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From "Struggling" to "Example": How Cross-Age Tutoring Impacts Latina Adolescents' Reader Identities

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FROM "STRUGGLING" TO "EXAMPLE": HOW CROSS-AGE TUTORING

IMPACTS LATINA ADOLESCENTS' READER IDENTITIES

by

Dustin H. Drake

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Education

Approved:

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

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ABSTRACT

From "Struggling" to "Example": How Cross-Age Tutoring Impacts

Latina Adolescents' Reader Identities

by

Dustin H. Drake, Doctor of Philosophy

Utah State University, 2017

Major Professor: Amy Wilson-Lopez, Ph. D.
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The achievement gap has long been viewed as a persistent shortcoming of the

public education system in the U.S. The achievement gap also highlights the challenges

faced by Latino populations with educational achievements and future employment

prospects. The purpose of this multiple-case study was to describe how four Latina

adolescents, each of whom identified herself as a struggling or "not good" reader, re-

authored their reading identities by acting as reading tutors to elementary students. This

study combined elements of narrative inquiry with multiple case study research. The four

participants—Paula, Lucia, Cassandra, and Amaia (all names are pseudonyms)—were

selected from a cross-age tutoring program for Latino youth called Latinos in Action

located in the state of Utah. As part of this class, ninth-graders received training on how

to provide tutoring in reading to elementary students, and they tutored elementary

students twice per week for 30 minutes.

The participants underwent 6 months of tutoring. Prior to tutoring, the participants were interviewed to ascertain how their reader identities had developed through adolescence. Subsequent interviews with the participants, teachers, and family members, in addition to observed tutoring sessions, illustrated ways that tutoring provided an avenue for the participants to re-author their reader identities. Using these data, I worked with participants to develop narratives regarding their reading experiences and identities. I used an a priori Bakhtinian framework to explain what I viewed in the narratives, with conclusions confirmed by each participant. Finally, I used constant comparative analytic methods to identify common themes across the participants' stories.

From the analysis, I identified five major themes as the findings of this study: examples at home, school as authoritative, fluent oral reading in English, reading aloud in tutoring, and changes in reading practices. The process of tutoring younger students provided a place, within the authoritative space of the school setting, where the participants were able to practice this skill. The results of this study indicated that educators and policy makers can look to cross-age tutoring as one method to provide adolescent, struggling readers with opportunities to positively adjust their reader identities.

(266 pages)

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

From "Struggling" to "Example": How Cross-Age Tutoring Impacts

Latina Adolescents' Reader Identities

Dustin H. Drake

Educators and policy makers have shown a consistent concern over the achievement gap. In academic assessments, Latino students have demonstrated lower achievement than their peers, particularly in reading scores. Many researchers attribute the existence of the achievement gap to a school system that ignores Latino culture or perpetuates struggles in Latino students' reading by being culturally insensitive. Multiple theorists suggest that school systems that better understand Latino identities will be better at instructing Latino students. Many programs, including Latinos in Action, have been implemented in attempts to close this gap. The Latinos in Action program utilizes Latino adolescents as peer tutors for struggling readers in nearby elementary schools.

A Bakhtinian framework was used as the interpretive lens where internal positions, external positions, and communal voices enter dialogues that influence the internalized identity development of the individual. In accordance with this framework, identity was viewed as an array of identities, not a single, concrete aspect of the individual. The purpose of this study was to identify ways in which Latina adolescents, who identified as "struggling" or "not good" in some aspects of their reading, adjusted their reader identities after participating in cross-age tutoring in reading. The study used a combination of narrative inquiry and multiple case-study methods to access how the

participants had developed their reader identities over time and to compare the influences across cases. Multiple interviews and observations with the participants, family members, and their teacher comprised most of the data that informed the results of this study.

This study identified multiple ways that the school system influenced the reader identities of the participants as an authoritative discourse for the participants' reader identities. For example, the participants shared experiences from school that emphasized fluent oral reading. The participants identified many positive and negative experiences when reading aloud at school. For the most part, they felt anxious and self-conscious when reading aloud in front of their peers for fear of making mistakes or mispronouncing words. This emphasis on fluent oral reading also became one of the most important factors in how the participants viewed themselves as readers. Tutoring was found to provide a positive space where fluent oral reading was practiced by the participants and their tutees, which in turn positioned the adolescent reader as an example of good reading and reduced anxiety over reading out loud in front of others.

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I would like to express my deepest thanks and gratitude to my committee chair and mentor, Dr. Amy Wilson-Lopez. She has provided invaluable guidance and encouragement throughout the entire process of producing this dissertation. Her high expectations and positive feedback helped me overcome what I viewed as personal limitations and weaknesses. I would also like to thank the rest of my dissertation committee, Dr. Sylvia Read, Dr. Susan Turner, Dr. Kathleen Mohr, and Dr. Sonia Manuel-Dupont, for their time, support, encouragement, and valuable feedback. I extend a special thanks to all of my professors who have provided an avenue to push myself farther and harder than I thought possible.

I also want to thank all the faculty, staff, and administrators at the many schools in Washington County School District where I work. I have been touched by your friendship and encouragement in my pursuits of this degree.

Thank you to my parents for your support in my education. Your faith and confidence in my abilities have helped me become the man I am today. To my kids, Jacob, Brynnlee, Easton, and the unnamed baby on the way, I love you, and I am grateful in your understanding for the time that I must dedicate to pursuits outside of the home. Most of all, I would like to thank my wife, Angie, for the pillar of support that she is. Her efforts have gone far above and beyond what I could ever expect from my spouse. Thank you and I love you.

Dustin H. Drake

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to minimize the achievement gap for Latino students, many school districts in Utah have turned to the Latinos in Action (LIA) program (Manzanares, 2016). LIA recruits adolescent Latino/a students to participate in a cross-aged tutoring program that focuses on instructing elementary students in reading skills. Many of the LIA students are or have been identified as "struggling readers" and are invited into the program as a way for them to become more involved in the school community. This study focused on the reader identities of four Latina adolescent female students who participated in this program. Specifically, it focused on students who identified themselves as "struggling readers," and it monitored the changes in their reader identities that happened as a result of tutoring younger readers.

The terms I used for the title of this study, *From "Struggling" to "Example,"* were terms that were used by the participants to describe their roles as readers. The term "struggling" was used frequently by the participants most frequently to describe their early difficulties with learning to read. One participant used the term "example" to describe her perception that being a tutor was like being an example or role model in reading.

This dissertation is divided into five chapters: introduction, conceptual framework and literature review, research methods, findings, and discussion conclusions. In the introduction, I state the underlying problem that the study explored. The introduction also contains background that describes some of the history and underlying paradigms that

relate to the development of school programs associated with Latino/a academic achievement. I also further explain how the achievement gap is perpetuated by the paradigms explained in the background subsection, and I introduce the deficit approach to education as a contributor to student identity formation. Then, I introduce the study purpose and research question used to guide this work. In the conceptual framework and literature review chapter, I describe the theoretical underpinnings that I used as the analytical lens by which this study was carried out. In the literature review, I describe the results of multiple studies that focused on the education of students who are Latino. I also describe cross-aged tutoring and LIA. In the final portion of chapter two, I explain the contribution this study will make to the field. The research methods chapter details the contextual factors that impacted the study: community, classroom, teacher, and researcher. In this chapter, I also provide a detailed description of the process I followed to ensure that the study would be of high quality. In chapter four, I provide the narratives and analysis that are my main findings. The final chapter is where I further discuss the results of the study and provide suggestions for future research on the topic.

Statement of the Problem

Currently, there is a rapid rise in the Latino population in the U.S. Twenty years ago, Chapa and Valencia (1993) found that Latino population growth outpaced that of any group within the U.S. Utilizing U.S. Census records, they projected that through natural increase and immigration, the Latino community would become the largest "minority" early in the 21st century. Over 10 years ago, Clemetson (2003) used census

data to demonstrate that the projected day had arrived. According to Krogstad and Lopez (2014), immigration trends have slowed due to the economic downturn; however, Latinos continue to be the fastest growing group in the U.S. due to high birth rates. Latinos are projected to maintain that position for at least the next 50 years. The U.S. Census Bureau (2012) projected that the Latino portion of the overall U.S. population would reach 31% by the year 2060.

This significant growth in population has been accompanied by many changes in U.S. public systems. Olivos and Quintana de Valladolid (2005) explained that this growth of a minority population has caused a strong reaction from certain sectors of the public. Chavez (2008) added, "Mexicans in particular have been represented as the quintessential 'illegal aliens,'… Their social identity has been plagued by the mark of illegality, which in much public discourse means that they are criminals and thus illegitimate members of society" (p. 4). Lack of access to citizenship has effectively limited many Latinos from accessing avenues of political and social power. This "social identity" that others ascribe to them also plays an important role in how Latino/a students participate in and are perceived by the education system.

The Latino social identity becomes more evident when considering education policy. For instance, Bernal (2002) argued that the Spanish language is a major component of many Latino cultures, and the language has often been perceived by many of the dominant culture as a threat. Also, this linguistic conflict has created schools where segregation is common and where language is used as a means to identify Latino students as inferior (p. 112). Olivos and Quintana de Valladolid (2005) added that current school

systems often operate with a "deficit perspective" that emphasizes how Latino students are different from the majority. These scholars challenged the viewpoint of many who attempted to explain the "achievement gap" as being caused by Latino students' differences, such as language, instead of a product of a system of White privilege, control, or cultural ignorance (Paris, 2012).

In effect, many schools and communities still place the blame of limited academic achievement, as demonstrated by test scores, onto the students—implying that their families, cultures, and identities are deficient (McCarthey & Moje, 2002). Unfortunately, policy makers also often accept deficit thinking when attempting to "fix" the achievement gap. However, instead of developing solutions, they often perpetuate the achievement gap by focusing policy on specific models of language and literacy instructional practices that emphasize a deficit approach to reading.

The fixation on language instruction hides the complexity of this issue, which goes far beyond teaching students how to read. The achievement gap has many themes. It is "a race theme, a class theme, an immigration theme, and an economic theme" (Olivos & Quintana de Valladolid, 2005, p. 287). In other words, although reading English is an important aspect of educational success, the crisis that many Latino/a students face is an identity crisis. The policies and paradigms that have been created to resolve the achievement gap issue may position students as struggling and deficient. In turn, students may internalize the social dialogue surrounding the achievement gap, which would contribute to Latino/a students forming identities as "struggling."

The U.S. education system has made many attempts to improve instructional

practices and academic achievement for Latinos. However, the differences in achievement between Latino students and their peers remain as one of the most discussed and persistent issues in the education system. Perie, Grigg, and Donahue (2005) outlined ways that Latino students are "falling behind" their peers in reading proficiency. Using National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) results, they determined that 89% of Latino middle- and high-school students in the U.S. school system read well below grade level. Garcia and Gonzalez (2006) reported that this gap begins at a very early stage and perpetuates as the students progress through the education system. The ability to read and write is not the only area where the gap in student achievement becomes apparent. Latinos in the U.S. are more likely than any other group to drop out of high school. While 7% of students who are White and 13% of students who are Black drop out of high school, 16% of Latino students do not finish high school (Fry, 2003). These statistics represent a major problem: the equity of educational opportunities for all students.

The statistics used to demonstrate the achievement gap highlight the problem, but the more difficult problem lies in the complexity of the reasons for the existence of the gap in the first place. As previously mentioned, language difference is often blamed as the reason for the existence of this gap, but this reasoning simplifies and ignores the other aspects of this issue: race, culture, socioeconomic status, citizenship, family life, and many other aspects of an individual's identity (Olivos & Quintana de Valladolid, 2005). Thus, to make progress in understanding why the achievement gap exists and how to accomplish the goal of improving academic achievement for all students in our education system, researchers, teachers, and policy-makers could look to student identities and

identity development to uncover other characteristics that impact literacy, learning, and academic success.

McCarthey and Moje (2002) explained that the deficit approach perpetuates the construction of negative student identities, such as "struggling" or "unmotivated" readers. They argued that "the experiences [the students] have had in their families, their previous experiences with institutions such as schools, as well as the larger social and political frameworks in which they have operated, have shaped their classroom interactions" (p. 229). Adolescent learners have had many experiences in various educational contexts, and their identities, particularly reader identities, are often much more developed than those of younger readers (Coombs, 2012; Hall, 2012). Paige (2011) explained that struggling adolescent readers often compare their reading abilities with their peers, and when they perceive that they are not good readers like their peers, they become less motivated to read. Thus, it is a challenge for teachers of adolescents to influence changes in these reader identities, especially when the student has developed a negative self-perception of his or her reading ability. Consequently, helping students to become better readers is not limited to instructional methods that focus on improving phonemic awareness, blending, and letter recognition. The challenge is in assisting the students in re-authoring their identities (Hall, Johnson, Juzwik, Wortham, & Mosley, 2010).

Study Purpose and Research Question

The LIA program claims to be different from deficit models of instruction. First, a primary goal of the program is to embrace students' languages and cultures. Second, LIA

purports to provide the students with an elevated status in the school community's hierarchy by highlighting positive school involvement through extracurricular activities and student service. Third, LIA students participate in a minimum of two tutoring sessions per week with elementary aged readers. Consequently, LIA students are situated as facilitators of reading through tutoring. Each of these aspects of the LIA program should have an influence in how the program participants shape and change their identities.

This study identified the background, life stories, and school experiences of four students who participated as tutors in the LIA program with the purpose of understanding the personal formation of their identities. Identity, however, was too broad to cover in this study, so I focused solely on the students' reader identities and how their schools, communities, friends, cultures, and past experiences helped form the reader identities of the participants. I used Hall's (2012) definition of reader identity throughout this study. Hall stated that the term "reader identity" means "how capable individuals believe they are in comprehending texts, the value they place on reading, and their understandings of what it means to be a particular type of reader within a given context" (p. 369). Reader identities are formed from the time of the students' initial interactions with literacy. Culture, language, experience, school systems, friends, and teachers can all play a role in the formation of reader identities.

In this study, I used the students' stories to develop a clearer understanding of their reader identities to determine whether "struggling" readers make any adjustments to their reader identities after having experiences where they work as tutors to young and

also "struggling" students. These concepts make this study very significant because the study provided insights into the ways that "struggling" reader identities are perpetuated by the school system, especially in the case of students who are Latina. This study also helps stakeholders understand the effects that repositioning a student as an example might have on reader identity with the goal of providing insights into the Latino educational identity crisis as previously identified. Thus, the research question for this study was:

> How do Latino/a adolescents, who have previously developed identities as "struggling readers," re-author their reader identities through tutoring younger children?

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding human identity and how it is formed has always been an important component of philosophy, psychology, and other social sciences. Over centuries of study, theorists have developed multiple definitions of identity and offered many theories of how it is formed. Early humanist theories of identity (Geertz, 1973; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Sampson, 1989) viewed people's identities as being relatively stable and innate, often genetically defined by a set of related character traits that remained consistent over time. The self was separated from the community and was defined by an immutable core that formed the foundation of one's identity. These scholars saw identity as being self-contained in the sense that an individual could develop an identity separate from society. Many theorists (Eriksen, 1968, Piaget, 1977) also developed neatly progressive stages through which the identity developed. These stages acted as a checklist for identity development and were used in practice to predict an individual's progress toward the formation of an ideal identity.

In contrast to these linear conceptions of identity, which view identity as something self-contained within an individual and as progressing in predictable stages, Moje and Luke (2009) defined identity as "something fluid and dynamic that is produced, generated, developed, or narrated over time" (p. 418). They and many other scholars (Aronowitz & Giroux 1991; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Sarup & Raja 1996) did not view identity as a smooth, complete, or unified aspect of the individual. According to these theorists, identity is disjointed, messy, and constantly re-authored. Identity is re-authored,

in part, through social interactions with others. Therefore, people may exhibit and assume different identities depending on the social context in which they are located. According to Gee (2012), an individual is "not a single *who*, but different *whos* in different contexts. In addition, one and the same act can count as different things in different contexts, where context is something people actively construe, negotiate over, and change their minds about" (p. 124). Thus, the contexts in which our experiences occur are actively shifted and altered. When viewed from this perspective, our identities lose their rigidity.

Moje and Luke further noted that a wide range of conceptions of identity exists even amongst theorists who agree that identity is formed through social interaction and is not static or inherent in the individual. Of the many theories relating to identity formation, I will be utilizing the Bakhtinian concept of the dialogical self to define identity and discuss identity formation.

This section describes the dialogical self and its connection to this study. I discuss what identity is according to Bakhtin, and I explain the fundamentals of the dialogical self, which is Bakhtin's explanation for identity formation. I also explain the importance of the dialogical self, specifically looking at how the dialogical self-impacts reader identity formation. The Bakhtian construct of dialogical self provides insights for identifying and analyzing the different identities and roles of the students as they tutor.

Identity Formation: The Dialogical Self

School systems label students who demonstrate difficulties with reading in an academic context with a wide variety of descriptors. Students are labeled "reluctant"

(Wilhelm, 1997), "dependent" (Beers, 2003), or even "at-risk" (Compton, Fuchs, Fuchs, & Bryant, 2006). Of these many terms, the term "struggling" appears frequently in much of the current literature (Hall, 2007; Vacca & Vacca, 2002). Because of the frequency of use, I also utilize this term in this discussion to refer to students who demonstrate difficulties in reading and are identified for remediation.

To better understand the dialogical self, the Bakhtinian definition of identity needs to be explored. As explained by Hermans, Kempen, and van Loon (1992), Bakhtin, a Russian literary scholar, argued that Dostoyevsky had developed a new form of literature that consisted of "independent and mutually opposing viewpoints, embodied by characters involved in dialogical relationships" (p. 33). One important aspect of this idea is that the characters were "perceived as the author of his or her own ideological perspective, not as an object of Dostoyevsky's all-encompassing artistic vision" (p. 32). In other words, although Dostoyevsky was one individual, he could author many distinct characters. This principle was applied to the concept of the dialogical self in psychology and education (Akkerman & Meijer, 2011; Hermans, 2001). The dialogical self indicates that just like an author can produce characters in a novel with completely different characteristics and trajectories, many of whom are in conflict with each other, so too can individuals embody a host of characters, many of whom may be in conflict with each other.

When applying Bakhtin's literary theories to psychology, Hermans et al. (1992) suggested that each individual contains "a plurality of perspectives and worlds: a polyphony of voices" (p. 27). These authors explained that there is a multiplicity of

selves that exist within a person's identity. The dialogical self "permits one individual to live in a multiplicity of worlds, with each world having its own author telling a story relatively independent of the authors of the other worlds" (p. 28). For example, a teenager in a middle-school setting authors many worlds. Adopting the institutional designation that is given to her, she probably sees herself as a student. Many different types of students exist with many different subjects to learn. She is a confident student in math but a timid student in art. She is a loud student when her friends are in her class, but a quiet student when she feels alone in class. She could be a friendly student to some teachers and an annoying student to others.

Students are placed in a variety of contexts. The adolescent's identity as a student in math is unique from the identity being authored in language arts. Furthermore, the student identity being authored is unique from the student's other worlds. Is the student an athlete? Is the student a skateboarder? Is the student an only child? What is the student's ethnicity?

Bakthin's theories of the dialogical self are consistent with Gee's (2015) theory of Discourses. Gee stated, "Discourses are all about how people 'get their acts together' to get recognized as a given kind of person at a specific time and place" (p. 166). According to Gee, Discourses are characterized by distinctive social practices, histories, relationships, and values, which give rise to different identities. For instance, a child and parent may have a close history in which a child is defined and loved as a son. The family values being hard working and respectful, and they ascribe those values to their child after seeing him spend hours in caring for his grandmother by raking her yard. In contrast

to this family Discourse—or what Gee calls a primary Discourse, in school, many people value grades or test scores, giving rise to identities as struggling readers when children do poorly on standardized measures. These examples demonstrate that different Discourses are characterized by different values and they define, in a socially contextualized space, people according to those values.

Hermans (2001) further elaborated that within the mind exists an entire population of people instead of a singular, central identity. These people all have different roles, beliefs, and perspectives, and these people and roles can contradict or agree with each other. To continue with the example above, a student may assume the role of "hard worker and respectful" at home, but this identity may be in conflict with the role of "struggling reader" that the student assumes after being placed in a leveled reading group. The following section uses Bakhtinian theories of the dialogical self to illustrate how different identities are formed, how conflicts such as this one are resolved (or not) in the process of constructing the dialogical self, and the implications of this theory for students' identities as readers.

Reader Identity

In the context of the classroom, the multiplicity of selves is very relevant. Each student identity contains the perspectives of parents, former teachers, and peers. Even reading test scores can be a voice that causes a student to internalize a certain position. Consequently, Bakhtinian ideas emphasize the importance of student-to-student and teacher-to-student interactions as a key to expanding self-perspectives afforded to

students. Bakhtin's (1981) concept of the dialogical self relies on this decentered

definition of identity. He concluded that identities are developed through dialogue with

others. Dialogue gives the individual the ability to "selectively assimilate" others'

narratives into his/her identities. He argued that adapting and assimilating the words of

others forms the foundation of behavior. Others can influence personal identities, through

dialogue, in a way that reflects each individual's perceptions, values, beliefs, and ideas

(Hermans et al., 1992). For example, when asked to read out loud in class, struggling

readers may be corrected by peers and teachers, or even mocked. These dialogues form a

part of the narrative the student is developing about herself as a reader. The self-narrative

is informed by the perspectives of the others. As a result, the individual develops a

unique *reader* identity through dialogue that is unique from the other identities that also

exist within the individual. This reader identity has three major attributes. According to

Hall (2012), reader identity consists of "how capable individuals believe they are in

comprehending texts, the value they place on reading, and their understandings of what it

means to be a particular type of reader within a given context" (p. 369).

Reader identities form through dialogue, which includes the language that

communicates to the student what certain types of readers are and do (Johnston, 2012).

Additionally, language is a primary tool used to form identities because the dialogue

afforded through language and interaction provides the apparatus by which students

position and are positioned (Wortham, 2001). Coombs (2012) explained that the use of

language can have broad effects on the reader identities of the students: "Defining

literacy by historical, economic and environmental practices leads some to believe

students don't fail in schools, but schools fail students by denying them opportunities to practice literacy in personally meaningful ways" (p. 84). In other words, language provides a means by which "school culture is *making* struggling readers out of some youth" (Alvermann, 2006, p. 95).

By recognizing and identifying ways in which the school system may perpetuate struggling reader identities, educators can begin to restructure school systems to promote more positive reader identities. Smith (2014) proposed a reading engagement model for struggling adolescent readers. Within this model, she explained that "as adolescents negotiate their varied identities through decision-making in a variety of settings and social circumstances, they are impacted by personal, social, and academic factors, and their decisions influence their personal, social, and academic potential future identities" (p. 36). To clarify, reader identity may play an essential role in a developing adolescent reader. By developing a positive reader identity, adolescent readers are also influencing their academic futures through their choices to engage or disengage in particular reading practices. They form positive or negative reader identities through their interactions with teachers, other students, their parents, and the texts they read, regardless of whether the teacher is even aware of the various reader identities found within the classroom.

Individuals are always authoring and re-authoring their dialogues and, consequently, their identities. Kearney (2002) determined that the narratives of our lives are a significant aspect of identity transformation. We make sense of the world around us by constructing these narratives through dialogue. We are in constant dialogue with ourselves, with other people, and with how we imagine other people to be. Then, not only

do the stories we tell about ourselves influence how we see ourselves, but also the stories others tell about us will have an impact on our identities. Also, our expectations of what others say about us will influence these narratives.

Thus, as we narrate our life stories, we form additional viewpoints and perspectives about interacting with the world. We use those perspectives to continue re-authoring our identities. The same can happen when analyzing reader identity. For the adolescent reader, narratives about the student's reading have been contributing to the way such a student views him or herself as a reader. For example, a narrative that a student might relive over and over is one where the student made multiple mistakes when reading a challenging text in front of the class. The student's reader identity is impacted not only by the lived experience, but also by the reactions of other classmates and the imagined or real conversations that the student's classmates are having about the incident. When a student narrates such a story, the narrative continues to have impact beyond just the lived experience (Coombs, 2012).

The dialogical self's functions and its parts become an important aspect of identity formation and inquiry. The voices from these interactions and conversations, identified through the theory of the dialogical self, can be categorized into a variety of positions: external positions, internal positions, and communal voices. Each of these positions works simultaneously and in an intertwined fashion, compounding the complexity that exists from the multiplicity of voices that construct meaning and identity. In order to more fully explain Bakhtin's concept of the dialogical self, I use the next portion to define external positions, internal positions, and communal voices. I also

discuss how these voices work together to produce reader identities.

External Positions

External positions are an influential part of self-development. Hermans (2001) discussed that external positions refer to the people and objects that the individual identifies as relevant in relation to one or more of the internal positions. External positions are those that others ascribe to us, while internal positions are the ones that we ascribe to ourselves, and the two positions are related. For instance, a person may define himself or herself as a "student," and this internal position is shaped in relation to the external position of "teacher."

External positions are also never neutral because they are imbued with culturally-derived values, judgments, and expectations. For example, a school system can place a child in the position of reader, but it also places a value on the student's reading: you are a struggling reader, a good reader, an average reader, a lazy reader, a hard-working reader, or a distracted reader. Hermans (2001) explained that these positions are easily transformed from "you are" statements into an "I am" self-narratives. However, Hermans argued that the "I am" narratives that derive from the external positions are not perfect copies of the external person's statements for at least two reasons. First, the individual imagines and reconstructs what the other says about the self, and the individual's reconstruction may not be perfectly aligned with the original intentions of the external person. Second, the external person's statements are internalized in the context of the multiplicity of people and positions that are already present in the self. For example, if some students had 10 teachers tell them they were hard workers who overcome

challenges, then they may assume the label of "struggling reader" in the context of these voices and may see their reading-related struggles as a surmountable challenge to overcome.

On the other hand, if some students have 10 teachers tell them that they are in the lowest reading group, they might just assume their reading ability is an immutable characteristic. Thus, any statement must be interpreted in the context of the other voices that the student has internalized, which is on example of why "You are/I am statements" are not reproduced in the self as an exact copy of the speaker's original intent. Additionally, in accordance with the dialogical self, these "I am statements" are not fixed nor permanent and will continue to adjust as the individual has further experiences with reading.

Understanding the influence of external positions and voices becomes especially important for teachers. Hermans and Kempen (1993) explained that teachers might work with students who rely heavily on external positions to develop a sense of identity. Dunne (1996) noted the importance of this interaction by explaining that the child's "basic sense of himself or herself ─as worthy of love or respect, as capable or incapable─[is] mediated by significant others and deeply internalized" (p. 144). Student identities are constructed in dialogue with the external positions of the teacher, other students, texts, test scores, and all sorts of feedback. Struggling and developing readers also have their self-perceptions influenced by these "significant others," which could potentially help or burden these perceptions.

Drawing from Bakhtinian theories, McCarthey (2001) demonstrated how external

voices can be impactful on identity formation to the point that such voices become "authoritative discourses." Bakhtin (1981) explained that authoritative discourse "demands our unconditional allegiance and permits no play with the context framing it, no play with its borders, no gradual and flexible transitions, no creative stylizing variants on it. It enters our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass…. It is indissolubly fused with its authority" (p. 343). As with other positions, authoritative discourses are not neutral with regards to identity formation. Authoritative discourses can function both positively and negatively.

McCarthey's (2001) qualitative study utilized a combination of narrative and case-study methods to analyze the means by which fifth-grade students constructed their identities in a literature-based curriculum. In McCarthey's study, a leveled reading program became an authoritative discourse that influenced elementary students' reading identities. She described students' experiences with literacy, writing workshops, and the Reading Renaissance program. In the Reading Renaissance system, students took an initial test the first week of school to determine what their reading levels were. Once levels were identified, the program utilized a color-coded system to match students with books on their respective levels. The school's entire library was color coded to this system, and students were allowed to check out one to two books from their color and an additional book outside their color.

Book selection became an important aspect of the program because of the included quizzes that the students were expected to take on each book they read. The system placed certain values on each book read. When a book was completed, students

were expected to take a comprehension test and pass it with a certain percentage. Reading Renaissance utilizes a system where an individual would calculate the book's difficulty, the number of pages, and other factors to determine how many points the student had earned by completing the reading of the book. Once all students in a class had completed the minimum amount of points in the program, the class would receive extra rewards like parties and activities. Also, the books read and quizzes passed directly impacted the students' grades. Of important note, the teacher in the study did not agree with the program entirely, but she was required by the school's administration to implement the program, do the testing, provide feedback, and provide the parties.

McCarthey (2001) hypothesized that of the different components of the literature curriculum, the most apparent aspect of the curriculum that influenced identity construction was the Reading Renaissance program. She observed examples of students having conversations about what color the students were in the program, and she "looked for patterns in students' identification of themselves and their peers in relation to the color they were on" (p. 132). In essence, the Reading Renaissance program became a powerful external voice because "every student was aware of the color he or she was on and its place in the color hierarchy" (p. 135). Students were not only aware of their own colors, but they were very cognizant of how their color compared to the colors of other students. In comparison, students were unable to make the same assertions about other students' writing abilities because no similar program existed for the writing portion of the curriculum.

The Reading Renaissance program acted as an external voice, but the participants

demonstrated that this particular external voice shaped certain aspects of their reader identities. Taken together, the color codes and labels, the testing, and the class rewards became an authoritative discourse. The program reached such a level of authoritative discourse that even the teacher felt as if she was unable to challenge its implementation. The students' identities were influenced by the program. The literacy program was an authoritative discourse because it functioned as an authoritative source on students' reading abilities, which was not meant to be questioned or talked back to. Authoritative discourses are produced by people who hold higher ranks or roles than we do. Students used the system as an indicator in understanding their literacy levels because they were easily able to compare their levels and abilities with other students, and they were unable to question the authority that the computer system possessed. At times, the system aligned with the students' previous perceptions of their reading abilities, and it was simple and easy for students to internalize such an identity. Other times, discrepancies existed between the students' self-perceptions and the program's assessment results, which created conflict in the individuals, but rather than resist the discourse, students simply accepted their color and looked for ways to game the system to gain levels. All of these factors played a role in developing the students' reader identities.

This example demonstrates how external voices can include authoritative discourses (e.g., labels ascribed by a literacy program), which are difficult for a student to question. It is important to note that external voices include both authoritative discourses and non-authoritative discourses. Consequently, these various external positions, not solely the individual, shape reading identities in many ways.

Internal Positions

Hermans (2001) portrayed internal positions as being "felt as part of myself" (p. 252). Internal positions are referred to in the plural because of the multiplicity of identities that exist within the dialogical self. Thus, internal positions include the positions and identities used to define the individual's roles in life, and internal positions are defined in relationship to external positions. For example, I have many internal positions. I am a student, teacher, father, brother, cousin, friend, and so forth. These many internal positions have no relevance without understanding that I am a student because of my relation to my professors, that I am a father in relation to my children, and so forth. Likewise, struggling readers' internal positions are formed in relationship to the external positions in the classroom: the teacher, other struggling students, successful readers, and so forth.

These internal positions can be partially constructed based on others' opinions and viewpoints. Because the perspective of the other is never neutral, the individual forms an identity based upon her or his interpretation of the other's value assessment, whether actual or imagined. For example, adolescent students may describe their reasons for having bad grades in class by explaining that "the teacher doesn't like me." Many middle-school teachers in turn believe that the students are just using excuses for laziness or other negative characteristics. As suggested by this example, students feel either a positive or a negative assessment from their interactions with teachers. Likewise, teachers feel some sort of evaluation, whether positive or negative, from their interactions with the students. Hall (2005) explained that understanding these interactions "allows for greater

understanding of how students' beliefs about themselves as readers has the potential to affect the ways in which they learn content…. It also suggests that teachers may need help in thinking about their interactions with struggling readers beyond strategy instruction" (pp. 3-4).

Part of the complexity of external and internal positions is that the two positions are so intertwined, as indicated by the positions' interdependency. One important aspect of the mutually dependent relationship is that internal positions include what Hermans et al. (1992) called the "imaginal" others. These others play a very important role in the dialogical self. The imaginal exists inside the individual's mind and "exist[s] alongside actual dialogues with real others and, interwoven with actual interactions, they constitute an essential part of our narrative construction of the world" (p. 28).

Finally, positions and the future also play a role in defining identity through an imaginal voice. Moje and Luke (2009) explained, "As people experience certain positions—what one might think of as labels…they come to imagine future positions and their future selves moving within and across those positions" (p. 460). Bakhtin (1981) also mentioned the influence of this imaginal future. For instance, a student might be labeled as a "struggling" reader by his or her teacher. The student then must interpret what that might mean. The student might look at adults who are "struggling" readers and notice the positions that these adults occupy in society. Accordingly, he or she could internalize this position and come to expect a similar future outcome and determine that he or she is just that type of person. The student could then begin to align his or her behaviors with this anticipated future.

Because no two people share an experience in the exact same way, it is never possible for two parties to communicate solely on the "actual" level. The imaginal dialogue partly exists to fill in the gaps that happen because of communication. As I engage in dialogue, I imagine the intentions of the words and actions of the other, and I shape the way I communicate because of my imagined interpretations. In other words, I take what the other is communicating, and I create an imagined other, embodied within my thoughts. For example, if a teacher tells a struggling reader to "just sound it out," the student might imagine an entirely different meaning than what the teacher intended. The student might place imagined meaning to the word "just," which would indicate that the task is overly simple. The student's inability to perform a simple task from an imagined dialogue could greatly influence his or her reader identity by increasing the students' feelings of incompetency.

The imaginal, however, does not always have to take place with "physically present individuals" or even individuals who exist at all (Hermans & Kempen, 1993, p. 70). For example, teachers will often ask students to wait in the hallway until there is a moment to talk. While waiting, the student can imagine an innumerable amount of possible conversations with the teacher. The teacher can be imagined as aggressive and mean or compassionate and caring. The imagined dialogue with the teacher would begin to shape the identity of the student, and it would also be based on the student's previous experiences with waiting in the hall. The teacher would also be preparing in his or her mind how the dialogue will go. We plan, revise, critique, and adjust our words and ideas with the imagined others in our mind. This interaction is constant and automatic. We use

imaginal others in dialogue to interpret and make meaning of the world and to shape the narrative of identity formation through dialogue.

Imaginal others are one aspect of internal voices, but that is not to say that all internal positions are imaginal. Internal positions are ways in which the individual defines him or herself, and these are created in relationship to external positions. The imaginal other is a blending of internal and external positions, where the individual is able to internally create nonphysical approximations of potential external positions. In turn, these imaginal others assist in constructing new internal and external positions.

Communal Voices

Individual identities are also constructed by communities and groups, of which the individual may or may not be a member. Hermans and Kempen (1993) explained that an individual could be a part of any number of groups and that communal voices are not limited to religious communities or large ethnic groups. As individuals participate in these groups and interact with other members, they become familiar with the stories and culture of the community. Membership in a group also comes with ways of making meaning of the world and the individual's role within that world. For most adolescents, group membership is very important (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001).

Similar to the external positions, communal voices are never neutral. Hermans and Kempen (1993) called communal voices an "intensive transactional relationship between self and society" (p. 120). The individual, in developing internal and external positions, learns and interprets what the community accepts as appropriate from these positions. Individuals can also look to the stories the community tells and the examples of

other community members in order to make sense of the world and to develop identity. For example, in certain student groups, reading is described as a waste of time, boring, or nerdy. A student whose identity was tied to this group would begin to internalize how the group values reading.

After an adolescent enters into a group where she or he wants to be a member, the individual will look to other group members' behaviors to find acceptable ways to continue fitting in. Martino's (1999) study on adolescent boys is a prime example of how communal values shaped individuals' behaviors and identities. Martino interviewed 25 boys at the school where he worked. He was attempting to identify the role that masculinity played in the formation of different groups of boys at the school. As he interviewed the boys, he noted that the majority of the boys was easily identified by the groups of the school. Each group had its own nickname: "Cool Boys," "Party Animals," "Squids," and "Poofters." The focus of the study was to identify the power relationships that existed among these groups of boys.

Martino (1999) argued that within our communities exist certain "modalities of power [which] are channeled through normalizing regimes of practice to permeate individual modes of behavior" (p. 241). Simply put, certain modes of behavior or identity traits are more highly favored in given communities than others. As a result, many individuals will re-author their identities to be more accepted by the group. Thus, the groups that we hope to participate in become a very influential communal voice in the shaping of our identities. In Martino's study, the "cool boys" held a position that created a powerful communal voice. They were the sole group that had the authority "in policing

the heteronormative limits of acceptable masculinity" (p. 243). These boys were the stereotypical football stars in a school and community that highly valued and emphasized the role football played in the school. Martino found in his interviews that whenever one of the "Cool Boys" did something that the group considered insufficiently masculine, the rest of the group would police the behavior by labeling the individual with some derogatory remark such as "wuss" or "poofter" (p. 245).

Martino (1999) described high school cliques, but the communal voices influencing our identities can be on a micro or macro scale. The activities we choose to participate in will locate us within a group of individuals with similar interests. The college degrees we pursue will insert us into certain communities. Our political affiliations, the clothes we wear, the social media we follow all become different communal voices as we internalize what it means to be that type of person in that community. These communal voices are not silent when it comes to reading. Many of the participants in Martino's study indicated that the "Cool Boys" didn't like to read, so he asked them why. One boy responded, "Maybe they don't think it's masculine or whatever to read books…. 'Cause you know when you're brought up as a kid, girls always read more books and that—it's just the way you're brought up really" (p. 249). Martino demonstrated that communal voices—such as those held by the cool boys—influence people's reading identities. In this case, the communal voices discouraged the participants from developing identities as good readers.

Identifying the classroom as a communal voice can also change the way identities develop within schools. Rex (2001) explained that communal voices often form identity

through labeling and classifying. Rex's study focused on a gifted and talented literature and composition course in the U.S. She took a case study approach to identify moments where a student would re-author his or her identity through the functioning of communal voices. One case, Kora, demonstrated very particular ways in which identity was shaped. Kora began at a reading level much lower than her peers in the program. She failed her first three quizzes, but the communal identity of the class allowed her to reposition herself and she passed the rest of the class quizzes. The communal voice of the classroom communicated to Kora the values and expectations of the community. Rex stated, "Kora has changed in relation to the readers around her; her new categories of valuing, of formation, and of evaluation are as much her class mates' as hers" (p. 299). As a consequence, who Kora is and the knowledge that she has acquired are intertwined and dependent on the social context where her identity is being shaped. Rex argued that teachers who set high expectations and who do not allow students to put others in negative positions provide communal spaces where "struggling readers" can re-author their reading identities.

Kora's example shows that labeling students something as simple as "not proficient" or a "behavior problem" assigns the student to a particular social group. The student, in turn, can assume that identity as an internal position. Repeated interaction with students of the same group reinforces the expected behaviors of the group and its members. Students reinforce such labels, but teachers, administrators, counselors, and parents also play roles in describing and classifying the behaviors of such a student. The school's communal voice then becomes a powerful mechanism for forming student

identities, negatively and positively. The students will engage in classroom activities and are shaped into "particular types of students" (Rex, 2001, p. 290). The dialogue of the teacher and students will shape reader identities of all students in negative and positive ways. Consequently, remaking reader identity "is characterized by constant shifting of student-teacher roles, power relations, voices, and understandings… with dialogue as the medium of these dynamics" (p. 293). The dialogues in the classroom help shape the identity of every student in different ways.

When the adolescent identifies that a characteristic is valued by a community, he or she will begin to shape identities that align with the group's norms or risk rejection by the community. Thus, the group's influence on the self's identities is not neutral, and the self will not remain status quo. The communities and groups the student belongs to provide an entire set of values, norms, beliefs, and expectations that add to the polyphony of voices within the student's identity. Students access these voices to measure themselves and can adjust identity accordingly.

Bien Educado

For Latinos/as, communal voices and authoritative discourses align with the concept of *bien educado*. According to Knight, Bernal, Garza, and Cota (1993), "*Bien educado* refers to behavioral expectations of children, held by the Mexican family, that emphasize politeness, respect, familialism, and cooperation in their relations with others" (p. 293). The term literally translates to "well-educated" in English, but the cultural connotations associated with the term are not as easily translated. Valdés (1996) explained that the antithesis of a child who is bien educado would be a child who is rude,

disrespectful, and uncooperative. In Mexico, the term to describe such a child is *malcriado,* which means poorly raised. Thus, the cultural weight of being bien educado indicates that a child's level of respect of, politeness towards, and cooperation with authority is a direct reflection on the parents, the family, and the culture of the child. In effect, bien educado is one way that Latino parents socialize their children, which is distinct from their White, middle-class counterparts.

Villanas and Deyhle (1999) identified some of these differences that occur when bien educado is used as a method for socialization. They explained "Mexican children learned to fit into the family; they learned what behaviors to tolerate of siblings, to share with them, and to not 'disrupt' the family environment. In this manner, families were household-centered rather than child-centered" (p. 424). These differences between familial socialization practices may play a role in the children's approaches to school. Politeness, respect for authority, and cooperation with teachers may lead to teachers perceiving such "good" behavior as an identifier of academic ability, which could mislabel some "struggling" students as "proficient." Additionally, the students and families who are most likely to socialize using bien educado as the definition of successful personal development could more commonly defer to the authoritative discourse of the school. Thus, personal academic progression would be entrusted to the school with teacher or school efficacy not being questioned because it would be perceived as disrespectful or impolite.

Summary

The dialogical self provides a thorough framework for understanding identity

formation. The constructs of internal positions, external voices, and communal voices provide insights into the multitude of influences on identity formation and the worlds of identities of each individual. Although Hermans (2001) treated these three voices as separate categories, he reminded readers that they are closely interconnected aspects of the dialogical self. For example, it would be very difficult to determine at what point an external voice is transformed to an internal position, and both are working simultaneously to keep adding to the individual's repertoire of identities. If teachers were to gain a better understanding of the theory of the dialogical self, they might be more careful in their interactions with all of their students.

Reading Interventions for Latino Students

The theory of the dialogical self might support the idea that tutoring will work for "struggling readers" and Latinos in the sense that it will help them to re-author positive reading identities. Authoritative discourses, such as test scores like NAEP and yearly state-level exams, often label Latinos as underachieving in reading (Fry, 2008). Given my Bakhtinian theoretical framework, I assumed that tutees were likely to serve as an external position that would support the repositioning and recasting of the Latino students as successful readers because the tutees are likely to look up to the students as more successful. In the following section, I describe how Latinos have been positioned as struggling readers and identify previous approaches to literacy instructional practices for this population.

Although reading techniques and skills need to be taught, discrete literacy skills

like phonemic awareness, letter recognition, and blending with repeated practice will not be enough to meet the literacy needs of all students, especially adolescent readers. Hall (2012) explained that an emphasis on these skills ignores the need to reshape students' reader identities. These skills are only minimal components of reading. Reading involves beliefs, values, feelings, attitudes, relationships, past experiences, and many aspects of identity (Lee & Chern, 2011; McCarthey, 2001; Street, 2005). According to Hall, "as students are being instructed to engage with texts in particular ways, they are also being told to rethink and change who they are and reconfigure themselves to institutionalized norms" (p. 369). In the case of many Latino/a students, the valued paradigms of the school system are dictated to the students from a foreign, and oftentimes hostile, belief system.

According to Ortiz and Ordoñez-Jasis (2005), current literature on the education of Latino students is abundant and comes from a diverse collection of conceptual frameworks. The purpose of many of these studies was an attempt to describe the "historical, sociological, and ideological aspects of the 'Latino educational experience' in the U.S." (p. 111). Ortiz and Ordoñez-Jasis argued that such researchers have had a major difficulty to overcome: the tremendous diversity found within the Latino communities. An individual who is Latino would be a person "generally related to Latin American origin or ancestry" (p. 111). Ortiz and Ordoñez-Jasis described a "multitude of realities as rich and diverse as Mexican farm workers in New Mexico, urban Puerto Rican youth in New York, or Cuban refugees in Florida" (p. 111).

For the purposes of this study, the term *Latino* is not used in a way to over-

generalize such a diverse group. The term is utilized "more as a concept nurtured out of a shared bond of culture, history, and often social oppression and inequality" (Acuña, 1988; Barrera, 1997; García, 2002; Ortiz & Ordoñez-Jasis, 2005). Also, of the possible terms that could have been used in this study, Latino is part of the selected name for the Latinos in Action program, and to remain consistent with the program and limit the amount of confusion by using multiple terms, Latino is used throughout the study to refer to any individual of Latin American descent, regardless of race or country of heritage.

One connecting factor identifies the Latino community as having a shared culture and experience more than any other factor, the use of Spanish (Babino & Stewart, 2017). Sharing this common language often leads to similar treatment by the education system. Not all students who are Latino are fluent in Spanish, but many of the students who are identified as Latino also are placed into the category of English Language Learner (ELL) by their schools because of the common use of Spanish in the home. In fact, the largest ELL population in the U.S. are students whose primary language is Spanish. According to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Spanish is spoken by 71% of the US ELL population (Hemphill & Vanneman, 2011). Furthermore, the fastest growing student population continues to be children of immigrants from Spanish-speaking homes (Fry & Gonzalez, 2008). These students have a higher probability of living at or near poverty levels (Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2008) with parents who have not experienced the U.S. education system and who work multiple jobs (Capps et al., 2005) and where schools are more likely to be underperforming and underfunded (Cosentino de Cohen, Deterding, & Clewell, 2005).

In addition to these educational hurdles, students who are Latino, and ELLs in particular, are often labeled as struggling readers. The NCES report indicated that 51% of Latino fourth-graders in the U.S. read below the basic level for that grade, which is drastically different than the 22% for White non-Latino students. Of the Latino ELL population, the same report indicated that only 17% of these students were at or above the proficiency level for their grade (Hemphill & Vanneman, 2011, p. 96). According to Begeny, Yeager, and Martínez (2011), struggling Latino readers have become a major concern of the education system. Many instructional interventions have been put into place, and it has developed into "one of the primary goals of the presidential agenda for improving education in the U.S." (p. 136).

Educators and policy makers believe that there will be lifelong effects of being considered a struggling reader which is another reason why the issue gets so much attention. For example, Rubin (1975) explained that proficiency in reading was necessary in order to access the various domains of high school curriculum. She argued that student reading levels are consistently linked to other academic outcomes, including dropout rates and successful higher education participation. More recently, the Program for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (Goodman, Finnegan, Mohadjer, Krenzke, & Hogan, 2013) indicated that higher levels of reading as an adult will likely lead to higher salaries, higher levels of full-time employment, and lower levels of unemployment. As a consequence, many assessments and data-collection programs have been implemented in schools. The data from these programs have taken an authoritative discourse in the education community. Teachers and policy makers often do not question

the data, and if the data are to be believed, the current reading levels of many members of the Latino population, according to these assessment measures, will continue to have a major impact on academic, economic, and societal factors in the near future. As a result of these indicators, school systems across the country have put into place a myriad of programs to help improve the reading achievements of struggling Latino readers.

ESL Instructional Programs

According to Cheung and Slavin (2012), Latino-centered reading remediation programs can be placed into one of nine categories, which are described in greater detail below. The first four listed are instructional programs designed for ESL instruction and include English-only programs, transitional bilingual programs, two-way bilingual programs, and paired bilingual programs. Although Latinos are not the only students who qualify for many of these programs, they comprise the majority of students who are placed in these programs in the U.S. (Cheung & Slavin, 2012, p. 353). Also, many of these programs have been specifically created out of the education system's push to increase the English reading proficiency of Latino students and to close the achievement gap. The next section will describe the functions and goals of these various programs.

English-Only Programs. The goal of English-only programs is to focus mainly on English language development (Cheung & Slavin, 2012; Durán, Roseth, & Hoffman, 2010). In English-only programs, teachers instruct students using ESL strategies in order for students to acquire content area knowledge and the necessary English academic vocabulary. These strategies include many traditional reading strategies that are intended to help with vocabulary development and reading fluency. Some examples of these

strategies would include students pausing to make predictions about what is going to happen next, restating the passage in their own words, and identifying unfamiliar words and looking up their meaning. Cheung and Slavin indicated that English-only programs are the most common programs in the U.S. because schools are held to strict accountability measures that require students to read and write proficiently in English, even if the student has a minimal amount of time acquiring the language. Also, these programs are popular in locations where multiple primary languages exist because a bilingual instructional model would be difficult to provide.

English learner students qualify for these programs based on their primary home language and the taking of one entry assessment. Once entered, a student cannot be removed from the lists of these programs; however, parents can opt-out of receiving services. There are multiple variations of the English-only model: pull-out instruction, structured English immersion (SEI), Sheltered Instruction, and ESL. Each is slightly different, but the goal of these reading instruction interventions is the same: to develop reading skills in English as quickly as possible through instruction. According to Goldenberg's (2013) research, these programs have shown, at most, "modest effects that were *not* statistically significant" (p. 7).

Transitional bilingual programs. These programs "provide most instruction in students' native language in the early grades, then gradually transition into all-English learning environments in later grades" (Cheung & Slavin, 2012, p. 5). Transitional bilingual programs are not very common across the U.S. because of a nationwide emphasis on accountability for the students' abilities to read and write in English.

However, they may be found in some states instructional programs. The literacy goal of this type of program is to provide students with reading development support in both languages and slowly withdraw the Spanish support. The goal is also to get the students to read English proficiently, but the time frame is much different than the English-only model. In this type of program, students who speak Spanish are expected to transition out of the program after two to four years of support. Transitional bilingual programs were created so that students who have a primary home language other than English can read in their primary language, with the belief that such skills would be able to more easily transfer to a second language (Branum-Martin et al., 2006). However, once basic skills are mastered, the students are expected to become fully immersed in English instruction. Castillo and Sanders (2005) compared student math and reading results of students in a transitional bilingual program to students in a two-way bilingual program. Their research indicated that transitional program students have, statistically speaking, no additional reading and math gains over the two-way bilingual participants. In fact, the two-way program students had higher scores, but the differences were not statistically significant.

Two-way bilingual programs. A two-way bilingual program contains classes that have both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking students in the same courses, although not all two-way bilingual programs consist of English and Spanish. Equal instructional time is provided in English and Spanish. The goal is for both native Spanish-speaking and native English-speaking students to become bilingual and to eventually read equally well in both languages. These programs were very popular until the late 1990s, when English-only models became enacted laws in some states. Recently,

they have had a resurgence in popularity as parents, particularly White parents, recognized the advantages that bilingualism can provide their children (Cheung & Slavin, 2012; Lindholm-Leary & Howard, 2008). W. P. Thomas and Collier (2002) stated that students in these programs have a higher academic achievement than any other bilingual programs. Umansky, Valentino, and Reardon (2016) found that students in two-way bilingual programs reach English proficiency at a slower rate than other programs; however, "more students in these programs ultimately reach proficiency" (p. 14).

Paired bilingual programs. The paired bilingual program is a system where ELLs are instructed in both English and the primary language from their initial placement into the program. Thus, the language instruction is paired. These programs "differ mainly in that English-proficient students are not necessarily taught in Spanish" (Cheung & Slavin, 2012, p. 5). This means that students who are deemed English proficient through an assessment no longer receive instruction in Spanish or never enter into the bilingual program in the first place. The goal is to promote bilingualism for those students who have been raised speaking a language other than English. These programs are also uncommon for the same reasons as previously mentioned, and according to Baker et al. (2012), this type of bilingual program is the least common form of ESL instruction. Umansky et al. (2016) also found that students in this type of program have a similar trajectory to those in a two-way bilingual program, but a slightly smaller percentage of students reach English proficiency.

ESL Instructional Interventions

Cheung and Slavin (2012) identified five categories that compose ESL

instructional interventions designed to be used within any classroom setting and include literacy interventions with cooperative learning, vocabulary specific interventions, small group emergent literacy, one-on-one teacher tutoring, and cross-age tutoring.

Literacy interventions with cooperative learning. These reading programs emphasize a whole-class approach towards reading with an emphasis on utilizing a combination of cooperative learning, direct instruction, and well-structured curriculum materials. The instructional practices place an emphasis on using direct instruction to provide systematic phonics in grades K-1. However, this type of intervention uses more cooperative learning and less teacher-centered direct instruction in later grades where students provide each other with instruction in comprehension and increasing text complexity (D. Fuchs & Fuchs, 2005). One example of this model is the Success for All (SFA) program (Cheung & Slavin, 2012). SFA has many variations and is a dedicated curriculum set that also provides teachers training in order to implement the program with fidelity. Another program that utilizes a similar model is the Bilingual Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (BCIRC) program. This system starts with a teacher introduction and quickly moves to student-centered activities like partner readings and team activities. Harper and Jong (2004) found that these interventions are only effective with Spanish speakers if the teacher can "ensure that ELLs can actively and appropriately participate in cooperative learning structures by paying attention to language demand and task structure" (p. 159). Thus, in order for this type of intervention to be successful, the student must already be linguistically ready for the academic tasks.

Vocabulary-specific interventions. Multiple programs use a vocabulary-based

intervention system in an attempt to improve Latino students' reading skills. The reasoning behind these programs is that Latino students who are provided a richer English language foundation will struggle less with reading. These programs emphasize the teaching and learning of new vocabulary words on a regular (often weekly) basis. These types of programs often use technology and repetitive games to increase to repeated exposures to frequently used academic vocabulary lists.

For example, Hwang, Lawrence, Mo, and Snow (2015) identified the program Word Generation as a good example of this type of vocabulary intervention. This intervention uses a weekly reader to introduce students to academic vocabulary from four content areas: English language arts, science, math, and social studies. The program then requires students to use the introduced words in 20-minute conversations and write a small essay at the end of the week. Leacox and Jackson (2014) used a quantitative analysis to examine a similar vocabulary intervention. They found that "by combining expanded definitions with repeated readings, word learning gains are evident (p. 190).

Small group emergent literacy. Chueng and Slavin (2012) explained that these programs focus on explicit, systematic instruction and are tailored to be used in a centers-style classroom. Thus, students are placed into ability groups of four to six individuals. These groups would then have multiple literacy centers that can be done independently from the teacher. While all students from the class are working on accomplishing the task of their centers, the teacher can focus on the needs of one small group at a time. These types of instructional practices are very popular in the U.S. and has shown to increase various reading outcomes among ELs, including vocabulary, comprehension, phonics,

and fluency (Baker et al., 2015).

One-on-one teacher tutoring. One-on-one tutoring is a very focused and methodical intervention for struggling readers. This type of program takes the reader apart from the rest of the class and emphasizes flexibility where the instructor's primary focus is to assess the needs of the student and provide the practice necessary for that student to advance towards being a grade-level reader. According to Chueng and Slavin (2012), multiple studies have consistently demonstrated that one-on-one tutoring leads to increased gains in reading achievement by the students being tutored. One of the difficulties of implementing a one-on-one tutoring system is the level of cost involved. Prohibitive costs decrease the likelihood that a school could provide a teacher to implement one-on-one tutoring support. According to Jacob, Smith, Willard, and Rifkin (2014), one such program that has demonstrated to be an effective tutoring system is the Reading Partners program. This program utilizes volunteers to provide students with one-on-one tutoring in an attempt to improve reading.

In sum, many instructional approaches have been used to increase the literacy achievement of Latino/a students. While all of these programs can be effective, I chose to focus on cross-age tutoring because I perceive that the benefits of a cross-age tutoring program go beyond increasing reading scores for the tutee. Also, I currently work with adolescent students and the majority of these intervention programs for struggling Latino readers, and the majority of reading instruction in general, is geared toward elementary-aged students (Greenleaf & Hinchman, 2009). Thus, because cross-age tutoring is the only one of these programs that puts students in the position of "teacher" rather than in

the position of "student," I wanted to explore whether a cross-age tutoring program allowed older students that opportunity to re-author their reader identities sufficiently enough to be considered a valid and useful intervention for older struggling readers.

Cross-Age Tutoring

Although Chueng and Slavin (2012) have asserted that cross-age tutoring is a popular approach for instruction in reading for Latino/a students, there are other studies that address cross-age tutoring for students of all ages and ethnicities. The following section presents a review of the literature on cross-age tutoring.

Purposes and Goals

One way to have some of the benefits of tutoring without the cost is to have students tutor one another, which is the type of intervention program that the Latinos in Action program is designed to provide. Cross-age tutoring uses older students as tutors to support the academic learning of younger students (Topping, 2001). Many models exist for tutoring programs, and cross-age tutoring has been successfully implemented for various content areas, but tutors most commonly help in math and reading instruction (Vincent & Ley, 1999). Roscoe and Chi (2007) explained that cross-age tutoring has become an increasingly popular instructional method due to the allure of individualized attention for students, minimal cost, and the availability of numerous student volunteers. With the gain in popularity, the academic community has also taken notice and a significant amount of research has been done on the academic and social benefits of these types of programs for both the tutors and the tutees (Thrope & Wood, 2000). The

outcomes of these studies are generally positive, but most results are related to the academic achievement gains of the tutees (Robinson, Schofield, & Steers-Wentzell, 2005).

Tutee Achievement

Research thoroughly documents the benefits of cross-age tutoring in reading as can be noted through this section. Taylor and colleagues (Taylor, Hanson, Justice-Swenson, & Watts, 1997) found in their quantitative study that second-grade students showed significant improvement in reading accuracy scores after they were tutored by fourth-grade students who were trained to help the younger students learn to decode and self-monitor in their reading. The study measured reading ability by using a project assistant who listened to the children read passages independently. In order to be considered on grade level, the student had to read at least 90% of the words from the passage accurately. The participants were placed in three groups. The control group did not receive any interventions. The second group received a multi-week intervention class instructed by the school's literacy coach. The experiment group also participated in the intervention class and received an additional amount of time in a daily cross-age tutoring session. At the end of the intervention, "75% of the students in the intervention plus tutoring group, less than 30% in the intervention-only group, and none in the control group could read the passage … with at least 90% word recognition accuracy" (p. 203). This study indicated that there is an aspect built into the tutoring process that provides struggling readers with a way to increase their reading skills.

Bowman-Perrot, Greenwood, and Tapia (2007) used another quantitative study to

demonstrate the effects of tutoring but chose middle schoolers to be the tutees reading in science classes. Similar to Taylor and colleagues' subjects, students participating in this peer-tutoring program scored higher on reading assessments than the students who formed part of the control group. In addition to showing reading gains, Bowman-Perrot et al. found that students in the program spent more of the class "on-task" and "engaged" (p. 75). This study provides further evidence that the act of tutoring can shape the reading skills of the tutor.

The Peer Assisted Learning Strategies (PALS) is an example of a structured cross-age tutoring program that focuses on reading improvement, and it has been the subject of much research. Mathes, Torgesen, and Allor (2001) determined that struggling young readers in PALS improved their reading abilities after they had been tutored, as compared to non-participants. Calhoon, Al Otaiba, Greenberg, King, and Avalos (2006) used an experimental design to test how PALS compared to standard classroom instruction. The authors concluded that Latino/a tutees who participated in PALS showed a significant increase in reading skills when compared to their peers who did not participate in PALS.

Tutor Achievement

Despite extensive research on the benefits of cross-age tutoring for tutees, the tutoring process's effects on the tutor have not received as much attention. However, researchers have identified academic gains as a result of being a tutor.

Roscoe and Chi (2007) used meta-analysis strategies that combined the results of multiple studies to determine the benefits of tutoring for the tutor. These authors argued

that research shows that tutoring benefits the tutor across various tutoring formats, with students of diverse backgrounds, and across differing subject areas. They explained that the literature demonstrated two activities—explaining and questioning—produced significant results for tutor learning. The authors also indicated that tutor training and program implementation do play a role in the level of learning obtained by the tutors.

Jacobson et al. (2001) used a mixed methods approach to determine whether adolescent tutors of elementary students increased in measured reading ability. For the quantitative portion, they used two pretests to determine the reading levels of the students who were starting to tutor. Then, the tutors were reassessed after eight months of tutoring. For the qualitative portion, students were interviewed to determine their experiences with tutoring. All the tutor participants in the study were determined to be "struggling" readers based on their assessment scores. Based on quantitative data, the authors concluded that the student tutors had increased in reading abilities and had demonstrated a change that was statistically significant. The authors stated, "While we are unable to conclude that the cross-age tutoring alone resulted in these changes, we do believe that the various intervention strategies…had an impact on the students' literacy growth" (p. 533). Again, this study demonstrated that the reading abilities of older students can be significantly improved through the process of tutoring, even if the tutor is considered less-capable in his or her reading abilities.

Summary

In all, most studies of cross-age tutoring have been quantitative in nature and have focused on improvements in the tutee's reading abilities. Although there is a limited body

of research on the effects of cross-age tutoring for the tutors, this research has also been quantitative in nature and has likewise focused on improvements in reading abilities. Thus, more qualitative research is needed that focuses on more than just outcomes in reading skills. My study is a contribution to the literature because it adds to our understanding of how students could potentially re-author their reader identities through unique learning experiences. Also, more academic research that focuses on tutors' experiences is needed (Brayko, 2013; Topping, 2005). I chose to conduct this study in the context of Latinos in Action (LIA) because cross-age tutoring is a central component of LIA and because LIA focuses on the development of positive identities for Latino youth. The following section describes previous research on Latinos in Action programs.

Latinos in Action

Latinos in Action is a program that attempts to change the role that Latinos play in their communities and schools. The main goal is to engage older students in a positive, school-related activity. The program is more of a regional program that began in the state of Utah, but it has rapidly grown to be in multiple states in the western U.S. It has also recently expanded to include the state of Florida. Students enter the program in middle school and can continue participating through college. The students are placed in a class where the curriculum focuses on becoming Latino heroes in their communities. Thus, class members are expected to maintain a certain grade point average, pass all courses, and behave appropriately at school. Additionally, students plan, organize, and carry at least one service project per quarter. Students also use class time, usually twice per week,

to peer tutor at a nearby elementary school.

According to Jose Enriquez (2012), the founder of the Latinos in Action program, LIA enrolled close to 1,400 students in the 2011-2012 school year. Approximately 4,400 students have participated as tutors in this program since it began in 2001. He explained that this program is meant to be a high- or junior-high-school level course which is offered as an elected credit. Enrollment numbers also continue to grow, particularly in the western portion of the U.S., which is where the program began.

Enriquez (2012) mentioned a number of goals associated with the LIA program: "The program seeks to enhance the social, cognitive, and linguistic abilities of Latino students while allowing them to mentor younger Latino peers. The intervention concentrates on Latino students… in an attempt to lower dropout rates and encourage higher education" (p. 7). Any benefits to the students being tutored are important, but increasing reading scores for the younger students is not the main objective of the program. Enriquez added that LIA has been very successful in meeting these lofty goals. "So far, every student enrolled in Latinos in Action has graduated from high school. In 2010, 85% of graduating LIA seniors went on to college, almost all with significant scholarship awards" (p. 9). With the success of such a program, and very little research done on the program, researchers have a significant amount of work to determine and describe the many factors that may influence the growth and success of LIA, particularly the ways in which tutoring serves the tutors, in addition to being an intervention for the students being tutored.

The concept of the dialogical self is particularly interesting when considering the

dialogues that can result from a tutor/tutee relationship. The teacher already has a considerable amount of power to shape the identities of the students, but the tutor relationship adds a unique nuance to adolescent identity that needs to be explored further. Thus, the theoretical framework of the dialogical self is used to explore identity formation in this particular context because this study focused on a group of students who were tutoring younger children. Additionally, various unique internal and external positions can exist in a tutoring setting. It has already been stated that a shift in identity may be one necessary component that allows a "struggling" reader to improve. I anticipated that by labeling some of these students as tutors, they would begin to reposition themselves with regard to reading and potentially internalize these new positions. The new positions could provide a counter-narrative to the voices that had shaped their reader identities as "struggling" readers.

Contribution to the Literature

This study will contribute to existing research and practitioner-oriented literature in multiple ways. First, it will provide a unique contribution to the research base by focusing on the reader identities of Latinos and how such identities are shaped through the process of tutoring. The emphasis of the study will be on the tutor. The study looks at the process the tutor goes through while participating in LIA. Also, this is a qualitative study which can provide descriptive power to existing quantitative research on tutors. Tutor changes will be documented by focusing on the changes in the students' reader identities instead of emphasizing gains on test scores. I want to know whether and how

tutoring potentially transforms these reader identities. This deeper understanding could contribute to existing research literature by providing insights about aspects of Latinos' reader identities that are not currently identified as part of the cross-age tutoring literature.

Second, this study will contribute to educational practices in multiple ways. The findings might be transferable to other LIA programs, and LIA programs are increasing rapidly. In qualitative research, findings are context specific, so generalization of findings is not the aim, but a certain level of transferability is possible (Petty, Thompson, & Stew, 2012). As Klehr (2012) stated,

> Because teachers' pedagogical knowledge is situated—informed by setting, experience, and theoretical framework—what surfaces is a different kind of transferable knowledge: the understanding that knowledge about teaching is shaped and refined by interactions with people and ideas, therefore flexible and socially constructed. (p. 124)

Thus, the context of the study is important, but more importantly, the context of the audience for my research is also situated; consequently, individuals in such an audience will be able to determine the level of transferability to their contexts. For example, the study may be significantly transferable for teachers who seek novel ways for supporting students in re-authoring their identities as readers. The study might also be significant for program administrators who seek informed explanations regarding how the LIA program supports students in reconceptualizing themselves as readers.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODS

The following chapter will describe the details of the design for this study. First, I will describe the context of the study. Then, I explain the methods that I used in my attempts to access the stories, experiences, and reader identities of the participants. I also cover participant selection and discuss the data collection and analysis process. Last, I finish this chapter with a discussion about how I ensured the quality of the study and any potential limitations to the research.

Contextual Factors

From the Bakhtinian perspective, identity development is always embedded in history, with a person's past experiences constantly entering into the new dialogues (McCarthey, 2001). Therefore, the context of the participants' reading experiences was a key factor in the authoring of their identities. In this section, I describe the community, school, and teacher that comprise the context of this study. Last, I provide context for my position as the researcher.

Community

The research setting of this study was in a city located within a large rural area in the state of Utah. The city has a population of about 100,000 people. The region has grown drastically since 1980. Prior to that growth, the city was very homogenous in race, politics, class, religion, and ethnicity with the vast majority of people being White,

conservative, middle-class, Mormon, and Western European in heritage. However, with the increased growth, there has also been an increase in diversity within the community. The city is located in close proximity to Las Vegas, Nevada, and is directly linked to Los Angeles, California, by way of U.S. Interstate 15. This highway makes southern California a relatively short, direct drive. As a result of proximity to urban areas and availability of work due to a demand for construction workers, much of the diversity from population growth includes individuals who are Latino and had moved into the community. According to the families with whom I have spoken, many of the individuals who have moved indicate that one of the primary reasons for relocating was that the larger cities seemed dangerous, and they wanted a more family-friendly environment to raise their children.

Because of this shift in demographics, the local school district had struggled with its ability to work with this new student group because few teachers and administrators had personal experience interacting with this group. To this day, very few educators come from a background outside the area's original, culturally homogeneous group. The school district and local schools have taken a number of actions to try to meet the needs of the local Latina/o students: it implemented dual-immersion programs, multicultural programs, and Latinos in Action. Each of these programs has been met with strong resistance from the more conservative groups within the community and school system, which make up a large portion of the overall population. Additionally, the Latino community in particular has felt and expressed a lot of angst over local pushes to create more stringent enforcement of anti-immigration laws. All of these factors are in addition

to the fact that Latino students in the local school system follow national academic trends in the sense that they do not perform as well on standardized tests and drop out at a higher rate than their White counterparts. (In order to maintain confidentiality, all names in this study are pseudonyms.) Tim Packer, an ESL coordinator of this school district explained: "Although Westridge School District has made and continues to make strides in increasing the academic performance of our Latino students, a gap still exists between their achievement and the academic achievement of the Caucasian population" (T. Packer, personal communication, October 20, 2016).

School, Class, and Teacher Characteristics

In the 2011-2012 school year, the school district piloted Latinos in Action, where Latina/o students participated in a cross-age tutoring program, received instruction on multiculturalism, and provided service to the community. District administrators originally offered the program at one middle and one high school for a single year in order to decide whether or not to fully implement the program throughout the district. The district evaluated the program and determined that the course would be a beneficial addition to the students. After the initial pilot, every secondary school in the school district successfully implemented the LIA program for three years, but the district removed funding from the program in part due to political pressure from the community as a result of the name LIA. Administrators believed that the program's name and implementation were problematic as the program did not provide equal access to students who were not Latino, so the school district removed its full support for the program by removing district funding. Individual schools, however, were allowed to fund the

program on their own if the administrators of the schools believed the program was beneficial enough to pay for. This shift of funding led to nearly half the district schools abandoning the LIA program and removing it from their course offerings.

The school district had approximately 25,000 students who were spread out among a few cities and some rural towns. The secondary schools in the district consisted of six high schools and five middle schools. However, the school district did not divide grade levels to each school in a traditional manner. Elementary levels were made up of grade kindergarten through fifth. Grades six and seven attended what was referred to as an intermediate school. The district considered middle school to be grades eight and nine. High school students consisted of the final three grades.

The selected middle school for this study was similar in demographics and structure to the overall school district's percentages. I use the term "middle school" instead of junior high even though the grade levels for the school were eighth and ninth grades because this was the term used by the local school district in their school descriptions and names. The school had an approximate population of 700 students with around 20% Latina/o enrollment. The school decided that LIA was beneficial to Latino students and implemented the Latinos in Action program on their own. Enriquez established Latinos in Action in 2005, but the school used in this study did not adopt the program until the 2012-2013 school year. The school entered its fourth year of utilizing the program at the time that data collection commenced.

The LIA program has multiple aspects that were unique when compared to a more traditional curriculum. LIA is an elective course where students receive credit just as they

would any other class; however, LIA is also an association of students meant to provide opportunities for Latino students that go beyond the support a traditional public school would offer. Students are recruited to participate in LIA at the end of each school year. School counsellors identify students based on the requirements to be in the course. The requirements include speaking another language (not necessarily Spanish) and a Grade Point Average above a 3.0. One unique aspect of LIA is that at least two class periods per week all LIA members are involved in tutoring elementary students. The LIA students rode busses to the partner elementary unless such an elementary was within close walking distance. In the case of the middle school in this study, the middle school and the elementary shared the responsibility of paying for the buses. Without this negotiation between these two schools, the program would have been cut.

Because of time loading and transporting the LIA students, each tutoring session lasted 30 minutes and only one tutoring session could be accomplished per class day. The LIA students were each assigned a partner teacher at the elementary school. These assignments were made by the LIA teacher, and LIA students could be assigned to any grade level. Usually, the LIA students who struggled the most in reading were placed in kindergarten through third grade classrooms while more proficient LIA readers were placed in fourth and fifth grades. The partner teachers were responsible for selecting which students in their classes needed tutoring and which areas the LIA students could focus on with the tutees. Many teachers set aside a corner of their room or placed a desk in the hallway for the tutoring sessions. No particular list of requirements existed for the students being tutored. Some tutees spoke only Spanish. Others spoke only English.

Many tutees were bilingual. Some were White and some Latino.

Another unique aspect of LIA was that service and extracurricular participation were required as part of the curriculum. Each quarter, the LIA students were responsible for planning and executing at least one service project as a group. These projects took place after school hours, but the LIA teacher had discretion on what the students turned in and how the project was graded. Additionally, an LIA conference was held annually where the LIA students attended presentations with keynote speeches and breakout sessions which were meant to motivate, empower, and provide support to the LIA students.

The requirements for being a member of the LIA class were that the students needed to maintain at least a 2.5 GPA, have no F grades, and be bilingual, most commonly in Spanish; however, other languages were accepted. If students failed to meet these standards related to GPA, they were placed on probation until they could make up the grades. A student on probation was given a written warning and was at risk of being removed from the program. If the grades were not made up before the grading term ended, the teacher removed the student from the tutoring program. The middle school capped participation in the program at 25 students per class offered, all of whom were from the eighth or ninth grade.

At the time that this study began, Mr. Harris (all names are pseudonyms) was entering his fifth year of teaching Spanish and was the instructor of the school's English as a Second Language (ESL) courses. He was the original teacher who first implemented LIA at his school, and it was his fourth year working with this group. He received many

awards and recognitions for working with LIA, and he was dedicated to the goals and principles of the organization. Mr. Harris spoke Spanish; however, he was not Latino. He was White and came from a middle-class, small-town background. He acquired his Spanish-speaking ability as a second language by living abroad in Mexico due to his time as a Mormon missionary. LIA program leaders considered his class in high regards and viewed it as one of the best LIA programs in the state due to its high level of community involvement and student achievement.

The Researcher

I am drawn to narrative inquiry because of the storytelling nature of the methodology and because the participants' voices are emphasized. However, this does not mean that the researcher is free from bias or influencing the narrative. Holley and Colyar (2009) explain that the researcher's main role in narrative inquiry is to be a storyteller, which is "fundamental to academic culture" (p. 680). As such, the researcher needs to remain responsible over the level of the trustworthiness of the findings. The researcher positions the results of the study "as an informed reflection of the participants' reality" (p. 680). The researcher co-constructs stories with participants through the questions asked and the stories elicited. The stories are developed into a text to engage the audience in the research findings. Thus, the trustworthiness of the study is also influenced by the researcher's positions, past and present (Shenton, 2004). In order to provide a layer of trustworthiness, I use the next section to describe my positionality.

When it comes to childhoods, my life is a case study in what was considered "normal" in my community at the time: both parents lived in the home with six children

in an all-White neighborhood in a small, but growing, town that was mostly middle class. The majority of the community was deeply religious and dedicated to Mormonism. My father was a school teacher, and my mother was a receptionist, and our heritage extended deep in the roots of our town, which will always be my home. My experience with diversity was next to none in my early years. We had a few boys in school who were from Mexico, and I played soccer with them, so I knew them. We never would "hang out" after school or anything, so I never really paid attention to issues of race or ethnicity during those years of schooling.

After high school, there comes a time in every young Mormon boy's life where he has to decide whether or not to serve a mission for the Church. A mission in the Mormon Church is basically a rite of passage into manhood. It is an expectation that 19-year-old boys leave their families for two years, study scripture, pray a lot, follow a lot of rules, and look for anyone interested in becoming a Mormon. Now, if someone chooses not to go, it isn't the end of the world, but there was definite societal pressure to go, and I did go. I ended up getting assigned to go to Mexico. I knew very little about the country, and next to nothing about the language and the culture. I was thrown into this foreign world of different people from different races, religions, and ethnicities with very little preparation and I felt alone.

For the first time in my life, I was set outside of my comfort zone and forced to understand my new settings, and I had to reevaluate what I considered normal at the time. The one thing that most horrified and shamed me was the extreme poverty. I was embarrassed at the lavish life that I lived, ignorant of the many needs of others. I could

not ever make sense of why I had so much, while so many struggled to find sufficient food daily. It was this extreme moment where I first had to interact with the intersectionality of culture, religion, politics, economy, and all other aspects that shape our identities.

These experiences led me to choose my profession. My Spanish-language abilities grew, and I decided to become a teacher because I was hoping to make a difference in people's lives. After my first few years as a teacher, I wanted to do more, so I furthered my education and pursued additional professional responsibilities. As my career advanced, I noticed a persistent personal struggle that stemmed from my missionary service to understand the existence of economic disparity in the world. I was confused at witnessing places in the world where so many had plenty, even an overabundance of materials, goods, and finances. My experiences lead me to contemplate how sociocultural contexts influenced such an imbalanced structure. Now, as a researcher, I am still simply trying to understand what I have experienced.

Mr. Harris and I have many similar characteristics. We started teaching the same year, both in ESL. We have spent a lot of time together in various trainings and even started working together during the summers doing school maintenance. I am also White, male, and around the same age as Mr. Harris. I teach English Language Arts, Spanish, and ESL. I learned Spanish while also serving as a missionary in Mexico. I am a former Latinos in Action teacher; however, because of pressure from outside groups, limited funding, and an unsupportive administration, the program was cut from the school where I taught. Thus, my role in this study was mostly that of an observer and interviewer

because I was not performing this study in a class where I was the instructor.

Research Design

My research question guided the methods that I chose. This qualitative study involved four Latinas who participated in a group discussion, personal interviews, and observations where I watched the tutoring process. Because I hoped to understand the reader identities of the students who participated in this program, a combination of case study methods and narrative inquiry served as my research design. Case studies provide a rich, contextualized, and nuanced view of phenomena such as reader identity (Creswell, 2012). I chose case study methods because I wanted to look at contextual factors, such as external voices, that contribute to reader identities. The narrative portion of the study provided insights into the ways students have authored and re-authored their identities because these methods focused on the stories that the students told about themselves and the stories others told about them (Bochner, 2012). The following section describes each of these methods in more detail.

Multiple Case Studies

McCarthey (2001) stated that students' narratives about themselves do not provide a complete understanding of reader identity development because what others say about them also becomes internalized and forms part of their identities. Accordingly, this study called for a research design that accounted for multiple perspectives, including parents' perspectives, teachers' perspectives, tutees' perspectives, and especially the participants' perspectives. According to Yin (2009), case studies are used when the

researcher wants to understand complicated social phenomena and has a need to keep a broad and holistic perspective. To gain this more holistic understanding of the students' reader identities, I interviewed teachers and family members of the participants regarding how they viewed the respective participant as a reader. These interviews helped me identify the external positions and communal voices that may have shaped each participant's dialogical self. By collecting these data, I was able to better recognize and understand the polyphony of voices that the students utilized to author and reauthor their identities.

Furthermore, using multiple cases enabled me to cross analyze how different participants used the program to re-author their reader identities in different ways. Yin (2009) explained that a multiple-case study provides the researcher with the ability to explore differences within and between cases. With additional cases, comparisons can be made and explored in order to provide deeper understanding of a phenomenon. In this study, I utilized a multiple-case study because of the complexity of individual identities and experiences. Students' reader identities are unique and formed under unique circumstances. A multiple-case study has the potential to be more robust than a single case study because they can confirm the existence of a phenomenon across multiple cases. The multiple-case study approach provided the ability to perform cross-case analyses that more fully examined the reauthoring of reader identities.

Narrative inquiry. According to Creswell (2012), a narrative study "begins with the experiences as expressed in lived and told stories of individuals" (p. 70). From there, the researcher analyzes the stories to identify any themes found within these experiences.

Creswell also stated that the researcher analyzes the stories using a variety of lenses, much like literary scholars are able to interpret the stories they write about. For this study, I used Bakhtinian definitions of identity and the dialogical self as my lens in order to identify the unique internal and external positions the student-tutors experienced. The narrative format provided an opportunity to collect, analyze, and interpret the stories and experiences of these students. My goal was to find out how certain life and educational experiences have shaped their identities, particularly reader identities. Narratives that focused on the students' experiences with reading gave the insights necessary to identify how the students' experiences as tutors provided opportunities for the students to re-author their reader identities.

Clandinin and Connelly (2004) explained that "in narrative inquiry, people are looked at as embodiments of lived stories. Even when narrative inquirers study institutional narratives, such as stories of school, people are seen as composing lives that shape and are shaped by social and cultural narratives" (p. 48). According to Clandinin (2013), narrative inquiry is an effective inquiry method for researchers who emphasize social aspects of learning. As demonstrated through the Bakhtinian framework, people's identities are shaped by many positions. Furthermore, the stories that people live and tell "are the result of a confluence of social influences on a person's inner life, social influences on their environment, and their unique personal history" (p. 41). In other words, understanding the various positions and influences on a student's reader identity can be more easily accessed through narratives because, as Clandinin argued, we need to not only think about the stories; we also need to think with stories to shape our identities.

In her words, "We as thinkers do not so much work on narrative as we allow narrative to work on us" (p. 196). In other words, the stories that others tell about us, or external positions, shape the stories that we tell about ourselves, or internal positions. Personal narratives are thus essential to the formation of people's identities (Sfard & Prusak, 2005).

Clandinin (2013) identified the following four steps to follow when performing narrative methods of research: first, living alongside participants; second, creating field texts; third, co-composing interim research texts; and fourth, transitioning from interim research texts to research texts. Even though these steps were identified, it is important to note that Clandinin emphasized that narrative inquiry is not a method that prescribes a step-by-step process. These steps are simply general guidelines for framing an outline for the timeline of the research.

The first step, living alongside participants, emphasizes the need for the researcher to be a participant in the research process and spend a considerable amount of time accessing the narratives of the study participants. For this study, I visited the LIA class many times and interacted with the participants outside of interviewing and observing. I attempted to get to know the participants outside of the tutoring process. I went to their activities to see what they were involved in.

The next step, creating field texts, refers to the type of data that narrative researchers and participants create during the research. Observations and conversations are used to compose early drafts of texts, such as field notes and transcripts from interviews, for the study. Clandinin and Connelly (2004) recommended that narrative

inquirers take notes while in the field and write about their observations of the participants' experiences. "Composing field texts means being alert to what one's participants do and say as part of their ongoing experience, and it means keeping record on how they are experiencing the experience of being in the inquiry. They too have feelings and thoughts about the inquiry" (p. 94). Through observations and interviews, I took notes and had hours of interview data transcribed to develop an understanding of how the participants experienced the process of tutoring.

Step three is co-composing interim research texts. This step invites the participants to become an integral part of the writing process. It also ensures a level of quality and accuracy of the narratives and voices because they are created with the assistance and feedback of the participants. For this study, I drafted a narrative for each of the participants. Then, through member checking, I asked the students to look through their narrative and provide feedback on the accuracy of the narratives.

The final step is to take the interim texts and produce a research text. The research text is the final product of narrative inquiry. The researcher should be able to submit or publish the final version of the narratives. This completed dissertation is the research text for this study.

In addition to following these steps, narrative researchers must attend to three dimensions while composing research texts: temporality, sociality, and place. Clandinin and Connelly (2004) explained that identifying these dimensions become an important aspect of narrative research because they form the "life space" of the participants. These three components act as "an analytic frame for reducing stories to a set of

understandings" because they "point [the researcher] backward and forward, inward and outward, and located in a place" (p. 95). Also, when a researcher is able to emphasize this three-dimensional approach, "one asks questions, collects field notes, derives interpretations, and writes a research text that addresses both personal and social issues by looking not only to the event but to its past and to its future" (p. 50). Throughout the research process, I emphasized the three-dimensional approach of narrative inquiry in identifying the life space of the students. These three dimensions were an integral aspect of each phase of this study: the selection of a framework, the development of interview questions, the analysis, and the composing. In the following statements, I provide more details about each of these dimensions.

Temporality. I emphasized temporality throughout the study by "point[ing] toward the past, present, and future of people, places, things and events under study" (Clandinin, 2013, p. 37). I accounted for this in the planning stages by ensuring that I asked the students to reflect on their pasts, describe their presents, and think about their futures. With regards to reading, I wanted to know where have they been, where are they now, and where will they go. I asked the students and their parents what it was like to learn to read, what do they currently read, and how will reading be a part of their lives in the future. During analysis and composing, I also focused on temporality by ensuring that student narratives were contextualized appropriately in a space on the students' timeline of experiences.

Connelly and Clandinin (1999) indicated that the temporality that exists within the participants' narratives adds to the researcher's understanding of the potential shaping

of the individual's identity. Consequently, the term *temporality* does not necessarily refer to the duration of the study, but to how the researcher actively elicits events from different times in participants' self-narratives. In fact, Connelly and Clandinin's studies, such as their work on educators' professional identities, were often conducted in a range from two to six months, even though the participants' stories were shaped throughout their lifetimes. I decided that the duration of this study would be six months because other studies on reader identity (Coombs, 2012; McCarthey, 2001; Thomas & Beauchamp, 2007) had similar durations and were able to identify possible changes in reader identity over the course of the study.

Sociality. I also emphasized sociality in this study by selecting a Bakhtinian framework. According to Connelly and Clandinin (2006), "Narrative inquirers are concerned with personal conditions and, at the same time, with social conditions" (p. 480). Thus, sociality highlights many external factors that provide a social context like family, culture, friends, and teachers. My Bakhtinian framework emphasizes a study design that sought out the interconnectedness between the study participants and the external voices that shape their identities. The study's timeline also provided sufficient time to explore external voices and multiple observations.

Additionally, Bernal, Burciaga, and Carmona (2012) explained that narrative methods are also useful because they allow the subject to identify life experiences and any associated social contexts, which help the researcher raise awareness of overlooked cultural issues. In order to accomplish the goal of raising awareness, these narratives need to go beyond simple retellings of a person's individual history.

Consequently, I focused this study on participants who could potentially provide insights into frequently overlooked social conditions with regards to reading. I also studied the social conditions surrounding the participants by interviewing family members, teachers, and tutees. This study sought to accomplish an emphasis on sociality by looking at the reading experiences of a commonly marginalized group of students. Latino students are not sufficiently understood by the U.S. school system and its policy makers as demonstrated by the achievement gap, high dropout rates, a disproportionate amount of suspensions and special education referrals, and fewer entrants into higher education (Cook, Pérrusse, & Rojas, 2012). I attribute these outcomes, in part, to a system that does not listen to, or even silences, the voices of these students and their parents. To counter this tendency to silence students' narrative, my study was designed so that students could tell their own stories about their own experiences with reading, and they narrated their experiences through the process. Also, the use of narratives enabled an opportunity for students to share stories that run counter to the dominant social dialogue that blames language or culture as the major cause of the achievement gap.

Place. The third dimension, place, addresses the importance of the physical location on the participants. Xu and Connelly (2009) explained that

> a person may be one kind of person in the classroom, another kind of person in the staffroom with other teachers, still another kind of person in the principal's office…. Place is a determining factor and changes a teacher's identity as she/he moves from place to place. (p. 224)

Equally, students' identities shift as they move from physical location to physical location. The Bakhtinian framework of this study helps in understanding that identity is not in stasis but constantly shifting and flowing. Place is one dimension that helps in

identifying these shifts. Using science achievement as an example, Xu and Connelly expounded, "The space dimension means that we cannot simply measure science achievement. We need to ask questions about students' experiences with science at home, in the community, with parents and with other students" (p. 224). Likewise, reading achievement may also be linked to place. Thus, the design of the study incorporated many questions relating to students' experiences at home, at school, and at tutoring in an effort to fully incorporate this third dimension and in order to answer how students reauthor their reader identities when provided a place to act as examples in reading.

Participant Recruitment and Selection

In a multiple-case study, each case is carefully selected. At the beginning of the study, I first recruited students from the LIA class to participate in the study. When the study began, 25 students were enrolled in the course with the potential of adding up to five more prior to the study. In order to recruit students for this study, I visited the LIA course at their school where I explained that this study would look at how tutoring impacted different students' lives. I invited any students who wanted to participate to come to a class pizza party and discuss the program with me. Approximately 10 students came to the activity. The students seemed excited to be able to participate in the study, but I noticed that no male students chose to participate.

During this initial group activity, I asked the participants a few general questions about tutoring and their feelings (see Appendix A) and gave them a questionnaire to fill out (see Appendix B). Because I wanted to focus on the potential that LIA had to shape reader identity, I used this questionnaire and activity as an additional screening. I

developed them instead of adapting someone else's instruments because these instruments were used simply for screening and not as validated pre- or post-assessments. Only students who identified themselves as "struggling" or who indicated a dislike for reading were selected for the study because they characterized the reader identity that is the focus of this study. I did not explain to the students that I only selected struggling readers in order to avoid negative perceptions of the students towards the study and to avoid potential damage to the participants with regards to peer perceptions or self-confidence.

I also used the school's reading assessment data to verify that the selected participants were considered "struggling" readers from the school's perspective. The school administered the STAR Reading assessment three times each year as a benchmark to identify struggling readers and analyze their progress in reading. The school used the grade-level score provided by the assessment to identify any students who were struggling in reading. Any student who scored less than a fifth-grade level was identified for remediation. Only students who were part of this remediation list were included as participants in this study. In the end, four participants were selected: Cassandra, Paula, Amaia, and Lucia. All the participants were female due to a lack of interest in participating from any male students.

Data Generation

I collected two types of data, interviews and observations, from different sources. I interviewed the participants in a group and in multiple individual settings. I also

interviewed family members, tutees, and teachers. In addition to the interviews, I observed the participants in the process of tutoring on multiple occasions. The following section provides more details on the data generation process.

Interviews

Previous researchers who have studied identity (Ladson-Billings, 1998; McCarthey, 2001; Talmy, 2010; Yin, 2009) have relied on interviews as a primary data source and used the data for gathering an understanding of an individual's identity. This is because, as Hermans (2001) asserted, what we say about ourselves, and what others say about us, is the very foundation of identity development. Because I was concerned with capturing what these students had to say about themselves, the tutors participated in three separate individual interviews, along with the group discussion at the beginning of the project.

Overview of interviews conducted. To start the study, I performed one group interview with the participants and other members of the LIA class as a recruiting and screening activity. I used this activity as a way to establish trust and also identify the LIA class members who best represented the "struggling" reader. This group discussion lasted one hour and took place prior to any other interviews. Of the individual interviews with the participants, the first interview was a reader life story interview (Atkinson, 2012). I performed one reader-life story interview with each participant individually. These interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes each. The second interview was a mid-point interview that discussed the details of the tutoring process. I performed one mid-point interview individually with the participants for about 30 minutes in each interview. In

these interviews, I sought to further understand the narratives and experiences while tutoring that helped shape the participants' reader identities. In the third interview, which was the final interview with the participants, the students reflected on the tutoring process as a whole. These final interviews also took about 30 minutes to conduct.

In addition to participant interviews, I conducted interviews with other individuals who represented potential external voices to the participants. I interviewed one family member selected by each participant. Each of these family interviews lasted about one hour. I also interviewed the tutees of the participants, which only lasted approximately 15 minutes. I also did a final interview with Mr. Harris to discuss in more detail the LIA program, and we also discussed each of the participants and experiences. All interview participants were provided a copy of the interview protocols before the interviews took place in accordance with expectations of the school district where the study was performed. I also observed five tutoring sessions, one observation for each month of the study. Each observation lasted an entire tutoring session, which was 30 minutes. In the following section, I describe each data source in more detail.

Reader life story interview. One of the most effective ways to understand the aspects of individuals and identities is through hearing their stories and for the researcher to be able to "think narratively" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Stories help humans relate to each other. They are powerful and oftentimes contradict our prejudices. Stories are a way of knowing and making sense of the world around us (Coombs, 2012). For the purposes of this study, I expected to access the power found within stories. In order to access the students' narratives about their reading, the study utilized a modified life

stories interview (Atkinson, 2012) as a tool for data collection and as a way to highlight the ways in which struggling, middle-school, Latina students have formed their reader identities. The life stories provided a way for these students to express their stories about themselves as readers with their own voices as they reflected on their experiences. This process also assisted in providing me with rich, detailed data to analyze.

However, I did not focus on the participants' entire life stories. I judiciously asked questions about the participants' life experiences as they related to their identities as readers. The interview protocol for the reader-life story interview was developed using a modified list of questions from McCarthey's (2001) study on reader identity (see Appendix C). A few examples of the questions I asked in this protocol are "Tell me about the most important events that have occurred in your life?" I also asked "How would your best friends describe your reading?" and "How have your feelings about reading changed since elementary school?" By collecting the reader-life stories, I sought to elicit information about the internal, external, and community positions and voices that have shaped the students' reader identities. The interview questions were also designed to elicit the three dimensions of temporality, sociality, and place. The use of life stories also provided insights as I began to analyze the changes in these identities that happened as a result of participating in LIA, where the students spent most of their class time in these cross-aged tutoring sessions with elementary students.

The life-story interview helped me establish an initial understanding of the students' lived experiences related to reading and, consequently, their reader identities. The interview produced a first-person account where the storytellers attempted to look at

life as a whole and share experiences. Atkinson (2007) explained that "it is best to let the interview take its course naturally to cover all that the life-storyteller wants to cover of his or her life" (p. 237). Thus, the amount of time per interview was determined by the stories disclosed by the storyteller. Although most interviews took one hour per student tutor in this first session, some interview sessions took somewhat longer or shorter as the participants shared detailed and full-bodied descriptions of their experiences with reading.

Atkinson maintained that the power of the life-story interview resides in the teller and not the interviewer. Consequently, the role of the interviewer is to be a guide through the process and to help the storyteller find a unique voice. The life-story interview that took place at the onset of this study was much more organic than the follow-up interviews, and it elicited stories about reading so that I could begin to learn about the students' reader identities. For example, I wanted to know when they first started reading and what books they read, so I asked them to tell me stories about what they read when they were young. Their answers led me to other questions as we explored that topic. The organic nature of the interviews made this portion of the study difficult to predict and carry out, but the interviews were particularly useful because of the experiences that came from the sessions.

Mid-point interview. I performed one interview with each participant in the middle of the tutoring experience, approximately the third month, to see how their reader identities might have started to change. In accordance with Rubin and Rubin's (2011) assertion that interview questions should be developed based on previous observations,

these mid-point interview questions were developed based on my observations of the tutoring sessions and the reader life story interviews. This type of interview was necessary because it enabled me to interview students about events soon after they happened and to be responsive to emergent findings throughout the study's duration.

These protocols were effective because they were adapted based on the responses from the life-story interview and included questions that focused on particular moments that I observed during tutoring. For example, all the participants indicated that college was going to be important for them in the future. As a result, I determined that certain participants needed to be asked if and how being a good reader related to college. Also, the timing of these interviews enabled me to examine potential changes in reader identity in the middle of the study and not just overall changes at the end of the study, which allowed me to find patterns throughout the process. As a result, I developed an initial protocol for the interviews, but I finalized the interview protocols for the middle and final interview sessions in the time after the initial interviews. See Appendix D for an example of the protocol used for a mid-point interview.

Final reflective interview. I held a final reflective interview with the research participants after their tutoring sessions were finished. The purpose of this final reflective interview was to allow participants to have a deep reflection on their tutoring experiences and their positions as readers. I asked questions that focused on changes in reading such as, "How do you feel about reading now that tutoring is over?" Also, "Have your reading habits changed since you started tutoring?" I also asked, "What was your best experience when reading with your tutee?" Again, these questions were developed after multiple

observations and the mid-point interview to elicit answers specific to the participant's experiences (see Appendix E).

Overview of interviews to determine external voices. Although interviews with the participants indicated many of the changes in the participants' reader identities, external positions are also important to identity development. As Bakhtin explained, the dialogical self is not developed in isolation. For this reason, I interviewed the participants' family members, tutees, and Mr. Harris about their perceptions of the participants as readers. In the initial reader life-story interview, I asked the participants to identify the family members who have been influential with the students' reading. Those who the participants identified as influential were selected for this portion of interviews.

Family interviews. For each participant, I interviewed one family member. The family member I interviewed was selected by the participant as the individual who they felt knew their reading abilities the best. Table 1 summarizes the family interviews.

In these interviews, I asked questions that elicited narratives about the participants as readers at the onset of tutoring. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. The purpose of these interviews was to gain a better understanding of potential external

Table 1

Family Interview Summary

Participant	Family member name	Relation to participant	Interview language
Lucia	Clara	Older sister	English
Paula	Jacque	Mother	Spanish
Cassandra	Veronica	Older sister	English
Amaia	Martina	Mother	English and Spanish

positions and communal voices, and these interviews also were needed to provide the holistic perspective required of case-study methods (Yin, 2009). These interviews provided a foundation that informed me about certain relationships and dialogues that surrounded the participants as they grew up and internalized perceptions of reading and of themselves as readers. The family interviews also gave me a better understanding of the ways the students were selecting which positions and internalizing them to become a part of their reader identities. I was particularly interested when I saw contradictions and differing perspectives of these external positions, and the ways students selected and internalized the positions as part of their own reader identities.

The family member interview gave additional insights into how the participants' home lives influenced their internal voices. This interview also provided important data concerning the participants' background experiences with reading. Additionally, the family members' perspectives about the participant as a reader provided a more complete representation of the participants' reader identities. These interviews also helped in including all three dimensions of narrative inquiry by providing multiple places. Also, by interviewing someone who had known the participant over an extended duration of time, I was able to address the dimension of temporality more fully. McCarthey's (2001) parent interview protocol formed the foundation of my family member interview protocol (see Appendix F). Some of these interviews were performed in Spanish as needed, and I translated them into English during the transcription process. The family member being interviewed determined the location of the interviews. Two family members chose to be interviewed at the school. One interview took place at the participant's home, and I

performed one interview at a park near the school.

Interviews with tutees. The tutee interview protocol (see Appendix G) also gave additional information concerning the participants' reader identities. One purpose of this interview was to determine whether and how the tutees positioned the tutors as examples of good reading. The tutees also provided insights into how the tutors interacted during tutoring sessions. Of the interviews, the tutee interviews were difficult with the tutees who were very young. They often seemed intimidated or scared, and one first grader even refused to participate in the interview due to fear and anxiety over the session.

Interview with the LIA teacher. The interview with Mr. Harris provided one teacher's perspective regarding each participant as a reader. Mr. Harris was the participants' Latinos in Action teacher, and he also taught one of the participants in a Spanish class. Because of his role in teaching LIA, the participants' teachers in other academic classes often came to him with advice or questions regarding the participants and other students in the LIA program. Thus, for many LIA students, Mr. Harris had a sense of how their teachers viewed their reading abilities. Mr. Harris's voice also provided feedback to the students on who they were as readers. Mr. Harris's perspective was also important in identifying discrepancies between the participants' self-perceptions of their reading and tutoring with Mr. Harris's views of their abilities. Mr. Harris was aware of many of the students' struggles in their other courses and was insightful in how the tutors had internalized the external role of the school system and its teachers. I adopted questions from McCarthey's teacher interview protocol to work with this study (see Appendix H).

Observations

I conducted a series of five field observations of the students during tutoring

sessions, one per month that tutoring took place during the study. The purpose of these

observations was to gain a firm understanding of the dialogues that were happening

between tutor and tutee by witnessing the students' interactions in their tutoring sessions

in their normal classroom space. Each observation lasted approximately 30 minutes. Field

notes were my primary method for gathering data during these observations. These

dialogues indicated moments where the tutor was positioned as an example to the tutee in

that context. Students discussed many issues relating to reader identities, and the

observations gave me extra insight into how the students might be re-authoring their

reader identities. I also used the information gathered in field notes to inform the

interview questions for the midpoint and final reflective interviews. Additionally, I asked

Mr. Harris to observe students while they were tutoring and to report back to me his

insights.

Study Timeline

The initial life-story interview happened in the first month, the midpoint interview

in the third month, and the final reflective interview took place in the sixth month. In

Table 2, I provide an overview of the research activities performed during each month of

the study.

Data Analysis

Considerable amounts of data were created in this study and I analyzed all the

Table 2

Study Timeline

Month	Research activities performed
1	Participant selection
	Reader-life story interviews
	First field observations
	Data analysis
2	Family interviews
	Second field observations
	Continued data analysis
	Mid-point interview protocol development
3	Third field observations
	Continued family interviews
	Mid-point participant interview
	Continued data analysis
4	Fourth field observations
	Tutee interviews
	Final reflective interview protocol development
	Continued data analysis
5 and 6	Final field observations
	Final reflective participant interview
	Teacher interviews
	Continued data analysis

data the same way. I initially charted all data and began organization of the data based on

the three dimensions of narrative inquiry. I then wrote the initial drafts of the narratives

after organizing the data. Once I had gone through the process of developing the four

narratives used in this report and member checking the narratives with the participants, I

then developed codes that I used to analyze the data using Corbin and Strauss's (2014)

method of constant comparative analysis (CCA). CCA is most closely associated with

grounded theory; however, for this study, it was used for its ability to classify large

amounts of data instead of used as a tool for forming new theory (cf., Fram, 2013; Lewis & Fabos, 2005). Through coding the data, I generated additional themes by noticing similarities and differences across data points. For instance, all data points with a similar characteristic were assigned the same code.

Both narrative inquiry and constant comparative analysis methods were necessary for this study. My framework of the dialogical self-required the sharing of substantial stories and the application of a multi-dimensional analysis. My research question also required the addition of CCA in order to compare the shifts in reader identities across multiple cases. I detail the specifics of each analytical method in the following section.

Narrative Analysis

Gergen (2003) explained that there are risks involved when developing themes for narrative analysis. She warned that with narrative research, using constant comparative analysis or "an analytical method of deconstructing stories into coded piles" could jeopardize the overall goal of the research to provide lived experiences and powerful voices (p. 272). To avoid this risk, I kept the participants' experiences from becoming coded piles during CCA by developing the narratives prior to coding them using CCA.

According to Xu and Connelly (2009), "narrative inquiry is a conception of the phenomenal world in which experience is mediated by story" (p. 221). In other words, experience is key to phenomena and the shaping of identities. Such experiences are conceptualized through sharing stories. As such, answering my research question hinges upon the sharing of experience through narrative. To maintain a focus on answering how the experiences of tutoring will shape reader identities, I used the narrative writing

process to identify themes that would later be used in CCA. While constructing these stories, I attended to the three dimensions of narrative inquiry: temporality, sociality, and place.

I included the participants in the narrative writing process by providing them opportunities to give me feedback on the narratives. After I had the initial draft of the narratives, I spoke individually with the participants. In this member-checking session (Creswell, 2008), I provided the participants with a copy of the narrative and a pen. I asked the participants to read through the narratives and edit anything that they viewed as a misrepresentation of their perspectives. I also asked them to give feedback and ask questions in order to ensure they fully understood the narratives. After receiving feedback from the participants, I returned to the drafts of the narratives and incorporated all changes that the participants indicated as necessary. After adjusting the texts according to the feedback from the participants, I again met with each participant to do a member check on the content of the narratives. This second member check followed the same pattern as the first. Each participant verified that the narrative met her expectations after this final member check.

Constant Comparative Analysis

In accordance with Corbin and Strauss's (2014) description of CCA, I separated each experience and behavior into different categories, but when I coded each new incident, I also compared it to the various categories that had already emerged. I looked for any changes in how the participants described themselves as readers from the initial interviews to the end of the study. In addition to determining changes within cases (e.g.,

changes in individual's reader identities), I also determined commonalities and differences across cases (e.g., similar events that influenced all four readers' identities).

The initial codes identified within the cases related to the process of narrative inquiry. I coded the raw data using a priori codes where I organized the participants' experiences based on place, temporality, and sociality on a graphic organizer (see Appendix I). For example, Amaia shared her experience of learning how to read. She said:

> My oldest sister is the one that taught me how to read my book. When I was little, I didn't like to read at all. I'd always tell her I didn't have a book to read. She'd always look in my backpack and find the book. I'd have to read it to her. I was always like, "I don't want to read this anymore." She'd be like, "You have to read it, so you can know how to read big words and understand what things are."

I coded this experience using the three concepts of narrative inquiry. First, I identified the experience by place. This experience happened at home. Other experiences could have happened at school, at a friend's house, or at an alternative location. Once place was identified, I identified a timeframe associated with the experience to further understand the concept of temporality. The three timeframes that I used as codes were early childhood, later childhood, and adolescence. With regards to temporality, I coded Amaia's experience with learning to read as happening in early childhood.

The final aspect of sociality required me to analyze the experience utilizing my Bakhtinian lens. What were the external voices positioned within the experience? When looking at sociality, I coded Amaia's experience as happening with a family member. In this way, I accounted for the three aspects identified through narrative inquiry. Thus, Amaia's experience was coded as being an experience situated within her home, with a

family member, and in her early childhood. I then identified whether the participant described the experience as positive or negative. In Amaia's case, at the time of her early childhood, she viewed this experience as negative. As an adolescent, she viewed those experiences as positive.

Once I coded all of the experiences in accordance with place, temporality, and sociality, and I had identified the experiences as positive or negative, I looked for patterns of experiences across cases. For example, the other participants also had older siblings who helped in their reading. The other participants viewed those experiences as positive, which was slightly different than Amaia's experience. I then analyzed the data by considering what the patterns revealed about the reader identities of the participants. I looked for potential explanations for the differences in reactions to experiences or agreement between cases.

In addition to coding based on place, temporality, and sociality, I also coded ways that each participant described her current struggles with reading and ways she explained how tutoring had changed her reading. I utilized CCA to look for patterns across cases that would help me identify how the participants as a group may be re-authoring their reader identities as a result of tutoring. Then, I identified five common themes from the codes: examples at home, school as authoritative, fluent oral reading in English, reading aloud in tutoring, and changes in reading practices. I describe the commonalities in participants' stories, which led me to assign those codes, in greater detail in Chapter IV.

Ensuring Quality

Freeman, deMarrais, Preissle, Roulston, and St. Pierre (2007) explained that in qualitative research, the researcher must always reconstruct the participants' constructions of the data. Consequently, there is no such thing as an unbiased perspective or any ability for the researcher to claim neutrality. This understanding shifts the qualitative researcher from the perspective of ensuring some sort of internal validity and reproducibility to dedicating a considerable amount of effort to ensuring that research is of an expected quality. Quality is based on the decisions of the researcher that relate to the interactions with the participants and the analysis and representation of results.

These authors identified one question to be the guiding question of ensuring quality: "How can we best listen to, work with, and represent the people our work is intended to serve?" (p. 30). Using this as my guiding question, I identified a number of ways in which I ensured that this study would be a quality research study, and I explain these techniques in the following section.

First, Freeman et al. (2007) clarified that the researcher needs to be descriptive with his or her explanations of the methods used and the processes of the study. Thick description provides additional transparency that assists readers in determining quality. Meticulous description is essential to ensuring the quality of my study. I have been very detailed in describing the process, the context, the questions, and the analytic methods used in the interviewing process. Attention to detail ensures quality by limiting the potential for gaps that a reader might identify in the study.

Second, I used field observations and multiple interviews with a variety of people

as a method for triangulating the data (Creswell, 2008). Because the examined themes came from multiple sources, they add to the quality of the overall study because my perceptions were not controlled by one source. Lastly, qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2008; Freeman et al., 2007) identified peer reviews as important methods for ensuring quality. Mr. Harris, a teacher researcher who holds an advanced degree, acted as a peer reviewer and assisted in analyzing data. I analyzed 100% of data, but Mr. Harris also analyzed approximately 20% of the data. We ensured that we received over 80% agreement in our codes, an indication that they were confirmable (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Saldaña, 2009). This peer review added to the quality of the research by ensuring that the interpretation of data was not entirely left to a lone researcher.

Member checking (Creswell, 2008) was used by providing each participant with a copy of her narrative and allowing her to comment and mark any areas that needed changes. I wanted to ensure that participants' voices were included throughout this study, and member checking was a practical method for confirming results and providing additional perspectives to the study.

Limitations

May (2014) labeled the debate surrounding the interactions that occur when the races of researchers and the participant differs as the "insider/outsider debate" (p. 118). She concluded that "racial identities continue to constrain interaction such that being an insider might better serve research goals" (p. 119). Being a White male adult, I am not able to have the same discussions about experiences with the students as would an

adolescent who is Latina. Accordingly, it is important to me that the words shared are the students' own words. To minimize this limitation, this study includes substantive direct excerpts from the students' narratives. Moreover, I also utilized member checking with the participants to ensure that my analysis was consistent with their own perceptions of their experiences. I also provided participants with the opportunity to share their narratives in whichever language they chose because language is such an important aspect of identity.

Moreover, I do have extensive training and experience in working with Latino cultures. I have worked in this community for several years, and I have established relationships of trust with Latino families and many students, many of whom see me as an advocate. Michie (2007) described multiple ways that a White "outsider" can establish relationships with members of other races. Most of the suggestions are related to two actions: listening and recognizing. First, listening involves an in-depth dialogue and taking all discussion seriously. Second, recognizing includes identifying the gaps that exist in understanding other cultures and communicating this lack of understanding with humility to the students. I am very mindful of these actions in my classroom, and I used these skills in carrying out this study.

I also sufficiently prepared the participants by spending enough time with them, speaking Spanish to them, and helping them understand that I was not there to be a spy for the school district or community. In these ways, I established a personal relationship with the participants, which assisted them in feeling more comfortable to give open and honest answers to the interview questions. I also shared my own experiences with the

students during the interviews in order to ease any hesitations to share openly. Trust was a key component to performing this study. I reassured these participants that everything discussed in our groups and in their reader life stories is confidential, and any of my writing that contains their experiences utilizes pseudonyms that the students were able to choose on their own.

The member-checking process also had a potential limitation. Because the member checkers are all adolescents, they may have felt intimidated to offer changes to their narratives due to my role as an educator and researcher. After the initial member check, only two of the participants noted changes that they felt needed to be made to the narratives because they explained that the original version didn't express exactly what they meant in their original statements. The suggested changes were minor, but I made them as the participants requested.

One additional limitation was that no males who met the research criteria volunteered to be a participant in this study. While the female voice is an important aspect of Latino reader identities, many males who are Latino struggle with reading. This limitation may have an impact on the transferability of the study. As demonstrated by previous studies (Martino, 1999), adolescent males may view the act of reading differently than adolescent females. Thus, gender expectations can impact the authoring of reader identities differently for males and females. Tutoring, then, may also impact reader identity differently for a masculine, adolescent reader.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In one of my favorite books, *The Name of the Wind*, Patrick Rothfuss (2007) uses the main character Kvothe to describe the importance of narrative to human identity. "It's like everyone tells a story about themselves inside their own head. Always. All the time. That makes you what you are. We build ourselves out of that story" (p. 877). I have thought about this quote many times as I have organized the structure of this study, implemented the study, and prepared the material in this final report. Stories are the method we use to describe for other individuals who we think we are.

The purpose of this study was to explore reader identities of multiple students through narrative inquiry and case study methods. Coombs (2012) explained, "Listening to another's stories broadens our perspectives and allows us glimpses into the world through the experiences of another" (p. 95). Within this chapter, I share the stories of the four participants of this study. I hope that through their stories, these students are able to influence teachers, parents, researchers, and policy makers in exploring new perspectives and understandings of literacy instruction for struggling adolescent readers, particularly native Spanish-speaking Latina students. However, more than anything, I hope that these stories provide insights into adolescent readers and their identity development.

My theoretical framework guides the organizational structure of this chapter. First, I share the four narratives of the participants. Each narrative is structured to highlight the three-dimensional approach of narrative inquiry: temporality, sociality, and place. Each narrative is subdivided into five chapters that emphasize a certain time and

space where events, experiences, and relationships from the participants' lives occurred. Temporality and place are maintained by segmenting each chapter of the narratives based on the settings where the events occurred. Sociality is highlighted throughout each chapter by emphasizing Bahktinian theories of identity development and the internal and external voices present at each setting in the chapters.

Each narrative contains the same five chapters:

- Chapter One: Family

- Chapter Two: Reading in Elementary School

- Chapter Three: Adolescent Reading at Home

- Chapter Four: Adolescent Reading with School

- Chapter Five: Tutoring and Reader Identity

Chapter One contains descriptions of the participants' lives as children prior to entering elementary school. Reading is not the focus of this chapter. The main emphasis is on the family context in which the participant was raised. In Chapter Two, I focus on stories from the students' experiences at school during the elementary years. Next, I describe the circumstances and experiences of the participants with regards to reading in their home environment in Chapter Three, the emphasis being on the participants' behaviors and home reading habits at the beginning of the study. In Chapter Four, I expound on the role of the school in developing the participants' reader identities, with an emphasis on the external voices of teachers and peers. With Chapter Five, I look at the overall ways in which tutoring provided the participants with opportunities to re-author reader identities.

Throughout each chapter, I emphasize the dialogical self to explore and analyze the internal, external, and communal voices that were present in the development of the participants' reader identities, in addition to the changes that occur in those identities throughout the tutoring process. At the end of each narrative, I include a section that identifies and summarizes themes and important topics particular to the participants' reader identity development regarding place, temporality, and sociality.

After the four narratives and in the final portion of this chapter, I utilize constant comparative analysis in to identify broad themes that transcend each individual case in a cross-case analysis. I discuss the themes in detail and conclude this chapter by describing the additional findings from the analysis.

Lucia's Story: Viewing Spanish as a Barrier

Lucia turned the age of 14 during this study. Compared to the other participants, Lucia gave the briefest answers at the beginning of the study and seemed reluctant to participate. This initial brevity had limited my understanding of some of her internal voices with regard to reading. I adjusted the interviews with her slightly to ensure that the interview setting was comfortable. I made a concerted effort to be relaxed, casual, and more conversational in the interviews. These steps helped me to collect more detailed data regarding her internal voices. Also, in the end, I relied more heavily on the external voices in her life to guide my analysis of Lucia's reader identity.

Lucia and the individuals with whom she interacted told stories that demonstrated that she viewed her Spanish-language background as a major reason for struggling to

learn to read. Many of her answers emphasized the difficulty she had in learning to read in English without having considerable experience in speaking or listening to English. The following chapters highlight Lucia's story and the development of her reader identity and the experiences with reading and tutoring that further shaped this identity.

Chapter One: Family

In many ways, Lucia's upbringing mirrored the experiences of other Latino immigrants to the U.S. Her mother and father emigrated from Mexico because they felt they could provide a better life for their children in the U.S. They had family in Utah, so they brought their oldest daughter (Lucia's older sister) with them in an attempt to establish a future that included educational opportunities and economic prosperity for them and their posterity. Lucia was subsequently born in Utah and has lived her whole life there, surrounded by a few members of her extended family: her grandpa, her uncle and aunt, and a few cousins.

Being surrounded by family members, who were already living and working in the community, provided Lucia's parents with social support as they immigrated. They lived in the same home with their extended family for a while and procured jobs with their relatives. At the time of the study, Lucia's father still worked with family as a painter, and her mother continued to clean houses. Her mother and father had only limited English skills during Lucia's childhood, so they continued to speak very little English in the home with their children. Lucia spoke Spanish almost exclusively until she entered kindergarten. Lucia has an older sister, Clara, who was two grade levels above Lucia in school. Lucia's sister started learning English in kindergarten, when Lucia was

three, so English was foreign to Lucia's early childhood. She was surrounded by English

in the community and at stores, but she was not expected to engage in any English

conversations because she spent most of her childhood time playing games with her

Spanish-speaking siblings and cousins.

Her family's linguistic isolation from the community created a bond between

Lucia and her family. Her older sister put it best:

> My family is a joyful family. We all help each other. We're always together,
> everywhere we go. We're always together. We're never separate. We always go
> to the stores together. When we have vacations, we go out to have fun with the
> kids. We have dinner together.

Lucia added, "Sometimes on Sundays we go to my aunt's house with my grandpa. We

have family time and talk." Lucia's Sunday family talks were sacred to her. These

moments allowed her share in her family's stories. On Sundays, Lucia learned of her

family's heritage and history: where they came from and what they had struggled with

and accomplished. She also learned of her parents' and grandfather's aspirations for their

children: where they planned to go as a family unit.

In addition to Clara, Lucia has two other siblings: a twin brother and a younger

brother, who was nine at the time of this study. In her home, her family emphasized the

importance of staying in school and graduating. According to Clara, Lucia's parents'

highest expectation for their children is "to graduate, to do good. If we want to go to

college, to go on." Lucia mentioned that her grandpa, the person Lucia looked up to the

most, also emphasized the importance of a good education. "He encouraged us to study

and do good in school." It was with this home, surrounded by an environment of support,

encouragement, and family togetherness that Lucia first entered kindergarten at an

English-only elementary school.

Bekhtinian reflections: In early childhood, the many external voices in Lucia's life emphasized the importance of education. Parents, grandparents, and siblings always supported the belief that if Lucia wanted to have a good life, education would play the primary role in providing her opportunities to progress. This familial emphasis on education set the stage for the external voices of the school to hold an authoritative and prominent position in relation to Lucia's reader identity.

Chapter Two: Reading in Elementary School

Lucia expressed many positive feelings towards learning to read in elementary school, even as she recognized that she had occasional struggles. Lucia explained, "I learned how to read in school. At my house, my sister and my mom would help me read. Sometimes I struggled." Through it all, Lucia had her family there to support her in overcoming what she viewed as an obstacle. Clara was in second grade when Lucia entered kindergarten. Clara had more practice reading in English, and she became Lucia's private tutor at home, where the two would practice learning to read in English together. Interestingly, Lucia's twin brother, who Lucia viewed as a good reader, was absent from the stories that Lucia and Clara tell about these sessions where they spent time together learning to read. Lucia explained that these sessions, in particular, made a tremendous difference in her reading abilities. "In kindergarten, I started reading. I wouldn't read that much, but then I started to read more and more. I got better at it." With the help of her sister, Lucia recognized early on that it would be possible for her to overcome her

struggles in reading.

Lucia began to develop her own definitions of what good readers do and of what they do to become better readers. According to Lucia, "Good readers follow along when someone else is reading [aloud]. Read the words good. That's it." Lucia saw reading as a vocal activity defined by accurate word recognition and verbalization. She would witness the other students in her elementary classes reading out loud, and she decided that in order to be a good reader, she could not make mistakes in reading out loud. Lucia further noted that a good reader "reads. Doesn't whisper. Doesn't read the words quiet so no one can hear you. Reads clear and says the words good." From Lucia's perspective, good reading was done aloud and without mistakes.

Lucia's definition of a good reader also influenced how she defined what a struggling reader is and does. She defined struggling readers as those readers who were in direct contrast to her definition of good readers—specifically, those who do not pronounce words clearly when they read aloud in front of others. In accordance with this definition, Lucia's embarrassing experiences with reading aloud in school contributed to her early perception that she was not a good reader. In elementary, Lucia was learning to read in addition to the added academic difficulty of learning English as a second language. She was a child already self-conscious about the way she sounded when she spoke because her accent was not "normal" when she spoke English.

In her words, "when I first began, sometimes I would confuse my words. I would speak more Spanish than English." She continued, "I struggled in some words, and how to pronounce them." As she would read in class, teachers would correct her, tell her to

speak clearly, and tell her to speak up so others could hear. As a young student learning English, Lucia felt self-conscious and worried about her pronunciation because she knew that she already had an accent. As a result, Lucia was unable to live up to her own definition of a good reader in early elementary school, which emphasized word accuracy and fluent oral reading.

Even though she felt that she struggled, Lucia gained confidence with her reader identity through practice and meeting her own expectations of what a good reader is. When asked to share her best experience with reading in elementary school, Lucia beamed with confidence as she described a moment of reading in third grade. Her teacher requested that Lucia go to the front of the class and read out loud a portion of the book that the class was reading together while the rest of the students followed along. Lucia reported that she was anxious about reading, but that she went to the front of the class and pronounced everything perfectly and did not make any mistakes. For most of the participants in the study, reading out loud and in front of the class was the worst experience with reading in elementary school. Similarly, Lucia had negative experiences with reading out loud, but she was also the only participant to note a positive moment with reading aloud. This experience of reading aloud to the class without error stood out as her most positive experience with reading in elementary. This positive experience was another example that demonstrates the significant role that oral fluency played in Lucia's formation of her reader identity.

Bakhtinian Reflections. Lucia's early experiences with reading demonstrated a few aspects of Bakhtin's concept of the dialogical self. First, Lucia defined good reading

as reading aloud to others without making mistakes. If Lucia could read aloud without making mistakes, she imagined that her peers and teacher (external voices) would view her reading as normal. However, when she did make mistakes in reading aloud, she imagined the voices of her audience labeling her as a bad reader.

Second, Lucia's experiences indicate that schools were a possible place of authoritative discourse. When considering the dimension of place, her definition of a good reader and her internalized reader identity were developed almost exclusively in school. Lucia developed a positive identity of herself as a reader when she succeeded in reading in front of the class without making mistakes. Although she had positive experiences with reading aloud at home with siblings, she did not cite her experiences at home as the reason why she considered herself a good reader. School was the place that carried an authoritative discourse in terms of shaping her identity as a reader. The external voices, imagined and real, at school shaped Lucia's definition of reading and provided the standard of measure by which Lucia judged her own reading abilities.

**Chapter Three: Adolescent Reading
at Home**

As previously mentioned, Lucia formed a very close bond with her family. Even at the time of the study, when she was a teenager, she spent a considerable amount of time with her family who still emphasized success in school. As part of "family time," she often tutored her younger brother. In her words, "When I'm not in school, I hang out with my cousins and help my little brother do his homework, do his flashcards and his numbers." She later clarified that these tutoring sessions often included helping her

brother with reading assignments for school.

According to her older sister Clara, Lucia was a "pretty good" reader who enjoyed reading. "She's always reading to my little brother, the 9-year-old boy or always helping him with his homework, making sure he reads good." Clara added;

> She's a joyful girl. She's really happy. She's never sad or mad. She always does her work first, puts her homework first of everything. Always does her work. She has good grades. She gets along with everyone.

As indicated by these quotations, Lucia's family laid out many expectations of behavior, work ethic, and specified roles for the children to play within the house. In this setting, Lucia assumed the role of a competent tutor in relation to her younger brother. Her family continued to emphasize school when they praised her for the positive traits of "putting her homework first of everything" and "having good grades." They also praised her work ethic and positive disposition in general. Many of these themes, such as the importance of school, began in elementary and had continued into her adolescence.

Bekhtinian reflections: As Lucia progressed through school, her older sister Clara became a supportive external voice. Clara praised Lucia as a reader who was capable of helping others to become better readers. Clara and Lucia both used definitions that were closely linked with school. Clara viewed Lucia as a good reader because Lucia helped her little brother with school homework and because she earned good grades on her own. As in previous chapters in Lucia's biography, the dimension of place was important because Lucia's family defined good reading based on performance related to school-assigned texts rather than self-selected texts. Clara's views bolstered the concept that school-based measures, such as grades, had the authority to determine whether Lucia was a good

reader. The external voices in Lucia's home therefore reinforced the authoritative

discourse of the school in determining whether people in the family were good readers.

Chapter Four: Adolescent Reader
with School

In addition to family voices, other external voices provided commentary to Lucia

regarding who she was as a reader. Lucia explained that her friends would all describe

her as a "pretty good reader." When talking about her friends, Lucia told me, "I like to

hang out. Sometimes when we have homework and someone doesn't understand, we'll

call each other and see if they know, and help each other out." Just as in her home, Lucia

was positioned as a valuable source of knowledge by her friends who turned to her for

help with her homework. These external peer voices seemed to confirm that Lucia could

understand the texts she was reading, which were related to her homework. Additionally,

her friends viewed her as capable of assisting them in meeting the expected requirements

of the homework they worked on. Lucia also viewed her friends as experts that could

provide insights into finishing homework. Thus, Lucia demonstrated that she and her

friends had a commitment to school and cared about their assignments. They also viewed

each other as equal group members who were part of the same team of support.

Even though Lucia believed that her friends thought she was a good reader, as a

group, she and her friends had mixed feelings about reading. Lucia explained that school

was "pretty fun. We learn. It's fun and boring sometimes." Lucia's view of school was

similar to many teenagers, including her friends whom she said would describe school as

the following: "Some of them think it's boring, but some think it's fun." With regards to

her friends' feelings about reading, Lucia answered, "They probably think it's boring." Lucia and her friends would spend the time to help each other with homework and completing assignments, but the emotions that Lucia linked with reading was boring. She expected her friends to describe reading as a boring activity. Lucia stated that her level of interest in reading depended on the book that she read. Of note, even with the group's positive beliefs about each other's reading abilities, the group members' personal interest in reading was limited.

Even with a positive viewpoint from her friends, Lucia was indecisive in describing her own perceptions of her reading abilities. She said that her friends and others believed she was good at reading. However, when I asked her to explain why she didn't consider herself a great reader, Lucia said that she had some difficulties with the books she read for English/language arts.

> If I find the book interesting, I get into it and I start reading it. If there's more books to it, like the Harry Potter books, I would read them all. If the book's not interesting, I kind of don't pay attention. It's boring to me. I don't know why.

She also said, "Sometimes I struggle because of my Spanish. Some long words I struggle with. Not that many, just some I am barely learning." In one way as an adolescent, Lucia was developing a new understanding that good readers must also be interested and engaged readers, not just good with oral reading fluency, but she again emphasized the importance of pronunciation and the perceived difficulties of being a Spanish speaker.

Lucia's feelings towards reading impacted her preferences at schooling. She explained that her favorite class was math because she felt successful in math classes. She understood the concepts in math and she did well on assignments and tests. Her least

favorite class is English Language Arts (ELA) because she "struggle[s] sometimes" due to the difficult or "boring" texts. This internalized identity of someone who "struggled" with reading impacted Lucia's feelings about reading and school. Lucia enjoyed classes where she developed an identity of success and achievement, as determined by grades on assignments and tests. However, her experiences in ELA, in which she did not earn consistently high grades on reading assignments, upheld Lucia's personal narrative of herself as a struggling reader, and the class became another external voice in the authoring of Lucia's reader identity.

Bekhtinian reflections: As an adolescent, many external voices in Lucia's life were providing opportunities for Lucia to internalize a reader identity as a good reader. Her friends and family viewed her as such, and she was aware of their views. Lucia's peers also acted as a communal voice. They had mixed emotions towards school and reading, but they all valued the importance of staying engaged with school, as indicated by the fact that they all wanted to do well on homework and would work to support each other in completing difficult assignments. Additionally, the external voice of the school was emphasized by Lucia's peers. Even when they were outside of school, Lucia and her friends still talked about doing well in school. They had dialogue that described the level of difficulty of their assignments, and they supported one another by helping each group member do well. This finding reinforces the concept that school was an authoritative discourse among Lucia's peer group in the sense that they all sought to receive positive assessments (such as grades) from agents of the school (such as teachers) without questioning these assessments.

By adolescence, Lucia had received positive feedback on her reading from her family members, who viewed her as an example of high-quality reading, and by her friends, who viewed her as a valuable source of knowledge on homework assignments involving reading. However, these communal voices at home and in peer networks at school were not internalized by Lucia who had not developed an identity as a good reader. When she identified why she did not currently identify herself as a good reader, she cited the mixed grades she had earned her ELA classes, as well as the fact that she struggled to read long words in English "because of my Spanish." Again, the school was the authoritative discourse, which she had internalized as she developed a reader identity.

Chapter Five: Tutoring and Reader Identity

Lucia's tutoring sessions offered a unique external position that enabled Lucia to reexamine her feelings and beliefs about her reading. Lucia defined a good reader as one who was able to pronounce words correctly while reading without stumbling. She believed a good reader was one who sounds clear and precise in the language. Later, she also believed that a good reader was someone who could pay attention and "get into" a book. When asked how the students she tutors would view her reading ability, Lucia imagined the tutees saying "that I read fast. I say the words good. There's this one time this girl told me that I read good." Lucia recognized that in the eyes of the tutees, she was a good reader. Additionally, Lucia used her personal definitions of what good readers do as the justification of why the tutees viewed her as a good reader. The tutees' external voices, which praised her oral reading, aligned with Lucia's internalized definitions of

good readers.

Quotes from Lucia indicated that tutoring provided her with opportunities to re-author her identity as a struggling reader. Lucia described her tutoring experiences as follows:

> I tutor second grade. I read with them, their Lucky Listeners. Some kids are good, but some kids struggle, because I think they speak two languages. Some kids struggle in the words. I kind of help them out, how to pronounce them and how to say the word. Then they read, and I just follow along with them.

(Lucky Listeners is a common reading activity found in many elementary classrooms. The activity expects students to find other individuals (e. g., parents, friends, peers, even pets) to listen to a passage and provide feedback. Each listener is expected to sign a card indicating that the reading took place.) Again, Lucia indicated that she viewed that speaking Spanish as a first language created difficulties for individuals who were learning how to read English. This view is similar to how she viewed her own experience with learning to read. The emphasis of the tutoring experience, which values oral reading (as indicated even by the title of the reading program, which indicated the role of a listening peer), aligns with the emphasis on oral reading that Lucia experienced when she was in elementary school.

I asked Lucia to explain what the students were struggling with, and she answered, "How to say the word." I followed up that question by asking her what she does when the students are struggling with saying the word. Immediately and professionally, Lucia described the process. "We say the word, then we start spelling it together. If they wouldn't know the word "like," we would say 'like.' There's l-i-k-e, then we would say it again, 'like.' We do another word if she doesn't know it." Lucia

primarily identified good reading as sounding aloud words without error, and tutoring provided her an experience at school in which she helped others sound words aloud. Intriguingly, through tutoring, she saw herself in the position of an example in the very aspect of reading in which she had previously struggled. She also was positioned as a capable instructor in the aspect of reading, fluent oral reading, that she identified as the defining aspect of a good reader. While tutoring, she spent time working with the students on many of the same reading skills that she found most difficult.

Lucia worked with Ana more than any other student over the course of tutoring. Ana was very limited in her abilities to speak English because she had recently immigrated to the country from Mexico. I asked Lucia how she worked with Ana to improve her reading. Lucia responded, "We practice on specific words and on her reading, because they have Lucky Listeners. She's been getting better at it and she's been learning words. Today, I was with her and she was able to read the first sentence good without any mistakes." I followed up by asking if reading a sentence without mistakes was difficult for Ana. Lucia answered, "Yeah, because she only speaks Spanish." Lucia beamed with pride and laughed as she described this experience to me. For Lucia, sounding out words without error demonstrated high-quality reading. She was able to guide her tutee through accomplishing a major milestone by being able to develop the tutee's word reading accuracy. Lucia was able to recognize how much Ana had gained in her reading skills, and her satisfaction and excitement over such an accomplishment inspired me as I observed them.

This positive experience provided an opportunity for Lucia to possibly reconsider

her identity as a struggling reader in the context of school. Lucia, by performing the role of tutor, did not use any language that indicated she viewed herself as a struggling reader while with the tutees because she believed that it was her responsibility to figure out ways to teach the students how to overcome their struggles. Lucia, the facilitator in the tutoring group, indicated that she did not struggle with the content she was teaching because the tutees expected her to know the answers.

Lucia's tutoring also provided a unique experience for Ana that most Spanish-speaking elementary students might not get. Ana felt more relaxed and comfortable reading out loud to Lucia because the experience of reading to a middle-school student, who is also Latina, in a one-on-one setting seemed less threatening than reading to a group of her peers or even Ana's teacher. In class, Ana was remarkably quiet. I noticed that she looked intimidated to read to the class in English, possibly because she was afraid of looking bad in front of her peers. I experienced this with Ana when I attempted to interview her for this study. Ana's mom was present, and I performed the interview in Spanish. Ana, however, was so afraid that she began to tear up and basically froze in front of me before I could ask any questions. Despite my best efforts to demonstrate caring and reassure Ana that everything would be fine, I was unable to continue the interview at that time.

In contrast, Lucia shared with me a story about Ana that was considered Lucia's favorite moment when tutoring. "We were reading this book. It was about animals, about lizards. I was helping her read it, and then she started reading it and started saying some words wrong. It was kind of funny how she pronounced them and we started laughing a

little bit. I showed her how to read it and she started getting it better every time. I sounded it out piece by piece." For Ana, this could have been detrimental to her reader identity if this experience had occurred in another setting like the classroom or in front of her teacher. Even though Lucia heavily emphasized word accuracy and reading clearly as the definition of a good reader, she recognized, in her description of the experience with Ana, that mistakes can be something to simply laugh at and learn from. This is also the only time that Lucia mentioned being able to laugh and have fun in the context of reading. Tutoring provided Lucia with an experience where reading became a playful and light-hearted activity.

Mr. Harris also identified some changes that he viewed were a result of tutoring. Of Lucia's tutoring ability, Mr. Harris said, "She was really good. She was praised by her teacher, by working well with the students that she tutored." In addition to teaching Ana in LIA, Mr. Harris was also her Spanish teacher. "I've noticed her in one of my Spanish classes, I've had her in this last quarter working with another student that's limited in English. I've noticed her really taking initiative to help her and guide her and make sure she helps her a little bit. Takes a little bit more responsibility helping this other student as being a peer." According to Mr. Harris, Lucia's ability to communicate improved through tutoring, and she was able to apply her tutoring abilities to the context of a middle-school classroom with a student of her same age.

The last question I asked Lucia was whether she thought that tutoring had changed her as a reader. She responded;

> I read a little bit more than when I started. Before I started tutoring, I read maybe twice a week. Now I read basically every day, except in the nights, I mean like on

Fridays, and I read as long as I want to read, usually like 30 minutes.

I asked if she thought she was a better reader now. Her response: "Yes, because I read more often [than when tutoring began]." She didn't mention anything about oral fluency or word accuracy. She perceived herself as a better reader now than before because she chose to spend her time doing it. However, she still did not define herself as a good reader. She determined that she was a better reader and one who read more for pleasure and not just for school.

Bekhtinian reflections: In all, Lucia's tutoring experiences provided her with external voices that viewed her oral reading and communication skills in positive terms. This praise for her oral reading extended beyond just the tutee's voice because two authoritative voices in school settings—that of the elementary teacher and that of Mr. Harris—began to praise Lucia based on her work as a reading tutor as well. In this sense, tutoring provided many external voices (the tutee, the elementary teacher, and the middle school teacher) who began to affirm Lucia's oral reading ability in a school setting. These external voices coincided with Lucia's appraisal of herself as a "better reader," although not still not entirely a "good reader," and she attributed this shift in her reader identity to the tutoring experience.

Previous chapters in Lucia's narrative indicated school as an authoritative discourse that valued oral reading in English. This chapter likewise echoed the importance of oral reading as well, including through the title of the materials used in the tutoring program, "Lucky Listeners." This program emphasizes oral reading to lucky listeners—in this case, the tutors. In many ways, Lucia saw herself in Ana, a native

Spanish-speaking student who struggled to read aloud. However, rather than viewing oral

mistakes as embarrassing, Lucia and Ana were able to laugh together at oral

mispronunciations. This experience was the first experience with reading which Lucia

described mistakes as playful or laughter-inducing. Lucia and Ana created a shared

voice—a communal voice—in which oral mistakes did not indicate deficits or failures as

a reader. These playful experiences with reading coincided with Lucia's view of reading

as a potentially pleasurable experience, and one that she might participate in outside of

assignments for school.

Lucia's Story: Summary of Themes

In the following section, I summarize Lucia's story in terms of place, sociality,

and temporality. These three themes coincide with the three dimensions of narrative

inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004).

Place. In terms of the three dimensions of narrative inquiry, the dimension of

place was very important because the place of school seemed to hold the most

significance to any shifts in Lucia's reader identity. In Lucia's story, one major theme

was that the experiences that took place at school were authoritative in terms of Lucia's

development of an identity as a struggling reader. The many external voices that came

from her family and friends had a limited impact on her views of herself as a reader. It

was not her mom's voice that made her feel like she was a good reader; it wasn't her

friends' voices, either. The imagined and real external voices at school became the

authoritative voice in Lucia's development of her reader identity. Her experiences

reading aloud at school trumped other reading experiences in terms of shaping her reader

identity. Because she pronounced her words "funny" when she was young, and because she earned mixed grades in ELA when she was older, she viewed herself as a struggling reader. When I asked her to evaluate herself as a reader, all her evidence and stories to support her self-described abilities occurred in the school setting.

The significance of place also becomes apparent when observing the impact of tutoring on Lucia's reader identity. Lucia's story indicates two places where tutoring occurred: at home and at school. Lucia spent a lot of time helping her younger brother with homework; however, it was not until Lucia began tutoring students at school that she began to re-author her reading identity as she shifted from a "struggling reader" to a "better reader" who read more for pleasure. Tutoring her younger brother did not help her feel like a good reader. Tutoring at the school and teaching younger students how to properly sound out words—coupled with positive feedback from the elementary teacher and middle school teacher on her tutoring ability—provided an authoritative setting where Lucia could begin to internalize external voices that affirmed that she was a "better reader."

Temporality. With regards to temporality, Lucia's struggles in her early childhood appeared to have the biggest bearing on her self-definitions of reading and her reader identity when the study began. Lucia continued to define good reading as an individual who reads without making mistakes in word accuracy when reading aloud. This definition seems to be aligned with Lucia's personal experiences from learning to read as a child. In adolescence, Lucia occasionally defined herself as a "good" reader because she felt she had reached a point in her reader where should could read aloud

without mistakes.

Temporality also becomes an important concept for Lucia because by the end of the study she was reportedly choosing to spend more of her personal time reading for pleasure. She attributed this change to her tutoring. This additional time spent in reading for pleasure also helped her see herself as an improved reader compared to how she viewed herself at the beginning of the study.

Sociality. With regard to reader identity, the external voices of peers and family that surrounded Lucia seemed to support the authoritative discourse that was being communicated by teachers. Her sister said she was a good reader because Lucia always helped their younger brothers with their homework. Reading, then, was seen as a function for performing tasks assigned by the school, even when that reading took place in the home. Lucia's family also emphasized the importance of working hard to get good grades because they viewed school as an avenue for Lucia to access employment that would increase her financial opportunities. Lucia also indicated how important grades were to her and that she always strived to maintain them at the highest level. In all, the external positions of the family communicated to Lucia that school was the authority with regards to reading.

The external position of the tutor became an important aspect of sociality in this case. The communal voice that was development between Lucia and Ana seemed to be the only position that challenged the authoritative discourse of the school. Using the school discourse to develop a reader identity, Lucia viewed herself as struggling to read well and making lots of mistakes. She gained confidence when she met the teacher's

expectations in reading, but she also lost confidence with her mistakes. The communal voice created by Ana and Lucia provided a counter-voice where mistakes made when reading aloud were acceptable. Simply put, mistakes were part of the process, and when one was made, the two just laughed them off and continued working on being better readers.

Paula's Story: Shy and Struggling

At the age of 14, Paula likes activities that many teenage girls enjoy, such as playing soccer and spending time with her friends. Paula described her normal week as going to school, spending time with friends, playing soccer, and helping her sisters with their homework.

Paula, a soft-spoken teenager, had always struggled academically according to her mom. Paula rarely spoke a word in any of her classes at the middle school according to Mr. Harris. When she did speak in front of others, I noticed the signs of high levels of social anxiety: the heavy breathing, the lack of eye contact by looking down, and the soft, quivering voice. Mr. Harris explained, "We've done group activities where I've asked them to participate, where they've gotten up and presented things. She'll maybe say one line, one sentence, and that's about it. That's about as much as she'll contribute to a group activity." Paula's timidity had a potent effect on her school work and her reading.

Compared to the other participants, Paula's view of herself as a reader substantially contrasted with various external voices in her life and seemed "out of sync." With the other participants, each story and perspective corroborated the ideas of the

others. Paula's narratives, however, created discord and disagreement, which forced me to re-evaluate the changes that the role of tutoring had in shaping her reader identity, even when multiple voices indicated that no change was apparent. In the following section, I present her story. I begin by focusing on how her reader identity developed through childhood into adolescence. I finish this section by emphasizing tutoring and how she re-authored her reader identity throughout the course of her tutoring experience.

Chapter One: Family

Paula was born the second child, both daughters, to her family in southern California. Her family moved to southern Utah before she entered kindergarten. Her parents were looking for work and found some family support in Utah. Around the same time that Paula entered first grade, her younger sister was born, and the family was complete. At home, Paula only spoke Spanish prior to entering school. Her parents spoke only Spanish, and her older sister did not begin speaking English until she entered elementary school. Paula's mom, Jacque, explained, "Between the girls, they speak both English and Spanish. My husband and I, we only speak Spanish. When our daughters are speaking to us, they only speak in Spanish."

Paula's parents felt blessed to have three healthy daughters in their family, and they worked hard to provide for their daughters. Paula's father is a chef in a local restaurant. He works many nights and weekends. Her mother did not pursue a career, but spent her time in the home, helping take care of the family's needs. Paula's father's work limited the amount of time that she would get to be with him. However, Paula explained that even though the family was not able to spend a lot of time together, her parents were

always concerned with her studies and her well-being. When explaining what her parents

did when they were not working, Paula said, "they mostly dedicate their time to us, how

is school, and if we need to finish any homework. They ask us how school went and how

our day went." Paula felt her parents provided her with a strong example of hard work

and dedication.

Jacque also said that she and her husband did not read at home because she forgot

how and her husband was too busy with work to take time to read. I asked Jacque to

describe her own reading abilities, and she said;

> Well, I've already forgotten. I used to really like to read the readings that had
> questions with them, where you pull out the questions from the reading, the
> readings that had to do with social sciences. In Mexico, we call them
> questionnaires. You sit there and you read from the questionnaire. To the side are
> all these questions.

Paula's mom's inability to read heavily influenced her views of her daughters' education.

Because her parents were unable to read, Paula's only experiences with reading English

prior to entering elementary school involved watching her older sister reading her books

from school. Paula said that she did not find her older sister's books very interesting, and

she did not pay very much attention to them.

Paula grew up with parents who wanted her to strive in her academic pursuits, and

her parents emphasized working hard in school because they wanted Paula to avoid

working in an occupation where she would have financial struggles. Her mom said;

> For me, I would like for Paula to graduate and to keep studying. I tell her to find a
> career that she's going to like. For us, the jobs that we're stuck in, we don't like.
> For her to find something that she likes, she would be motivated more to do it.

Paula corroborated this quotation;

> Both my mom and dad never really finished school. They usually tell me not to waste this opportunity to get my grades up, because they actually want me getting into college and so do I.

In summary, Paula's parents felt that they had experienced some difficulties as a result of not finishing school and not being able to read. They raised Paula with the premise that a good education would offer her opportunities to avoid many of their own difficulties.

Bekhtinian reflections: As a child, many external voices played a role in Paula's development with reading. Her mother's perspective was one of the many external voices that influenced Paula as a child. Jacque emphasized effort and hard work as the best method for Paula to be able to overcome her struggles. This perspective leads me to believe that Jacque may have viewed her own reading abilities and academic level as a reason for her perceived financial hardships. Jacque believed that if Paula were to learn what was required at school, Paula would make more money in a career. Thus, Jacque, as an external voice, reinforced the importance of the perspectives of the school. Jacque's voice demonstrated that school was an authoritative discourse. The school's voice had the power to define Paula's identity, including her future trajectory as a professional. This emphasis on school set the stage for later chapters in which Paula's reader identity would also be primarily developed at school and reinforced by her parents.

Chapter Two: Reading in Elementary School

As a child, Paula's teachers placed her in many special programs to help her read better and be more successful at school. Paula described her reading experiences in elementary by saying, "I would mess up a lot, so I needed to stay after school and before

school. I wasn't that great of a reader." Jacque provided further insights by explaining

that Paula learned to read

> when she was in the second grade. In kindergarten, she didn't learn how to read.
> She actually was late in learning English. She struggled in learning how to read in
> kinder. She struggled for six months. At first, she would just copy. The teacher
> said, for the moment it wasn't really a big problem, [but] in the future she was
> going to have to be checking her companions and making sure that she wasn't
> copying.

As indicated by this quotation, Jacque saw a connection between Paula being late in

learning the English language and late in learning how to read. She accepted the teacher's

assessment that Jacque was struggling and that her daughter turned to her (presumably

more competent) peers so she could copy their work. Both Paula's teacher and mother

concurred that she was a struggling reader when she was in elementary school. These two

external voices from two different places emphasized the authoritative nature of the

school's perspective with regards to Paula's reading ability. Paula didn't overcome her

difficulties with reading very easily. She described learning to read as follows: "I was

really struggling. I thought I would never learn to read, because I didn't know my sounds

as well. I thought it was going to become harder for me."

In elementary school, Paula participated in the LIA program as a tutee because of

her struggles in reading. She had her own adolescent tutor who came to read with her.

This experience had a major impact on Paula's reader identity development. Jacque told

the following story:

> Paula chose the Latinos in Action class because when she was a student, there
> were other students who would come to the school to help her and she told me,
> 'Mom? When I get older, that's what I want to do. I'd like it a lot.' She tells me
> that she feels really good being able to help the little kids.

Paula's childhood experience with tutoring was such a positive experience because she felt that her tutor helped her overcome many of her difficulties with reading. Her experience as a child with LIA gave her the motivation to want to participate in the program in the future as a tutor. I described Paula as shy, but shy does not really begin to fully describe how quiet Paula really was, as evidenced by teacher accounts and my observations of her. Obviously, tutoring is social in nature, so Paula stepped well outside her comfort zone by wanting to participate in such a program. These early experiences with tutoring had a tremendous impact on Paula because they motivated her to pursue being a tutor in her adolescence. Also, Paula knew she struggled with reading, which added an additional burden to her nearly crippling social anxiety. Few students would feel motivated to publicly participate in an activity that he or she struggled in, but it happened that way for Paula. As a young elementary student, she set the goal that she would become a tutor in reading even though she had internalized an identity of struggling reader and she felt uncomfortable speaking in front of others.

Even though Paula recognized the difficulties she had in reading as a child, she also expressed confidence that she had overcome those struggles after repeated practice with reading aloud with tutors. She explained, "It's easier now that I learned it, I learned how to read." Paula believed that the extra help she received as a tutee in the LIA program had helped her overcome her struggles in reading. At school, she had viewed herself as a struggling reader because she did not know the "sounds" when reading. With practice and help from her tutor, Paula obtained the basics of phonetics and felt confident that overcoming that milestone meant that she had learned to read.

Bekhtinian reflections: Paula's internalized definition of a good reader focused primarily on the ability to sound out words. Her teachers' practices, which included asking students to read aloud, emphasized the importance of phonics in those early classes. Paula indicated that when she struggled with sounding out words she thought that she would "never learn to read." She had internalized a heavy emphasis on pronunciation as a primary skill necessary to be considered a good reader. According to Jacque, Paula's elementary teacher viewed her as a "struggling reader"—including one who copied from her peers to get the correct answer—and Paula used much the same language to evaluate her own reading abilities as an elementary student by stating that "I was really struggling."

The imagined voices also really stood out in Chapter Two. The external voice of that childhood LIA tutor became important in Paula's perceptions of her own reading abilities. She viewed her tutor as a role model to emulate, and she imagined a future where she would assume the role of a tutor. In this imagined future role, she envisioned herself as the more expert reader who helped struggling readers. This hoped-for future became a source of motivation to want to be able to consider herself a good reader. She could imagine her future tutees and interactions with them, patterned after her own experiences with her LIA tutor.

Chapter Three: Adolescent Reading at Home

At school, particularly as a child, Paula internalized the message that she struggled in reading. Her early years in education were, as noted, a struggle for her, and

she felt as if she were going to struggle forever. As an adolescent, the external voices from Paula's family were quite the opposite from those external and internal voices from her childhood. Also, Paula's own descriptions of herself as a reader presented many contradictions to some of the external voices that were present in her life as an adolescent, particularly the external voices at school.

I asked Paula what her parents would say about her current reading abilities. Paula responded, "That I'm a good reader, but I don't read all the time. I hardly read, but I enjoy it." I was surprised to hear Paula describe her family's view of her reading. Mr. Harris reported that Paula was reading at a second-grade level at the time. I assumed that Paula was telling me what I wanted to hear in her answer instead of what she really thought. I made certain to get further clarification from her mother. When I asked Paula's mother how she would describe Paula's reading abilities, she responded, "From one to ten, she would be a nine." Surprisingly to me, Paula accurately identified her parents' view of her reading. Again, Paula's parents were aware that she had struggled with reading in elementary; however, Jacque explained that she thought Paula no longer dealt with difficulties in her reading abilities. I wondered if Jacque's own limited reading skills influenced her perspectives of Paula's reading because Jacque's perspective didn't align with what I had heard from Paula's teacher.

I asked what Paula did that helped Jacque understand Paula's reading abilities. Jacque told the following story about Paula's ninth-grade year when Paula began tutoring:

> A while back, Paula got tired of reading and got tired of studying. As of late, Paula's really gotten back into studying, gotten into wanting to do well at school.

[This changed] at the end of 2015. Well when she was just back in her bedroom a while ago, and I asked her, "Paula, what are you doing?" She said, "I'm just reading, Mom." I asked her, "Didn't you just tell me you were sick of this? You told me you were tired of this." She said, "Yeah, but I like it again. Now, when I'm reading the book, and if it doesn't have pictures in it, I can just imagine it in my head and it becomes real and I get excited over it."

Paula's parents viewed her as a great reader. They witnessed Paula give up on reading and studying at home, only to turn around and claim that she had changed her mind and enjoyed reading. Because they observed that Paula read on her own at home, they defined her as a great reader without struggles.

Paula agreed that she had grown to become a "good reader" and that she had been trying harder to do better with her studies. I asked Paula what she did that helped her know that she was a good reader, and she answered, "Because I don't have that many struggles in reading. I can read good." In our member checks, she confirmed that "I can read good" meant that she could read aloud without any mistakes. She emphasized oral fluency above any of the other reading skills. Also, Paula did not attribute her low grade performance at school to low reading abilities, indicating that she did not evaluate herself as a reader by the grades that she received.

Paula indicated that her level of enjoyment with reading was contingent upon her personal interests. She said, "I like reading when it comes to books I'm actually interested in, I actually like to read. When it's random books or a certain one, I don't like it as much." She also explained, "In elementary school I usually read more because they were easier books and they were more entertaining. Now I got less interested in it, but I still enjoy it." Paula's perceptions of herself as a reader were a little more mixed than the views of her parents. At times, she agreed with her parents that she was a good reader.

However, she differed in how she defined being a good reader. Paula viewed herself as a good reader because she felt that she did not make mistakes like she did when she was in elementary school. She also did not equate her personal interest level in reading with being a good reader because she indicated that there were times that she did not enjoy the reading. Her parents, on the other hand, seemed to define good readers as individuals who demonstrated a dedication to reading by choosing to read for recreation. They believed that Paula spent recreational time in reading, and her dedication meant that she was a good reader.

Bekhtinian reflections: Paula continued to use a measure for defining herself as a reader that was different than the way her mother defined her reading. Her mom, Jacque, viewed Paula's level of interest, amount of effort, and time spent reading as indicators that her daughter was a good reader. Paula, on the other hand, indicated that she was not always very interested and did not spend very much of her own time reading. Interestingly, if Paula used the same attributes that Jacque used to define good reading, Paula would probably not consider herself a good reader because she felt she lacked particularly in those attributes.

Whether Paula was right or wrong in her definitions, her experiences in elementary school led her to imagine that her reading ability was defined in terms of oral reading fluency, and she never let go of this definition. The external voices from school continued to be authoritative over the voices Paula perceived at home. Interestingly, the concept of temporality became very important in this chapter because external voices at the middle school continued to view Paula as a struggling reader. As surprising as it was

for me, she nonetheless identified herself as a good reader in our initial interviews. Paula continued to use the definitions of reading that she developed in elementary school as the foundation for believing what good reading was. Paula continued to emphasize oral reading by focusing on not making mistakes in word accuracy and phonics.

Chapter Four: Adolescent Reader
with School

In contrast to her parents' perspective and Paula's view of herself as a reader, Mr. Harris described Paula's reading abilities as "below her peers." At the time of the study, Paula struggled the most with reading according to school-based assessments. According to Mr. Harris, her reading test scores on the school's benchmark reading assessment were quite a bit lower than the other tutors. He was very concerned about her academic abilities. Mr. Harris mentioned that other teachers at the middle school were also concerned about Paula's struggles with reading, and they sought him out for advice in working with her. Mr. Harris said, "Some of her teachers have mentioned it to me. I've checked her grades before, and I've noticed her grades are a little bit lower [than the other tutors]. I've worked with her on trying to keep and maintain her grades." As Paula continued to develop her reader identity, these powerful external voices of concern mirrored many of the experiences that Paula had with reading from a young age, but somehow were not impacting Paula's internalized reader identity in a way that she expressed to me. Paula viewed herself as a good reader instead of a struggling reader. However, Mr. Harris, in addition to her reading evaluations from the middle school, indicated that Paula struggled with reading more than any of the other participants in this

study.

Paula described what her English teacher would say about her reading abilities. "[He would say] I can read pretty good but I never volunteer when it comes to reading out loud in the class." Even though Paula's teacher was aware that she earned low scores on standardized and classroom assessments, and expressed concerns to Mr. Harris over them, Paula thought that he would identify her as a good reader. Paula's view of this external voice was not aligned with the way her teachers viewed her abilities. This contradiction made me realize that the message of Paula's reading difficulties had not been communicated to her by the school. As a child, that message was especially powerful to shaping her reader identity, and Paula's mother was well-aware of Paula's reading struggles in elementary. As an adolescent, the perspectives of Paula's home and the perspectives of her teachers were very different from one another; however, Paula's assumptions about other people's views all aligned with her internalized definition of good reading as sounding out words because her self-defined views had never been challenged by teachers on the secondary level. She explained that reading had become easier in school and she identified English Language Arts as her favorite subject in school.

Even though Paula did not view her own reading the same way that the school viewed her reading, Paula did identify areas that she viewed as weaknesses in her reading. "There are still some words that are difficult for me to understand in advanced reading books that we've read in class." I asked if she makes a lot of mistakes when she reads. She answered, ""No, only when it's books where the levels are harder." At a

different time, Paula explained, "The books in Language Arts that we usually read as a class. They are very unusual words." I asked if those books in Language Arts were helping her, and she said, "Yeah. They're making me understand more of the words that are unusual to me. They're pretty hard books. Even the teacher said it." Of note, because Paula viewed herself as a good reader, the external voice of the teacher in describing the books as "pretty hard" allowed Paula to maintain her identity as a good reader. By shifting responsibility for understanding from the reader to the books, Paula maintained her confidence as a good reader because the books had issues with reading, not the readers.

Paula continued to be defining a good reader as an individual who doesn't make mistakes while reading, but she also appeared to be excluding vocabulary knowledge and comprehension from that definition. Overall, Paula viewed herself positively as a reader. She saw hard books as a tool for growth and attributed her difficulties in reading them to the level of the book rather than to her own skill level. In the absence of explicit feedback documenting Paula's reading struggles or negative comments from the teacher or other peers, she viewed herself as a good reader, as one who did not make many mistakes in sounding out words. She also viewed difficult books as tools for potential further growth. I asked her what advice she would give herself if she were her own tutor, and she answered, "Read more advanced books and practice those words, and practice in Spanish, too." As can be noted through these quotes, Paula demonstrated a pattern of identifying advanced vocabulary as her biggest struggle. Paula felt confident in her reading abilities as a good reader, but when it came to vocabulary, she knew she needed to work out some

issues.

Bekhtinian reflections: Paula's reader identity as an adolescent seemed to be connected to the dimensions of place and temporality. The voices at school were an authoritative discourse in defining Paula's reader identity. School voices indicate that place played an important role because Paula internalized what she perceived to be the school's voice as an authoritative perspective when she defined herself as a reader. In elementary school, Paula perceived that her teachers emphasized word accuracy and sound recognition as characteristics of good reading, which became Paula's internalized definitions of good reading. Paula's perception may be a result of her challenge with word recognition. Thus, the place of school was important. However, Paula did not continue to refine or change her definition of good reading as she progressed through school. The school's voice of Paula's adolescence used different definitions of good readers and struggling readers than the definitions Paula internalized and used. As a result, temporality mattered in the sense that Paula had internalized a reader identity as "struggling" in elementary based on a definition of a "good reader" that emphasized word reading accuracy, the area of reading where she felt she struggled most. As she aged, she adjusted her reader identity to consider herself a "good" reader, but her identity as a good reader was based on her definitions of reading established in elementary school, so as time progressed, she appears to not change her definition of good reading to incorporate other reading skills.

Chapter Five: Tutoring and Reader
Identity

Mr. Harris identified a few reasons why he believed Paula continued to struggle

with reading. Many of the reasons he offered had to do with Paula's personality.

According to Mr. Harris, Paula was the shyest tutor and the least likely to take the

initiative to go out of her way to help her tutees during tutoring. Her cooperating teacher

expressed frustrations that Paula had to be told what to do each time she tutored instead

of being able to figure out what to do on her own. Mr. Harris explained:

> The mentor teacher in the tutoring class had asked me to check in with her
> because she was more reserved. She wasn't really working with the kids as much
> as was asked. She didn't take the initiative to go and find things to do to work
> with the kids. She kind of hung back and waited to be told what to do. It seemed
> to improve a little bit. I talked with the teacher. She told me she was going to
> come up with a plan so that she'd be more prepared and have specific tasks for
> her to do. It seemed that helped quite a bit.

In addition to struggling as a tutor, Mr. Harris felt that Paula did not sufficiently

progress in reading from the tutoring process. He felt that the other tutors made some sort

of personal or academic gains from tutoring, but he believed Paula was an exception to

this rule. He expounded;

> I haven't seen any changes. I don't think she bought into the program as much as
> the others. Even working with the mentor teacher in her class, her not being self-
> motivated or guided, having to be told what to do, more than her just doing it and
> working with the kids, I think was a big factor in it.

This idea of Paula not changing was a frustration for me when Mr. Harris described it to

me. I was nervous that the presumptions of this study would be contradicted and that I

had assumed too much of tutoring. However, I considered the conceptual framework of

this study and returned to the concept of the dialogical self that indicates that changes in

identity can take place whenever people enter into dialogues with others. Thus, I returned to the interview data to determine if Mr. Harris's perceptions that no changes occurred were verified.

Interestingly, in my interviews and observations with Paula and her tutee, I found that some of the assumptions Mr. Harris made about Paula were not fully substantiated. In observation, I did notice that Paula's shyness kept her from engaging the students in a similar fashion to the other tutors. She did not have the personality to just take over without the cooperating teacher guiding the process a little more than with Paula's peers. However, the assumption that Paula did not strive to meet the goals of LIA or that she did not change is inaccurate. Below, I outline four reasons why Mr. Harris's assumption did not match Paula's experience.

First, Paula identified several personal changes that were a result of tutoring. I asked, "Does tutoring have any impact on you as a ninth grader in how you approach school?" She answered, "I would say so, because we're being examples for them." Paula specifically identified the importance of being an example to her tutee as a reason for taking a different approach in her own studies. Paula seemed to be adjusting her behavior by imagining the expectations of the tutees. These imagined expectations of the tutees appeared to provide an opportunity where she could position herself as an example. She was no longer the child receiving the services of the program. She had repositioned herself as the instrument of change in others.

Second, Paula indicated that her reading habits had changed as a result of tutoring. When I asked if her reading habits had changed, she responded, "I started to

read more often now, kind of." So I asked how much more. She said, "Before, hardly once in a week, or something like that. Now, three times a week probably." This answer coincided with her mother's timeline in identifying a change in Paula's reading habits. Then, I asked if she thought she was a better reader now than she was at the beginning of tutoring. Her answer: "Yeah, because I started to develop reading more, at times." At the beginning of the study, Paula explained, "I hardly read. I'd say that if I read more, I'd probably become a great reader." Paula did not identify any ways that she felt her reading skills had changed; however, she did see potential in the idea that spending more time reading would provide gains in her reading abilities. At the end of the study, she reported actually spending more time reading. This explanation indicates that the extra time she spent reading was because she might be expecting to improve in her reading abilities.

Third, Paula experienced many ways to help her tutee. I asked her to explain what she does to help the elementary students learn to read. She explained, "By helping their skills grow, their reading skills. Creating something in a way for them that helps them a lot more, that they understand it." One of Paula's tutees, Lily, spoke very little English, so her time with a tutor was very precious to her. Lily explained that Paula would help her practice reading in English and on a scale of one to ten, Paula's reading was "Ten! The best!" I asked Lily what types of activities they would do and if they helped her read. She said, "We would break the words into pieces and separate them out and then put them back together. That's the reason I can even read just a little bit."

Lily had nothing but high praise for Paula in our conversation. She was excited to have help in English, and the experiences left their mark on Paula, as well. Paula

described one of the activities they did together. "On the words she had trouble with, I would usually tell her to cover it up or do one half of the word and then the other. Or, to sound it out just one letter by one." Paula added why the tutoring was memorable for her and her favorite part of tutoring. "How [Lily] would be progressing better and better. She kept on reading better and better, as when I first taught her. She didn't need a lot of help in the words she got stuck in because we would read the same book at times, where she had troubles in. I don't know. They [the troubles] went away. She got better at it." This quote is significant because Paula saw herself as a "good example" as a reader and could articulate specific and visible changes in her tutee's reading. This led her to feeling like she was a good example of a reader to her tutee. Paula also felt success as a tutor in identifying Lily's progress. This external voice and position shaped her reader identity by providing her experiences where she could feel like the example.

Last, Paula described ways that reading with her tutee differed from other types of reading experiences. Paula's shy nature led Mr. Harris to believe that she hadn't progressed in reading. I asked Paula if her tutee were her own age, would she feel nervous to read in front of her. Paula answered, "Probably, just the case of messing up on a word or not knowing how to pronounce it right." In a different interview, I asked if Paula ever felt nervous to read in front of her tutee. She answered with surprise at the question, "No, it's part of tutoring. That's what you're supposed to do to help a child's abilities, to learn how to read, or to get better at it." She also said, "How we tutor them probably makes them think we're more advanced, how they don't have any other tutors." This quote highlights the importance of context in reading aloud. This girl who said she

would never volunteer to read in front of a class of her peers, who could barely handle

presenting one line in her class, recognized the position of tutor and the expectations

placed on that position. Consequently, she felt no nerves as she would read with the

tutees. Even though she didn't do the task exactly as Mr. Harris expected, she still

benefited from the experience by viewing herself as an example of a reader who could

promote positive changes in somebody else's reading ability.

Paula described one particular experience tutoring that I found gets to the heart of

tutoring. She described the story as such.

> When I read with [Lily], and I guess she was shy, but as I started to talk to her
> more, she started talking to me more. I asked her what she was planning to do.
> She really liked school. She had so many thoughts. She was really into getting
> into college and all that. She was just a first grader. It surprised me how she
> would have so many thoughts about that because they mostly never think about
> that. All they're focused on is their imagination.

I could not help but focus on my imagination in this moment. I imagined Paula as a shy,

Spanish-speaking, first-grade child, struggling to learn English and to read it at the same

time. Then, an LIA tutor became a symbol of possibility for her and helped her believe in

what she could become. As a listened, I thought how fitting for Paula to be tutoring a

student who had such a similar story to her own.

Bekhtinian reflections: Paula's interactions with her tutees provided many

interesting insights with regards to the dialogical self. First, Paula's perceptions of the

expectations of her tutees formed an imaginal voice that helped influence her choices

even when she was not in their presence. Paula said that she changed her behaviors as a

ninth grader because she knew that her tutees viewed her as an example. She explained to

me that she thought the younger students looked up to her and probably saw her as a

leader, so she adjusted her actions at middle school to be more aligned with their expectations. The desire to be a role model extended into being a role model in reading.

The experiences shared in chapter five also indicate that Paula was able to position herself as an example in reading to her tutee. Paula, who claimed that she would never volunteer to read in front of her classmates, felt confident and capable to read aloud with her tutees. These sentiments indicate that the external voices of the classmates and the tutees had differing effects on Paula's reader identity. One of Hall's (2012) aspects of reader identity focuses on the confidence a reader feels in text comprehension. In front of peers, Paula froze and felt no confidence in reading. With the tutees, Paula's confidence climbed. She said that tutoring required her to read aloud to help the children learn. The external positions of tutoring engaged Paula's reader identity in a way that shifted focus from Paula being judged in her reading abilities by her peers and teachers to a position where she read aloud to become a lifeline for a fellow struggling reader.

Paula's Story: Summary of Themes

In the following section, I summarize Paula's story in terms of place, sociality, and temporality. These three themes coincide with the three dimensions of narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004).

Place. The three dimensions of narrative inquiry stand out in many ways throughout the development of Paula's reader identity. First, Paula's reader identity had many connections related to the dimension of place. The authoritative discourse of the school became the most important voice in Paula's understanding of what good readers do. She defined good reading as not making mistakes with sounding out words, which is

an aspect of word accuracy. Even as an adolescent, she said she would be nervous to read in front of her peers because she would be afraid to make a mistake in saying or pronouncing a word. She consistently used the same definition of a good reader throughout the study, and the definition coincided heavily definitions of good reading that she had internalized after participating in school routines with a heavy emphasis on reading aloud.

Temporality. The dimension of temporality also played an important role in Paula's reader identity. The school space was an authoritative discourse for Paula; however, the dimension of temporality indicates that the years Paula spent struggling in elementary school might be the most authoritative time with regards to Paula internalizing her reader identity. Of all the possible ways to define "good" reading, Paula emphasized the importance of reading aloud and avoiding mistakes in word accuracy as the most important attributes. These skills were the areas in which she struggled the most with reading as a child. They also happen to be the skills most practiced in early elementary grades. Thus, when analyzing the authoritative discourse, I could not ignore the role that temporality played in shaping Paula's adolescent reader identity.

The dimension of temporality also highlights the changes in Paula's reading that may have resulted from tutoring. Paula began the study describing very few positive experiences that related to reading. The only positive experience that she shared dealt with the time she received services from her own reading tutor in elementary. By the end of the study, Paula shared many positive experiences with reading, mostly experiences with her tutee. Paula also indicated that she was focusing more of her efforts to becoming

an even better reader by spending more of her leisure time reading books.

Sociality. Paula's reader identity seemed linked to sociality as a tutee and as a tutor. Her interactions with her tutor as a child led her to imagine a future where she would be able to be positioned as an aide in helping others improve in reading. In such a position, she would have the ability to be a benefit to others by providing services that help struggling readers instead of her childhood position of only receiving such services. The imagined interactions must have been very positive for such a shy girl to want to pursue such a social activity. Later, when Paula had the opportunity to actually be a tutor, the dimension of sociality also impacted her reader identity. As Paula imagined reading books out loud to her peers, she explained that she would have been nervous to perform such a task. However, the social position of tutoring removed that anxiety because the tutors were expected to read with the students because tutors are "supposed" to read to tutees to help them improve.

For Paula, many external voices of her adolescence—specifically, those of her teachers—seemed to be either lost or never heard. The school had identified her as a struggling reader. Her LIA teacher indicated that her grades were poor. Her cooperating teacher at the elementary school expressed concerns about her ability to tutor. Through it all, the voices of her experiences in elementary school and with her tutor pierced through to reassure her that she just needed to sound out the words and avoid making any mistakes.

The external voice of the tutee was one of the few voices that corroborated Paula's feelings about her own reading ability as a good reader. Paula's internal voices

defined herself as a good reader because she was able to read accurately. As a tutor, Paula also emphasized this definition of a good reader with her tutee. She felt Lily improved in her ability to read because Lily was better at sounding out and reading sight words. As Lily improved, Paula felt an increase of accomplishment and described Lily's progress as her favorite part of tutoring. The external position as an example in relationship to Lily, limited Paula's anxiety to read aloud and provided unique social interactions where reading was the catalyst for the development of the relationship.

Cassandra's Story: In the Middle

Cassandra's story has a few similarities to Paula's story. Both girls had spent most of their lives in southern Utah. Both girls felt as if they struggled with reading early on and improved over time. They were both currently in eighth grade, and their parents worked in similar fields. In particular, both girls tend to be quiet around their peers. Cassandra described herself as "a shy girl but I'm nice, and I can be funny when you get to know me better." Although Cassandra did not appear to be as intimidated by her peers as Paula seemed to be, Cassandra was noticeably quiet when I observed the class. Mr. Harris explained, "She's very quiet. I've noticed she'll do her work, but she's very quiet. I rarely hear her talk."

I expected that Cassandra's story would mirror Paula's story because of their similarities in disposition and personality. However, Cassandra's story illustrated for me how exceptional each individual's narrative can be, even when so many variables are similar. Cassandra's authoring of her reader identity was distinctive because her

experiences unique to her as an individual. Cassandra's internal and external voices about reading painted a picture of her identity that was uniquely authored. The following section is Cassandra's story.

Chapter One: Family

Cassandra's parents immigrated to the U.S. from Mexico around two years before Cassandra was born. They first lived in Arizona for a short period of time. Then, they made their way to southern Utah where Cassandra's relatives were living and were willing to support their transition by helping them find work and housing. When Cassandra was born, she became the third child in the family. Her older sister, Veronica, was nine at the time, and she also had a five-year-old brother.

Cassandra's parents were able to find work. Her father began building trusses for newly constructed homes. Her mother started working at hotels cleaning rooms. Both worked long, difficult hours. Cassandra explained that her parents worked so much that they relied heavily on Veronica to take care of the family when the children were younger.

Additionally, Cassandra's parents spoke very little English, so at home, the children were expected to speak in Spanish. According to Veronica, none of the older children in the family spoke English before entering school. Veronica was born in Mexico and entered the US school system in the second grade, so she felt that it was her responsibility to help prepare Cassandra to enter school. Because Cassandra's parents were very busy with work, many of the responsibilities of helping raise Cassandra fell upon Veronica. Veronica helped the younger children with their homework, made sure

they were keeping up on school work, and provided feedback on their learning at home. Veronica was the first in the family to learn English, so she served as her mother's interpreter at Cassandra's parent teacher conferences and other events regarding the school.

Bekhtinian reflections: One of the external voices in Cassandra's childhood that had in impact on shaping her reader identity was her family's perspectives of school. Particularly, Cassandra's older sister Veronica encouraged her sister to imagine the impact that a good education would have on her future. The family emphasized the importance of school by believing that it provided an opportunity for a future in which one has choices regarding where one worked and where success is defined by fulfillment. This early childhood, which emphasized literacy and success in school, set the stage for establishing agents of the school as part of an authoritative discourse. In the subsequent chapter, I further elaborate this point relating Cassandra's experiences at home and at school.

Chapter Two: Reading in Elementary School

Early on in school, Cassandra felt a positive affinity toward reading. Cassandra explained her feelings toward learning to read, "I was interested in it because I learned new things, new words, and the sounds and the letters." Cassandra's interest in learning became one of the themes she most discussed through our conversations. As a young child, she was driven by an interest in learning something new. Cassandra's motivation for learning led to a sustained effort on her part to consistently practice reading.

Cassandra's motivation also caught the attention of her teachers. Veronica said;

> I always went to all the meetings. At Parent Teacher Conference, we always went. Every teacher there, 'Cassandra's great. She's a great student. She's really helpful.' Every time. We never had any complaints about Cassandra, never ever.

Interestingly, the feedback that the family received from teachers dealt mostly with behavior and was very positive. Cassandra strived to do well in school and consistently did her homework. According to Veronica, her teachers did not discuss any issues with Cassandra's reading abilities in these meetings. They all praised Cassandra's work ethic, motivation, and helpfulness. These interactions align with Cassandra holding a value of being "bien educado." The politeness, respect for authority, and cooperation nurtured through this family value overshadowed the potential challenges that Cassandra had in reading as a child.

Even though she was highly motivated, Cassandra originally struggled with grasping the English language and learning to read it at the same time. Veronica said;

> It was a little bit.… I think it was a little bit hard when she first started. In the house, we only speak Spanish. Her reading English was a little hard because she had never heard it before. When she first started kindergarten, I remember it was a little hard for her. She started getting used to it. She started practicing more, and now she's really good.

Veronica suggested that Cassandra's initial difficulties in reading stemmed from her limited level of fluency in English. Because she had to learn English while also learning to read, Cassandra had an additional obstacle to overcome in the process of becoming a good reader in English. Veronica indicated that these struggles were temporary and that, with practice, Cassandra was able to overcome them.

Cassandra added, "I remember when I was in kindergarten, my sister, since she

was learning English too, we would both sit down and read my books. She would understand a little bit more than me, but we both learned." Because Cassandra and Veronica were learning English and learning to read at the same time, they felt as if they had needed to put in extra practice to become proficient. These informal family-based tutoring sessions were one way that these two sisters practiced reading and speaking English. Of note, Cassandra recognized that Veronica understood more of the reading, but both sisters learned from the process. Also, when I asked about what she did to learn how to read, Cassandra did not mention activities with her teachers in school. Her memories of learning how to read centered on these practice sessions with her older sister.

Cassandra identified her most negative experience with reading was when she was asked to read out loud to her class.

> Yeah. When I was first grade, we had to read out loud, follow along with the teacher, but we'd take turns reading out loud to the class. I was barely learning how to read. I couldn't read. I would stutter and the kids would laugh.

I imagine that this negative experience was particularly difficult for Cassandra because of her quiet personality. Likewise, Cassandra explained that she couldn't read at that time because she was just barely learning how. Reading out loud added a new level of difficulty to a reading process that Cassandra already felt inadequately prepared to participate in.

Cassandra identified reading out loud as her most negative experience with reading. Proficient oral reading later became a measuring stick of successful reading for her. Cassandra explained that her best experiences with reading were "when I don't

stutter, when I can read it perfectly." By stutter, Cassandra was referring to getting

"tripped up" while reading the words. I asked her to share a story that illustrated what she

meant. She said;

> Probably in 6th or 7th grade when my Language Arts teacher would take me out to the hall to read those passages and see how many words you could read for a minute. The first time I did it at the beginning of the year, I did a little bit. Then I got better. Close to the end, I could read more.

This example demonstrates that she experienced pride in her reading—not necessarily

when she read independently and comprehended a text—but when she experienced

success at oral reading in school.

For Cassandra, public oral reading created a mixed emotional experience. She

remembered both positive and negative reactions when she was asked to perform such

readings in class. When she read well orally, she had a positive experience. When she

considered her reading flawed, it was a negative experience. These out-loud reading

moments helped shape Cassandra's views of her reading about and how she defined

herself as a reader. Whereas Cassandra described herself as a "struggling" reader before

this sixth-grade experience, she viewed herself as a successful reader after this experience

because she "got better" at reading.

Bekhtinian reflections: Cassandra's experiences in elementary school

demonstrated the authoritative role that the school plays in defining successful reading.

The external and imagined voices of her peers and teachers at school were shaping forces

in Cassandra's definition of successful reading. Cassandra believed that she was a good

reader when she did not make mistakes while reading aloud. She remembered the

external voices of the other kids at school laughing at her when she would stutter and

stumble over words. In her later elementary years, reading aloud without error was a badge of honor that finally indicated that she had overcome the external voices that labeled her as a struggling reader.

Chapter Three: Adolescent Reading at Home

By the time Cassandra entered middle school, her family viewed her personality and her reading in very high regards. When describing her personality, Veronica said, "She's very caring, very helpful. She cares for everyone around her. She likes to help Mom do whatever she needs to do. She's a really happy person, outgoing. Nice person to be around. She's a great sister, great aunt, great everything." When describing her reading, Veronica was equally effusive. She said,

> She's great. She teaches us. When we can't pronounce something, she'll tell us. 'This is how you pronounce it.' She's always there teaching us how to do it right …and how to read correctly. She's always been like that.

Of note, Veronica emphasized word accuracy as the main area in which Cassandra corrected the older members of the family.

Veronica also explained that the family was very close. They spent ample amounts of their free time together. They would go to parks, movies, eat out, or stay home as a family. Cassandra expounded on their current family dynamics. "I live with my mom and dad. I have a sister [Veronica] who lives on her own with her husband, and an older brother that is in college in Sandy. I have a brother who turned 13 today and a 9-year-old brother, a 5-year-old brother, and a 1-year-old sister." As a 14-year old, Cassandra viewed the efforts that her older siblings were making to pursue their

education beyond high school as an example of what she should be working towards in her own academic pursuits.

As a teenager, Cassandra regarded her reading abilities positively but with some caveats. Although she viewed herself as a good reader, she expressed that her personal enjoyment of reading was limited. When I asked her if she liked to read, she responded, "Yeah. Not often, but yeah." She seemed a little uncertain in her response, so I probed a little more into whether or not she liked to read. She further explained, "I try to read every day, just so I can finish books for Language Arts." For Cassandra, reading appeared to be a task that she accomplished because the school expected her to complete it. Cassandra explained that she liked to read when the books were interesting, but the books she was expected to read as a middle schooler were more challenging than those in elementary school, and she did not understand them as easily. I noted that Cassandra's time spent reading on her own was done mostly out of a desire to fulfill the requirements at school and maintain good grades. I asked Cassandra how much time she spent reading at home. She answered, "Not a lot, but I have to do it." She also indicated that she rarely chose books to read on her own.

Veronica believed that Cassandra enjoyed reading but also indicated that reading was not something that Cassandra was really passionate about. Veronica said, "Reading? She likes it. I don't think it's something she will be doing for the rest of her life, doing like journalism or something like that, no, but she really enjoys reading." Collectively, Cassandra and Veronica agreed that Cassandra liked to read, although it did not play as significant a role in her life as it might have done for others.

Cassandra described how her birth order shaped her position as a reader in her family. She indicated that her siblings had a particularly influential impact on her reader identity. She described the reading abilities of her siblings when she said;

> "My older sister, she is not good with it, neither is my older brother. My younger 13-year old brother likes to read. He'll read anything. My 9-year old brother likes it too. My 5-year old is learning how to read.

Cassandra's birth position in the family is interesting. She is the third child of seven, which places her very close to the middle of the children. Also, Cassandra, her older brother, and Veronica were the first three to enter school, and Cassandra and Veronica indicated that they felt limited by only speaking Spanish in an all-English school. Cassandra was sort of a turning point in the family because, from an early age, the younger children could speak and read English at home with their older siblings. The two older siblings continued to struggle with reading into college. Cassandra said she was a good reader, but she only partially enjoyed it. The younger siblings enjoyed reading a lot.

Cassandra's family dynamics influenced her reader identity in other ways. Cassandra described a particularly meaningful moment that helped her identify her parents' expectations. She explained:

> They both say that I should continue and go to college like my older siblings. When my sister was about in high school a few years ago, she couldn't go to college because she had gotten pregnant. Now that she got better in things, she is learning how to do things. She is starting to go to college. They told my older brother to continue, and not do anything. Finish high school and go into college. They want me to do the same.

These parental expectations were a motivating factor for Cassandra to maintain her grades, which was one of the reasons she was spending her time at home reading. Veronica added:

> I'm the oldest. I was supposed to start doing stuff before [my younger siblings], so I was supposed to be a good example for them and I wasn't really a good example. Then my brother came in and he started college, so I think that's what motivated all of us to start something. My parents are really supportive of whatever we want to do in life. My brother wanted to do mechanics, be a mechanic. He's done with it. I think Cassandra has that, how can I tell you? She really wants to do something. Something she has been telling me she wants to do is hair, like cosmetology. That is one of her options. She might have some other ones. Our family is really supportive. We will support her in whatever she decides she wants to do. Anything she does, it's because she's really going to enjoy doing it. Not just because, "It's a good thing," or something like that.

Cassandra's family seemingly valued the role that education would play in every child's life. Her narrative centered on her family in many ways, but a major portion of the conversations I had with her about family focused on college and her siblings. She learned from her older siblings that she should be invested in reading so that she could succeed in post-secondary education. In addition to learning from the example of her older siblings, Cassandra also helped her younger siblings with their reading homework. Thus, for Cassandra, reading and school were especially intertwined, so much so that I had a difficult time focusing our conversations around reading instead of school in general. However, even with a heavy emphasis on school in our conversations, I noticed reading played an important role in Cassandra's family life because of the role it played in her education, as an entryway to future career options.

Cassandra's family situation added a unique dynamic to her development of her reader identity. Her younger siblings were raised in Utah and attended school after Cassandra and her older siblings had already progressed through the system. The generational differences and the added experiences of the older siblings could be a possible explanation for why Cassandra and her younger siblings felt much more

comfortable with reading than the older siblings. In addition to the roles the siblings played in Cassandra's development of her reader identity, her parents' perspectives on reading shed certain insights into Cassandra's reader identity. I asked her to imagine how her parents would describe her reading. She said, "They would say I'm good at it. I might need some help but I understand." Again, Cassandra defined herself as a good reader but with some struggles. However, she did not view her struggles as detrimental to her overall reader identity in the sense that they did not preclude her from viewing herself as a good reader.

Cassandra explained a little more about her parents' reading, "They only read in Spanish. They try to read in English so they can learn it. They like it." Her parents' efforts to read and understand English gained Cassandra's attention; otherwise, she would not have mentioned it. I asked Cassandra to compare her own reading to that of her parents. She responded, "It's better than theirs. They read different things than I do. If we were to trade what we were reading, I could read theirs but they wouldn't be able to read what I would read." Of all the participants, Cassandra was the only student who believed that her reading exceeded the reading skills of her parents. Even though her parents enjoyed reading, Cassandra recognized that they did not have access to the same levels of reading that she had.

Cassandra's experiences at home with reading indicates that she, as an adolescent and middle child, played the role of reading tutor for the older members of the family and the younger members of the family. The familial context of Cassandra's life placed her in a unique position that could almost only be experienced by a foreign-born student. The

family order, the timing of the family's emigration, and the language skills of the family members at the time all played a role in the authoring of Cassandra's reader identity.

Bekhtinian reflections: At home, family members positioned Cassandra as an example in reading. Her family viewed her as a resource who could help the rest of her siblings' progress in their reading abilities. As such, she spent some of her family time assisting her siblings with homework and tutoring them. Additionally, the external voices that came from Cassandra's siblings indicated that she was a good reader because she could help everyone else with their school work. She was also positioned as the example in multiple ways, both for the older and the younger members of the family. These experiences provided external voices from home that were positive regarding Cassandra's reader identity, and she identified helping her siblings with homework as an activity she enjoyed.

Despite these positive experiences, however, Cassandra did not cite her position in reading at home as a reason regarding why she was a "good" reader. Instead, she associated "good" reading with school. This association appeared to demonstrate that the school space encroached upon the home space with regards to Cassandra's reader identity. The school space also became the authoritative discourse for her reader identity in the sense that it dictated what should be done with regards to reading. Cassandra read at home because she was required to read by the school for her language arts course. She felt "good" about her reading because she did not make mistakes in front of other students at school. In addition, her experiences reading with her siblings were all centered around school tasks that were assigned as a part of maintaining grades.

Chapter Four: Adolescent Reader with School

Cassandra's family emphasized the importance of school and continuing education, so I was interested to hear Cassandra's thoughts about middle school. She said, "I think I'm doing good. I try keeping my grades up as well as I can. It's fun. I get to be with friends and learn other things. I like my teachers too." Again, Cassandra was motivated to do well in school, in large part because she knew that her grades were important.

As noted, Cassandra consistently responded that she considered herself a good reader. However, she would also describe circumstances that made me believe that she either was not as confident in her reading as she described, or she defined "good reader" in such a way as to allow herself to struggle in certain aspects of reading while maintaining a reader identity as a good reader. For example, I asked her to describe her best and worst subjects to get an idea of her reading. She answered that her best subject was

> Math, because I understand it easier than reading, and writing. My least favorite course is Language Arts because there's words I don't get. If I read a book, I have to read a book I understand well. There's some books where I can't read the words right. I don't understand it.

In this description, Cassandra indicated that some of her struggles with reading centered around comprehension, specifically comprehension of challenging vocabulary expected at the secondary level.

Another circumstance where Cassandra's verbalized reader identity as a "good reader" conflicted with her descriptions was in her comparisons to her classmates'

reading abilities. At the beginning of the study, she responded, "My reading would probably be a little bit worse than most of my classmates because there's a lot of kids that can understand books better. They can relate to the books more." From this description, I surmised that Cassandra was able to maintain an identity as a "good reader" because comprehension played only a small role in her definition of a good reader. She said that most of her classmates were better than she was at reading because they understood books better and related to them more. Cassandra already indicated that she struggled with understanding; however, not understanding did not impact her self-defined view as a good reader. Thus, Cassandra appeared to be using a definition of a "good reader" that left out vocabulary comprehension as a major tenet. She felt that she was a "good reader" even though she was not a good comprehender.

Cassandra reaffirmed my interpretations when I asked her to define what good readers do. She said that good readers "don't mess up and they can read it well." In our member checking interviews, she later confirmed that this statement "read it well" meant reading aloud well without making mistakes in word identification and accuracy. Cassandra's earlier experiences helped her develop a definition of reading where a "good" reader doesn't make mistakes in aspects of oral reading fluency. Consequently, Cassandra was most likely able to maintain her identity as a good reader as a teenager since she appeared to feel capable in these components of reading.

As previously described, Cassandra enjoyed learning how to read as a younger elementary student, but that period was also the time that she felt she struggled the most with reading. When describing her biggest change since elementary school with regards

to reading, Cassandra explained, "I would say that I liked reading, but I don't as much now." I was surprised to hear that as Cassandra felt more confident as a good reader, she reportedly decreased in her affinity for reading. She added, "I try and read as often as I can, so I can get better at it. I would say I'm a good reader." This self-affirmation forced me to consider the internal and external dialogues taking place around Cassandra's reader identity.

Bekhtinian reflections: Cassandra's reader identity exhibited potentially conflicting characteristics. On the one hand, she considered herself a good reader, and she tried to read as often as she could. On the other hand, she did not enjoy reading as much as she used to, she did not believe that she comprehended difficult vocabulary, she did not think that she related to books as much as her peers did, and she did not like language arts class at school because it was reading-intensive. When considering these conflicts, I wondered how Cassandra was able to maintain an overall identity as a good reader, despite reporting difficulties in reading and a dislike for reading.

In earlier chapters, Cassandra had indicated that her experiences in reading aloud in elementary school were especially formative moments as she authored her definitions of good reading, and as she authored her reading identity in relation to those definitions. She perceived that her teachers and peers valued reading fluently and accurately, and she internalized these voices (whether real or imagined) as her primary definition of good reading. According to her, because her experiences in the sixth-grade indicated that she could read aloud well, she identified herself as a good reader according to this definition she had established. This chapter, as in other chapters, emphasizes the role of the school

as an authoritative discourse in shaping reader identity. Communal classroom practices—such as reading aloud in class and measuring reader rates—comprised communal voices that Cassandra later adopted or internalized as her own primary yardstick for evaluating herself as a reader.

Chapter Five: Tutoring and Reader Identity

At school, Cassandra was reserved. I asked Mr. Harris if she was shy in all her classes or just his. He responded that she was that way in every class. He said;

> I think my class lends it more to be more open. If any class, I would expect this one for her to be a little bit more talkative because we do that a lot. We do a lot of group activities where they have to communicate with one another. She'll communicate with her friends, but even then, it's rare that she's very talkative. She's still one of the quieter ones out of her friends.

Because Cassandra and Paula are both shy, I expected that the tutoring experience for Cassandra would be similar to Paula's. Mr. Harris believed that Paula was so shy that she did not grow academically from the experience of tutoring. According to Mr. Harris, she held back and waited to be told what to do. She did not take charge, and she did not assume a leadership role in tutoring.

I asked Mr. Harris if Cassandra's shyness impacted her ability to tutor in the same way that it impacted Paula's tutoring. He explained that he viewed Cassandra's experience with tutoring as a direct contrast to Paula's. He then described how much Cassandra had grown and gained confidence in her abilities to communicate. I asked if he thought that the role she was assigned as tutor had an influence. He answered;

> It actually does. I feel like she's excelled in that. I don't know if it's because she's put in a position where she is a leader, where she's the role model, she's not

amongst peers, but she's the older one, that I've found her actually going along with the younger kids and really communicating with them and doing really well with her tutoring.

Mr. Harris believed that the tutoring process brought about changes in Cassandra. He mentioned the possibility that the changes he noted were because she was older and in a position as a role-model or leader.

He further explained;

I think Cassandra has improved a lot. She was by herself in her classroom, and she was able to work with the students a lot. I think that helped her improve her confidence level, and helped her do better just because she knows she can. She has been more outgoing. She is a little bit more talkative but she is still very quiet.

Again, as with the other participants, Mr. Harris emphasized confidence, leadership, and communication skills as the characteristics that were developed, and he did not focus specifically on reading gains when forming his opinions of the effectiveness of cross-age tutoring.

Cassandra's older sister Veronica described her sibling's tutoring experience when she said;

She's really involved in that Latinos in Action program. She really likes to be there. She really likes helping others. Right now, she tells me about what she does. She is going to the elementary school and helping kids read. Helping the teachers. She really enjoys it. She really enjoys being involved in that.

Cassandra was noticeably engaged in the tutoring process in my observations, and according to Veronica, Cassandra told her family about her experiences at the elementary school. Unlike Mr. Harris, who framed the tutoring experience in terms of communication and leadership skills, Veronica framed her sister's tutoring experience in terms of helping students and teachers. Unlike her other experiences with reading,

Veronica felt that Cassandra "really enjoyed" this one.

When I asked Mr. Harris about changes in Cassandra's reading, he said that she probably had improved but that he didn't have any particular evidence to demonstrate a change. To better grasp possible changes that occurred in Cassandra's reader identity as a result of tutoring, I asked Cassandra to describe the tutoring process that she went through.

> Every day I walk in, they get excited to see me. They're always usually doing their work, so I sat down. There are two girls I always sit with. They don't really understand their work, so I have to help them out. Sometimes we go to the back table. If not, then they just pay attention. When the teacher is writing on the board, they'll look at her and then go back to me. Well, every time I help the students, they seem to get it. They seem to understand it how I teach them, better than how the teacher puts it on the board. That makes me feel better with my tutoring.

Starting each tutoring session with excited students benefited Cassandra in her task of tutoring. For Cassandra, these reading tutoring sessions became something to look forward to because of the social interactions she would have with her tutees. Cassandra reported that most of the reading she did at the start of tutoring was a result of obligation to maintain grades, but these tutoring sessions were positive opportunities to read outside of Cassandra's normal reading routine. Additionally, Cassandra noted a shift in positioning that had the potential to impact her reader identity. Cassandra's experience indicated that she began to consider herself an example in reading because of tutoring. She positioned herself as even better at teaching reading than the elementary teacher because of how her tutees improved in reading. In previous conversations, she has always positioned herself as a novice reader when compared to her teachers and her peers. In tutoring, she viewed herself as a better reading teacher than the elementary teacher, an

indication that her reader identity had shifted to the point where she considered herself an

authority in reading to some extent.

Also, Cassandra identified ways that she also improved in reading by recognizing

the progress that one tutee, Diana, was making.

> She didn't understand [reading]. She didn't understand it well. I got one-on-one time with her and I was able to help her learn it. I feel like [one on one] there's more attention with her, so she could understand it more. We could start it off like she was at a low level of reading, but she's improved her levels just because of how she's read.

By midway through her year of tutoring, Cassandra explained that tutoring had

changed her reading abilities "a little bit. I always have to read the words out to them. I

understand easier now what it's trying to say to them. I can explain it easier." These small

changes at the midpoint of the study were helping Cassandra re-author her reader identity

by giving her more confidence with her comprehension and retell. As noted, Cassandra

had developed an identity as a good reader, but her personal definition of good readers

seemed to exclude comprehension, which was an aspect of reading Cassandra viewed as

a struggle. Tutoring provided Cassandra a time to practice comprehension because the

tutoring process required her to explain her understanding to Diana and the other tutees,

in addition to reading aloud with them.

Cassandra's tutees also provided external voices that praised her reading abilities.

Her tutee Diana explained:

> It was great. She helped me and all of that. She was like my teacher, my real teacher. She's really nice. She's a really good person. Really good at reading. When she read to me, she didn't even make a mistake. Nothing, a mistake, no words. You know 'Pig Man?' It's a story, really cute. We read that together. We both did expressions so it would look like it was real.

Cassandra similarly explained how her tutees viewed her reading: "They'd probably say I'm good since I can understand more than them. Diana probably thinks I read better than what she's heard, like from her classmates or from her teacher maybe." Prior to tutoring, Cassandra felt that she was not as good at reading as most of her peers, but after Cassandra's descriptions of how the tutees viewed her reading, I immediately asked Cassandra how her peers would view her reading compared to the tutees. She answered, "Probably about same [as the tutees]. They'd say I'm pretty good at it. I read about the same as some of them [...] around the middle." Although not a tremendous change in response, by the end of the study, Cassandra's description indicated that she felt that her peers viewed her reading more positively than how she perceived her peers' views before tutoring started. She also viewed herself as potentially better than the elementary teacher at reading and helping the tutees progress because of the external position that her experiences with her tutee provided.

Cassandra also explained that she perceived some changes in her personal reading habits and abilities because of tutoring. She said:

> I feel like I've improved a bit because I am able to read different kinds of levels of books. It probably depends on what I read, how I get the context of the book. How I understand when I'm reading. I understand the context of words and if they are different, how words are put differently, in different kinds of sentences. They can be used in different ways. Before tutoring, I didn't read as much. I would read twenty minutes a week and it's supposed to be twenty minutes a day. Now that tutoring is almost done, I read like ten minutes a day. Not twenty, but around ten.

Cassandra attributed this change in the amount of personal time she spent reading to the tutoring sessions. She also explained that she felt more confident in her reading skills, particularly with the skill she consistently identified as her greatest weakness in reading:

vocabulary comprehension.

In all, Cassandra's changes in her reader identity illustrated the potential of tutoring to place a struggling reader in new positions and then impact the tutor's reader identity in positive ways. The sociality and context of tutoring provided Cassandra a unique and new role with reading that helped to shape her identity and her habits. Cassandra thought of herself as a good reader throughout the duration of the study, but she did not see herself as a good comprehender and she did not read for personal enjoyment. By the end of the tutoring sessions, however, she viewed herself as a better comprehender, and she viewed herself as somebody who read for pleasure at home, instead of somebody who just read what was required for school.

Bekhtinian reflections: Before the tutoring sessions, Cassandra positioned herself as a "good" reader but described many struggles she continued to have with reading. Cassandra described situations with reading grade-appropriate texts as challenging because the vocabulary was hard to comprehend. Cassandra also explained that her reading was not as good as many of the students in class and probably somewhere in the middle of all her peers with regards to reading ability. This positioning indicated that Cassandra, at school, viewed herself as needing extra support in reading demanding texts.

Tutoring provided Cassandra with many potentially new external positions. First, Cassandra indicated that her relationship with the tutee created many positive experiences that centered on reading. Diana, the tutee, praised Cassandra's abilities to teach her how to read better. Diana even said that Cassandra's skills in reading were on-par with her elementary teacher's abilities. Cassandra's sentiments mirrored Diana's. She felt very

capable and confident in tutoring reading. Mr. Harris was another external voice that indicated the success Cassandra was having in tutoring. Each of these external positions, which were expressed in the important context of school, reinforced Cassandra's identity as a good reader. Though she felt she was a good reader prior to the study, she felt that she had improved in aspects of reading such as reading for enjoyment and comprehending texts.

Cassandra's Story: Summary of Themes

In the following section, I summarize Cassandra's story in terms of place, sociality, and temporality. These three themes coincide with the three dimensions of narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004).

Place. The dimension of place appeared to play a significant role in shaping Cassandra's reader identity. The school's definitions of successful reading held a prime place in what Cassandra internalized as good reading. The school space became an authoritative discourse, reinforced by the voices at home. Her experiences at school, rather than her experiences at home, were used in shaping her identity of herself as a reader. When she read at home before the study, she only read texts that were required by the school. Her family quoted her teachers' experiences to determine whether she was a good reader. Those definitions trickled into Cassandra's home where reading for school became a priority. She helped her brothers and sisters be successful on their homework so that they too could succeed according to the definitions resulting from the authoritative discourse of the school. Tutoring also took place at school. Cassandra's peers, teachers, and tutee were just a few of the external voices that shaped her reader identity from the

school space.

Temporality. Temporality also influenced Cassandra's reader identity in many ways. First, Cassandra indicated that she explained that being a "good" reader meant that the individual avoids making mistakes when reading aloud. This definition indicates that the temporality of Cassandra's early childhood, along with her initial struggles to read aloud error free, continued to influence her positions and self-defined ideas of reader identity. Cassandra continued to define her reader identity in terms of oral reading, and her reader identity improved over time as she became better at oral reading. Even before the study, her identity as a reader had improved over time because she became better at oral reading. At the start of the study, she viewed herself as a "good" reader based on her definitions. By the end, she felt as if she were becoming a better comprehender, and she even indicated the she was reading more for pleasure.

Sociality. Cassandra internalized a variety of external voices as she progressed from a struggling reader. As a child, the external voices of the children who laughed at her mistakes caused her to have a negative emotional reaction. She knew she did not read like the other students. Later, the positive experiences of reading aloud without error helped her re-author a new reader identity where she felt she was a good reader. At the same time, she felt less confident in her comprehension when she compared herself to her peers.

The external voices of Cassandra's family life always positioned her as an example in reading because they viewed her as successful at school work and their views were confirmed by teachers' comments at parent and teacher conferences. By the end of

the study, the tutoring setting supplied external voices that considered Cassandra a role model in reading, similar to the role she was already playing in her family.

Amaia's Story: Time to Read

Mr. Harris and the other LIA students identified Amaia as one of the leaders in their program. She was well-liked by her peers, and she actively participated in planning and carrying out the various LIA activities. She also played sports and participated in multiple activities beyond LIA. Amaia was helpful and positive with her peers, and according to Mr. Harris, she was one of the more popular students not only in the class, but also in the school overall.

When I first met Amaia, we had a good conversation, and she even seemed excited to be able to share her experiences. Compared to the other participants, my interviews with her felt the most natural and conversational, and I felt as if I put less effort into figuring out ways to get Amaia to share more about herself. Amaia was always pleasant and engaged while I asked questions, and she was thoughtful and thorough in her responses. The following section shares her story.

Chapter One: Family

Amaia came from a large family that continued to grow after they invited extended family members to live with them when they needed extra help. Amaia was the only participant born and raised in southern Utah. Her parents emigrated from a small town in Mexico in order to find work. They first lived in California; however, neither of the parents enjoyed California because they were not accustomed to living in such a

populous area. They had heard from friends that there were construction jobs and many other opportunities in Utah. With the birth of their oldest child, a daughter named Irene, they realized that they wanted to raise their children somewhere less crowded and with less crime than the neighborhoods where they lived in California.

Amaia's parents made the move to Utah shortly after Irene was born. After they moved, it was seven years before Amaia's mom, Martina, and her husband had another daughter. Amaia was the third daughter born and was 12 years younger than Irene. The youngest daughter was four years younger than Amaia. Since moving to Utah, Amaia had two aunts and their families living with them for short periods of time while their husbands looked for work and housing in the area. At the time of the study, the Amaia's family had lived in the area for around 20 years and indicated that they were not planning on leaving the area because it felt like home.

Amaia's parents both worked demanding jobs. In her words, "My mom works in a factory. I don't know what she does. I think she makes envelopes. My dad is doing tile work." Amaia's mother Martina explained that her job was in a production line where she makes envelopes, which included being exposed to many chemicals that had damaged her skin over the years. The following is her verbatim description of her work:

> When Amaia was born, I went to work more. I had her, 23 days, and then I work. [I work] Monday through Friday, sometimes Saturdays. 11, 12 hours, 10 hours, 8 hours. I work in an envelope factory. They make envelopes. I work for 11 years making envelopes, then I move to the glue department for 3 years now. I have almost 14 years working at that place. I'm working too much.

Amaia explained that her father also worked long hours, and she did not get to spend a lot of time with him because he usually arrived home late at night and left very early in the

morning.

Most of Amaia's exposure to reading before she entered school was because of her two older sisters. Irene was in high school when Amaia entered kindergarten, and Amaia's other older sister was entering second grade at that time. The two older sisters spent a lot of their time working on homework from school, and Amaia paid attention to what they were doing. Amaia explained that Irene would check out books from the library and spend a good amount of her free time reading those books. Amaia's other sister also enjoyed reading. Amaia explained, "My second oldest sister liked to read. She liked to read huge books. I usually saw her reading movie books, books they make into movies. Those are pretty much the books she read." The reading habits of her older sisters shaped Amaia's reading aspirations because she wanted to read just like them, and they expected her to read as they did.

Bekhtinian reflections: Having two older sisters who enjoyed reading established a culture in the family where reading was valued before Amaia ever entered elementary school. This shared value of reading among siblings indicated the existence of a communal voice within the family because there was a shared love of reading among family members who had the leisure time to read. Also, the age difference between Amaia and Irene made a big difference in the level of involvement between the two siblings. The other participants in this study who had older siblings were close in age to them and basically learned to read and speak English along with their siblings. In contrast, Amaia's older siblings already brought English and reading into the home. Irene provided Amaia with a role model not only of how to read to be successful at school, but

also of how to read for personal enjoyment.

Martina also was positioned as an additional external voice for Amaia's reader identity prior to entering elementary. Martina's imagined future where her daughters were liberated from the burdens she felt in her employment became an important factor in her dedication to her daughters' education. These imagined voices influenced the dialogues that Martina had with her daughters. She would tell them the importance of success at school, and she used the physical damage done to her own skin as an object lesson that permitted the girls to imagine how their reading choices could potentially impact their own futures. As such, home was a place that reinforced the importance of school in general, and specifically with reading. Prior to entering school, the authoritative discourse of the school had already entered into Amaia's home space.

Chapter Two: Reading in Elementary School

Amaia entered elementary excited to learn. She had already learned some English at that point in her life because her older siblings spoke and used English at school and occasionally at home. She felt eager to begin kindergarten and follow the example of her two older sisters. However, her enthusiasm for school decreased when it came to reading. She explained:

> It was pretty hard at first. I started off reading the easy words, then I'd go off reading some hard words, big sentences, then started reading paragraphs. My oldest sister is the one that taught me how to read my book. When I was little, I didn't like to read at all. I'd always tell her I didn't have a book to read. She'd always look in my backpack and find the book. I'd have to read it to her. I was always like, "I don't want to read this anymore." She'd be like, "You have to read it, so you can know how to read big words and understand what things are." I read it, and I got into reading. I started reading more books and bigger books, now.

Amaia expressed that this time practicing with Irene was how she began enjoying reading

more. Irene also motivated Amaia to persist in reading. Amaia wanted to give up, but

Irene was there for her and pushed her to keep trying. According to Amaia, this early

experience helped her to become a reader because her sister guided her through learning

to read when she wanted to give up. Amaia also indicated how Irene's words provided

the reasoning for why Amaia needed to practice her reading: reading "big words" was her

main objective because she needed to "understand what things are." Irene's external

voice helped shape Amaia's reader identity to include a definition of reading that viewed

reading as a process by which new understanding and new learning are acquired.

Irene played the role of tutor frequently in Amaia's life. Her sister spent a lot of

time with her reading, preparing her for classes, and helping her persist through what

Amaia described as a difficult process. Her mother, Martina, also participated in Amaia's

process of learning to read. In describing that process, Amaia explained:

> I was in kindergarten. I remember this because it was my first time [reading]. My mom would have to help me with my sight words. She didn't know much English back then. My mom always got my sister to come help me with my sight words. I would learn my sight words. Then I would tell them to my mom so she can start learning English. Then my mom wanted me to start reading a book with my sister. We would have big books. We didn't have small little books with a sentence on each page. I would go to the library with my sister. We'd find a book there and I'd bring it home. I'd check it out and bring it home. I'd try to read it all by myself, which I couldn't, because it was my first time reading it. My sister read the whole book to me. Then she wanted me to read it. I tried to read it, but I couldn't. She would read a word and I would repeat it after her. In school, we would get in small groups. We would go with our teacher to a table. We'd each read a page to our teacher. That's how I learned how to read, pretty much.

Not only was Amaia influenced by her sister's time spent practicing, but also Martina

was dedicating time to help Amaia learn sight words. Martina only spoke Spanish at the

time, but Martina explained that she viewed her daughters' time in elementary as an opportunity for herself to be learning English along with Amaia and Irene.

This story also demonstrated that Irene was the example at reading in English in the family. Throughout elementary school, Irene pushed Amaia into reading and practicing. From Amaia's perspective, learning to read was not a skill that she felt she acquired through the school, or at least the school played a minor role in her learning to read. She considered these reading sessions with Irene to be the primary activity that allowed her to develop her reading abilities. This perspective stood in contrast to Irene's experience where she, being the oldest, was primarily taught to read at school. Amaia viewed Irene as the catalyst of her learning. That catalyst was her being pushed to read by checking out "big books" from the library and spending hours at home practicing her reading.

In addition to receiving tutoring services from Irene, Amaia's interaction with reading associated with her mother also influenced the development of her reader identity. Both Martina and Amaia acknowledged that, even as a kindergartner, Amaia was positioned as an expert in reading because she was expected to help teach her mom how to read in English. Irene would help Amaia with her sight words. Then, Amaia would in turn help Martina to learn the sight words as she practiced her own reading skills acquired through working with Irene. In this way, Amaia occupied two positions as a reader in her childhood at home: one as a novice who needed help, and the other as an expert who helped another learn to read.

By second grade, Amaia considered herself to be a "good reader." In Amaia's

words this meant, "Probably being on average. Not being behind, from your classmates and stuff." Even though she felt confident in her reading abilities, she reported that most of the reading that she did was required for school. She mentioned that she didn't feel like she had time to dedicate to reading for leisure. In her words,

> In elementary, I'd like to read, but I'd always feel like, 'Oh my gosh, I don't have time to read this.' I'm always in a hurry for doing my homework. I'm like, 'I want to read this book.' Now [that I'm a teenager], I do my homework and I forget about the book.

In elementary school, Amaia viewed reading as a burden on her time, which indicated that she did not value the activity as much as she valued other activities. While she was in elementary school, Amaia was very active in multiple after-school activities. She played soccer and practiced with a club team nearly every day of the week. She always completed her homework, and she also strived to maintain time with family and friends. However, she spent most of her leisure time focused on sports, homework, or friends, so reading was not a priority on which to use her leisure time, even though she expressed interest in it. This quote also indicates that, at the start of the study, Amaia as a teenager continued to value other activities over reading because she would "forget about the book."

Amaia continued to want to do well in school as she finished the later grades of elementary. Her feelings towards reading were still the same. She liked reading, but she did not want to spend a lot of her time reading when she could be engaged in activities she thought were more "fun" or productive. Even though she described herself as a good reader, she indicated one experience that showed a lack of confidence with reading. This experience, in particular, stood out to her as her worst experience with reading.

> Going up in front of the class and reading out loud to the whole class. In sixth grade when I had to go up and read. Sometimes, teachers call you up to read a chapter of a book or a paragraph of a book. I had to go up in front of the whole class to read. I don't like going up in front of a lot of people because they all look at you. They were looking at the book so it didn't really matter to me. I got it over with.

When Amaia shared this story with me, I followed up by asking her how she felt her reading was when she read to the class. Her answer, "Probably bad."

In contrast to the other participants who mentioned negative experiences reading to the class, Amaia did not identify a fear of making mistakes as the reason for her negative emotional reaction. She stated that the experience was not too bad because the students were not looking at her. Although reading aloud in front of the class was the source of the negative experience, she somewhat downplayed the significance of the impact that the experience had on her. She had already developed an identity as a good reader who could teach her mom how to read sight words, but later on in the school space, when she had to perform for her peers, she sometimes lacked confidence. In home places, she never indicated that she lacked confidence in her reading abilities. Overall, Amaia felt confident that her reading skills were at a similar level to most of her peers, but her reaction that she did not do a good job reading in front of her peers indicated that her confidence in her reading was subject to the context where the reading took place.

Bekhtinian reflections: The settings, and external voices present in those settings, seemed to shape Amaia's reader identity in different ways. As a child at home, Amaia was positioned both as an expert (in relation to her mother) and a novice (in relation to her sister). In her later grades, she viewed herself as a good reader because she read equally as well as her peers. However, her experience reading to the class in late

elementary indicated that she did not position herself as an expert reader when she compared herself with her peers. She seemed to believe that she read well enough. However, she imagined that the voices of her peers judged her reading as subpar. These imagined and external voices were very closely linked with the dimensions of place and sociality. At home, she was an expert. At school, she was adequate but not confident.

Chapter Three: Adolescent Reading at Home

By the time Amaia entered eighth grade, her family had grown. Irene had two children of her own who were in their early years of elementary school. Amaia explained, "Right now we are doing fine. I live with 9 people. Well, 8. Counting me is 9. [Irene] always likes moving out but then she has to pay all her bills and everything, so she moves back in with us. We're all in our house, squished. I share a room with two of my sisters. My little sister is really messy. She doesn't like cleaning. Me and my other sister always have to start cleaning the room before my mom gets home and starts yelling, because she likes to yell at us for not cleaning the house. My dad always gets home late from work." Having so many people at home caused some frustrations for Amaia. For example, she did not really enjoy sharing her room with her younger sister. On the other hand, she also liked being close to the family.

Amaia expressed that the best aspect of having all the family under one roof was that she was able to spend a lot of quality time with Irene's children. When I asked what she enjoyed about her time with them, she explained;

> Probably reading to my niece and nephew. They don't listen to me sometimes
> when I read to them, but I like reading to them and I tell them to pay attention to

> me. Every day I go home and I clean the house and everything. When my nephew comes home, his mom [Irene] and his dad are always working. My mom's always cooking dinner. I have to help him with his homework and my niece with her homework. My nephew is in Kindergarten right now and my niece is in 2nd grade. My niece has to read a book that she brings home every day. My nephew brings a book home, too. I sit there and listen to them read first. How I learned how to read from my sister, how my sister taught me, that's how I do it to them. I read the book first and they try to read some of them to me. If they can't, I would read it, and they'd have to read it after me, repeat it after me.

Of note, Amaia indicated that this routine with her niece and nephew was patterned after her experiences with Irene. This tutoring routine at home was not like the LIA tutoring sessions at the elementary school. Tutoring at the elementary school meant working with an individual who started out as a stranger, and the school expected the tutoring sessions to follow the school's pattern. Tutoring at home meant that, in addition to being tutor, she was also family. Irene, not the school, established the pattern for tutoring at home. In Amaia's adolescence, she positioned herself as the new Irene for the younger children.

Martina also continued to be a prominent voice in Amaia's home. Martina illustrated the importance of English and Spanish to the family. When I interviewed Martina, Amaia had already explained to me that when Amaia entered kindergarten, her mother did not speak English. Because I speak Spanish, I expected that our interview would take place in Spanish because of what I already knew about Amaia's family. However, prior to each interview, I asked which language would be more comfortable for Martina in having a conversation. Martina said that it didn't matter to her. She could have the conversation in English or in Spanish. I was a little astounded because Amaia hadn't yet told me that Martina could speak English. Because Martina expressed that she would be fine with the interview in English, I decided that having the interview in English might

provide me with different insights than having the interview in Spanish. For example, I

wanted to see how Martina had progressed in learning English because I assumed that

learning a new language later in life would be a challenge in what I considered a short

period of time. I was again surprised with how well Martina spoke English. She did make

some slight errors as she spoke, which will be evident as I share her words, but she was

very comprehensible and was not hesitant in answering questions as many language

learners tend to be.

Amaia pointed out that when she was in kindergarten, her mother dedicated

efforts to learning English sight words with her. In Amaia's adolescence, Martina was

still learning along with her daughter. Amaia explained;

> My mom tries to read. Every time I would read a book and finish it, she'd always
> tell me to give it to her so she can read it. She's trying to learn English right now.
> She knows most of it now. She understands us, what we say and everything.
> She'd try to read some of those books. My dad would do the same.

Martina expressed that fluency in both languages is a priority for her and her daughters

especially since she noticed that her daughters were starting to lose their ability to speak

in Spanish. She decided that she would only speak Spanish with her daughters. She said;

> Well, because my daughter, everybody coming to school and they talking in
> English… I remember that happened to Amaia. That's why I tried, 'Please, take
> Spanish class because I need you guys to speak Spanish. It's better. It's good for
> you guys to have two languages.' I have a lot of family from Mexico, my mom,
> she doesn't speak English. My sisters, they don't speak English.

Martina's expectations of bilingualism were emphasized by her own desires and

motivation to read and speak English. English would bring her daughters success at

school, but forgetting Spanish would lose their connection to their extended family.

Martina had high expectations for Amaia when it came to getting an education

and maintaining grades. I asked her about Amaia's reading abilities and she said:

> Sometimes we spend a lot of money [on school] and then they have bad grades. That's not fair. I told my daughters, 'You know why I'm working too hard for you guys. Then me, look at my hands so ugly, because I work in a lab, because I'm not student, because I'm not graduation or nothing. Come on guys, try. It's not hard for you guys.' Every day, I talk to the three girls the same. My old daughter, she's talking to her sisters. [Amaia] reads very good, in Spanish and in English. Yep. Sometimes she has low grades, but every time I tell her, I check on Amaia's grades, if she have a B, 'Amaia, if you don't give me an A, I won't pay for nothing.' You guys take something, you give me good grades.

Martina emphasized grades a lot in our conversation. Even in this question about reading, she focused mostly on her daughter's grades. She did mention that she viewed Amaia as a really good reader, but it was hard to ignore the prominence of grades in our conversation. Martina wanted Amaia to maintain high grades, and she wanted her to graduate from school. In Martina's story, she sacrificed a lot of herself at a difficult job because she felt her education level did not allow her to do much else as an occupation. Martina feared that her daughters would be expected to make similar sacrifices if they did not perform well in school. For Martina, the value of reading did not seem to stem from a desire to see Amaia master a skill, but more as an avenue to perform and complete tasks that would maintain grades at an acceptable level.

Amaia explained how important reading is to her parents, "My mom and dad actually want us to read a lot. They say we learn more things, and we can get a lot of things from that. They like it." Accordingly, Amaia's parents viewed reading as part of the learning process. At least, this was how Amaia viewed her parents' perspectives on reading. These perspectives also had an impact on Amaia's reader identity. The external voices of her parents told her from an early age that reading was about learning. Amaia

held similar views about reading to those of her parents. In contrast with the other participants in this study, Amaia focused more on meaning, comprehension, and learning from reading as she defined good reading, instead of exclusively emphasizing the importance of sounding words out and pronouncing them correctly.

Martina mentioned that Amaia was a good reader, but I asked Amaia what her parents would say about her reading abilities in order to find out if she had imagined them holding a different perspective. She answered, "They would both probably say that I do read a lot. When I'm at home, I get my reading log done." In this passage, she indicated that she would read to get her reading log done. Her reading log was a quarterly assignment from her language arts teacher that expected her to read a certain number of pages. Her parents were expected to sign it to show evidence of her reading.

Amaia also struggled articulating her parents' view of her as a reader. I asked her to clarify using a scale of 1-10, and she responded that her parents would probably rate her a 7 out of 10. I was a little surprised at Amaia's response. She later told me that compared to her parents, "my reading is…probably not too bad, but kind of bad." Thus, Amaia viewed her parents as better readers than herself.

Amaia explained the reading that she usually does at home and if she enjoyed reading. She said;

> I read 20 minutes at home, so I can get my reading log done here at school. Every day I do that, except for on the weekends. Well, Sunday is the most boring day, so I usually read the whole day there. I like to read books that are interesting. I was reading this book last time. It was about this little kid getting child abused. I like to read those books a lot.

Interestingly, Amaia spent little time reading outside of her assigned homework unless

she found no other activities as a viable option to reading. She cared a lot about her

grades, so she would complete her assignments. However, she would not spend much of

her personal time at home reading for her own enjoyment until she felt that she could

utilize reading as a mechanism to counter boredom. She indicated that she would read on

Sundays but only because her parents viewed that day as religiously sacred and would not

allow her to participate in other activities that she preferred.

Bekhtinian reflections: As an adolescent, the external voices of Amaia's school

really extended into the reading that took place at home. Martina expected Amaia to do

well in her homework and keep her grades maintained. If school is a place where you can

internalize external voices, then Martina reinforced the value and importance of those

school-based external voices, rather than trying to develop a counter-narrative that went

against the external voices at the school. Amaia also privileged those voices because her

personal reading was most commonly done in an effort to satisfy the demands of the

middle school. She wanted to get points for doing her reading by doing her reading log,

although after the log was completed, she would also read if she was bored. Amaia's

parents did not solely emphasize the importance of keeping up grades, but also, they

viewed the learning process as a top priority. As such, the school voices and definitions

were still privileged at home, but the family's interpretation of success in school and

reading went beyond earning high grades. They valued comprehension and learning, too.

**Chapter Four: Adolescent Reader with
School**

Throughout my interviews with Amaia, she indicated that she was at a crossroads

with her reader identity. She explained;

> I do like to read interesting books. They have to get to me. I don't know how to say it. I don't like to read those books that are plain boring. I like to read fun books that are fun to read, and interesting. When I'm reading a book I usually get to a part that's really interesting and I want to keep reading it. Sometimes there are these books and I have no interest in reading them. I don't read them.

I asked Amaia to give an example of a book that she would not enjoy reading. She responded, "Probably Harry Potter books. I don't like to read those big books." As Amaia reached middle school, her affinity for reading hinged on the amount of time reading took and her interest in the books she read. In these responses, Amaia indicated that she did not enjoy reading some books because they were boring, but she also added that she did not like reading "big books." At the start of the study, Amaia explained that she both liked and disliked reading because she liked getting caught up in an interesting book, but she became frustrated with "boring" books.

Amaia indicated that her frustrations with reading made her not enjoy her English Language Arts (ELA) class. I asked her why her ELA class was her least favorite. She explained

> I don't know. I just don't really like Language Arts. I don't understand it that much. The book I'm reading right now. They have big words that I don't even know what they mean. Some words are really big that I haven't even heard before. I try reading the words. If I can't say it, I say it out loud to myself. If I can't say it, I just skip it. I don't even read it at all.

A lot of Amaia's frustrations with reading came from big words that she struggled to understand. The crossroads that Amaia faced between enjoying and disliking reading pivoted a lot on the level of difficulty of the books. When Amaia felt a lack of confidence in vocabulary and in oral reading, she expressed frustration and a dislike for reading.

Amaia defined for me what made a person a good reader from her perspective;

> They ignore things around them, like people talking and stuff. They read their book. I've seen people have a book right in front of them. They read it nonstop, and the next day they have a different book. I don't know if they have the same book still with them or not, they probably read a lot.

Again, time spent on reading was an important factor for Amaia's definitions about what good readers do.

At the onset of the study, I asked Amaia if she considered herself a good reader. She responded:

> Probably good, because when we're reading a book as a table, right now in English we're reading a book. We have to go around the table. Each person has to read a paragraph. I feel like a good reader and I'm pretty sure they think I'm a good reader too. I don't read them fast, but not slow either. I'm on the right track or on pace. There are some kids in there that get stuck on some words. They're kind of slow at reading. Then I read it, and I read it fast and get bored because they're reading the other paragraph and they're not as fast.

I asked her if being able to read fast is the only skill that makes a person a great reader, and she answered;

> Not just the ability to read fast, but also having hesitation when there is an exclamation mark, or someone is quoting something, you say it as if they were to say it. That's pretty much it, I guess. I'm not a great reader. I'm a good reader, but I'm also not a bad reader. I'd say good. Not too good, but not too bad either. I'd probably say it's good.

Accordingly, when Amaia compared herself to her peers reading, she felt confident that her reading was on level with her peers. She defined her abilities to read in terms of her ability to read out loud in front of others. Her definition emphasized reading in terms of oral reading fluency, and she even included expression, pacing, speed, and interpretation of punctuation. She also identified skills and attributes of "great readers" that were above and beyond her own skill set.

As far as Mr. Harris was concerned, Amaia had few struggles as a student and as a reader. He said, "She's a really good student. She's a really hard worker. Really smart and works really hard to maintain good grades." At the end of the study Mr. Harris indicated that her reading ability was "high, at least level with her peers." This perspective was intriguing because the school's testing data indicated that Amaia was reading on a fourth-grade level, which was somewhat lower than her peers. However, Mr. Harris seemed to feel more confident in Amaia's reading abilities than she felt about herself. This circumstance may indicate that Mr. Harris associated Amaia's reading abilities with her leadership in the class, success in tutoring, motivation to persist in accomplishing her work, and overall good behavior.

Bekhtinian reflections: Many external voices at school indicated a positive regard for Amaia and her abilities. Mr. Harris mentioned that she always had good grades and that teachers never complained about Amaia. Consequently, it is possible that Amaia had also internalized the positive perceptions of these external voices. She strived to do well at school. She was a leader in LIA and also involved in extracurricular sports and activities. She said that her English teacher would rank her as average in her reading abilities when compared to her peers, and she consistently answered that she was a good reader. These external voices are consistent with the teachers' beliefs that she was a good reader. Amaia perceived that there were some attributes that great readers had that she did not, so she excluded being a great reader as part of her reader identity. At school, she did not position herself as an expert at reading like she did at home; however, the positive external voices at school permitted her to maintain an internalized position as a good

reader.

Amaia also demonstrated that imaginal voices were present in her authoring of her reader identity. As she read aloud to her classmates, she imagined that they viewed her reading as "bad," but she indicated that no students gave her verbal feedback, and they were not looking at her while she read. These imaginal voices seem to indicate that, at school, Amaia internalized definitions of reading that emphasized oral fluency as the main criteria of high-quality reading. In contrast, Amaia's concepts of reading at home emphasized reading as a method to fight boredom and as a way to learn new things.

Chapter Five: Tutoring and Reader Identity

Mr. Harris's confidence in Amaia's reading ability appeared to be influenced by her hard work in school and efforts as a tutor. She maintained good grades, and he described her as one of his best tutors. He explained that she was reliable, dependable, and capable of influencing her tutees. I asked him to describe her as a tutor. He answered, "Really good. She was working with, I think it was kindergarten-level students, or first grade. I know that their teacher really praised her ability to work with those younger kids." The feedback that Mr. Harris received from the elementary teacher reaffirmed his own perspectives of Amaia and her reading abilities.

Even though Mr. Harris had high praise for Amaia, he also expressed areas in which she had improved as a result of tutoring. He described her as;

> More outgoing. She's a lot more talkative. I think she feels more comfortable working with other students, and more comfortable with her own abilities. I think it's raised her awareness of what she can do, and she feels more comfortable with it.

Again, as with other participants, Mr. Harris placed a considerable emphasis on work

ethic and confidence in his views of the effects of tutoring.

Amaia's tutee Miguel described her as really good at reading, and he added, "She

does tricks. She stands on her hands." Amaia explained that the perspectives of the tutees

helped her be confident because they view her as a good reader. She said;

> They'd probably think that because I'm at an older age and know how to read already. I don't know how to say this. Since I'm already older than them, I know how to read my words better. They'd probably consider me a good reader.

Amaia recognized that her older age and more practice at reading placed her in a position

where the students viewed her as a better reader than themselves. She was expected to

tutor and help them read. Her position as an older and more-practiced tutor required her

to be an example in reading that the students expected.

Amaia identified specific ways that tutoring had changed her reading practices

over the course of the school year. She described her usual tutoring process.

> We have them read their sight words with them. If they can't say it, they would tell us that they don't know. We have to say them and we make them repeat it after us. We'd go back to that word, and then we would see if they know it now. They would tell us. He was having the most trouble with his sight words. We would have these little cards that would say his sight words. I would show him the card to see if he knew it. If he did, we'd put that one down to the side. If he didn't know it, we would send it out, and then if he still couldn't get it, we would put it behind the stack of the cards and keep doing that until he got that. Saying them all correctly, most of his sight words, he was getting them all correct at the end. My best experience, probably, is getting to see him learn all his sight words better. I feel like they're learning a lot from what we're tutoring them.

Her tutee, Miguel, agreed that he had learned a lot from these tutoring sessions. He

enthusiastically explained, "I could do the sight word song all day."

These sight word sessions seemed simple. Amaia was already proficient at sight

words, so practicing sight words was not an important reading skill that she needed to

develop. However, Amaia indicated that these sessions still helped her in her own

reading. As mentioned previously, she specified that she struggled with big words in her

ELA books. I asked her in what ways had tutoring helped her reading. She explained:

> I think I've gotten better at reading now that I've experienced working with
> Miguel. I think I helped myself too, a little bit, by the words that I couldn't say
> before. When I'm reading a book or I can't say big words, I would just sound
> them out. If not, I'd come back to it and read it again. The big words I can't read.
> I could always go back to them and sound it out and try to read them again. I try
> to figure out what they mean. I read the sentence and the big word is there. I'm
> like, "What? I don't know this word." I would read the rest of the paragraph, and
> then I go back, and I read that sentence again to see if I get it a little more, and I
> do because once you read the whole paragraph, it tells you more what's going on
> and stuff.

Even though Amaia mostly practiced sight words with Miguel, she identified these new

reading skills that she had applied in her own reading as a result of tutoring. This incident

was the first time that Amaia explicitly mentioned the use of reading strategies such as

monitoring comprehension. LIA provided Amaia with training in how to tutor students

and ways to specifically help tutees with reading. Amaia seemed to be applying some of

the strategies from the trainings in this occurrence. Thus, through teaching her tutees how

to monitor comprehension and break apart individual words, Amaia felt like she had an

increased capacity for using similar strategies herself.

Amaia also indicated that her personal reading habits changed while she was

tutoring. She said;

> I liked reading when I was seven, then I kind of stopped liking it because I didn't
> really like it. Now, and probably last year, last year I liked reading, just not as
> much as now. I feel good. I like reading now, actually. Some of the books I get
> are really emotional, really good. They're good books that I get.

Amaia, at the end of tutoring, felt she was at a turning point in her reading in the sense

that she reported enjoying books more. This added value that Amaia placed personal

enjoyment of reading relates to her reader identity. She illustrated that her up and down

relationship with reading was slightly on the way up prior to tutoring. She began liking

reading again within the previous year, but after tutoring, she liked it more than ever.

> Amaia's mom, Martina, had even noticed her daughter's excitement for reading.
>
> [Amaia] told me, 'I read a lot books with the kids.' She's so excited because she
> told me, 'the kids, they pay attention.' You know, sometimes, some kids don't
> pay attention. 'Mom that kid, he called me Hi Teacher.' She's so excited and
> everything. I don't remember very well the names of the books, but she likes to
> read with the kids a lot.

Martina recognized the positive experiences that Amaia was having with reading at the

elementary school. Of note, Martina specifically mentioned Amaia's excitement. Martina

perceived a sense of excitement for reading when Amaia would come home from

tutoring. She attributed this excitement to Amaia's tutoring, and she believed that this

excitement translated into increased reading at home. Martina's comment also indicates

that Amaia's position in relationship to the tutees was that of a teacher.

> Amaia explained that her re-found affinity toward reading meant that she was

spending more time reading on her own and implementing the reading skills she

developed in tutoring. She said;

> I used to only read like, I don't know how many pages, I'd probably read like, I
> don't know, 10 pages a day. Then now I would read 22 pages a day. I used to read
> probably like three days a week. Now I read 22 pages every day. I read a little
> faster now.

This increase in time spent reading, since time was so important to Amaia given her

involvement in many extracurricular activities, highlighted for me the changes in Amaia'

reader identity that coincided with her efforts in tutoring younger students through their own reading struggles.

Bekhtinian reflections: Chapter Five highlights the multiple external positions that Amaia encountered as a reading tutor for younger students. First, Mr. Harris and the elementary teacher seemed to position Amaia as an expert at tutoring. Martina also indicated that she viewed Amaia as a good tutor. All three maintained high praise for Amaia in her ability to work with students. Amaia also felt confident that she was properly performing her duties as a tutor. Mr. Harris said that he viewed this added confidence as a positive result of the tutoring process.

In addition to confidence in tutoring, Amaia also expressed confidence in her reading as a tutor because of how she imagined her tutees viewed her as a reader. When Amaia shared experiences about reading in front of her classmates, she demonstrated less confidence in her reading abilities than when she read with her tutees. She explained that in tutoring, she imagined that the students highly regarded her reading because she already knew how to sound out words and read without making mistakes. This definition of good reading is comparable with how Amaia consistently defined good reading throughout the study. Her familiarity and ease with reading all the words she encountered as a tutor limited the need the feel nervous about her reading skills. The imaginal voice of the tutees, as younger and less-experienced readers who would not judge Amaia's reading the same way as her peers, provided a space where Amaia read aloud without associating the reading experience with negative emotions, like she had done when reading in front of her classmates.

Amaia's case was the only case where the participant in the study indicated that the LIA training received in tutoring acted as an additional external position. Amaia noted that her new-found persistence in understanding unfamiliar words was a result of working with Miguel and helping him use the same reading strategies, strategies that she was trained to teach as a tutor. These strategies were most likely taught to Amaia in her childhood as well, but she reported that her application of them to her reading as an adolescent was more limited prior to tutoring. As a tutor, she was expected to apply these reading strategies not for her own benefit, but for the benefit of her tutee, an external position. When Amaia recognized the benefits that the strategies had for her tutee, she seemed to internalize the need to begin to apply the same reading strategies more broadly as an adolescent reader.

Amaia's Story: Summary of Themes

In the following section, I summarize Lucia's story in terms of place, sociality, and temporality. These three themes coincide with the three dimensions of narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2004).

Place. Analyzing this narrative through the dimension of place provides many additional insights into the development of Amaia's reader identity. At the place of school, Amaia participated in an arena in which she could compare her reading skills to the skills of other learners. She believed that as long as she read adequately to consider herself average, she could define herself as a good reader. This definition of a good reader did not signify that she expected herself to read perfectly. She only needed to read at a level equal to what she viewed as "normal" in the classroom. The positive voices

from school were communicated through high grades and positive feedback in her efforts to learn how to read. Because high academic achievement was also emphasized at home, the place of school and the voices associated with it played a primary role in maintaining Amaia's reader identity in adolescence, so much so that the school's primacy was emphasized in the reading that Amaia chose to do while at home. Again, as with each of the other participants, the school was the authoritative discourse for Amaia's reader identity.

The home place, with its accompanying positions, reaffirmed the authoritative discourse of the school. Amaia's older sisters trained her to engage in reading to get smarter and maintain grades. Martina, Amaia's mother, also emphasized an importance in maintaining good grades in order for her daughters to have access to greater potential financial earnings. In this way, the home space stressed reading as a function of the school. The home space, then, reaffirmed the school's definitions of Amaia as a reader that would have influenced Amaia's internalized positioning with regards to the three aspects of reader identity.

The place of the elementary school where Amaia tutored also highlighted aspects of her reading identity. Amaia recognized that the students she tutored viewed her as a great reader. She assumed that because they had limited experience and practice with reading, they did not have the same skill level she had, so she tutored with the expectation of helping her struggling students become better at reading. This time practicing reading at the elementary school also coincided with a change in her personal affinity toward reading. In the end, Amaia decided to dedicate more of her valued time to

reading and felt that her reading fluency speed had also increased as a result of tutoring.

Temporality. More than any other participant, Amaia stressed the importance of time. As an involved and busy teenager, Amaia indicated that she preferred to utilize her time in other activities. Throughout her life, she went through phases where she increased her interest in reading, but she always felt pressed for time, even when she enjoyed reading. She explained that she would rather be with friends or family when she had the time to spare. She indicated that she used time on Sundays to read to boredom because she was not allowed to participate in her preferred activities. By analyzing Amaia's experiences with regards to temporality, I noticed that ways she emphasized the uses of her time indicated the level of value she placed on reading as opposed to other activities. Amaia was choosing to spend her time on other activities because of the value those activities had to her. She enjoyed them and gained from them. She occasionally enjoyed reading, but she valued soccer and other activities more. By the end of the study, she demonstrated a higher regard for the value she placed on reading by spending more of her time engaged in reading.

Sociality. At home, Amaia began her reading acquisition when her family positioned her simultaneously as novice and expert. Her older sister tutored her and she tutored her mother. As an adolescent, Amaia assumed the role of tutor by emulating Irene's example and using the same tutoring pattern from her childhood to tutor her nephew and niece. All the external voices from home positively regarded Amaia's reading abilities and influenced how she viewed herself as a reader. These voices also influenced how Amaia formed foundational definitions of reading and readers, but they

mostly reaffirmed the definitions of reading that the family interpreted from the school's positions. Through it all, Irene and Martina helped Amaia's understanding of reading to incorporate the learning and comprehension that result from reading. As such, Amaia and her sisters formed a communal voice where they shared an understanding that reading was a valued activity because it provided access to an education that would also provide for a better future for their future families.

Amaia's social identity at school as a good, heavily involved student became important to her. She wanted to be well-liked, and Martina described how Amaia wanted to be popular and famous. This desire challenged Amaia's confidence in reading when she was asked to read aloud in front of her peers. With regards to reading, she related her interactions with classmates, imagined and real, after reading aloud to the class. She perceived that the students believed that she had done poorly in reading and had made multiple mistakes. When reading aloud in front of classmates, Amaia explained that she was nervous and not confident in performing the task.

In contrast to reading in front of her peers, tutoring positioned Amaia as an example in reading and provided a sociality where she demonstrated confidence in her ability to read aloud. Amaia, as with the other participants of the study, explained that reading of front of a tutee was not something to be feared or anxious over. When asked why, Amaia explained that the younger tutees made more mistakes in reading than the tutees and viewed their tutors as individuals capable of reading. With the lack of social pressure from her peers, Amaia felt at ease when reading aloud to her tutee. Martina said the students called Amaia their teacher. This role of educator indicated a new social

position for Amaia to assume. As such, she had a new function for reading skills: instructional practices. She recognized herself as the facilitator. Amaia also added new levels of value to specific reading skills by recognizing their usefulness when she instructed Miguel to use the same skills.

Cross-Case Analysis

Each of the preceding narratives provides unique insights into how Latina adolescent readers who struggled with reading have developed their reader identities. Additionally, the narratives highlight ways that the participants potentially re-authored their reader identities through tutoring. From these narratives, I identified themes that emerged from the narrative inquiry process (Clandinin, 2013). Throughout the process, I used constant comparative analysis to analyze the similarities and differences of the concepts and themes across cases (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). As I organized and coded the main concepts from the narratives, I identified patterns that repeated and concepts that were unique to specific cases. In the following section, I report my findings from the four cases presented in the narratives. First, I explore the similarities and differences in each participant's experiences with reading. Then, I discuss reader identity and the external positions from the cases, and I also describe the authoritative discourses that were found. Next, I identify areas where the tutors viewed they struggled with reading. After that, I chart the ways that the participants viewed they had changed in reading as a result of tutoring.

Summary of Reading Experiences

Each of the participants identified many ways in which they had positive and negative experiences with reading over the course of their reader life stories and tutoring. Based on these data, I created a matrix for each of the participant's experiences to illustrate the impact that positive and negative experiences may have on reader identities. Figures 1-4 organize the reading experiences that each of the participants shared in their interviews. Each rectangle on the figure represents an experience with reading that the participant recounted. The rectangles are color coded to identify the place where the experience happened: blue rectangles indicate school, and yellow rectangles indicate home. Each rectangle is also labeled with the experience. These labels indicate any sociality aspects mentioned by the student. The matrix itself is also color coded. Rectangles found within the green portion of the figure were viewed as positive, whereas experiences located in the red portion were viewed as negative experiences by the participant. Temporality is indicated by the positioning of the experiences on a timeline from left to right. The farthest left portion represents the early childhood of the participant. The middle section of the matrix represents later childhood. Experiences with reading in adolescence occupy the right portions of the chart. In summary, in accordance with principles of narrative inquiry, I created experience matrixes that accounted for temporality, sociality, and place.

A few patterns emerged from the matrices. The first major pattern that I noticed when I began to compare the participants' experiences was that each of the participants described negative reading experiences that took place at school in their early childhood.
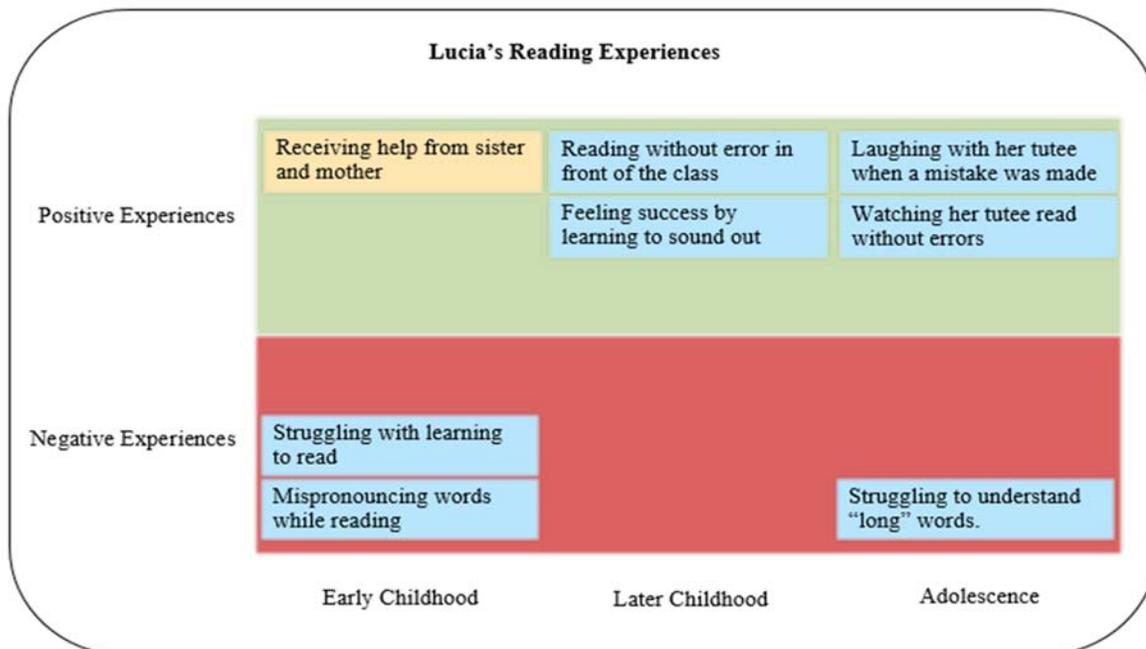
Figure 1. Lucia's positive and negative reading experience matrix showing the place, temporality, and sociality of each experience. Blue boxes represent experiences that happened at school, while yellow boxes represent experiences that happened at home.

Figure 2. Paula's positive and negative reading experience matrix showing the place, temporality, and sociality of each experience. Blue boxes represent experiences that happened at school, while yellow boxes represent experiences that happened at home.

Figure 3. Cassandra's positive and negative reading experience matrix showing the place, temporality, and sociality of each experience. Blue boxes represent experiences that happened at school, while yellow boxes represent experiences that happened at home.
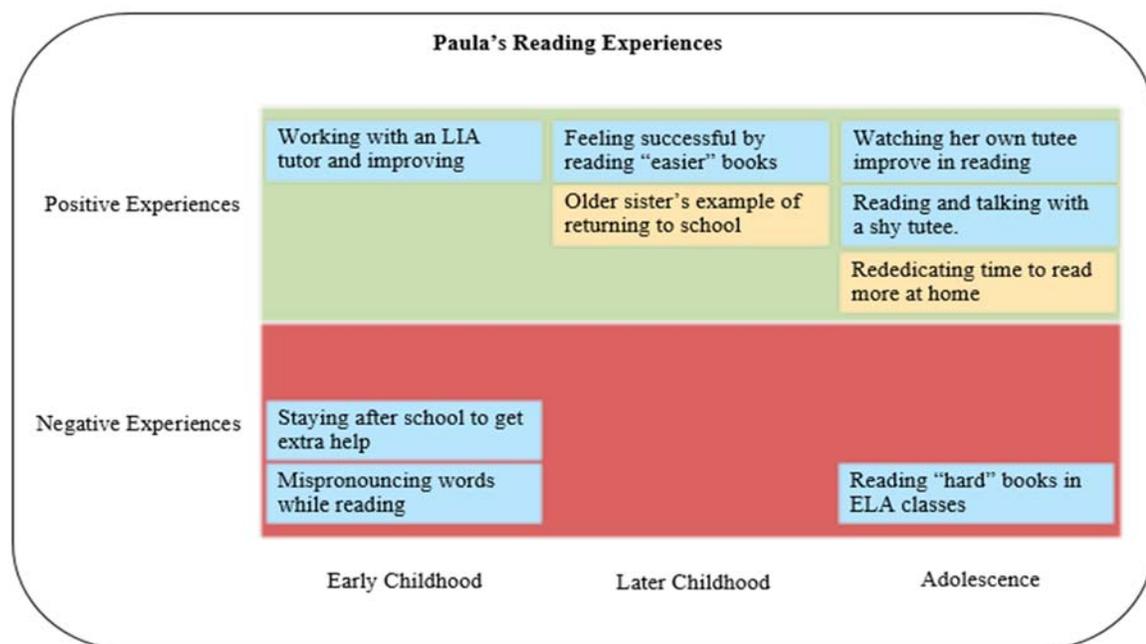

Figure 4. Amaia's positive and negative reading experience matrix showing the place, temporality, and sociality of each experience. Blue boxes represent experiences that happened at school, while yellow boxes represent experiences that happened at home.
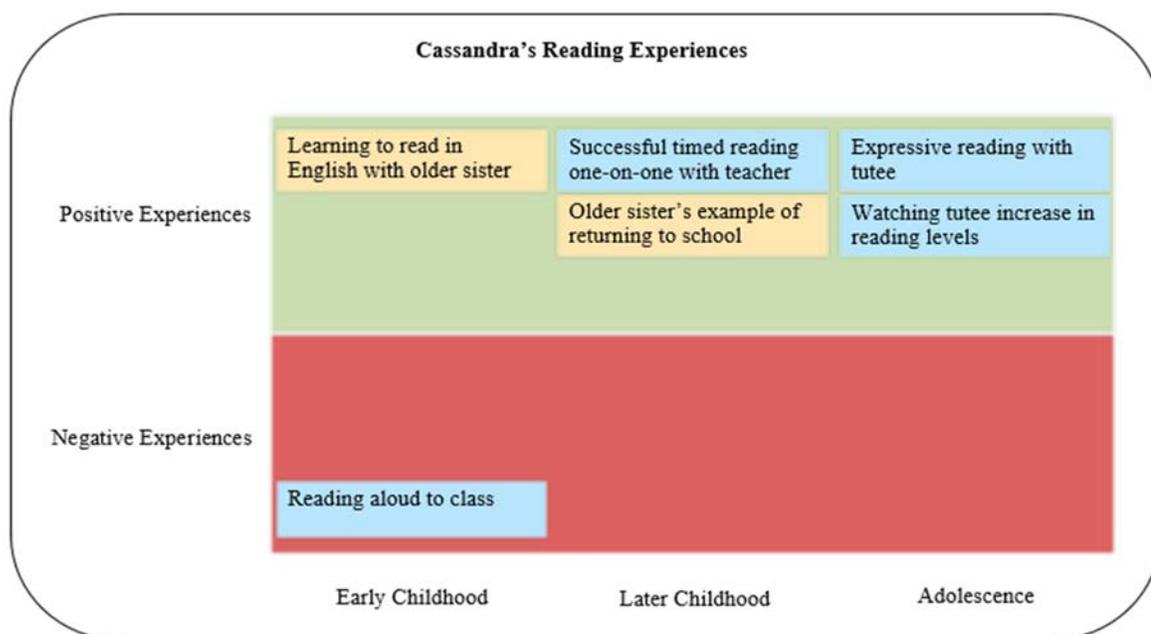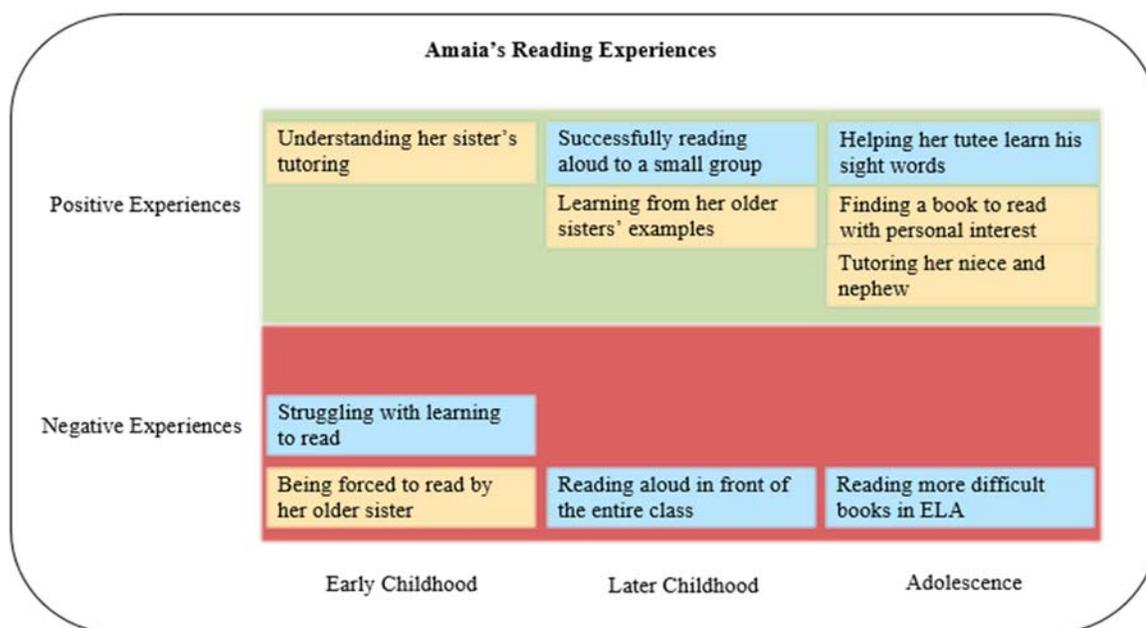
Interestingly, the negative experiences were also very similar in that the participants all indicated how difficult it was for her to learn how to read in English when they first started school. Specifically, all the participants indicated that they struggled to learn to sound out words or "pronounce" them. They all mentioned making oral mistakes as one of their biggest concerns as they learned to read. This commonality across cases indicate that word-reading accuracy and oral fluency, especially when reading aloud to peers at school, may be particularly influential in shaping some individuals' perceptions of themselves as readers.

All the participants indicated that most of their pre-elementary school language learning was in Spanish. All the participants indicated that they struggled to learn to read at first because they felt that they made many mistakes in reading English. Of note, Lucia indicated that she felt Spanish limited her abilities to learn to read early on. These experiences lead me to conclude that a possible result of teachers emphasizing oral fluency, sounding out words, and word accuracy with elementary students may cause some Spanish-language students to be self-conscious of their particular brand of English. An emphasis on pronouncing English correctly while reading could position a student with a foreign accent as an incapable reader. This learning context could also communicate to the student that his or her home language is not as valued by the school community because such a home language interferes with the ability to read without mistakes.

All of the participants indicated that one of the most impactful experiences with reading as they developed their reader identities was reading out loud in front of the class.

For two of the participants, Amaia and Cassandra, the experiences they shared were negative. When asked why the experience was so bad, both explained that they made a lot of mistakes while reading and they felt aware of their peers' views of their reading abilities. Paula and Lucia described their experiences as positive because they felt they had read the passages flawlessly. Thus, the activity of reading aloud in front of class acted to inform the reader identities of each of the participants. Furthermore, the practice had both negative and positive effects on readers, but the difference in reactions hinged on the individual's evaluation of her abilities in oral fluency. These different reactions indicate that the practice of reading aloud to the class has varying effects on students, and it functions to potentially limit learners' definitions of good reading to overly emphasize oral fluency.

To further elaborate, each of the participants developed a reader identity that defined good readers (at least in large part) as individuals who did not make mistakes while reading aloud. All the participants gained confidence in their reading abilities through their formative years because they believed they had acquired the necessary skill to be considered a good reader: the ability to read out loud in English and "pronounce" all the words correctly. These experiences indicate that the definitions about reading that these students interpreted from school were very narrow and lacked aspects, such as comprehension, knowledge of strategies for approaching texts, or ability to read in Spanish. Each of the participants indicated areas that they considered weaknesses in various areas of reading abilities, but they did not view their identified weaknesses as a part of what makes a person a good reader. Of the skills that were used to define good

readers, the participants primarily identified aspects of reading that emphasized oral

reading fluency.

I noticed a second significant pattern in the participants' experiences: tutoring

presented many positive experiences with reading while the participants' ELA courses

provided experiences that caused mixed reactions for the participants. Only one of the

participants, Cassandra, shared an experience with tutoring that was in any way negative.

To summarize, she felt that her tutees expected her to have all the answers. At one point,

she had to ask the teacher to help her understand the passage that she was reading with

the tutees. The tutees did not say anything, but Cassandra felt that this moment was her

only negative experience with tutoring because she presumed that the tutees no longer

viewed her as the expert at reading. None of the other participants could even think of an

example of a negative experience while tutoring, and Cassandra's experiences that she

shared were also mostly positive. ELA courses, however, provided many positive and

negative experiences. The participants indicated that their positive experiences centered

on their level of personal interest in the story that was read as a class. Their negative

experiences had one commonality in that they all dealt with reading "big words" in class

and either making mistakes in reading texts aloud, or not understanding the vocabulary.

When asked to share their most positive experience when working with their

tutees, each of the participants shared a similar story. All four participants could witness

the growth in reading as their tutees progressed. They indicated a sense of pride and

accomplishment because of the tutees' reading growth. This sense of pride suggests that

tutoring afforded the opportunity for participants to position themselves as examples in

reading, a position that was new in each of the participants' reader identities at school.

Reader Identity Development

My conceptual framework used the principle of reader identity as the underpinning definition of this study. Hall's (2012) definition stated that reader identity includes "how capable individuals believe they are in comprehending texts, the value they place on reading, and their understandings of what it means to be a particular type of reader within a given context" (p. 369). Because language is the apparatus whereby students are positioned and position themselves as a certain type of reader, Bakhtinian ideas of the dialogical self-served as the theoretical lens to understanding the development of new reader identities. Of note, these narratives represent a snapshot in time for these individuals and the development of their reader identities. From a Bakhtinian perspective, these participants will continue to re-author their reader identities through future experiences with reading, in and out of tutoring.

To better conceptualize the reader identity development of the participants, the narrative inquiry concepts of place, temporality, and sociality also became an important lens for interpreting the participants' positions and experiences. These concepts provided insights into the context in which the participants' experiences happened. By identifying the place, temporality, and sociality that accompanied the experiences of the participants, I could more easily identify patterns that emerged from the narratives. In the following portion of this cross-case analysis, I identity and summarize five common themes or patterns across cases.

Theme one: Examples at home. One of the patterns that surprised me the most

was both how similar and yet how unique the aspects of the external familial positions were in each case. Also, I was surprised by the potential effects that such positions had on the participants. First, the participants had similar familial expectations with regards to school. All the parents and siblings expected that the participants be dedicated to working hard at school with the expectation of completing high school and potentially receiving a degree or certificate beyond high school. The families also expressed a belief that, by doing so, the participants would have opportunities that extended beyond what the parents currently experienced. These expectations became a motivating factor for each of the girls to study and complete assignments to get good grades. Most of the participants mentioned that a large portion of the reading that was done at home was completed because they needed to finish a reading log to keep their grades up, partially to meet the expectations of their parents. For each of the participants, the family's expectations emphasized the school as the primary means of acquiring knowledge that would help prepare these students for future employment.

Some of the familial differences between the participants indicated the different positions that they occupied in their houses as readers. For example, Amaia was positioned as a novice reader when her older sister acted as a tutor in reading. Later, Amaia played the role of tutor to her nieces and nephew. Amaia also played the role of tutor in assisting her mother in learning English. Similarly, Cassandra's position as a middle child in her family, in connection with the family's timing in emigrating, caused Cassandra to also play the role of tutor not only to her younger siblings, but also to her older ones. Lucia also had opportunities to read with her younger brother and tutor him.

These opportunities to tutor at home provided an environment where these three girls could take on the external position of example in reading and in English. In my interviews with their family members, I noticed how impressed their siblings and parents were with their reading abilities, even though the school's assessments indicated struggles.

Paula also had two sisters; however, because they were all close in age, she did not spend time tutoring her sisters in reading like the other participants. Paula was viewed by her family members as a good reader, but she was not positioned as the example in reading like the other participants were.

For each of the participants, the family voices were external voices that emphasized school. When the participants read at home, they most frequently cited a desire to complete homework as their motives for reading. When their family members positioned them as examples, it was also in the context of the school because they were tutoring in reading to help their siblings finish homework to get good grades. Three of the families positioned the girls as examples of good readers to the rest of the family, where as one, Paula's family, did not.

Theme two: School as authoritative. Throughout the four cases, I identified that the external voices in the school acted as the authoritative discourse in shaping reader identities of the participants. I gained many insights into the school as an authoritative discourse when I looked at each participant's definitions of reading. Then, I analyzed the place, temporality, and sociality where such definitions were initially developed. Afterwards, I compared each authoritative discourse to identify any attributes within the

cases that would have impacted the reader identity of the participant in distinctive ways.

Overall, the external voices of all the participants supported the school's position as the authoritative discourse. These authoritative discourses influenced the reader identities of the participants in both positive and negative ways. For example, peers and family members alike emphasized the role of reading for school success. Lucia's group of friends became a communal voice that emphasized that successful reading meant doing well on homework assignments. Amaia's and Cassandra's families expected good grades or else the two could expect consequences in the form of losing privileges. All four of the participants had home environments where reading was viewed as a method for doing well at school. Although three of the participants indicated that they occasionally read for pleasure prior to the study, most of the reading was done out of a desire to maintain grades. The participants perceived the high grades they earned in their secondary courses as an indication that they had reached grade-level proficiency with their reading abilities. The family members seemed to support this concept and encouraged their students to read frequently to be more successful at school. Potentially, the authoritative discourse of the school positioned the girls in a way that they formed positive reader identities in middle school.

These participants would all be categorized as Mexican-American Latinas. Each girl demonstrated a respect for the authority of the school. All participants behaved well in their classes. They were not very talkative nor did they exhibit a desire to break school rules. One possible explanation for these behaviors and attitudes could be the concept of being "bien educado" at the school. The participants and the family members expressed

views about the school that never questioned the motives, intentions, or quality of instruction. This deferral to the expertise of the school might help explain why the school's external position had such a strong influence in how the participants perceived their reading abilities.

For each of the participants, the school was identified as the authoritative discourse, but the participants indicated that the most authoritative voice from the school with regards to reader identity came from early in their childhoods. Paula's narrative was the most illustrative example of the impact of the school in early childhood on future identities as a reader. For Paula, representatives from school (e.g., teachers) positioned her as a struggling reading at an early age due to her challenges with sounding out words. Her mother accepted the perspective of the school and reinforced the position by concurring with the school's assessment and agreeing with the school's plan to remedy the struggles. Paula believed that her struggles to learn to read stemmed from her repeated mistakes in sounding out words.

As an adolescent, Paula's definition of good reading still emphasized the definitions of reading from her childhood. She felt she had overcome her struggles because she no longer made mistakes in sounding out words and pronouncing them properly. The school, however, continued to identify Paula as a struggling reader, whereas Paula felt she no longer struggled because she continued to adhere to the definition of good reading she had developed in elementary school (e.g., good reading is fluent oral reading). Although I could identify other positions that potentially influenced the reader identities of the participants, the data suggest that the authoritative discourse

for the participants' reader identities was the school's position from their early struggles with reading. The participants perceived that they were almost always positioned as novice readers in school when their teachers gradually provided more difficult readings. As a result, the participants were frequently positioned by the school as the novice reader: the one who required instruction and practice. The participants' experiences highlighted the numerous opportunities they had to demonstrate expertise at school, and the few occasions where they were flawless in reading at school stood out to them as the most positive experiences they had with reading.

Theme three: Fluent oral reading in English as good reading. All four participants defined good reading as fluent oral reading (see Appendix J for an explanation and additional definitions of oral reading fluency). For example, Paula commented: "I was really struggling. I thought I would never learn to read, because I didn't know my sounds as well." Three of the participants identified reading aloud in front of the class as their worst experience with reading. They were embarrassed when they stumbled over words they did not know in English or when their accents did not sound "normal." They imagined that their classmates were judging their reading abilities and they felt inferior in reading under the circumstances.

Lucia was the only participant who shared a positive experience with reading aloud in front of her classmates. When asked why she believed that the experience was positive, she answered that she did not make any mistakes when reading. Thus, even a positive emotional response to reading aloud was linked directly to fluent oral reading.

As such, each of the participants felt that she had overcome many of her early

struggles with reading because they had learned to read aloud well. The participants all indicated that to be considered a "good" reader, the reader must be able to sound out words and not commit errors in pronouncing while reading. The participants' definitions of good reading showed that they all viewed fluent oral reading as a primary method for evaluating quality reading. Hence, the participants placed a high level of value on reading in front of the class. Additionally, the participants believed that because they had achieved a certain level of oral reading fluency, any other struggles that persisted in reading were secondary and had less of an overall impact in forming a reader identity as a "struggling" reader. This perspective allowed the participants to recognize their struggles in reading that existed in their adolescence without believing that such struggles made them "bad" readers.

Even though the participants stated that they felt they were "good" or "all right" in reading, each one identified many ways that she viewed herself as still struggling with reading at the time of the study. Of note, each of the participants indicated that she had an initial struggle to learn how to read. They all indicated how difficult learning to read was. They viewed it as a challenge and emphasized making mistakes in pronunciation as the major encumbrance to their initial reading. When they mispronounced words, some of the participants viewed their Spanish as an impediment to reading with word accuracy. They also indicated that overcoming those early struggles and avoiding making word accuracy mistakes while reading aloud was a major source of their current confidence in their reading abilities.

The areas that the participants identified as current struggles still emphasized

reading as a process of sounding out and blending sounds to produce words out loud.

Each of the participants identified "big words" and sounding out big words as a source

for struggling to read. All of them mentioned that the big words came from reading

challenging books in their classes. Cassandra, Paula, and Amaia indicated an

unfamiliarity with the big words as a cause for struggling to read them. Lucia indicated

that sounding them out was her difficulty instead of comprehending the vocabulary.

These struggles indicate that the participants were still using reading aloud as a large

component of their definition of good reading even after the study concluded.

   Theme four: Reading aloud in tutoring. Every participant indicated that the role

of tutoring allowed them to assume a position of being an example in oral reading

fluency, in particular. This position was in stark contrast to the position of novice that the

participants usually associated with the place of the school. At home, the participants had

many experiences in being the more-knowledgeable reader because of the limited English

abilities of parents and opportunities to tutor younger siblings or family members at

home.

   To illustrate this point, when asked whether they would be intimidated or nervous

to read in front of students their own age, all the participants indicated that they would

feel anxious with such an activity. On the other hand, when asked the same question

about tutoring, all the participants expressed no level of anxiety. Paula, the shy introvert

of the participants, best clarified why reading with a tutee was less intimidating than

reading to her peers. She explained that when reading with a tutee, one is expected to

read out loud. "That's what you're supposed to do to help a child's abilities, to learn how

to read, or to get better at it." Each of the participants expressed a similar sentiment. Accordingly, the tutors had the opportunity to assume the role of examples in reading, but Paula illuminated another concept: the added responsibility of ensuring that a struggling reader progressed. As these adolescent girls worked with their tutees and watched them progress, they had opportunities to gain insights into the mistakes that one can make as part of the process of improving in reading. Internalizing these concepts and assuming the role of tutor, with the added responsibility of being accountable for someone else's learning, enabled the participants to act as examples in the very important school place, where the authoritative discourse had the potential to label the participants as struggling or novice readers indefinitely. They also acted as examples in the realm of oral reading fluency because they were required to read aloud to the tutees. This position of example seems to be of extra importance because of the level of value each participant placed on being successful at reading aloud.

Theme five: Changes in reading. The participants' experiences with tutoring demonstrate some of the positive changes that cross-age tutoring can have on the tutor. The experiences shared in the narrative highlighted the positive regard that each girl had for her tutoring experiences. All the participants explained that they viewed tutoring so positively that they would recommend that every student have the opportunity to tutor because they would have opportunities to watch their tutees learn and grow. As I explored specific changes in reading identity, I took note of ways that the participants described how they had changed their own reading habits and abilities because of tutoring.

The most apparent change across the cases is that each participant indicated an increased amount of personal time dedicated to reading. All the participants indicated that they were reading more frequently and for longer durations, and they attributed this change of habit directly to tutoring. Cassandra, for example, explained that her new-found desire to read more was an effort to improve her personal reading skills. Cassandra reported that because of tutoring, she dedicated more time to the practice of reading. This practice, in turn, related to her reader identity because she expressed confidence that more time spent on reading would lead to an increase in skill in reading.

Also of note, two participants, Lucia and Paula, indicated that they perceived no changes to their reading aside from spending more time in the act of reading. Paula did indicate an increase in personal interest. Cassandra indicated that she viewed her word comprehension and overall reading comprehension had increased due to tutoring. She explained that because of tutoring, she had decided to read books that challenged her as well, instead of books she considered too easy for her level. As a result, she believed that she had gained in multiple areas of reading. Amaia reported that she felt a stronger desire for personal reading because of tutoring. In summary, the participants' self-report data indicated that they perceived improvements in some aspects of their reading abilities or practices because of the tutoring sessions; however, no two participants perceived the exact same set of changes.

Conclusion

Overall, the narratives and cross-case analysis indicated that tutoring can provide

opportunities for at least some students to re-author their reader identities. The dialogical self-provided insights that the re-authoring that occurred was subject to place, temporality, and sociality. The experiences shared by Cassandra, Paula, Amaia, and Lucia indicated that cross-age tutoring provides a place, temporality, and sociality where adolescent Latina struggling readers were positioned as examples in reading, which was a counter position to the positions usually assumed at school. This positioning provided opportunities for the tutors to re-author their reader identities, including their perceptions of their reading habits, abilities, and level of interest.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to determine how four Latina adolescent readers re-authored their reader identities while participating as cross-age tutors for the Latinos in Action program. I utilized a multi-case framework, as discussed in Yin (2009), to analyze phenomena within cases and to compare concepts between cases. In this study, I explored the reader life stories of the participants, analyzed these stories through a Bakhtinian lens and utilized narrative inquiry methodology to determine potential external influences on the reader identities of the cases and potential reauthoring performed by the cases. The results of the study indicated that the act of participating in cross-age tutoring provided experiences that were distinct from students' traditional roles (in schools), where they were historically positioned as developing readers, instead they became facilitative readers who provided an example of accurate fluent oral reading. As such, the unique context of cross-age tutoring provided struggling readers with opportunities to re-author their reader identities.

This chapter contains further discussion of the results and additional conclusions from the study. I begin this chapter by restating my research question and reexamining the theoretical framework used as the interpretive lens for the study. I follow that section with a brief explanation of the methods used in this study: narrative inquiry and constant comparative analysis. I then discuss the significance of the study including the ways in which this study contributes to the current body of literature. In the next section, I describe and discuss the potential implications of the findings of the study, including

recommendation for teachers, administrators, and policy makers, with a portion dedication to suggestions for future research. In the final portion, I conclude the discussion of the study.

Research Question

The research question asked for this study was, "How do Latina adolescents, who have previously developed identities as 'struggling readers,' re-author their reader identities through tutoring younger children?"

Bakhtinian Lens

The overall study emphasized identity formation as a primary factor in an individual's path to learning to read. Accordingly, the literature review for this research project began by introducing Bakhtinian concepts of identity development. The concept of the dialogical self-served as the fundamental lens by which identity formation was analyzed and interpreted. Per this framework, the self is not shaped in isolation (Bakhtin, 1981). The self can only be developed through the positioning of an individual in relation to external positions. I used this lens by identifying external positions that were internalized in shaping the identities of the participants. For example, agents from the school, such as teachers, were identified as external voices that shaped the participants' identities as an authoritative discourse because the school's definition of good reading was internalized by the students as they progressed in their reading abilities.

The dialogical self also provides a definition of identity that is not stable. In

dialogue with others, individuals position and reposition their identities as the self begins to author what the various positions mean for the individual. Thus, Hermans (2001) concluded that the dialogical self demonstrates a multiplicity of selves that result from constant positioning between the internal and the external. This concept means that an individual's multiplicity of selves is uniquely authored and are distinct from the other selves within the individual. This idea means that while the multiplicity of identities is authored distinctly, they also can have influence over one another as part of the authoring process. This theory would indicate that the participants had developed distinct identities as students; as Latinas in a mostly White community; as bilingual English Speakers; and, of interest to this study, as readers. In accordance with my research question, I emphasized reader identity in my analysis of the external positions and authoritative discourses in the participants' lives.

Methods

This study combined elements of narrative inquiry (Clandinin, 2013) with multiple case study research (Stake, 20013). We recruited participants from a Latinos in Action class. As part of this class, eighth and ninth graders received training on how to provide tutoring in reading to elementary students, and they tutored elementary students twice per week for 30 minutes. Both narrative and multiple case study methods provided a method to access reader identity in different ways. First, narrative inquiry provided a methodology that emphasized the sharing of lived experience, and the method's emphasis on storytelling provided an avenue where the Bakhtinian framework could be used to

interpret data. Second, multiple case study methods allowed for cross-case analysis to take place. I identified common themes and drew conclusions using multiple cases to identify similarities and differences among cases.

Narrative Inquiry and Case Study

I deemed that narrative inquiry was the best method to access these multiple aspects of reader identity because, as Sfard and Prusak (2005) suggested, identity is made up of internalized narratives. Narrative inquiry, then, is a good method for accessing identity because we are the stories that we tell about ourselves and what others say about us. Thus, the stories we tell about ourselves, and that others tell about us, shape who we are. Narrative inquiry provided a method where participants shared such stories and analyzed meaning. Specifically, the reader-life-story interview provided a basis by which I could begin identifying external positions, internal positions, and communal voices. I was also able to identify aspects of the participant's identity that specifically illustrated the three aspects of reader identity. I used the multi-case study framework to identify multiple ways in which the participants were authoring their reader identities in the new context of tutoring. Multiple case studies also worked best because they enabled me to work to identify themes across cases.

The narrative inquiry concepts of place, temporality, and sociality provided a framework for organizing the experiences of the participants. When I began to code the participants' experiences based on these three principles, I noticed many new patterns from the data. For example, each participant indicated reading out loud in class in elementary school as an experience that stood out to them with reading. For two of the

participants, this experience was negative, but for the other two, the experience was positive. The place and temporality were similar in all four cases. However, the context changed in the aspect of sociality. The two cases with positive experiences imagined that their peers judged their reading favorably. The two cases with negative experiences imagined the opposite. As in this example, narrative inquiry with the concepts of place, temporality, and sociality provided a helpful heuristic for understanding formative experiences in reader identity.

Constant Comparative Analysis

In addition to organizing the participants' experiences into stories, which were confirmed by the participants, I also used Constant Comparative Analysis (CCA) to identify themes that emerged from the data. CCA provided a methodology that allowed me to compare the similarities and differences across cases. By using CCA to perform a cross-case analysis, I noticed patterns emerging from the data that transferred from case to case. This analytic process revealed several themes that were consistent across the four cases.

In Chapter IV, I summarized the five major themes. First, the participants were considered an example of good reading by their family members. Each participant tutored or demonstrated to parents a proficiency in reading that the parents viewed as high-quality reading. The second theme was the school as authoritative in influencing reader identities. The participants' narratives emphasized the important role school played in influencing confidence in reading and providing feedback that shaped reader identities. The third theme was that each participant emphasized fluent oral reading in English as

the standard for measuring their own reading abilities. When looking back to their childhoods, each participant indicated that their struggles resulted from an inability to read aloud or sound out words properly. The participants developed certain concerns with reading aloud that followed them well into adolescence. Theme four was that tutoring provided each participant with a context for reading aloud where she felt confident as an example in reading. Theme five highlighted the personal changes in reading practices that the participants identified as changes in reading due to tutoring. The one change that every participant indicated was more time spent reading at home.

Significance

In the following section, I describe the significance of this research study. Throughout this portion, I emphasize the findings of the study in relationship to the research question proposed in Chapter I. In the first part of this section, I focus on the study findings and the ways in which the findings contribute to the current body of research. I follow the summary of findings with a description of the implications of the research for educational practitioners.

Contribution to Literature

My study is a unique contribution to existing empirical literature on cross-age tutoring because it provides a qualitative, theoretically informed description of how native Spanish-speaking Latina adolescents had developed reader identities prior to tutoring, and how those identities were potentially re-authored during the tutoring experience. Previous research on tutoring focused on effects for the tutees (Bowman-

Perrot et al., 2007; Calhoon et al., 2006; Mathes et al., 2001; Taylor et al., 1997). Even the studies that focused on the tutors looked at outcomes such as comprehension or content knowledge, but they did not look at impacts of tutoring on reader identity (Jacobson, et. al, 2001; Roscoe & Chi, 2007). Moreover, these studies did not account for factors such as home languages or ethnicity. In this study, I accounted for these factors by highlighting that many Native-Spanish speakers might feel sensitive in reading aloud in front of the class, and that tutoring is positive in the sense that it positions them as examples and facilitators while reading aloud in a school setting.

Reader identity development. Previous literature on reader identity development emphasized the impacts of general reading practices at school on reader identity. To address the research question, I used narrative inquiry methods to gain an understanding of the ways in which the participants had authored their reader identities regarding the three aspects of narrative inquiry: place, sociality, and temporality. I found that each of the participants indicated similar experiences with these three aspects. Multiple case studies also allowed for comparisons across cases where I identified commonalities in the cases.

For example, each participant noted how difficult of a time she had in learning to read at first, which highlighted the importance of temporality in each of the cases. Additionally, each participant had a similar explanation of what caused those difficulties: making mistakes when sounding out words in English. Their reader identities, after learning the basics of decoding, continued to be intertwined with making mistakes when reading out loud. This hypersensitive viewpoint that reading out loud without mistakes is

the primary definition of "good" reading was expressed in multiple ways from each participant. These "struggling" readers continued to define "good" reading as reading in way that is free from errors in word recognition and accuracy. They viewed themselves as "good" readers when they met this definition and as "inadequate" readers when they felt unsuccessful at reading aloud.

This study contributes to the understanding of reader identity because the methods of narrative inquiry and multiple case studies provide a unique perspective for analyzing changes in reader identity. As a result of analyzing the study through these methods, I better understand how Latina adolescent students can maintain reader identities as "good" readers while the agents of the school indicate that the same students struggle in reading more than their peers. Each of the participants believed that she had reached a point in her verbal reading fluency where she did not make mistakes in pronouncing the language nor in accurately reading words when reading aloud. All the participants indicated that they still struggled in some ways with reading, but none of the participants believed that their struggles made them "bad" readers.

Authoritative discourse. When exploring reader identity, I identified the external position of the school as the authoritative discourse for the reader identities of all the participants. The school, with its accompanying place, temporality, and sociality, provided experiences for these students to begin authoring their own reader identities. Some of the participants had experiences with reading prior to entering school, but even those experiences were mostly experienced through the homework of older siblings. More than any other place, the school held a key role in how the students evaluated their

reading, valued reading, and understood what it meant to be what type of reader in various contexts, which are the three components of reader identity. This finding also coincides with other studies that identified school as an authoritative discourse (Alvermann, 2006; Wortham, 2001). I drew a conclusion similar to Coombs' (2012) conclusion that the school, as an authoritative discourse, "remained unquestioned as [the participants] made sense of [their] abilities" (p. 94). This position as an authoritative had positive and negative functions in forming the reader identities for the participants. This conclusion does not indicate that the authoritative discourse for all struggling readers is the school; however, the school appeared authoritative in all four cases, and thus demonstrated transferability across single cases.

This finding contributes to the current literature because of the additional context that tutoring provided these participants. Because the school was found to be the authoritative discourse for each of the participants, the role of tutoring becomes a valuable opportunity for struggling readers to be positioned as examples in reading in the all-important space of the school. In addition, the participants indicated reader identities that prioritized reading aloud as an important aspect of developing a positive reader identity. The act of tutoring in reading forced the participants to engage in oral reading within the authoritative space of the school, all while being positioned as an example of quality oral reading who could facilitate improved reading accuracy for their tutees. Essentially, tutoring provided a space where prior positions of reader identity could be adjusted because of the new roles the participants played.

Positive and negative experiences. The narratives about reading shared by the

participants evoked positive or negative emotions from the sharer. Of significance, the narrative inquiry concepts of place, temporality, and sociality played an important role in the participants' emotional responses. For example, as previously mentioned, multiple participants had positive feelings when the students felt proud of their reading abilities in front of their peers. This positive response would potentially impact how capable and confident the reader feels in comprehending the text. The inverse was true for the participants who had negative reactions to reading out loud because the reader reported that she lost confidence in her reading ability.

Thus, the positive experiences that the participants shared about tutoring provided them with opportunities to re-author their reader identities. This finding begins to answer the research question directly. My initial assumption in beginning this study was that the role of tutoring might impact reader identities because the tutors were being positioned in new ways. In these four cases, my assumption was confirmed by the tutors' accounts that they felt more confident in reading in front of their tutees than in front of their peers, and they expressed pride at how they were able to help their tutees progress as readers. The participants also perceived that the differences in confidence in reading out loud were at least partially a result of the expectations they imagined a tutor having.

This finding also contributes to current understandings because I learned more about why tutoring was so important in terms of providing opportunities to re-author reader identities. First, tutoring occurred in schools, in the all-important place where authoritative discourse was formed. Three of the tutors were praised for their tutoring by the elementary teacher and Mr. Harris, and thus they received confirmation of their

reading abilities from agents who represented the authoritative discourse. One participant, Cassandra, even concluded that she exceeded the elementary teacher's skills in instructing struggling readers. All the participants indicated similar beliefs about reading in the tutoring setting. Second, the results of this study indicated the importance that the participants placed in terms of reading aloud in front of others, and tutoring was effective in providing as platform for these participants to re-author their identities because it afforded the participants with a chance to demonstrate their expertise in oral reading.

Reading practices. The research question did not emphasize changes in measured reading abilities as a targeted outcome of this study. I designed the study to focus on reader identity as interpreted by a Bakhtinian lens. As a result, I did not have the participants take pre- and post-assessments to determine whether their reading had improved. However, all four participants indicated that they had changed their reading practices in the sense that they read more at home for pleasure. Every participant explained that she had dedicated more personal time to reading with the intention of improving in reading. This change was the only reading habit that the participants reported had altered across all cases. Reader identity includes the value that readers place on reading for different purposes, and this value is demonstrated by what participants read in different contexts (Hall, 2012). The participants' change in reading practices, therefore, may indicate that they placed a greater value on reading, which also indicates a shift in their reader identities.

This finding contributes to current literature by expressing the self-identified benefits of tutoring for the tutor. Many studies on cross-age tutoring have emphasized the

benefits of tutoring for the younger participants. Other studies that focused on the

benefits of the tutors emphasized measurable outcomes in reading abilities for the tutors.

This study contributes because I learned how these tutors viewed their own changes in

reading. When the participants described their changes, they beamed with pride and an

enjoyment in their accomplishments. I did not intend to demonstrate that these girls were

better readers through this study, but I did find that they *felt* like better readers. They also

encouraged any other individuals to jump in and tutor because they saw value in the

activity and believed it had changed them.

Limitations

This qualitative study, like most qualitative studies, was not designed to produce

findings on tutoring and reader identity that are generalizable to all situations where

adolescent struggling readers tutor younger readers. Not all tutors are going to have

positive experiences tutoring. Not all tutors are going to identify areas where the tutee

demonstrates gains in reading ability. However, that these characteristics were identified

across all four cases indicated a level of transfer that might be observed in other cases as

well. According to Morrow (2005), "transferability refers to the extent to which the

reader is able to generalize the findings of a study to her or his own context" (p. 252). In

other words, it is not my role as the researcher to generalize these findings for the reader.

Morrow added, "The researcher provides sufficient information about the self (the

researcher as instrument) and the research context, processes, participants, and

researcher-participant relationships to enable *the reader* to decide how the findings may

transfer" (p. 252, emphasis added). In other words, by providing a thorough description

of the research context and my findings, I am providing the readers of this study a tool by which they can determine the level of applicability to their own contextual circumstances.

In effect, these suppositions add to the literature because previous studies (Jacobson et al., 2001; Roscoe & Chi, 2007) on adolescent tutoring emphasized the academic benefits of tutoring as measured through reading assessments. Such studies found mixed results in the benefits of tutoring. In contrast, this study emphasizes the impact of tutoring on reader identity. Changes in reader identity were shared by lived experience instead of evaluative test scores. The overall impacts of these changes were mostly positive for the tutors and the tutees. The tutors shared experiences that indicated that struggling Latina adolescent readers can develop reader identities that emphasize sounding out words and pronouncing them properly in English as the main characteristics of good reading. The authoritative discourse of the school corroborated these definitions with the participants of this study. Tutoring did not contradict the authoritative discourse of the school. However, it did provide opportunities for the participants to potentially re-author their reader identities by gaining confidence in their oral reading abilities and by adjusting the value they placed on reading for different purposes.

Implications

The results of the overall study indicated that tutoring provided opportunities for Latina adolescents to re-author reader identities. The tutoring process provided a unique place, temporality, and sociality where the tutor was positioned as the example in reading, which was counter to the tutor's normal position as the novice or "struggling"

reader. In the following section, I first discuss the implications of these findings. I first provide recommendations for educators. After which, I provide a few suggestions for future research on the topic.

Recommendations for Teachers

As identified in Chapter I, the achievement gap is considered a persistent problem in public education across the U.S. Teachers, administrators, and policy makers adjust many policies, laws, school rules, and instructional practices in an effect to combat the perceived troubles illustrated by the achievement gap. Reading instruction is an important area of focus. Education leaders continue creating many programs that are intended to improve the reading outcomes of students who are Latino/a. Multiple scholars (McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Olivos & Quintana de Valladolid, 2005) concluded that the achievement gap exists not as a consequence of differences in reading ability but because the school system perpetuates negative student reader identities such as "struggling."

The findings of this study indicate that what these scholars concluded can happen. The authoritative discourse of the school, especially in the early stages of learning to read, has the potential to influence a student's long-term reader identity negatively. Practices that emphasize quality reading as a cognitive exercise in word recognition, blending, and reading fluency can help create feelings that having an accent or making mistakes are unacceptable to good reading. Thus, it is possible for Latino students to view their emerging bilingualism as a detriment to learning. This study adds to such findings by indicating that the school's emphasis on word accuracy can be misinterpreted by the student to include difficulties pronouncing unfamiliar words because English is not the

primary language. Reading out loud without error can provide learners with a false sense that their word accuracy is the most important aspect of good reading and once that skill is mastered, little effort will be needed to continue growing in reading abilities.

What does this mean for the educator? For the elementary teacher, this finding may indicate that reading instructional practices, especially in early years of learning to read, should extend beyond introducing and practicing phonic skills. Instruction in oral reading fluency must continue to be an integral portion of reading instruction because of the importance of the skill. However, classroom teachers should find ways to elaborate on the characteristics of good reading to expand the definitions the students are using to identify high-quality reading. For example, teachers can position students as examples in reading from an early age. For instance, many Spanish-speaking students know more about Spanish language and culture than many of their peers. Reading practices that value students' home language—and that limit focusing on perfect oral pronunciation in English—may help native Spanish speaking students develop more positive identities as readers. Instructional practices have the potential to perpetuate a negative reader identity when they hinder the confidence of a reader because the reader makes accuracy errors or mispronounces a word due to an accent, particularly in cases where students might be self-conscious of their accents when speaking English. Accuracy is an essential component to oral fluent reading and must be a part of reading instruction. However, many instructional activities exist that promote a holistic approach to oral reading fluency while limiting the emphasis on word accuracy alone: choral reading, reader's theaters, and buddy reading just to name a few.

This study also has implications for secondary teachers. Schools represent an authoritative discourse for many Latino families who see school as a vehicle for their children to get ahead (Gandara & Contreras, 2009). Teachers are agents or "voices" that speak for this authoritative discourse, and their perceptions of students' reading abilities (and academic abilities in general) are important to students and their families, as in this study. Teachers can consciously seek to help students author positive reader identities by seeking ways to position students in ways that extend beyond being perceived as novice readers in need of correction and instructional interventions. Teachers may accomplish this by explicitly praising students' successes, while simultaneously designing instruction that builds their reading skills. These results suggest that students can be positioned as examples through acting as tutors to younger students, but teachers may seek to find other ways to position students in new ways. For instance, peer-to-peer tutoring could potentially provide similar means for positioning students as examples in reading.

**Recommendations for Administrators
and Policy Makers**

In addition, policy makers and administrators have the potential to use cross-age tutoring as a way to help students re-author their reader identities. As previously stated, cross-age tutoring may not have similar impacts as those demonstrated in these cases. However, teachers, administrators, and policy makers should be aware of the potential positive impacts to reader identity that can result from cross-age tutoring. Latinos in Action is just one example of a cross-age tutoring program. These programs can continue to be funded—not just because of the benefits that they may provide to elementary

students, which is often used as the justification for funding, but because of the positive benefits they might have for tutors who have historically been deemed as "struggling." I also recommend that administrators and policy makers advocate for programs that have the potential to treat Latino/a students as important contributors, and not just novice or struggling readers who are need of intervention.

Future Research

Qualitative research produces valuable findings in its own right by theorizing and describing *how* changes (including unanticipated changes) occur, versus simply verifying *whether* changes occur. At the same time, qualitative research can also be used as exploratory research that provides theoretical and empirical justifications for conducting future quantitative studies with larger populations. This study could foster to experimental or quasi-experimental studies that use validated pre-and post-measures to identify whether cross-age tutoring is correlated with changes among native Spanish-speaking Latino students' reading habits, value placed on reading, sense of self-efficacy in reading, and attitude toward reading.

Future qualitative research could also foreground other identities more fully. This study focused primarily on the participants' reader identities, without exploring their gender identities, their identities as athletes or church-goers, or other possible identities. Future qualitative research can be conducted with Latina/o adolescents, including males, to more fully describe whether and how different identities, such as gender identities, intersect with participants' identities as readers. For example, some research—conducted both with White males (Martino, 1999; Sullivan, 2004) and Black males (Kirkland, 2006;

Kirkland & Jackson, 2009)—indicated that some adolescent males see reading as "feminine" and thus masculine identities can intersect negatively with reader identities. Future studies with Latino males who identify as struggling readers might identify how their conceptions of masculinity intersect with their positions as tutors of younger readers, and how both combine to author or re-author identities as particular kinds of readers.

Conclusion

In reflection, the time that these tutors spent in attempting to help younger, struggling readers is a great metaphor for values that public education espouses. Through the tutoring process, these adolescent females demonstrated dedication, service, community, and citizenship. They demonstrated that they learned many lessons through the process, and they acquired a passion for teaching and helping others that influenced me to want to be a better teacher.

This study demonstrates that reader identity is an important aspect of the Latino identity crisis, which has been identified as a major contributor to the existence of the so-called achievement gap between Caucasian and Latino students. The four participants in this study repositioned their reader identities to be contributors in the reading instruction of struggling readers, Latino or not. For the adolescent readers in this study, Latinos in Action provided a system where certain changes in reader identity could happen. If the achievement gap is to be decreased, all struggling, Latino readers, from elementary levels through adolescence, must participate in an education system that values maintaining

positive reader identities, repositioning struggling students as contributors in reading, and

reducing the anxiety of oral fluency for students.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Initial Group Interview Protocol

Initial Group Interview

1. Tell me about LIA.

2. How often do you tutor?

3. What do you think about tutoring?

4. How does it make you feel to tutor?

5. What are the best parts of tutoring?

6. What are the worst parts of tutoring?

7. What makes a student a good tutor? Why?

Appendix B

Student Screening Questionnaire

Initial Group Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions completely.

1. What's your name?

2. Where are you from?

3. What do you like to do in your spare time?

4. What school activities or clubs to you participate in?

5. Do you like tutoring? Why or why not?

6. Do you like reading? Why or why not?

7. On a scale of 1 to 10, how good of a reader are you compared to your classmates?

8. Who in your family knows you the best and what is your relationship to him or her?

9. Who is an adult in your community who you feel really looks out for you?

10. If you got to choose your first name, what would you like it to be? This name must be different than your real name.

Appendix C

Reader Life Story Interview Protocol

Reader Life Story Interviews

A. Identity
1. Tell me who you are.
2. How would you describe yourself?
3. Tell me about the most important events that have occurred in your life.
4. Tell me about school. (How do you like school? What is your favorite subject? Least favorite subject? Why?)
5. Tell me about what you do when you are not in school. (What things are you good at?)
6. If you could be anyone in the world, who would that be? Why?
7. Who is the person you most admire in the world? Why?

B. Family
1. What languages do you speak?
2. What languages are spoken at home?
3. Tell me about your family.
4. What kinds of things do you do as a family?
5. What kind of work do your parents do?
6. What do they do when they are not working?
7. Does anybody in your family read? What materials does that person read?
8. Do you have any brothers or sisters? What do they think about reading?
9. What do your parents think about reading?

C. Others' perceptions
1. How do you think your parents would describe you as a reader?
2. How do you think your teacher would describe you as a reader?
3. What are your parents' beliefs about school?
4. Tell me a story that would help me understand their beliefs about school.
5. How would your best friend describe your reading?
6. Tell me about your best friends.
7. What do you like to do with your friends?
8. What do your friends think of school?
9. What do your friends think about reading?

D. Reading habits
1. Do you like to read? What kinds of materials?
2. Do you read anything online? If so, what?

Appendix D

Mid-Point Interview Protocol

Participant Mid-Point Interviews

1. Please, describe an experience you had as a tutor that stood out to you.

2. How would [name of elementary student tutee] describe you as a reader?

3. How does [XX's] description of you as a reader compare to other people's view of you as a reader?

4. Have you been able to help XX? If so, in what ways?

5. I noticed during the tutoring sessions that…. Will you tell me more about that?

6. In your first interview, you said XX. Will you tell me more about that?

7. How do you feel about reading?

8. What do you think about yourself as a reader?

Appendix E

Final Reflection Interview Protocol

Participant Final Reflective Interviews

1. Please tell me a story related to your tutoring experience.

2. Do you think you were able to help XX [name of tutee]? If so, how did you help him?

3. How would the tutee describe you as a reader?

4. How does the tutee's view of you as a reader compare with other people's view of you as a reader?

5. What do you think of yourself as a reader now that tutoring is over?

6. What are your strengths as a reader?

7. What are your weaknesses as a reader?

8. How do you feel about reading now that tutoring is over?

9. Have your reading habits changed since you started tutoring? If so, how?

10. What was your best experience when reading with your tutee?

11. "I noticed during your tutoring session that…. Will you tell me more about that?"

12. Do you think you are a better reader now than you were five months ago? Why do you think that?

Appendix F

Family Interview Protocol

Family Member Interviews

1. Tell me about your family.

2. What kinds of values do you hold as a family?

3. What kinds of activities do you like to do together?

4. What languages are spoken here?

5. What work do you do? Your spouse? (If no spouse, then other family member can be used)

6. Tell me about your child. How would you describe him or her?

7. What does he or she like to do when he or she is not in school?

8. How would you describe your child's interest in reading?

9. How would you describe your child's reading abilities?

10. What occasions does your child have to read at home?

11. Does your child ever read online? If so, what does s/he like to read?

12. What opportunities do you have to do any reading at home?

13. What kinds of materials do you read? (Any text counts)

14. Do you read in Spanish or English?

15. What are some of the hopes and dreams you have for your child's future?

16. Do reading skills relate to these hopes and dreams? If so, how?

17. How do you think your child's teacher would describe your child?

18. How would you describe your student's school?

19. What stories has your student told you about reading at school?

20. What stories has your child told you about tutoring other students?

21. Tell me a story about when you visited your student's school.

22. What has your own educational experience been like?

23. What have your own experiences with reading been like?

Appendix G

Tutee Interview Protocol

Tutee Interviews

1. How do you like reading with your tutor?

2. How do you feel about reading and writing?

3. What is your tutor like?

4. What do you learn in your tutoring sessions?

5. How does your tutor feel about reading and writing?

6. How would you describe your tutor? As a reader?

7. Tell me about your best experience during tutoring.

8. Tell me about your worst experience during tutoring.

Appendix H

Teacher Interview Protocol

LIA Teacher Interviews

1. Tell me about your LIA curriculum.

2. What are your goals for the LIA class, and how do you accomplish these goals?

3. Do you provide any training for the students on how to be a reading tutor? If so, will you please describe the training you provide?

4. Tell me a story that demonstrates how you approach teaching LIA.

5. Tell me about your experiences with (name of research participant).

6. In what classes do you teach [name of research participant]?

7. What are the student's interests in and out of school?

8. Tell me about the family background.

9. How do you know this information?

10. How would you describe XX as a student? Please share a story that causes you to believe that the research participant holds those characteristics.

11. How would you describe his or her performance in school?

12. How would you describe him or her as a reader?

13. Tell me a story that demonstrates the student's reading abilities.

14. What does XX act like in class?

15. If you teach him/her in multiple classes, (e.g., LIA and English), do you notice any difference in behaviors in the two classes? To what do you attribute these differences?

16. What have other teachers told you about this student?

17. Has XX ever read aloud in front of the whole class or in small groups? If so, could you please describe that experience?

18. How do you describe XX as a reader? What evidence do you have to support this description?

19. What changes in reading have you seen in the student since the beginning of the year?

20. Anything else you have to say about XX?

Appendix I

Coding and Themes Graphic Organizer

Coding and Themes Graphic Organizer

Communities	External Voices (What did they say or do?)	Imaginal Voices (What they imagine people say about them)	Internal Voices and Comparisons
Place: School			
Classmates			
Tutee			
Teacher 1			
Teacher 2: Middle School teacher			
Place: School + Home			
Best Friend			
Place: Home			
Parents and Family			

	Before Tutoring	During Tutoring	After Tutoring
Internalized Voices of Self as a Reader			
Affinity toward reading			
Definitions of good readers			
Challenges with reading			

Appendix J

Oral Reading Fluency

Oral Reading Fluency Description

Student reading achievement continues to be a pressing issue for educators and policy makers. US laws, such as NCLB and ESSA, mandate that every student read at grade level by the end of the third grade (NCLB, 2002; ESSA, 2015). As such, instructional practices in reading shifted to emphasize reading as a function for assessment preparation (Hosp & Fuchs, 2005). Wanzek et al. (2010) explained that these new assessment standards have altered instruction to place emphasis on skills that have been shown to accurately indicate student reading proficiency. They explained

> Accurately determining how students are progressing toward meeting third-grade accountability standards is of high interest to educators and parents. For this reason, the measures of student progress (e.g., oral reading fluency) that are used to make instructional decisions throughout the grade levels must reliably inform expected student performance on the third-grade outcome measures (p. 68).

In other words, teachers are more frequently using measurements of oral reading fluency to track student progress and make instructional decisions regarding reading. These assessments are also seen as a predictor of student performance on the high-stakes tests mandated by federal law.

Teachers are commonly and more frequently measuring oral fluency reading skills as researchers continue to demonstrate a strong link between oral reading fluency and reading comprehension (Deno, 2003; L. S. Fuchs, Fuchs, & Maxwell, 1988; Jenkins, Fuchs, Van Den Broek, Espin, & Deno, 2003; Samuels, 1988). As such, understanding oral reading fluency should be a top priority of all educators.

According to Hudson, Lane, and Pullen (2005), fluent oral reading consists of three essential components: accuracy, rate, and expression (also called prosody). They

claim that these three components each have clear connections to reading comprehension. Accuracy in reading words provides access to the meaning of a passage. Untimely reading tolls the reader's cognitive functioning and limits the ability to focus on the overall meaning of the passage. Proper prosody demonstrates the reader's understanding of the author's tone and the passage's mood (p. 703). This link between oral reading fluency and reading comprehension is a useful explanation for why oral reading instructional practices have gained popularity.

Deno (2003) explained that a common practice for teachers to measure oral reading fluency consists of providing students with an unfamiliar passage. The teacher (or partner) then times the student for one or two minutes while noting which words are erroneously decoded as the student reads. The teacher is then able to determine how many words per minute (WPM) the student was able to read. The student's WPM rate can then be used in comparison to standards to indicate whether the student is above, below, or on grade level with peers. Teachers practice oral reading more frequently with students with the intention of improving that student's WPM rate. Of note, this common type of measure only tracks two of the components of oral fluent reading: rate and accuracy. Prosody is oftentimes less-emphasized by these reading fluency assessments.

With this increased popularity, Hasbrouck and Tindal (2006) offered a word of notice regarding the use of oral reading fluency in classrooms. They cautioned teachers and administrators to keep perspective with regards to this practice. "As important as fluency is, and as valuable as the information obtained from fluency-based assessments can be for instructional decision making…fluency is only one of the essential skills

involved in reading" (p. 642). These authors explained that fluency isn't the absolute main goal of fluency practice and assessments, as some teachers may perceive fluency to be. Oral reading fluency, while of considerable importance to reading, is not the only skill to be mastered for students to continue developing as proficient readers. L. S. Fuchs, Fuchs, Hosp, and Jenkins (2001) explained, "The relationship between oral reading fluency and comprehension should be stronger in the elementary grades and junior high grades than in older individuals…oral reading fluency may serve as an indicator of basic reading competence rather than an individual's capacity to analyze literature" (p. 240-241). In other words, oral reading fluency is a good indicator to measure whether a child is learning to read; however, oral reading fluency may not be an accurate predictor of a student's abilities in reading to learn, which is the primary function of reading in the secondary levels and beyond.

Related Terms

Each definition of the following terms comes from Hudson, Lane, and Pullen's (2005) work on oral reading fluency.

Automaticity: "Quick and effortless identification of words in or out of context" (p. 704).

Accuracy: This term "refers to the ability to recognize or decode words correctly" (p. 703).

Rate: "Word-level automaticity and the speed and fluidity with which a reader moves through connected text" (p. 703).

Prosody: "The rhythmic and tonal aspects of speech: the 'music' of oral language. Prosodic features are variations in pitch, stress patterns, and duration that contribute to expressive reading of a text" (p. 704).

Decoding: "A sequentially executed process where the reader blends sounds to form words from their parts" (p. 703).

CURRICULUM VITAE

DUSTIN HOWARD DRAKE

Education

Doctorate of Philosophy in Education, Emphasis: Curriculum and Instruction, Utah State University,
Expected Graduation: August 2017
Dissertation: "From 'struggling' to 'example': How Cross-Age Tutoring Impacts Latino Adolescents' Reader Identities"
Adviser: Dr. Amy A. Wilson-Lopez

Masters of Science in Educational Administration, Western Governors University, May 2010

Bachelors of Arts in English Education with a minor in Spanish, Southern Utah University, May 2007

Languages

Near-native fluency in Spanish

Field Experience

2014 - Present *Dixie State University, Adjunct Professor*
- Adjunct professor of education in the Department of Education.
- Teach multiple education courses in the department emphasizing constructivist approaches to education, integrating project-based learning for new teachers, and preparing future teachers for the rigors of the occupation.
- Designed courses for face-to-face instruction and also utilized CANVAS as a digital learning management system.
- Courses taught: EDUC 2400, EDUC 3110, ELED 4440
- Courses varied in content and emphasized experience with multicultural and ESL programs, student identity formation, educational psychology, and high-quality instructional practices.

2007 - Present *Washington County School District, English Teacher, ESL Coordinator, Debate Coach*

- Establish rigorous and useful assessments aligned with core curriculum objectives and utilize data and feedback to guide instruction.
- Work collaboratively with other teachers and administrators to determine best practices including instructional decisions, response to intervention, and Professional Learning Community implementation.
- Design courses using high levels of technology integration with multiple Learning Management Systems to promote a 21st century classroom.

2009 - 2010 *Dixie Middle School and East Elementary, Administrative Internship*
- Supervisory duties of faculty meeting and programs
- Created, designed, and wrote an updated web-based version of the school's faculty handbook.
- Used current understandings of student development and identity formation to maintain the learning environment of the school while providing necessary faculty support in dealing with the majority of student discipline issues, attendance inquiries, and Individual Education Plan meetings

Publications

Mejia, J. A., Wilson-Lopez, A. A., & Drake, D. (2015). Authentic engineering design challenges: Analysis of changes in Latino/a adolescents' perceptions of engineering. *International Journal of Engineering Education.*

Conference Papers and Posters

Mejia, J. A., Wilson-Lopez, A. A., & Drake, D. (2015). *Changes in Latino/a Adolescents' Engineering Self-Efficacy and Perceptions of Engineering after Addressing Authentic Engineering Design Challenges.* American Society for Engineering Education (ASEE) Annual Conference and Exposition. Seattle, WA.

Recognitions

2015	ASEE Conference Best Diversity Paper, K-12 and Pre-College Engineering Division
2012	Selected by WCSD to pilot two district programs meant to increase Latino student involvement
2010-2013	Dean's List, Utah State University
2007	PRAXIS PLT Recognition of Excellence Award
2005-2007	Dean's List, Southern Utah University

Additional Skills

Bilingual: Fluent in English and Spanish
Professional Licenses: Utah Professional Educator, Level 2
Certifications: English, Spanish, ESL, Administrative
Qualitative research design and methods
Many anticipated future research and publication projects and ideas
Excellent written and oral communication skills
Proficient in MS Word, PowerPoint, Excel, Prezi, CANVAS, Schoology, Google
Classroom, and Google Apps