

someone who has been in the United States for several decades, Gloria has a schema of language and culture that she can use to help Manuel succeed in developing what is considered acceptable literacy.

As a primary nurturer of a family that has adequate socioeconomic resources, Gloria uses her ability to purchase books and utilize community resources to provide literacy events that work with Manuel's unique schema and personality. Instead of reading alone, something that Manuel is not motivated to do, she encourages him to read to his brother and sister, thereby taking the Latinx tradition of many people interacting with children for literacy (deAcoasta & Volk, 1999; Volk, 1998) and adapting it. Through Manuel reading books to the younger children, the younger children receive the great benefits of joint book reading (Eagle, 1989; Mol, 2010; Sénéchal & Lefevre, 2002), and Manuel receives the benefits of reading large amounts of text (Krashen, 2006; Mol, 2010). Gloria encourages him to read what he likes, which is largely English action books. Gloria also enforces reading in the car and helps with spelling words and encourages game-based literacy. Manuel's literacy events are thus more structured, more English-focused, and more supervised than Myrna's.

Manuel's bridge is family-focused. He uses his role as an older brother to read books to his younger brother and sister and therefore develop more literacy skills. Gloria also largely controls his literacy life through encouragement and enforcement. It is only by her direction that Manuel does his literacy events. She forces him to read in the car and at home. His literacy life is not independent like Myrna's literacy life.

Manuel's bridge, for now, seems solid. Unless he decides to acquire more Spanish later, however, it is likely it will be an English-only bridge. He will have the literacy that is considered

valuable in the society where he lives, that of the English language. Thus he will be considered "literate" based on how society recognizes it (Lankshear & Knobel, 2011). It is, however, a forced bridge. If Gloria were to stop enforcing literacy or the younger children no longer needed him to read to them, the bridge could easily come crashing down.

Laury's Bridge: Moral and Academic-Focused

Laury's bridge is shown in Fig. 14. Laury benefited from both a rich language and cultural schema in her literacy development. As a child, she both learned Spanish at home and acquired English from a bilingual school she began attending at an early age. By the time she was in middle school, her successful language input likely assisted her to perform well in both English and Spanish (Sladden et. al, 2011). She is now successfully bilingual and biliterate with little trouble navigating in either language.

Laury also has a strong cultural background that assists her in literacy. Laury's schema and that of her family, more than any other successful reader in this study, are based on *educación,* the idea that to be well-educated is to be moral. Andrea's goal for Laury is for her to be a good person. The family's educational ideals are that education should be disciplined and

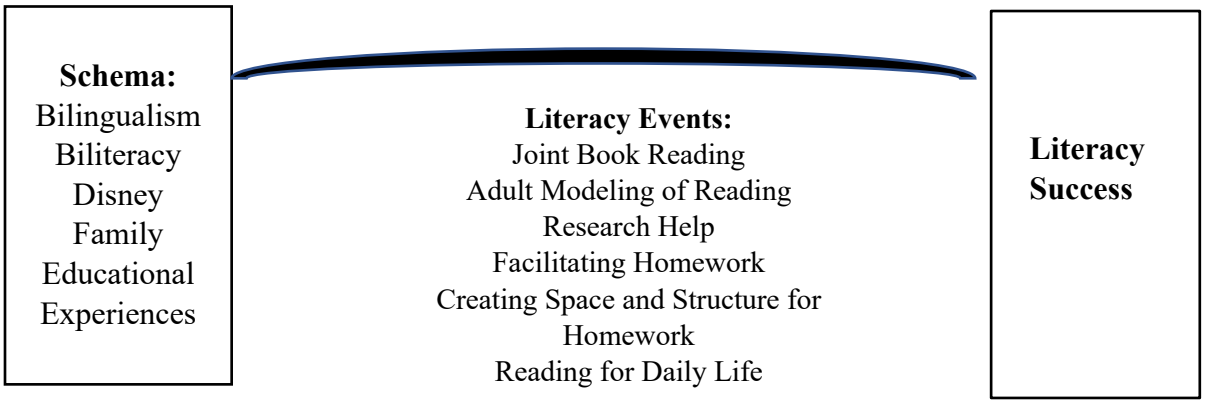


Fig. 14 Laury's Bridge

based on morality. Religion plays a big part in the family's idea of a strong education, and religious text is the primary text in the household.

Based on this schema, Laury's literacy events are primarily moral in nature. She reads religious texts and devotions with her family. When she was young, a primary text was the children's Bible. Other than religious reading, Laury's literacy activities are academic in nature: with parental encouragement, working on homework and projects. In this way, Laury's literacy events resemble those found in many Latinx immigrant families (Soltero Gonzalez, 2007; Volk & de Acoasta, 2001; Volk & de Acoasta, 2004).

At first glance, it seems improbable that Laury would be a successful reader. Her form of family literacy does not meet the expectations of most schools in the United States. Tennessee standards are secular and based largely on critical thinking skills, especially in the upper grades (Tennessee State Board of Education, n.d.). Laury's family literacy, which consists mostly of moral education, would not be considered valuable in most schools in the United States. Laury, however, attends a private Christian school. The school uses the Bible and related texts as primary texts. It is largely based on rote memorization, such as the learning of multiple Bible verses. Thus, the school largely matches her schema and literacy event experiences. She is successful in this context. Were she to go to a different school, she might not be.

Every family in this study has a rich family literacy life. For at least one child in each family, the families have been successful in creating literacy events from their schema that leads to success for their children. They did this in spite of obstacles, such as lack of language proficiency, low levels of education, and variations among schema in family members.

Thus far, I have presented a great deal of information about successful readers in culturally and linguistically diverse families. What does this information mean to the bigger picture of literacy in culturally and linguistically diverse families? How does it impact the view of culturally and linguistically diverse families? How can it inform further research? It is to these questions I now turn.

Implications of Key Findings

This study has shown that, at least for these families, producing successful readers is a complex process that varies for each individual child. It takes a lot of resources and effort for success for bilingual children in an English-only environment, including things like English-language schema, large amounts of text, and a match between the school and home schemas. In this section, I discuss implications for further research.

Privilege Is an Indicator of Success

Each family in this study had a large amount of privilege, based on education, socioeconomic status, and, in two of the three families, parental language use. This finding is not unusual; there is a large body of literature suggesting that socioeconomic status is linked to reading achievement (e.g. Chiu & Chow, 2015; Kieffer, 2010; Kuhfeld et. al, 2018; & Singh, 2013). Likewise, parent education has been shown to be an indicator of reading success among all children (Erola et. al, 2018; Lareau, 2000), and among Latinx families (e.g. Crosnoe et. al, 2016; Farver et. al, 2013; & Hunter, 2015). Parental language use has also been cited as a predictor of language skills (e.g. Baker, 2014; Boyce et. al, 2004; Hunter, 2015). This study suggests that these factors as a whole can influence child achievement. Researchers would be

wise to consider how family demographic factors such as parent education, socioeconomic status, and language use could be boosted.

The Varieties of Culture

Cultural studies of Latinx immigrants often portray them as a monolithic cultural group (e.g. De Acoasta & Volk, 1999; Reese et. al, 1995; Valdés, 1996). This study, however, suggests that Latinx immigrant educational culture varies greatly between families between and even within specific countries of origin, and includes both cultural practices specific to experiences in their home countries, and also adaptations to the educational culture of the United States, something also found by Hammer et. al (2007). The Jimenez family has an orientation to education that is similar to that of the United States, including lots of joint book reading, but has adapted parts of their traditional culture, such as siblings being involved with family literacy, in ways unique to the family. The Caldera family largely operates on the idea, common in the United States and supported by research, that children and young adults need to read large amounts of text to gain literacy skills. Only the Fernandez family showed strong resemblance to traditional Latinx culture, including the promotion of educacíon and direct teaching.

These unique results show that culture is not monotone, and everyone in each culture does not behave the same way. Rather, individuals in cross-cultural situations act differently from each other, in unique ways that reflect both their home culture and their new culture. They hold onto the parts of culture that serve them well in their new environments, and discard those that do not. They adapt new practices that serve them in their new settings.

I was able to locate little research specifically on educational cultural adaptation of Latinx immigrants to the educational culture of the United States. It is difficult to say whether the experiences of these family stem from their educational experiences, including those of their home countries, the individual characteristics of the family, adaptation to the North American educational culture, or a combination of these factors. This is a subject that deserves more research and information. Only by learning the stories of immigrant families can we truly understand the immigrant experience.

Role of Family Members other than Parents in Literacy

In all three of the families, siblings played a large role in the literacy development of younger children. In the Jimenez family, Manuel is a primary reader for the younger children. Older children assist with homework in the other two families. In the Jimenez family, grandparents also played a large role in Myrna's early education, helping foster her bilingualism and biliteracy. This follows the pattern found by Volk (1999) and Volk & deAcoasta (2004) of many family members being involved in family literacy. Duursma et. al (2007) found that sibling language use was a key predictor of Latinx literacy success.

Other than these few small studies, however, the research on family members involved in Latinx family literacy is sparse. There is much more research on Southeast Asian immigrant families (i.e. Kelly et. al, 1997; Mui & Anderson, 2008; Song, 2016). Considering that over ten percent of incoming Kindergartners in the United States are English Language Learners and eighty percent of those are Spanish-speaking (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018), the exploration of family member interaction with family literacy is a timely one.

Language Acquisition Varies Between Family Members in Household

One of the biggest surprises for me in this research was the variation of family needs and interests within families. In both the Jimenez and Fernandez families, there is great variation between children. Much of the variation within families in this study centers around language acquisition and use. The fifteen-year-old in the Jimenez family is fully bilingual and biliterate, but her ten year-old brother is English-dominant with almost no written Spanish ability. There is also a dramatic difference in language skill between the two children in the Fernandez family.

The language differences among these children are affected by a number of factors. Andrea states that it is "harder for Mariana to learn," suggesting that she may need intervention or have reading or language difficulties. Laury, unlike her sister, goes to a school where her schema is activated and valued; thus, it may be easier for her to acquire the Cognitive Academic Language Skills (Cummins, 1981) she needs for language success. Her input is likely more comprehensible (Krashen, 1989) than Mariana's as it is based on her schema. Laury thus has lighter family literacy needs than Mariana and can do more academic tasks on her own.

Manuel, on the other hand, had a low level of Spanish from the time he was young. This is in part because of the well-meaning choice by Gloria to speak to him in English; he also did not have the language support of his grandparents, like Myrna did. Manuel, therefore, "forgot" most of his Spanish when he entered an English-only school.

From a language acquisition standpoint, the phenomena of children learning and using different languages at home in the context of family literacy is a fascinating one. Based on the threshold hypothesis (Cummins, 1979) and the interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981), Manuel should be struggling, but he is successful in school. Mariana, on the other hand, had a

rich bilingual education from the time she was very young, with language and educational resources identical to her older, successful sister, yet she herself is not successful.

If in this one, very small study, there were language variations among children within families, there must be many nationally and globally. How do family literacy practices predict who will learn English best? Why do some children in a family learn second languages better than others? Do the interdependence hypothesis and threshold hypothesis apply to situations where children primarily learn their host language only? The study of children with varying language levels within one family could shed great light on these questions.

Timing of Language Acquisition is a Flexible Contributor to Literacy Success

Related to language use is the role of timing of language exposure. In this study, there were examples of both successful simultaneous bilingual readers (Laury and, to some extent, Manuel), and successful sequential bilingual readers (Carlos and Myrna). This variability suggests what other research (i.e. Hoff et. al, 2012; Thorardottir, 2019) suggests: the timing of language acquisition is not as important as the amount of language input. These children all had copious amounts of input in both languages, but in different ways at different times.

Language Policy Affects Family Literacy

With two of the three families in this study, language policy affects family literacy. The Jimenez family at first glance appears unaffected by language policy. Both of the school-aged children in the family are successful readers. Gloria chose her approach to family literacy, however, based on policy. She knew that Manuel would need to know English to succeed, so in an effort to help him, she stopped speaking Spanish. Manuel now does not read in Spanish.

In the Fernandez family, the lack of bilingual education is disempowering for Andrea. Despite having a very high level of education, she feels like she cannot help her children in school. When she receives the rare Spanish-language materials, she is better able to help Mariana learn. For the most part, however, these materials are not available.

While there is ample information about family literacy practices among culturally and linguistically diverse families (e.g. Burbano, 2016; Valdés, 1996; & Mercado, 2006), there is little about how English-only policy directly affects family literacy. My study shines a dim light by suggesting that English literacy learning can take place with a variety of language uses through a variety of paths. It is, however, a very dim light. More linguistic research and research about how English-only policy affects family language and literacy choices would be helpful.

There is a Need for an Expanded Study Base

There are lots of culturally and linguistically diverse families in the United States. They include not only Spanish-speaking Latinx families, but also families of other cultural and language backgrounds (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). What are the experiences for these families like? How does family literacy in a rural area compare to a suburban area? How does the experience of families compare regionally?

In addition to families in the United States, International Schools Research (n.d.) reports that there are over 10,000 international schools globally where instruction is taught in English in countries where English is not the language commonly spoken. Around 5.3 million students attend these schools, of whom eighty percent are natives of the country where the school is located (International Schools Research, n.d.). This means that, globally, there are many students who read a different primary language than their parents. Thus far, I have not been able to locate

any family literacy research on families whose children attend a school using English as a primary language of instruction outside the United States but in their home country. This would make very fascinating and needed research, and I hope to conduct a study on this in the future.

Conclusion

This study shows that family literacy in Latinx families in English-only settings is complicated in multiple ways. Even within families, there is great variation in language and cultural schema, as well as how that schema plays out. Below is a discussion of some ways that this plays out in family literacy in the successful bilingual readers in my study.

Complicated by Situation

Situations played a huge role in how family literacy was practiced in each family. In the Jimenez household, a large number of extended Spanish-speaking family members were present in Myrna's early childhood but not Manuel, affecting the language used in literacy development. In addition, location in part influenced Gloria to make a different decision for family language and literacy use with Manuel rather than Myrna. Manuel practices family literacy by reading to his younger brothers and sisters, but if he was from a small family, he would likely not have the opportunity to experience that practice.

There are other examples of how situation influences family literacy among all three families. Spanish books are limited in Courtland County, so reading among children is largely done in English. The demands of schoolwork and the school curriculum largely mandate what reading is done and what and how reading-related skills are practiced. Language competency situations also greatly affect *who* interacts with children in family literacy-in both the Caldera and the Fernandez family, older siblings interact with homework help largely because, as people

who were educated in English, they have stronger academic competencies. Finally, the situation of English-only education privileges English over Spanish.

The situational aspects to these families complicate family literacy. They restrict what and how family literacy is practiced, and who participates. They exclude some family members from full participation and delegate tasks to others. They essentially take away some of the family's agency. At the same time, the families adapt to these situational restricts and find unique ways to help their children. They effectively work through their situations to find solutions.

Complicated by Individual Needs

Even within families, there are individual needs of children. Manuel needed to read in a different language than his sister and have a different reading structure (reading in a vehicle) to grow in his reading skills. The pattern of moral-based family literacy that worked for Laury did not work for Mariana, and the Fernandez family is making an effort to adapt towards her needs. In the Caldera family, individuality of children is recognized with individual contracts and free reading of texts.

These families recognize that family literacy is not a simple, one-size-fits-all formula. Rather, they adapt their practices to meet the needs of their children. They show a great deal of flexibility and adaptations towards the individual circumstances, personalities, and needs of their children. Far from being hapless modelers of culture or circumstance, they develop literacy events that work for their children and family.

So what does successful Latinx culturally and linguistically diverse family literacy look like?

I now return to my research question. The answer is, at least among these families, that it is adaptable and individualized. It is done in ways that works for each individual child, each family. It includes aspects of culture, but it also includes individual child personalities, family circumstances, and child and family needs. It is intentional and child-centered. It, in short, is complicated, varied, and cannot be defined into one set of literacy events.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Flexible Interview Guide

Please tell me a little about your family.

Please tell me about the literacy activities in your family.

Please tell me about this picture.

Where does this picture take place?

Who was involved with the activity in this picture?

How long did this activity last?

How do your values and culture affect the choice of this activity?

How often do you do this activity?

How did you choose the materials for this activity?

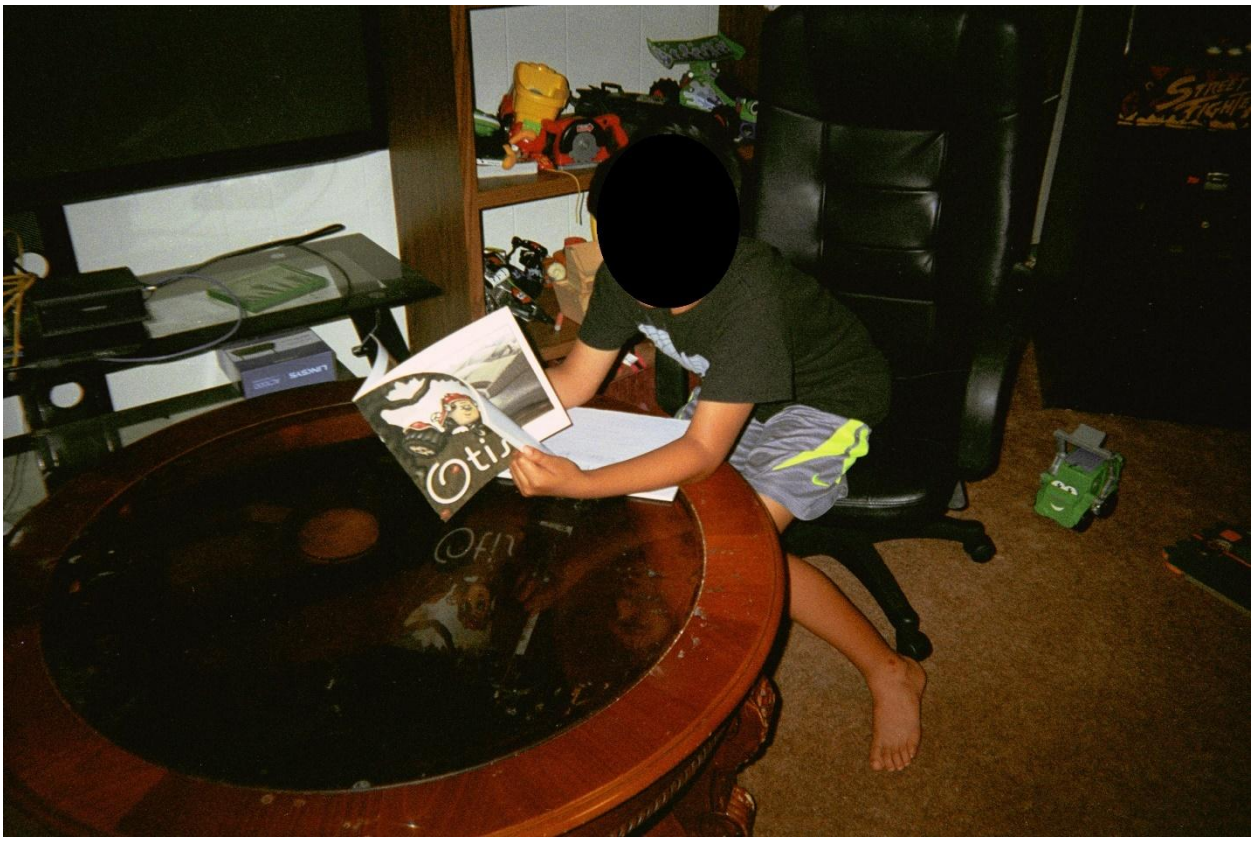
What language did you use for this activity?

Appendix B

Jimenez Photographs



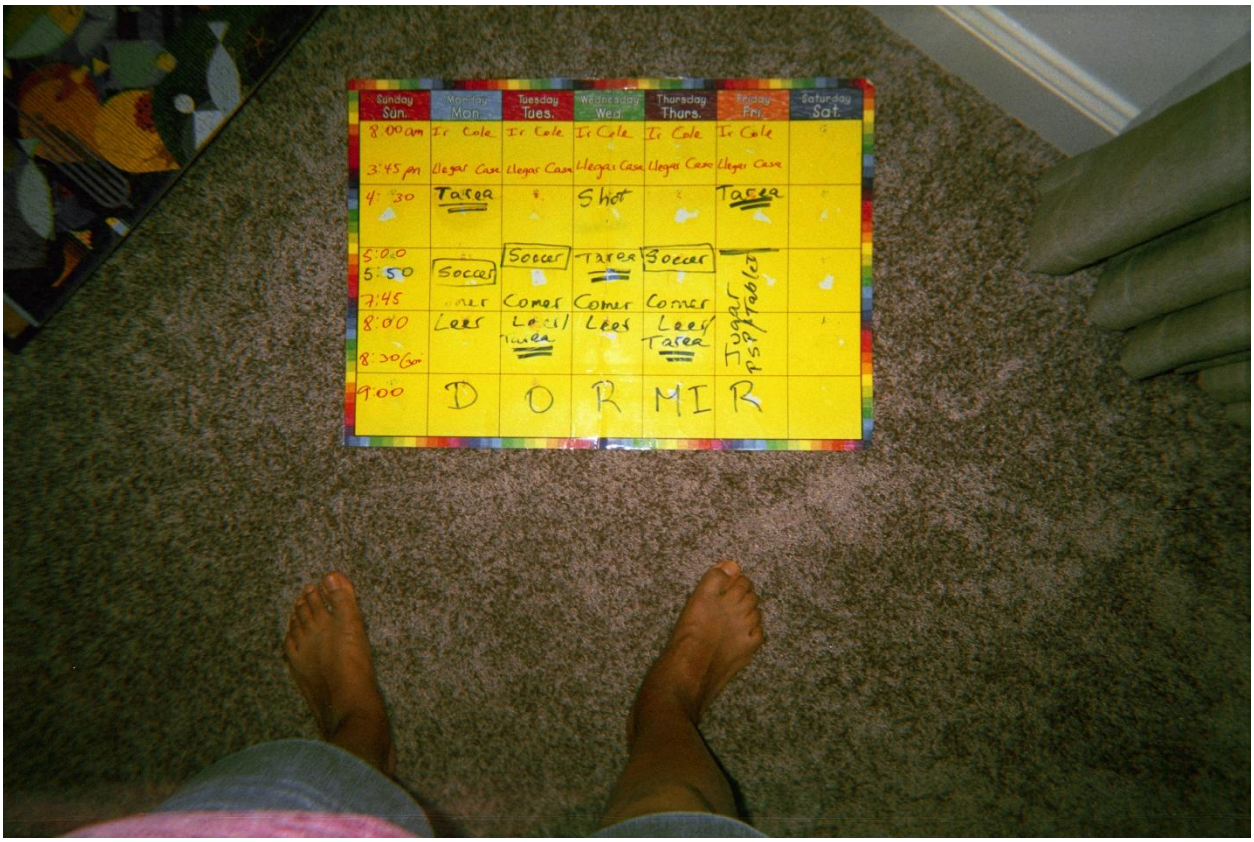



Otis


Sassy

Appendix C

Caldera Photographs





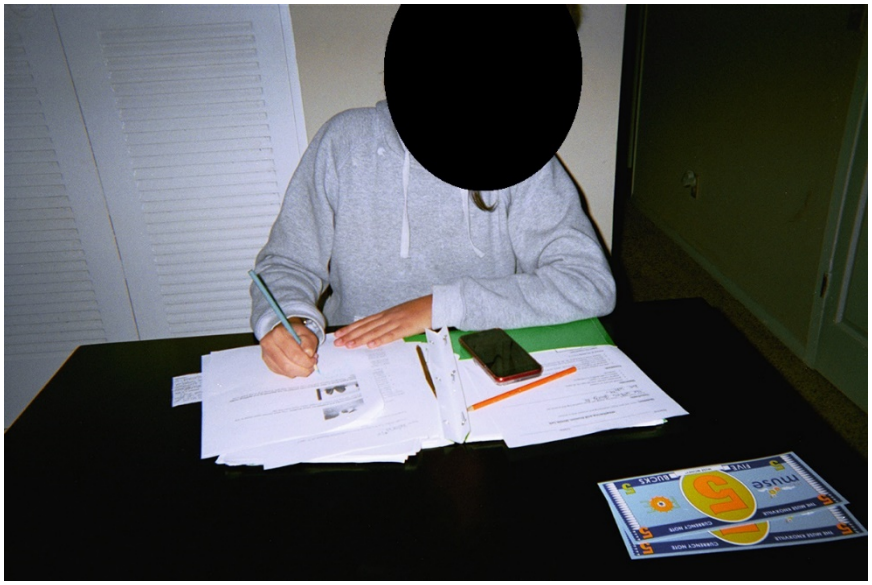

VICTORIA SCHWAB
CITY OF GHOSTS

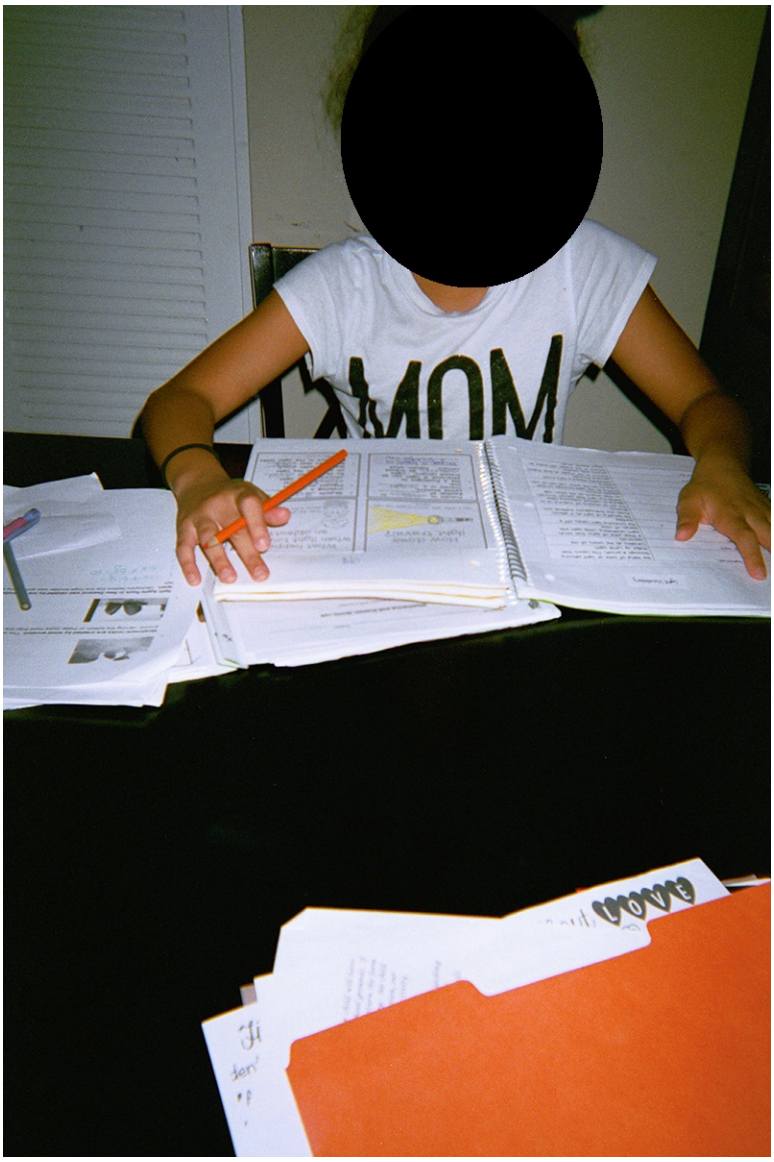


Appendix D

Fernandez Photographs







Appendix E

Name: _____ Date: _____

Reading Interest Survey

1. What type of books do you like to read? Tell me all about it …

_____

_____

_____

1. What is your favorite book? Why?

_____

_____

_____

2. Where is your favorite place to read? Describe your special reading place.

_____

_____

_____

3. Do you have a favorite series? What is it and why do you like it?

_____

_____

_____

4. Do you prefer fiction (stories) or non-fiction (real info)? How come?

_____

_____

_____

5. Do you have anything else about your reading life that you'd like to share with me? Is there anything hard about reading for you? Is there anything you want to learn to do as a reader?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Which of the following types of books do you like? Check off your favorites. If you don't know a type of book, just skip it.

□□ Mystery □□ Adventure □□ Animal Stories □□ Comics

□□ How-To □□ Biographies □□ Poetry □□ Science books

□□ Folktales □□ Newspapers □□ Magazines □□ Series

□□ Picture books □□ Fantasy □□ Chapter books □□ Funny books

Alycia Zimmerman, created for classroom use, 2014

VITA

Emily Sherwood was born in Springfield, Missouri, but grew up primarily in Greensboro, North Carolina, where she attended Western Guilford High School. Following her high school graduation, she attended Maryville College in Eastern Tennessee, and later obtained a Master's degree from Carson-Newman University in Teaching English as a Second Language and an Educational Specialist degree from the University of Tennessee in Reading Education. She graduated from the University of Tennessee-Knoxville in 2019 with a Doctorate degree in Teacher Education, concentration in Literacy Studies. An educator with a diverse range of teaching experience, she taught English as a Second Language for nine years in rural Tennessee schools to students of varying language, age, and cultural backgrounds. She is currently the Reading Specialist at Nansha College Preparatory Academy in Guangzhou, China, an English immersion school. She has been published in various state and national journals.