

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL IDENTITIES:
COLLABORATING WITH FOURTH-GRADERS
IN THE SUPERVISION OF PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS

By

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To Courage

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This text represents one of many critical junctures in my life. Creating it has helped me make sense of this extraordinary, miraculous, and tricky experiment called living. Indeed, the personal is always the political (Hanisch, 2006). My path in this world continues to be marked by divine beings that have come in the forms of mentors, teachers, and coaches of all ages, ethnicities, genders, faiths, and paradigms. Each one of them has helped me design and redesign my own identity as a human being in ways that would allow me to put service and justice at the center of my work. I can only name a few of these people here. There are many more.

My first teacher was my mother, and I mean that quite literally. Since the age of five I have apprenticed alongside of her as she traveled her own journey as a white southern woman in the field of education – first in the 1970s as a special education teacher (for students then called “emotionally disturbed”), then as a college professor, and then as a professor-in-residence at an urban professional development school. My earliest memories include being in her classroom as she taught and loved the children that the other teachers would not, and hearing her tell my friends and me to never, ever call anyone a “nigger,” or a “retard.” These experiences shaped the very core of who I am as an educator and mother today. Almost forty years later I am privileged to continue collaborating with her as her one of my most valuable colleagues.

I struggled as a doctoral student in the Academy. I resisted leaving my middle school classroom for years, believing I would be losing a huge part of myself. Enter Diane Yendol-Hoppey. She came into my life at precisely the right time and began helping me see that I did not ever have to choose between my identities as a teacher, a researcher, a writer, and especially as a learner. Then she proved it. She not only

encouraged me to dig deep and write straight from my classroom - she got me published. She not only encouraged me to explore my talents as a socially conscious supervisor, coach, and teacher - she helped me get a great job that would let me do these things. It was her job. Diane believed in me. She reached her hand out to me across the divide between theory and practice and held on tight until I could learn to fly in that great, blue expanse that lies in between. This is now my new home.

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As a teacher, I worked what felt like 24 hours a day to transform my practice so that I could promote social justice and first serve the needs of learners, rather than the demands of policy makers and corporations. However, my classroom, like any classroom, can only be transformed to the degree that the larger school/district (or university) community and culture allows it to be. I did not want to accept responsibility for leading my colleagues beyond my own classroom until I had the opportunity to encounter the teaching and scholarship of Dr. James McLeskey and Dr. Paul George. These visionary men taught me that our efforts to emancipate and democratize our classrooms are limited until schools are structured to facilitate these goals from the inside out. They helped me build a strong plan for inclusive, heterogeneously organized classrooms organized by differentiated instruction, and they inspired me to lead my district and university colleagues to do the same. I am still working tirelessly toward this vision for education.

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By

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Through the current uses of high stakes testing designed to measure state definitions of “learning,” chronic inequities are being perpetuated in the public school systems by organizational practices that sort students. Tracking both in and between classrooms legitimizes the social inequalities of the larger society by segregating and denying educational equality (Darling-Hammond, 1999; Fine & Weis, 2005; Gay, 2005; Oakes, 1999), creates social identities defined by school failure that limit life chances (Fine, 1991), and disables the social and economic conditions needed to uphold a democratic society. The Professional Development School (PDS) movement was designed to address this kind of inequity reproduced in schools. My research sought to identify and disrupt school identities associated with school failure in a PDS, an educational context in which I supervise prospective teachers. I wanted to know how the school identities and performances of three fourth-grade students, marginalized by school sorting practices, would change during and after collaborating as coaches and researchers in a community of practice designed to support the professional development of their two interns.

Research was conducted from a social constructionist epistemology and from the theoretical perspective of Participatory Action Research grounded in feminisms. Ethnographic field methods were used, and included participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus groups, and document analysis. Analysis methods utilized both grounded theory and discourse analysis. Methods and findings that came from the research were organized around two subquestions. First, how did the three students' formal, institutional identities change over the course of the study? Second, how can the process of this change be explained? Chapter 4 describes how the institutional, school identities of the three fourth-grade participants were defined by educators in the PDS at the beginning and at the end of the study. Chapter 5 lays out the journey the three students, two interns, and I took as a community of practice, documenting the change in discourse identities of the three students. Implications from this research are related to collaborating directly with students in teacher action research in the PDS and beyond; teaching children discourses of power; enhancing classroom learning by capitalizing on multiliteracies; engaging children in democratic school reform; preparing children for the 21st century work world; and calling into action the wealth of knowledge generated by literacy-and-identity scholarship.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Background

Just weeks before this writing, both houses of the Florida legislature passed Senate Bill 6, a bill designed to eliminate tenure and allow all salaries and contracts of public school teachers to be driven by the test scores of their students. Senate Bill 6 was ultimately vetoed by the governor. However, this close call represents the current national political obsession for promoting high-stakes testing as the end-all for defining the quality of public school teaching, and it is rooted in a social efficiency logic that upholds that the purpose of schooling is to satisfy the employment needs of an expanding capitalistic economy (Sleeter, 2005; Wolk, 1998). Under the pressures of one-size-fits-all accountability practices coupled with ever-increasing responsibilities, teachers are experiencing an unprecedented intensification of their time, leaving them little time or energy to retool their skills, continue ongoing learning, or even evaluate the very curriculum they are mandated to teach (Apple, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994; Sleeter, 2005). Robbing teachers of their time, and their emotional, political, and intellectual stamina means that the imposed curriculum remains firmly in place. This ultimately leads to the deskilling of the profession and a profound increase of school dependency on pre-packaged, mass-produced curriculum that clearly benefits corporate interests (Hargreaves, 1994; McLaren, 2003; Shor & Freire, 1987; Sleeter, 2005). In addition, teachers are effectively marginalized from the conversations in which they could attempt to name and evaluate the complexities of their own situated work, including the pedagogical relationships among teachers, diverse learners, and the curriculum (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; 2009).

Through the current uses of norm-referenced testing designed to measure state definitions of “learning,” chronic inequities are being perpetuated in the public school systems by organizational practices that sort students and punish schools (Darling-Hammond, 1999; Fine & Weis, 2003). The current standards movement merely supports individualistic, economic aims for education and has never shown evidence that closing achievement gaps will also close economic gaps (Sleeter, 2005). In fact, educational “achievement” among students of color continues to remain low despite half a century of programs, reform, and funding schemes to change the situation (Gay, 2005).

Standardized test scores are emphasized as a central criterion for tracking students by so-called “ability” groups, and then placing students into separate classes (or separate groups within classes) with different curricula (Heubert & Hauser, 1999; Persell, 2005; Sleeter, 2005). This “solution” supposedly benefits the students in that it reduces differences between student needs and allows lessons to be homogenized (George & Alexander, 2003). But excessive tracking, rather than intelligent and strategic grouping, is dangerous because it conveniently locates “failure” or “deficiency” within individual students and lowers expectations for student success (Gay, 2005; Persell, 2005). Tracking actually serves as a system for legitimizing the social inequalities of our larger society by segregating and denying educational equality, particularly for Latinos and African Americans who are disproportionately placed in the lowest tracks (Gay, 2005; Oakes, 1999).

Tracking also benefits only a minority of students, leaving the majority with needs unmet (McLeskey & Waldron, 2000). This is because less effective teachers are

typically assigned to teach “lower” classes, stigmas are attached to students in these classes resulting in lowered expectations, and the curriculum often lacks rigor and relevance to student interests (Darling-Hammond, 1999; George & Alexander, 2003; Oakes, 1999; Persell, 2005). Furthermore, these common problems associated with tracking do not even take into consideration the fact that most schools in the United States continue to be racially segregated, as a whole (Gay, 2005). Fine and Weis (2005) urge “schools (to) challenge the social stratifications of race, ethnicity, and class that currently define, and could destroy, America” (p. 1). Their call is particularly pressing at a time in history when unequal opportunities abound, and where many schools continue to be deprived of access to stable and high quality resources, including teachers (Darling-Hammond & Sykes, 2003; The Southeast Center for Teaching Quality, 2004). These trends have compelled many critics to point out that the practices imposed on schools have, in fact, disenfranchised more students than ever before from economic opportunity and social equity (Apple, 1993; Brandt, 2001; Hinchey, 2004; McLaren, 2003).

Social identities that are developed by tracking and segregation are central to school failure (Mehan, 2006). Tajfel (1978), in Van Dick, Wagner, Stellmacher and Christ (2005), defines social identity as the cognitive, emotional, and evaluative dimensions of membership within a group. This includes how one defines the self as a part of the group, the emotional meaning associated with being a member of that group, and the way the group is valued and positioned by those outside of it. Often, poor and otherwise marginalized children who do not learn to read in school do not do so because they are without the ability to read. Instead, it is because they are not

members of the “in group” (Gee, 2004). In other words, they do not learn to read because they are repeatedly excluded from privileged academic grouping where norms are set by white, middle class values and ways with words (Heath, 1983).

As mentioned, the domination of high stakes testing increases inequity because of the implications of tracking and sorting practices public schools believe they must employ in order to keep the school house open and save jobs. But what are the consequences of school identities generated by testing and sorting, and how do these school identities shape the quality of teaching and learning that individual children experience in schools? What are the life-long implications of children’s visions of themselves and their potentials? Such questions demand our attention. If tracking and ability-grouping create tenacious school identities that promote school failure and potentially limit one’s life chances (Fine, 1991), then we must consider their catastrophic implications for our democracy (Egan-Robertson & Willett, 1998; Oakes, 2005). We must also consider their power in destroying the precious national resources of talent, potential, and innovation needed for the United States to stay competitive in an increasingly globalized economy.

The Professional Development School Movement

Public school teachers and children have not been the only constituents in education under assault in the last decades. As a response to the era in politics, education, and the media provoked by the publication of *A Nation at Risk* (United States National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), a consortium of research universities with professional education programs, called the Holmes Group, assembled in 1987 to consider and address the political attack upon university teacher education programs (Holmes Partnership, 2008). The Professional Development School (PDS)

movement was one major outcome of this dialogue. The PDS movement calls for the simultaneous and continuous renewal and restructuring of schools, districts, and their partnering university institutions (Darling-Smith, Bullmaster & Cobb, 1995; Holmes Group, 1990) through the integrated learning of its stakeholders, including all P-12 students, prospective teachers, and university-, school- and district-based educators. Stakeholder learning in the PDS is to be anchored by ongoing cycles of inquiry, or the process by which educators problematize, systematically co-investigate, and then improve their own practices (Holmes Group, 1986; Holmes, 1990; NCATE, 2001).

In the last two decades the PDS educational community has been formalized by the principles and aims set out by the Holmes Group (1990), NCATE (2001), and more recently by the National Association of Professional Development Schools (NAPDS, 2008). In each of these visions for PDS partnerships, there is a primary focus on student learning and advancing equity for all children (Valli, Cooper & Frakes, 1997). In Table 1.1 below are excerpts from the principles espoused by each of these three organizations, articulating this common emphasis.

Table 1-1. Espoused principles for social justice and equity in the national PDS community

<p>Principle #3 (Holmes, 1990)</p>	<p>Teaching and learning for understanding for everybody's children: In PDS learning communities teachers can work to overcome the educational and social barriers raised by an unequal society.</p>
<p>Key Concept #3 (NCATE, 2001)</p>	<p>Students are always to be placed at the center of PDS partnership efforts. PDS partners and candidates examine the curricula of the university and school programs in light of issues of equity and access to knowledge by diverse learners.</p>
<p>Essential #1 (NAPDS, 2008)</p>	<p>A comprehensive mission that is broader in its outreach and scope than the mission of any partner and that furthers the education profession and its responsibility to advance equity within schools and, by potential extension, the broader community.</p>

In the PDS relationship between schools and universities, there is the expectation that stakeholders will consciously blend and exchange roles (NAPDS, 2008; NCATE, 2001) in order to meet the unique educational needs of the university and the school, of which a committed push toward correcting inequity in schools is central (Wiedeman, 2002). While school-based educators agree to develop their roles as teacher educators, university-based partners are then expected to take more direct responsibility for P-12 student learning (Yendol-Hoppey, 2005). This has put university partners in a potentially liberating position. Not only can we engage in traditional endeavors of research and supervision in the PDS but we are also given creative license to directly impact academic achievement and equitable conditions for P-12 students while we are there.

In the PDS relationship the voices from schools can be amplified because schools and colleges of education are able to team together, marshal their resources, unite under common goals for better teacher preparation, and engage in ongoing renewal for both school and teacher education through restructuring and inquiry-oriented learning (Darling-Hammond, Bullmaster & Cobb, 1995). In doing so the PDS has allowed for new, emic forms of teacher leadership to emerge, such as veteran teachers taking university teaching and mentoring roles, and university faculty venturing into joint research with teachers in order to rethink the relationship between theory and practice (Darling-Hammond, Bullmaster & Cobb, 1995). Such new ways of working together foster a socialization process for new teachers grounded in critical inquiry, collaboration, and the idea of teacher-as-designer of practice. Teacher leadership, then, becomes an expected and assumed facet of the profession (Darling-Hammond, Bullmaster & Cobb,

1995). The leadership element of the PDS mission is critical, as most new teachers in traditional teacher education programs are not socialized into the profession as agents of change for school reform (Cochran-Smith, 2004).

Social Justice Scholarship from the Professional Development School (PDS) Movement

The Professional Development School (PDS) movement has mapped out a great deal of territory in the effort to improve practice and create solidarity between schools and teacher education. However, an examination of the last two decades of research and practice reveals that much of this territory has still been left underexplored or undocumented. For example, there are no data that focus on the impact of PDS work on the university supervisor, as research into the unique nature of supervision in the PDS has evaporated in an era emphasizing accountability for measuring student outcomes (Clift & Brady, 2005). PDS research has also failed to demonstrate a strong justification for the value of PDS reform in teacher preparation (Tunks & Neapolitan, 2007), and particularly in the preparation of teachers for urban school contexts (Murrell, 2001). Most concerning is that PDS research has barely heeded the call to investigate how the PDS promotes social justice for all P-12 learners (Tunks & Neapolitan, 2007; Weideman, 2002).

Research focusing on the assessment of frameworks, restructuring efforts, and the implementation of policy and standards has dominated the PDS literature in the twenty-first century. Only 2% of the research published between 2001 and 2006 has focused on social justice in the PDS (Tunks & Neapolitan, 2007). A few of these studies looked at how the PDS can be a context for promoting the voices of teachers in order to shape teacher preparation and school reform (see Marlow, Kyed & Connors, 2005, and Snow-

Gerono, 2009). Some studies have also examined how PDS partnerships can prepare prospective and novice teachers for culturally relevant pedagogy and for enacting agendas centered on social justice (see Cobb, 2001, Cantor, 2002, and Ramalho, Garza & Merchant, 2009). One promising study looked at how forming inquiry groups with high school students helped them problematize and take action on school policies, structures, and cultures that led to inequity (Jones & Yonezawa, 2002). However, none of the PDS studies look directly at how inquiry-oriented collaboration between P-12 students and educators can directly lead to changes in identity, and how such changes in identity are directly linked to students' school performance.

Research Problem and Significance

This study looks to identify and disrupt school identities that ensure school failure and inequity in the PDS. The ability for local schools to respond to the particularity of needs presented by their learners and to promote equitable access to education and opportunity is in deep crisis. This has been exacerbated by political and corporate forces that impose rhetoric and control from well outside the sphere of educational expertise and certainly away from the front lines of the classroom. The PDS movement was designed to disrupt the reproduction of inequity at the grass roots level but has fallen short of documenting evidence for the attainment of this goal. Nonetheless, PDS collaborative efforts between colleges of education and local school districts still hold the potential for challenging the negative impact of oppressive policies and for demonstrating this through research. The PDS partnership presents an unusually rich opportunity for many intelligent, reform-minded people with diverse perspectives to reach across traditional barriers and challenge the systematic oppression of teachers and students. However, educators need to find ways to tailor such work so that it folds

easily into natural, daily classroom practices in ways that do not add to the burdens teachers, prospective teachers, children, administrators, and field-based university partners already carry.

Each PDS partnership manifests itself in unique ways, bringing together university- and school-based partners in countless configurations of collaborative organization that translate into a myriad of unique projects, roles, goals and outcomes as partners find the intersections between their goals and pursue them for mutual benefit. For this reason my study does not present a model for PDS participants to adopt. Rather, it offers just one example of how to deepen the university-based educator's role in a way that creates more direct, emancipatory learning experiences for P-12 learners and their educational teams, and to bring social justice agendas beyond the boundaries of theories and textbooks within teacher education institutions, and directly into the PDS classrooms where theory and practice must meet (NCATE, 2001).

In my own case as a university partner in the PDS, I had to determine the most strategic way to position my work so that I could take more direct responsibility for promoting equity in classrooms. I did this by examining the shared goals and activities in the PDS partnership, and then finding where my role put me in the closest physical and pedagogical proximity with all constituents of the PDS, including school-based educators, prospective teachers, and with children, in particular. For me this nexus was located within my tasks associated with prospective teacher supervision. This was the part of my job that placed me inside the classrooms of the PDS where I conducted formal and informal observations of their planning, teaching, and evaluation of student learning.

Putting an equity-driven agenda at the center of prospective teacher supervision has enjoyed a small conversation in the teacher education literature. In a dissertation study, Jacobs (2007) worked with university field supervisors of prospective teachers, some of whom were in PDS contexts, in order to cultivate a coaching stance that promoted equity in the pedagogical practices and values of novice teachers. In her review of the literature she found three approaches to the topic of equity-oriented supervision, including a multicultural approach (see Abt-Perkins, Hauschildt & Dale, 2000; Davidman, 1990; Grant & Zozakiewicz, 1995; Page, 2003), a culturally responsive approach (see Bowers & Flinders, 1991; Gay, 1998), and a critical approach (see Smyth, 1985; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1982). However, no studies in the supervision literature address how P-12 students can be invited as direct and active participants in the supervision process.

Research Question

As a middle school teacher, and now as a university-based teacher educator, I have consistently worked to improve my practice as a supervisor of prospective teachers in the field by directly and systematically including children and adolescents in the process of teacher learning through inquiry, and particularly through critical inquiry into teaching, learning, and public schooling. While I have studied the implications that this work has had on my learning and practice, the learning of my colleagues, and that of prospective teachers, I had not, until now, investigated how student-teacher collaboration in teacher learning related to the school performances and identities of children and adolescents. In this study *I wanted to know how and why the identities and performances of three “struggling students” might change during and after participating in a community of practice that supported the supervision of prospective teachers.* To

help gain insights into the question, two supporting questions organized the research process. First, how might these students' formal, institutional identities (Gee, 2000), as defined by educators in the PDS, change as a result of participating in the supervision of their interns? Second, how could the process supporting this change in their institutional identities be explained?

This study focused on the deliberate and purposeful bringing together of children, their teachers, prospective teachers, and myself in order to engage in critical reflection and collaborative inquiry into the supervision of two teaching interns so that we could explore the overlap between theories of teaching and practice (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Imig & Switzer, 1996). What made this work critical in nature was that it challenged traditional power arrangements in the classroom. Children who participated in the work, some of whom were previously marginalized in the classroom and in the system of schooling in many ways, were being positioned to develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to carry a role of "expert" - not only in the educational affairs of other children but in the professional affairs of adults. In reconfigurations of social and power relationships, students were asked to co-engage in the problematizing of teaching and learning through inquiry. Essentially, in this process, students were repositioned as teaching coaches to allow their voices to develop and be heard (McLaughlin, Carnell & Blount, 1999), and to provide novel avenues for developing school identities that had previously been unavailable in the traditional social and pedagogical arrangement of the classroom.

During my regular routines of supervision in the PDS, three student participants who were not "winning" in the game of testing and sorting in this PDS were recruited to

collaborate with me in the inquiry-oriented professional development of two interns placed in their classroom as co-teachers. Together, the six of us worked in what ultimately became a community of practice. In this community we shared a purpose and distinct set of practices that were guided by the inquiry question, “How can we (the adults) become better teachers?” Our work together lasted for four months, or over the course of the fall semester of 2008 when the interns worked in the PDS.

Introduction to Participatory Action Research

This study was framed, organized, and implemented as a Participatory Action Research (PAR) endeavor, a special form of critical social research. The purpose of PAR is to improve the quality of life by inquiring into social conditions that constrain lives. In doing so it seeks emancipation and transformation for all of the participants of the inquiry, including the researcher (Creswell, 2008; Stringer, 1999; Tripp, 1990). What sets PAR apart from all other research, including other interpretive forms, is its mission and propensity for igniting the passions of its participants. Passion fosters ownership, and ownership mobilizes people to invest their time and energy into the collaborative effort (Stringer, 2007). The guiding principles of PAR include identifying a collective project; aiming to both study and simultaneously change discourses, practices, and organizations of power and cultures; the seeking out of dialectic tensions; and the expansion of participation by all stakeholders (Glesne, 1999; McTaggart, 1997). The goal in PAR is that participants come to understand how social and educational practices are located in particular social, political, and historical contexts that produce and reproduce these conditions every day (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005). In doing so, PAR facilitates an awareness of not only what is, but what *could* be.

There are three discernable characteristics of PAR. These include its participatory, reflexive, and collaborative focus; the upholding of democratic ideals; and its twin commitments to both the production of knowledge and the raising of consciousness (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005; McTaggart, 1997; Schwandt, 1997; Tripp, 1990). PAR focuses on traditionally exploited or oppressed people; addresses specific concerns named by the community; creates a process whereby education, research, and action are intertwined; allows for all participants to offer their expertise; and provides the opportunity for all stakeholders to learn and transform (Tolman & Brydon-Miller, 2001). PAR emphasizes the politics and power of knowledge production and use (Schwandt, 1997), so it is critical in orientation. The goal of PAR is to interrogate reality in order to change it, so it is emancipatory and potentially transformational because it can change the relationship between theory and practice (Brydon-Miller, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Hendricks, 2006), as well as between individuals, groups, institutions, and cultures (McTaggart, 1997).

In a PAR project, there is a component of action, or social change that is explicitly sought. In this case the “action” focused on how three fourth-grade students, identified by school-based educators as “not school successful,” were transforming their sense of school identities through their participation in a community of practice (COP). In turn, this contributed to the larger aim for action shared by PDS stakeholders: working for equity and social justice in the classroom. As members of the “senior class” of this K-4 elementary school, the fourth-grade students who participated in this project had a lot of time to build their school identities within the historical context of a high-stakes testing era. These students collaborated directly with me, as well as their classroom teacher,

prospective teachers, and other school support faculty, in supervising their interns. The three students were invited to take privileged roles in this process, and they were asked to participate in “making us (all) better teachers.” Specifically, these students were called to assist us in our inquiry into how to improve the teaching (and learning) of teacher candidates who were expected to respond effectively and equitably to the needs of all learners in this inclusive classroom.

Key Concepts

Through the course of this dissertation key concepts will be used repeatedly. For the sake of providing transparency into the meaning and assumptions I embed in the terms, I have listed some of the most repeated terms and their definitions below.

COACHING: A special form of supervision (never evaluative) usually provided by peers, to facilitate and scaffold teacher learning and growth (Nolan & Hoover, 2004).

COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE: A group of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by regularly interacting together over time. In doing so, they develop a unique perspective on their topic as well as a body of common knowledge and practices and a shared identity (Wenger, McDermott & Synder, 2002).

DISCOURSE IDENTITIES: The assemblance of specific behaviors, values, symbols, ways of talking, tools, and other expressions we use to be recognized as a particular kind of person (Gee, 2000).

INQUIRY: The basic mechanism for professional development and for simultaneous renewal in Professional Development School partnerships. Inquiry involves problematizing teaching and learning through the generation of wonderings, collecting and analyzing data to gain insights into wonderings, and sharing findings with others (Dana & Yendol-Silva, 2003).

INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITIES: The more formal facets of our social identities forged within institutional contexts, such as schools (Gee, 2000). Examples of institutional identities assigned within school contexts might include being “a first grader,” “ADHD,” “gifted,” “a good reader,” or “a struggling student.”

MOVES: Enactments of identity, including, behaviors, words, or the use or creation of artifacts or symbols that provide evidence of a repositioning of identity, or a shift from an older to a newer identity.

PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS: Interns from the university whose professional development and endorsement as teachers are shared by school- and university-based partners in the PDS.

SCHOOL-BASED PARTNER: PDS collaborators who come from the school end of the partnership. These can include teachers, students, administrators, and families. Partners can be engaged in several aspects of the collaborative, including prospective teacher education, governance, supervision, and research and inquiry.

SCHOOL IDENTITY: School identities, for purposes of this study, refer to the identities children hold as people situated in the social institution of public school, and specifically in terms of how they are highly contextualized in light of social and academic competencies.

SUPERVISION: This non-evaluative organizational function is aimed at teacher learning for the end purpose of enhanced student learning. This is not to be confused with evaluation, which aims to make judgments about competent performances of teachers (Nolan & Hoover, 2004).

UNIVERSITY-BASED PARTNER: PDS collaborators who come from the university end of the partnership. These can include university faculty, adjuncts, administrators, and graduate students engaged in research and inquiry, supervision, and governance affairs in the PDS.

At many points in the research process I struggled with conceptualizing and naming the special case of *identities* for children who are in school. I primarily vacillated between the two terms of “school identity” and “academic identity,” both of which are used regularly in the literature. I decided to settle on the term *school identity*. As a caution this term is not used in the sense of identifying one’s membership with or allegiance to a particular school. Rather, it is used to situate children as people in the social institution of schooling. *School identity*, rather than *academic identity*, offered a wider spectrum of factors associated with how school-aged children’s identities are constructed, including those that go beyond the markers of school performance, “ability” or work ethic. *School identities* allowed a more holistic inclusion of factors drawing from family, community, and other related contexts (Flores-Gonzalez, 2002). While

school identity is still an adult construction, it treats that domain of an individual's identity specifically in reference to how the implications of schooling relate to one's self definition (Meeus & Deković, 1995).

Dissertation Organization

In the following chapters I will explore how the identities and performances of three “struggling students” changed during and after participating in a community of practice supporting the supervision of prospective teachers. In Chapter 2 I review the literature in several areas, including school identities, how school identities and school performance are related, critical reflection and inquiry with children, communities of practice, literacy-and-identity studies, and James Gee's (2000) four lenses for studying the sociocultural nature of identity. Chapter 3 lays out the theoretical perspective framing this research, the context for the study, the methods used to collect and analyze data, as well as issues associated with subjectivities, trustworthiness, and limitations. The research findings are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 describes how the institutional, school identities of the three fourth-grade participants were defined by teachers and administrators at the beginning and at the end of the study. Chapter 5 lays out the journey the three students, two interns, and I took as a community of practice, and traces the change in the discourse identities of the three students from an insider's point of view. Chapter 6 concludes the report by considering the implications of the findings for further research and practice that could take place in PDS collaboratives. In particular, I link the findings with the potential of university and school partnerships to interrupt narratives and practice that perpetuate school failure and to foster more equitable learning experiences that build, rather than undermine, democratic societies.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This study documents how the school identities and performances of three students changed as they became central agents and co-inquirers into the professional development and preparation of prospective teachers. This chapter provides the theoretical and conceptual map that framed and informed this work. As is typical of the critically conscious researcher, I drew from many domains of scholarship in order to develop the research plan (Willis et al., 2008). First, I will present a sociocultural definition of and model for identity(ies) that served as the foundation for this study. I will address the implications of the social construction of school identities that privilege some learners and marginalize others (Lin, 2008). Next, I will outline the relationship between school identities and school performance, and why the identities of children should be of deep and abiding concern for PDS educators attempting to make schools equitable places. I will then review projects involving collaborative inquiry and critical reflection with children that strongly influenced my stance as a participatory action researcher in this study. Communities of practice will then be introduced, and how they might hold the potential for mobilizing emancipatory forms of collaborative inquiry with children in the PDS. Finally, I will focus on the body of theory that examines the inseparable relationship among literacy practices, learning, and identities.

What Is Identity?

Researchers in education struggling to find agreement in defining the social construct of *identity* (Moje & Luke, 2009), argue that it must be problematized and not taken for granted (Lin, 2008a), and even go as far as to critique its use as perpetuating

Western, colonialist discourse (Skeggs, 2008). Identity is only one of many ways human beings make sense of personhood(s) (Egan-Robertson, 1998; Skeggs, 2008). However, for purposes of this study, it will be used for defining (and being recognized as) a certain “kind of person,” (Gee, 2000, p. 95), and will include all who one believes one is, as well as who one is perceived to be in different contexts (Gee, 2000). In this study I stand by postmodern theorists and social constructionists who interpret identity not as something that is fixed in nature, nor even as an experience located in the individual. Rather, identity will be treated in this study as an ongoing social construct assembled together by histories, cultures, and languages, and having a relational, ever-changing, multiple and sometimes contradictory nature (Lin, 2008; McCarthy, 2001; McCarthy & Moje, 2002; Mishler, 1999; Moje & Luke, 2009; Sarup, 1998). Individuals can “make bids” (Gee, 2000, p. 109) to be recognized as a certain kind of person but these identities cannot be sustained without being recognized by others, just as individuals can be recruited to take on particular identities but ultimately reject the recruitment effort by his or her community (Gee, 2000). Tatum (1997, in McCarthy & Moje, 2002) found this to be true, and concluded that students’ identities are fashioned in relation to perceptions held by other people. Research in the area of the social construction of identity also reveals that language is critical to identity formation and recognition, because the way we talk about other people (and ourselves) positions us relative to others (Fairclough, 1995). In fact, identities are always dependent upon and embedded within discourses that particular identity groups create (Gee, 2000).

Berger and Luckmann (1966) in their seminal publication, *The Social Construction of Reality*, discuss how important identity is in negotiating the dialectic between the

“individual animal” and his/her social world (p. 180), by managing competing tensions between the two. Psychologists and other social scientists have found identity to be helpful in explaining the way we think about ourselves and others, particularly when looking at the intersection between things people do, where one is from, and with whom one is associated (Lin, 2008b). Enciso, Lewis, and Moje (2007) ask how identity can frame research in education. For example, educational researchers have found the construct of identity to be a beneficial tool for examining and explaining the reproduction of inequity in schools (Lin, 2008b). Applications of this kind of research might help us reform languages used to create stereotypical categories of children in schools and limit the way children and adolescents are positioned as learners (Lin, 2008b). In order to study identity in schools, it is important to have an organizational framework for dealing with the social construction of identity. In my case I found it helpful to use a theory proposed by James Gee (2000), which will be discussed next.

Gee’s Four Lenses for Identity

James Gee (2000) has conceptualized four lenses through which to examine and interpret identity, two of which became foundational in this study. They include: Institutional-identities, Discourse-identities, Affinity-identities, and Nature-identities. These four lenses are inseparable from one another, and all rely on dialogue between human beings to exist. For example, being called a “good student” in school by peers and teachers is the function of one’s Institutional-identity, or how one is positioned in formal organizations, such as schools. One’s Discourse-identity as a “good student” includes all of the ways his/her behaviors, values, ways of talking, and the tools s/he uses are assigned to such an identity. These might include the willingness to publicly answer questions posed by teachers, the possession and reading of certain kinds of

texts, and the demonstration of behaviors interpreted by those in power as “compliance.” One’s Affinity-identity as a “good student” has everything to do with whom one affiliates with. “Good students” will likely feel most comfortable spending social time with other “good students.” They will likely choose one another as friends both in and out of school, elect to do projects together, and sit next to one another in the cafeteria. Finally, a “good student” can be identified by his or her Nature-identity. For example, teachers in this study often talked about students as “being bright,” as if intelligence was an innate or biologically determined trait. All four of Gee’s lenses for identity build upon and reinforce one another, and all rely on dialogue to exist, sustain, and change over time. This is why when one may make bids to be defined as a “good student,” this identity must be recognized and endorsed as such by his or her community.

Gee’s four lenses for social identity allowed me to operationalize ways of gathering and interpreting data from participants who were diverse in age, gender, ethnicity, and position. While I could have used any of the four lenses to study the school identities of fourth-grade participants, I focused specifically on documenting changes in Institutional- and Discourse-identities,¹ two of the four lenses for studying identity in Gee’s model. Examining shifts in identity through more than one lens was important because it helped me gain access to multiple layers of co-construction between individuals and the greater school community.

¹ To ease the reader from this point forward, James Gee’s concepts of “**I**nstitutional-identities” and “**D**iscourse-identities” (2000) will be written in lower case and without a hyphen: “**i**nstitutional identities” and “**d**iscourse identities.”

The Social Construction of School Identities

School identities, for purposes of this study, refer to the identities children hold as people situated in the institution of schooling, and specifically including how they are highly contextualized in light of perceived social and academic competencies. Flores-Gonzalez (2002) studied Latino children and defined children who possessed a “school identity” as those who gained satisfaction from being in school. In fact, having a school identity, or not, meant the difference between being seen as a “good kid” or a “bad kid” (Flores-Gonzalez, 2002). In this study, however, I use the term “school identity” as an umbrella for all children in school. I assumed that all children had some form of a school identity but that it could fall within a range of possible manifestations, ranging from “school successful” to “not school successful.”

What is important to this study is that school identities of children are created, assigned, and reproduced in ongoing cycles that privilege some and marginalize others (Flores-Gonzalez, 2002; Lin, 2008). These identities are cast most typically in light of performance “progress” associated with children’s behaviors as readers and writers (Moje & Luke, 2009), which are “laundered” when schools misidentify and then reward “class-based cultural advantages,” as “natural talents” or “diligence,” (Crossley, 2003, p. 43), and then reified as “social facts” (Mehan, 1996, p. 244). Students and teachers assemble one another’s local identities by drawing from traditional roles of the classroom, the available curriculum, and other resources that position students in recognizable ways (Wortham, 2004). The implications of these local school identity assignments are both immediate and far-reaching. For example, how school identities are defined by participants in schools and enacted by individuals clearly has implications for who will or will not have opportunities for specialized literacy learning

(McCarthy & Moje, 2002; Moje & Lewis, 2007), the basic currency needed for creating an identity of school success. Once these kinds of school identities are in place, they have a tremendous impact on the trajectory of one's life chances (Gee, 2000; Mishler, 1999; Moje & Luke, 2009; Wenger, 1998).

The people, habits, and value systems that comprise school and political institutions often lead to a collective amnesia about the social construction of school identities. For example, it is easy in the day-to-day affairs of school to overlook that school identities, including such formal labels of "ADHD" or "learning disabled," must rely on ongoing social interaction and dialogue in order to be constructed and maintained (Gee, 2000; Skrtic, 1995). Through dialogue, labels are essentially recast as biological in nature (Gee, 2000), which they may or may not be. For example, Mehan (1996) followed the transition of a child's school identity from being a "regular" student to a "handicapped" student. By looking at language used by educators to sort students, and then by documenting the series of events involved in the educational testing for and placement into special education, he made the case for how the student's new identity became institutionalized as a social fact through the interplay between conversations and the creations of texts. In the quote below, Mehan traces the actions that thread together the storyline from "regular" to "handicapped," which actually started with the *teacher* having a problem:

Essentially, the teacher is calling for help. This call starts the process that constructs students' institutional identities. These often undifferentiated appeals become refined and specified in official language as they move from regular education classrooms to testing rooms and finally to meeting rooms. Through this process, the child becomes an object. The members of the committee do not have access to the teacher-student interaction; only the residue of that interaction is represented in a file, a decentered text. At the outset, the child was a participant in discourse with his teacher and his

classmates. But, from that point on, the child's contribution to his own career status drops out. (Mehan, 1996, p. 260)

In another study McDermott (1996) presented evidence for how a child was "acquired by a disability" (p. 300) through common school discourse practices that created categories of school identity based on "competency." Bourdieu (1984) would likely call this an act of symbolic violence because an identity was imposed by powerful others, and then legitimized without the child's consent. Indeed, social reproduction demands the occupancy of certain identities that are needed for a culture to continue, and children are easy targets. As McDermott concludes, "Before any teachers or children enter schools every September, failure is in every (class)room in America. There is never a question of whether everyone is going to succeed or fail, only of who is going to fail" (p. 295). Toohey's (2000) research brought her to the same conclusion when she said that the classroom community "...somehow arranged itself so as to have successful and unsuccessful members" (p. 61). This led her to wonder about McDermott's (1988) original question that sought to deconstruct how schools define their social realities about how some children are learning "more," while some children are learning "less."

There is a complex interplay between schools, as institutions, and their participants who work together to underwrite the system of meaning used to define types of people, how they will get recognized, and what, as a result, they are determined to need (Gee, 2000). Institutionalized identities are created from the daily cycles of teacher's work in the often mundane business of teaching, assessment, and conversation with colleagues and families, as well as how children evaluate and make sense of one another's performances in the classroom (Toohey, 2000). However, the

implications are incredibly far-reaching as a student's entire life path is potentially cemented as a result (Mehan, 2006) of the identity assigned to him or her.

It is important to keep in mind that poorer children are much more at risk of becoming susceptible to the identities assigned to them by educational and political institutions, as more privileged students have the time and resources outside of school to author themselves in alternative ways (Gee, 2002). This difference brings into question how schools should reconceptualize their practices if their aim is to serve as a democratizing force in society. A child's socioeconomic class has a significant influence in the way his or her school identity is formed, and in any subsequent labels used by the institution to define it (Gee, 2000; 2002). Gee (2000) points out the difference in label assignments that can occur between a poor (and often black) student, and that of a privileged, (and often white) student. The unsuccessful behaviors of a poorer and black student might invoke educators to consider his/her identity as a "special education" or, at the very least an "at risk" student, who needs a curriculum "at his/her level." On the other hand, a relatively privileged white student's school identity might be interpreted as an "intelligent underachiever" who is in need of a more *challenging* school experience. In either case a school identity has been assigned, and access to different curricula and pedagogy has been determined.

School Identities and School Performance

"Students are successful in school to the extent that they are able to adopt and sustain a school-kid identity" (Flores-Gonzalez, 2002, p. 11), and identity is the missing link in the research that focuses on the intersection between learning and sociocultural interaction (Sfard & Prusak, 2005). In addition, because "(l)earning... implies becoming a different person" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 53), identity cannot be divorced from how

and what one learns in school, or in any other context where learning is expected.

Further, student identity greatly matters in the development of human literacy practices, including literacies valued in schools. For this reason McCarthy and Moje (2002) urge educators and researchers to consider identity when examining how students respond to school practices.

There is a large, eclectic body of research that explores the school performances of particular students or groups by addressing motivation, self-efficacy, and related personal attributes. For example, Gordon (1995) found that academically resilient African American adolescents have strong self concepts, a commitment to extra-curricular goals, and the ability to articulate what motivates them. Hebert (1998) compared two gifted black students, one who was identified as a high achiever, and one identified as an underachiever. The high achiever had a strong sense of self that was attributed to personal characteristics, including high aspirations, and strong family support. Similar conclusions drawn by Howard (2003) help explain the academic identities of African American adolescent boys. Some researchers have further attempted to define the role that academic identity has in motivation, self efficacy, and agency (Bandura, 1982; Cokley, 2000), and how, in fact, disidentification with aspects of self concept can occur when there is a threat to them (Aronson, Blanton & Cooper, 1995; Steele, 1997).

Studies like this that examine the factors that influence the identities of students can be helpful as educators attempt to unlock the secrets of academic success and motivation in school, especially for groups of students that teachers and schools struggle to reach. However, taken alone these research narratives tend to perpetuate

the idea that academic success, and even school identities, are located solely within individual students. This view disallows the social nature of teaching, learning and identity development to be explored and harnessed, and in many cases perpetuates a hegemony that blames individual children for school failure (McCarthey & Moje, 2002), even when the “causes” are attributed to environmental or physiological factors outside of the child’s control.

Research by Deaux (1993) suggests that motivation combines with social contexts to shape a myriad of ways in which we define ourselves. Tobin, Seiler and Walls (1999) found in a study of an urban high-school science classroom that the earnest efforts of the teacher to create a “transformative curriculum” only met with student resistance, and concluded that we must address the multiple layers of student identity if we want to reach learners who are more difficult to teach. Roth et al. (2004) found the same to be true when they observed that participating in the activity of schooling led to students and teachers making and remaking their identities in an urban setting, and that these identities are part of systems of mediated relations that rely on situated activity. Woodruff and Schallert’s (2008) grounded theory study of college student athletes found that motivation and identity mutually influence one another, and that dialogue with others was the critical agent of that change. This lends support to Ryan and Deci’s (2002) assertion that our behaviors must be valued by significant others before we are willing to continue those behaviors, and Gee’s (2000) idea that one’s identities cannot sustain without being recognized and endorsed by others.

McCarthey (2001) researched how students’ perceptions of themselves as literacy learners were either deterred or facilitated by the context of classroom practices

which relied on an adopted, mass-produced reading curriculum. She found that ideas held about students by themselves, their parents, teachers, and peers did influence identity construction, and that the implicit messages communicated through enacting the reading curriculum ended up playing a pivotal role in how students identified themselves as readers, and subsequently as students in school. Wortham (2004) documented an African American student's shift from "good student" to "disruptive student," and eventually solidified as "outcast student" through the course of her ninth-grade year. Like McCarthy's (2001) work, Wortham's study emphasizes how important it is to consider the complexity of multiple resources teachers and students use, including the curriculum, to cast the identities of classroom participants. Toohy's (2000) work in primary classrooms with six English Language Learners brought her to the same conclusion. By conducting ongoing classroom observations and collecting narratives from adults, she was able to analyze how practices led to school identities. She was able to determine how classroom resources were differentially distributed among classroom participants, and how this led to differentiated access to learning, and subsequently to differentiated identities. These constructs for school identities were dependent on ranking systems in schools organized by academic competence, physical presentation and competence, behavioral competence, social competence, and language proficiency. Her findings led her to emphasize the need to investigate strategies very young students use to accept and resist institutional identities, as well as finding sensitive enough methods of research that can document how young students make sense of the bids (Gee, 2000) from educators to take on particular institutional identities.

Finally, Flores-Gonzalez (2002) was compelled to find a pattern that explained why some urban, Latino adolescents dropped out of high school, others graduated, and others returned after dropping out. The most significant factor that determined these outcomes had to do with how adolescents positioned their identities in relation to school, and she presents how these identities are formed throughout a child's school career. Through role identity theory, which seeks to explain how our identities are tied to our positions in groups, she gained insights into why some adolescents developed successful school identities, while others did not. Flores-Gonzalez (2002) concluded that "schools are accomplices in a system that thrives on producing inequality" (p. 162) by offering different kinds of school experiences. In the school she studied, these different experiences led to the creation of two kinds of students: "School Kids" and "Street Kids." Latino students who took on the "School Kid" identity tended to graduate from high school, while those who took on the "Street Kid" identity tended to drop out. Finally, seven school conditions were critical in fostering the "School Kid" identity. These included offering students the opportunity to take on the socially appropriate role of "student;" providing trustworthy social systems of teacher and student support; creating systems of recognition and rewards; fostering warm, intimate relationships with teachers and students; offering constant, positive feedback for successful student performance; allowing students to weave other school-related identities into their school identities (such as that of "athlete"); and providing the opportunities to explore – and expect – viable futures after graduation.

The studies outlined in this section make the case, again, that identity matters significantly in learning and in school success (Flores-Gonzalez, 2002; Heath, 1983;

Lewis, Enciso & Moje, 2007; McCarthey & Moje, 2002; Mehan, 2006). However, there are studies that attempt to go further than naming the link between identity and school success by designing research with a critical action focus. Through collaborative scholarship and inquiry *with* children, these researchers place identity at the center of investigating equitable school practices. This body of work features researchers and practitioners who invite students as classroom researchers and co-inquirers, knowledge generators, and critical participants in schools. What ties this work together is the transformative nature of the experiences, particularly in how they invite children and teachers to redraw the boundaries of school identities. Focusing strategically on identity has important implications for learning and the development of new literacies, and therefore has the potential to impact academic performance. Some examples will be discussed next as they had a significant impact on the conceptualization of this study.

Critical Reflection and Inquiry with Children

Reflection, as a meaning making process, threads together a continuous learning experience and must be done in a shared context, often fusing both personal and intellectual growth (Rodgers, 2002). Critical reflection is not just concerned with the effectiveness of outcomes, or even the examination of goals and assumptions but also with the moral implications for equity. This is because critical reflection situates personal action within greater socio-political contexts (Halton & Smith, 1995; Rodgers, 2002) by emancipating us from the taken for granted routines (Zeichner & Liston, 1996). Indeed, critical inquiry can amplify teacher and student voices. John Dewey went as far as to say that the systematic, rigorous and disciplined use of inquiry and reflection with the support of evidence was a prerequisite for a participatory democracy (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Rodgers, 2002).

An inquiry stance allows educators and learners to work together to generate local knowledge, theorize, and interrogate the research and meaning making of others in communities of practice (Cochran-Smith, 2004). As a stance toward teaching and learning (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 2009; Dana & Yendol-Silva, 2003), inquiry generates practice by providing evidence for judgments, a framework for knowledge construction, and more transformational learning opportunities than traditional, transmission teaching can (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Cochran-Smith, 2004). In addition, inquiry and critical reflection increase equity in student and teacher access to knowledge by promoting the value of plurality, rather than consensus, through provocative discourse. Finally, inquiry and critical reflection facilitate novel ways to construct knowledge, offering teachers and students the chance to explore “situated certainty” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 59) and balance the current over-valuing of scientific certainty that school-based and university-based educators and learners are expected to value, consume and reproduce (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Hargreaves, 1994).

Steinberg and Kincheloe (1998) call educators to teach students to become inquirers in order to both acquire and produce literacies of power. Under this kind of learning paradigm, children and their teachers can learn new discourses together, and can therefore carve out new identities by linking new words and concepts to their actions (Gee, 2004). For example, rather than learning science from a textbook, children can practice *being* scientists (Gee, 2009, personal communication) by playing with its specialized language and ways of defining and valuing reality, and by using its special props and symbols. By *doing* science first, and then reading about it, situated meaning can actually begin to occur among readers, inquirers, and texts.

There are researchers and practitioners who do participate with students, for example, in ethnographic research and in critical inquiry (see Basu & Barton, 2010, Egan-Robertson & Bloome, 1998, Seiler & Gonsalves, 2010, Stein, 2001, Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1998, and Wallace, 2001). Such collaboration between adults and children can be highly beneficial as a way to democratize teaching and learning; offer the tools necessary for students to use their communities as curriculum; participate in redesigning relationships among teachers, knowledge, and texts, and interrupt traditional positionalities and roles between students and educators. Some of this collaborative inquiry between adults and children has been specifically aimed at the study of identity for the purposes of increasing access to learning and shaping classroom communities. Egan-Roberts (1998) found that eighth-grade students were enthusiastic about reauthoring discourses about themselves as writers and as young women when they were given the opportunity to meet with her weekly in a writing club. Another group of researchers, teachers, and students collaborated in a case study on the ever-changing identities of students (and teachers) engaged in the socialization process of schooling (Roth et al., 2004). Yeager, Floriani, and Green (1998) had fifth- and sixth- graders engage in an ethnographic inquiry to find out what it took to be what they called an “effective member” in their classroom, as well as in the academic disciplines they were studying. As a result of participating in this unusual community of practice, students actively redesigned their relationships with their classroom and with the curriculum. LaVan (2004) investigated how urban high-school students and their teacher redistributed power, rules, and roles by collaborating in dialogue sessions to improve the relationship between science instruction and equity. Doing so fostered a

collective responsibility toward learning by privileging student voice in the classroom. In this case new solidarity between the teacher and her students occurred, and students began to value the science curriculum.

Studies like LaVan's (2004) feature the theory and practice of "cogenerative dialogue" (Roth, Tobin & Zimmermann, 2002; Tobin, 2006), and represent some of the most powerful examples available today of researchers working alongside secondary level learners, prospective teachers, and mentor teachers in the classroom for the express purpose of improving teaching and learning, as well as to facilitate social justice. Kenneth Tobin and his colleagues, including LaVan, have paved the way toward a theory that allows students, teachers, and researchers to reorganize their roles and responsibilities in the urban science classroom. For example, Tobin (2006) studied the collaboration between an intern, a mentor teacher, and a small group of students who collected data generated from lessons to resolve contradictions and ineffective teaching practices. These colleagues work from the conviction that the dysfunctional state of urban middle and high school science education is not being corrected through outside mandates, and can only hope to be changed by transforming the relationship that occurs between teachers, students, pedagogy, and content, through the mechanism of participatory research (Seiler & Emelsky, 2005). This transformation involves the willingness of teachers and students to exchange and value one another's social, symbolic, and cultural capital. By including students as researchers, and by publishing their findings, previously silenced adolescents and their teachers are able to address inequity in schools and bring attention to inadequate science teaching (Tobin, Elmesky & Seiler, 2005).

Why did these researchers include children and adolescents in inquiry into classroom practices? In a discussion of contributions that ethnographic and sociocultural research has made to education, Egan-Robertson and Willett (1998) reiterate that some children get valuable educational opportunities, and some do not, and this is often related to their cultural, gender, linguistic, or racial background. This is particularly true when considering the implications for tracking and ability-grouping, and how students take up a cultural identity associated with the academic “level” they are assigned, serving to reproduce social inequity. Including children in teacher inquiry and ethnographic research opens up access to valuable educational opportunities for students. It also allows educators and students to redefine literacy, classroom practices, and the whole of education *together*, opening up new venues for doing democracy in the classroom and in the world.

Communities of Practice

All of the studies outlined in the previous section documenting changes in student identities and/or positionalities within classroom literacy worlds can be tied to one common factor. In each case it can be argued that there was some semblance of a community of practice (COP) mediating the experience, whether participants were conscious of this, or not. As articulated by Wenger, McDermott and Synder (2002):

Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis...Over time, they develop a unique perspective on their topic as well as a body of common knowledge, practices, and approaches. They also develop personal relationships and established ways of interacting. They may even develop a common sense of identity. They become a community of practice. (p. 4)

Wenger (1998) and Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002) write that we engage in COPs all of the time in our home, work, and recreational worlds. They explain that

COPs develop in many forms, ranging from long-term to short-term, from synchronous to asynchronous, between individuals who are near and far, and from unrecognized and informal to legitimized and even to institutional forms. Further, no matter what form a COP takes, it will have three aspects: a shared purpose, a sense of belonging, and a distinct practice. A COP's practice includes its common language, history and stories, ideas, values, and special tools that make up the dynamic generation of meaning making the group shares together. In fact, these domains of meaning making are what connect the group together, illuminating the intimate interrelationship between what one knows, one's competencies, and one's identity.

COPs bring to light the social embeddedness of learning, allowing us to challenge older, individualistic ideas of learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Toohey, 2000; Wenger, 1998; Wenger, McDermott & Synder, 2002). In fact, the primary focus of Wenger's (1998) theory is that COPs function as social and participatory learning sites. Learning as social participation is not just embedded in the events that the community sponsors or creates but in the very process of being active in the everyday practices of the community. Wenger (1998) theorizes that ongoing learning within a COP occurs via participation that shapes action (learning as doing), how actions are interpreted (learning as experience and meaning), the sense of community (learning as belonging), and identities (learning as ever-becoming). It is the profound interconnection between COPs, their practices, and identity construction (Wenger, 1998) that has caught my attention as a participatory action researcher in the PDS. This connection has inspired me to ask if the PDS can be a place where educators can consciously create communities of practice with students in ways that directly impact school identities - not

only to see these new identities translate into successful school performance but to allow teachers and learners to co-construct new, emancipatory definitions of school success.

Researching identity is difficult, not only because it is elusive but because *identity*, itself, is such a contested construct. Theorists are currently trying to problematize identity so that educators can better address its social reproduction in schools (Lin, 2008; Moje & Luke, 2009). Because many camps of scholarship have historically defined identity in conflicting ways (Lin, 2008; Moje & Luke, 2009), it will be important to articulate how I am operationalizing the concept of identity for purposes of this study. I will begin by clarifying identity in relation to the literature base that informs my praxis as an educator and researcher.

Literacy-and-Identity Studies

School literacy practices are a major site for the construction of identity (McCarthy & Moje, 2002), and ideas such as academic tracks, race, ethnicity, gender, and class become the objects of discourse practices that align with and define identity, setting up boundaries for including and excluding certain children (Egan-Robertson, 1998). Literacy is at the heart of education's promise to provide citizens the symbolic capital needed to build literate identities and to have the ability to enact this power in society (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000). The problem is that our literacies are no less than situated, social practices (Buckingham, 2003; Comber & Cormack, 1997; Kress, 2004; Luke, 2002), and students do not come to school with the same set of experiences, literacies, or cultural capital from which to work. Yet schools and politicians continue to operate on the assumption that they do (Kalantzis & Cope, 2000; McLaren, 2003; Wink, 1997). Different ways of speaking, or discourses, carry different points of view that

reflect different life experiences (Erickson, 2005), and one's use of language, including the ways one uses English, can profoundly affect one's chances in life (Gay, 2005; Ovando, 2005). And literacies shaped by white, middle class social protocols and values are basic prerequisites for gaining access to the typical school curriculum (Gay, 2005).

I have situated the rationale for and design of this study within the body of scholarship Moje and Luke (2009) define as "literacy-and-identity" studies, a socio-cultural perspective that has unfolded in three waves over time. These researchers were able to organize the widely diverse perspectives of this literature base into five guiding metaphors. These include *identity-as-difference*, *identity-as-self*, *identity-as-consciousness*, *identity-as-narrative*, and *identity-as-position*. There are three assumptions that underlie all five metaphors and bind together this body of research (Moje & Luke, 2009). First, all literacy-and-identity studies assume that identit(ies) are socially constructed. This means that while identities are lived out within the individual, they require co-construction (and maintenance) to exist, as identity is in an ever changing dialectal relationship with society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Second, literacy-and-identity scholars generally see identit(ies) as having a degree of fluidity, or at least pliability, and that individuals experience plural identities that change, depending on situation and context. Finally, researchers agree that one's identit(ies) must be recognized by an audience in order to exist and play out.

Moje and Luke's *identity-as-narrative* and *identity-as-position* metaphors resonated with my interpretive experience while I was engaged in this study. When considering *identity-as-narrative*, Moje and Luke (2009) point out a tension in the

literature that I also met when designing the methodology of this study. This tension attempts to define *where* identity is created and carried out. Is identity located in the words we use to talk about ourselves and others? Or is identity located in the actions and interactions we have with ourselves and others? When Sfard and Prusak (2005) wanted to operationalize the idea of identity for the purpose of designing and conducting research, they argued that identity is equal to *representation*. In order to locate identity, we need to focus on the stories that move back and forth between the individual and the community. In this perspective the words, themselves, *are* identity. This is because words have the power to create reality in the moment that they are spoken, including that which comes from our actions and the subsequent meanings of these actions. Wenger (1998) on the other hand, focuses more on defining identity as *enactment*, or the ways we play out identities through social behaviors, which does include meaning made through words. Wortham's (2004) study on how teachers and students co-constructed the changing identity of a student in a ninth-grade classroom draws from both theories, a perspective that I also took in this study.

From these social constructionist perspectives identities are always situated within relationships. Because relationships often include power differentials (McCarthy & Moje, 2002), such as those between students and teachers, or teachers and policy makers, it becomes imperative to investigate not just how our words carry our identities but also how identities are enacted through social relationships (Toohey, 2000). Moje and Luke's metaphor of identity-as-narrative was a critical part of the theoretical underpinnings of this study. It allowed me to collect and analyze the words of participants as they co-constructed stories that wove together their identities over time.

It could even be argued that the speaking and writing of these words became powerful *acts* of identity construction. However, this metaphor for studying identity did not, by itself, have the explanative power to describe *how* identities shifted over time, especially in light of power relationships between adults and children. Moje and Luke's (2009) metaphor of identity-as-position allowed me to bring in the lens of power and roles that unfold in and between school identities. In a sense, theorists who study identity-as-position recognize that at any given time there are at least temporary positions, or spaces, available for different identities needed in a society, or in a classroom for that matter, as well as for the relationships between these different positions. These positions call for people to occupy them to some degree in order for a culture, including that of a classroom's, to make sense. While individuals can work to successfully accept, reject (Holland & Leander, 2004; Moje & Luke, 2009), and even reinvent the identity they are being recruited for (Gee, 2000), the position will continue to hold definition until it is re-assigned with a new meaning, or possibly extinguished from non-use. The identity-as position metaphor was especially beneficial to making sense of the data that came from this study. This was because it allowed me to consider, for example, the ways certain places, times, and objects were symbolically used by participants (Holland & Leander, 2004; Moje, 2004a; Moje & Luke, 2009; Wortham, 2004) to define their political identities. These aspects of identity were critical to understanding how students shifted their identities and school performances over time as they participated in a community of practice with adult educators.

Conclusion

Keeping in mind that the construct of "competence" is highly situated (Duff, 2002), we are freed up to consider school identities as social constructions, rather than

as social facts. In doing so teachers and learners can begin to deconstruct the labels and the groupings that are created and used to identify students (McCarthy & Moje, 2002), and the implications that these narrow definitions of children and adolescents have for their life chances. Targeting school identity is critical for educators in both school and university contexts if we wish to break the kind of social reproduction in schools that reinforces inequity (Fine & Weis, 2005; Flores-Gonzalez, 2002; Lin, 2008). While there is ample research examining how school institutions position different children (Gee, 2000; Flores-Gonzalez, 2002), some of which has been presented in this chapter, there is still a great need for research that looks at the relationship between the perceptions of others, students' self perceptions, and the classroom contexts that contribute to shaping those perceptions (Gee, 2000; McCarthy, 2001). It is my hope that this study answers this call, and that as a result we are reminded that no powerful strategy for impacting equity in schooling and society can be designed or implemented without taking into consideration the complexities of student learning (Nieto, 2005) and the sociopolitical structures and systems that shape schooling.

The literature outlined in this chapter continues to lead me, as a PDS university partner, to this question: If social justice for all P-12 learners is a core feature of the PDS movement, how can I craft my own professional identity and role so that this goal can become directly embedded in my daily work? In the PDS one of my multiple roles includes that of the supervisor for prospective teachers. Could I tailor this aspect of my job so that P-12 students and I could work directly together in ways that would offer creative avenues toward school success not available through the standard curriculum? Could we create communities of practice that allow children to re-author their school

identities through direct collaboration with adult learners engaged in inquiry? These questions led me to design a participatory action research (PAR) study, which will be outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to make sense of how including fourth graders in the supervision of teacher candidates leads to changes in these students' positions within formal hierarchies of "successful" and "unsuccessful" school identity. This study addresses a core question shared by stakeholders in this particular Professional Development School (PDS) which asks how university-school partnerships committed to the integrated learning of school and university faculty, P-12 learners, and teacher candidates can promote equity for all learners in public schools (Holmes, 1990; NAPDS, 2008; NCATE, 2001). Findings from this study may also offer a significant contribution to researchers and practitioners investigating and cultivating social justice within the context of teacher candidate supervision (Abt-Perkins, Hauschildt & Dale, 2000; Bowers & Flinders, 1991; Jacobs, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2001; Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1982).

This research is grounded in a social constructionist epistemology. I operated under the assumption that identities are not static but are rather creative works in progress. In light of social constructionism, I define identity as an ongoing authorship that occurs in the dialectic between the "self" and "others" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, Gee, 2000; Gee, 2002). Therefore, I needed to collect data from the natural conversations and interactions of the participants. This made it important for me to design a qualitative study (Creswell, 1998; Patton, 2002). In this chapter I present the theoretical perspective used to frame the work, research methods, how participants were included, and the context for the study. I will then discuss at length my multiple roles and subjectivities as a researcher, as well as the freedoms and limitations that

these posed to the research process. Next, I will describe the data collection process and how data were interpreted. Finally, I will discuss the mechanisms in place to strengthen the trustworthiness of the study from beginning to end.

Research Question

In the PDS in which I work, two problems of practice have led to parallel questions that we have historically shared and investigated through inquiry. First, how do we improve the learning and practices of teachers and prospective teachers? Second, how can we address issues of inequity in our PDS by improving access to relevant and powerful learning for all students? These two questions became “two arms of embrace” surrounding my own research question, as well as the activities we planned for gaining insights into my question. Therefore, my research question was grounded within our praxis, or where the reciprocity between theoretical and practical thinking and actions came together in our daily work in the PDS (Wink, 1997).

For several years I have actively recruited “difficult-to-teach” K-5 students as co-inquirers in the supervision process in order to promote the professional development of teacher candidates, veteran teachers, and myself in the PDS. After seeing me do this for several years, one PDS school-based partner remarked that “something amazing” was happening. She not only referred to the transformation of educators who began to redefine their relationships with and perceptions and expectations of “difficult-to-teach” students. She also referred to the classroom community as a whole, and specifically to the students who collaborated most directly with us on the supervision team. I wanted to design a study that would get closer to identifying that “something amazing.” Specifically, I wanted to know how students who collaborated in the supervision of their teachers’ interns changed their identities as students in school, as well as how they

changed their academic and social behaviors. My central research question was: *How and why did the identities and performances of three “struggling students” change during and after participating in a community of practice supporting the supervision of teacher candidates?* Managing and organizing data collection required the investigation of two supporting questions. First, how might these students’ formal, institutional identities, as defined by educators in the PDS, change as a result of participating in the supervision of the interns in their classroom? Second, how could the process supporting this change in their formal identities be explained? The findings for the first supporting question are reported in Chapter 4, while the findings for the second question are in Chapter 5.

Theoretical Perspective

Individuals in teacher research and education are positioned in unique ways within the power organization of universities and schools, and so we come to the field with our own agendas (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993). I was no different. I grounded my research in a combined theoretical perspective and methodology of feminist-infused, critical, or participatory action research (PAR). I made this choice because in my daily practice as a teacher educator I use a lens that acknowledges gendered divisions of power and authority in public school education (Coffey & Delamont, 2000), particularly as the majority of classrooms are peopled by women and children but remain in the “theoretical and administrative custody of men” (Luke & Gore, 1992, p. 2). Organizing this study as a PAR grounded in feminisms was done to increase an opportunity for the transformative praxis of its participants by “facilitating and engaging in specific actions that contribute to human well-being and a more just and equitable world” (Lykes and Coquillon, 2007, p. 298). This praxis included my own, and allowed me to consciously

name, embrace, and manage my many subjectivities throughout the research and writing process (Peshkin, 1988).

Two core assumptions undergird my work as a participatory action researcher operating with a feminist lens. First, I believe that the activity of research should provide a mechanism for the empowerment of marginalized groups. The primary group identified in this case was children “otherized” by social constructions of institutional identities defined by “school failure.” The secondary group identified were educators (all women) operating under increasingly oppressive and isolating conditions in public schools that seriously undermine their ability to see and define children and learning in holistic, humane, and emancipating ways. My second assumption is that I expect my role and work as a researcher to contribute to the decolonizing of the production of knowledge, a domain traditionally “owned” by researchers who reside far away from the daily, lived experiences of women and children in the classroom (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Fine, 1994; Harding, 1987). In this study the PAR framework helped raise the voices of children and teachers because it allowed them to contribute to the locating, defining, managing, and ongoing interpreting of our shared problems (Hendricks, 2006; Schensul & Schensul, 1992; Wahab, 2003).

The Research Context

Yearling Elementary is located in north central Florida, and is considered a Title I school serving pre-kindergarten through fourth grade. It is one of eight PDS partnerships with the local university. The school is located in a small, rural community approximately 25 miles from the university, and supports the education of 517 culturally and linguistically diverse students from lower to middle class backgrounds, with an increasing number of Spanish-speaking and migrant families moving into the area.

Sixty-six percent of the school population is identified as White, 18% as African American, 9% as Hispanic, and 6% as multiracial. While 13% of the school population is identified for special education services, 90% of these students are fully included in general education as a result of a shared commitment between the school and university. Over half of Yearling Elementary's students qualify for free or reduced priced lunch.

Under Florida's school accountability system Yearling Elementary is an "A" school. Since 2005 Yearling Elementary has participated in a close relationship with the local university in order to blend professional development, teacher preparation, and school improvement goals in ways that directly impact learning and achievement of the students and research interests that we share. The school leadership demonstrates a unique commitment to these goals. For example, it is not unusual for the principal to engage in inquiry and to participate in national PDS conferences, or to teach the on-site seminar for teacher candidates. In addition, the principal and teacher leaders strategically tailor the work of prospective teachers, who are embraced as part of the faculty, in order to support school and grade level goals, such as inclusion, differentiating instruction, and teacher action research.

The supervision for teacher candidates is shared between university and school-based faculty but is under the direct responsibility of the Site Coordinator at the PDS. This was the formal role I played at the PDS during this study. As the Site Coordinator I carried out all of the supervision components expected in the PDS. According to Nolan and Hoover (2004), these components include action research, peer coaching, classroom-based supervision and coaching by mentor teachers and university field

advisors, and the forming of collegial seminar groups on the PDS site. In addition, observations of teacher candidates with pre- and post-conferences, video analysis, and reflective journaling are employed to address the developmentally unique learning needs of individual candidates. Formal learning goals for prospective teachers that were negotiated between the university and school included co-teaching, accommodating students with disabilities, infusing social studies and democratic classroom practices into the curriculum, blending theory with practice, naming and enacting an espoused platform, differentiating instruction to meet the needs of heterogeneous groups of learners, and developing an inquiry stance for professional development.

Two co-teaching interns are placed together in each classroom at Yearling Elementary School. Although this is not their first field experience, it is the first time they are expected to perform all the planning, teaching, evaluating, collaborating, political relationship building, and administrative responsibilities of their mentor teachers. The first half of the semester is a critical time to socialize the interns, helping them transition their frame of reference from being a student to being a professional. It is also critical during this time to help them interpret the classroom and school culture; broker their relationships with their children and colleagues; collect data on the needs of their learners; begin to employ accommodations and differentiated instruction; become clear on their individual professional development agendas; and begin taking increasing responsibility for instruction and routines. Therefore, during the first half of the semester I am usually present in each classroom at least 30-45 minutes a day, three to four days a week. For the remainder of the semester, my classroom presence tapers down as I

conduct observations and coach the interns through their individual inquiry work. At this time I also shift my focus toward being of instructional service to the interns and their mentor teacher in order to help them facilitate their unique classroom goals and to continue supporting and modeling the pedagogical goals for the semester. Throughout the semester the interns meet with me and other school-based teacher educators for weekly seminars on the PDS campus, as well as with other instructors in university coursework taught at the school site.

Within my normal PDS duties for supervision and classroom facilitation, I add another “ingredient” that became the impetus for this work: I collaborate directly with elementary school students during formal and informal classroom observations, and in co-teaching and planning activities with prospective teachers. The purpose of directly including students in my work is to encourage prospective and practicing teachers to see children as co-designers of learning activities and assessments and as collaborators in the reflective teaching process, and to see me model democratic classroom pedagogy. I put these goals into action in a myriad of ways. I might sit at lunch with a group of students and their interns to debrief a lesson just taught, ask the class or specific students for lesson plan input, articulate my own problems of practice in a classroom level discussion, have children reflect upon their learning experiences during a lesson or assessment activity, engage interns in “think-alouds” during instruction for all students to hear and respond to, and invite students to collect data with me during instruction. I typically seat myself next to different children everyday so that I can engage in instructional activities from a child’s point of view, including gaining perspectives on a lesson from different physical and social locations in the room. This

allows me to collect data for interns and teachers on the effectiveness of their instructional tools and pedagogy. I also sit next to children so that my supervision and coaching tasks and tools are accessible to the children who are interested in my role. Finally, I sit with children to model for the interns how to “kid watch” for the purpose of ongoing data collection to support differentiating instruction (Tomlinson, 2001), and how necessary it is for teachers to immerse themselves in their children’s social worlds in order to build individual relationships and classroom community. While I do not expect interns to employ these strategies as novice teachers, I continue to model them so that interns, and the mentor teachers I am helping to develop, can appreciate the power they have in enhancing teaching and learning in the classroom.

I include children in the supervision process for several reasons, all of which were true in the case of this study, as well. The first is to shape the classroom communities of the PDS by modeling and cultivating the idea that an inquiry stance is desirable and appropriate for all participants, including prospective teachers, children, mentor teachers, and myself. By having students join me to both research and coach teacher learning, it becomes normed behavior to publicly name problems of practice, to engage in ongoing dialogue about the teaching and learning process, to collect data on our questions, and to make changes as a result of what we learn together. Children are typically enthusiastic participants in this process and can potentially become quite sophisticated in inquiring into the complexities of the classroom. The second reason I collaborate with students in inquiry-oriented supervision is to help prospective teachers recognize, value, and then strategically partner with students as rich sources of data for improving the learning conditions of the classroom. Finally, what ultimately drives my

collaborative supervision with students is my personal agenda of improving equitable conditions in schools by providing service in the classroom. For example, a classroom teacher who has come to rely on the work I am willing to do may ask me to forge a relationship with a particular student in order to support his/her social or academic performance, including that of enrichment or remediation. Or I will notice students that might have been previously “invisible” to, or even unconsciously marginalized by the interns, who are only just learning to “borrow” my lens for recognizing and responding to the rich landscape of diverse learners in the classroom.

It is common for me to work closely with particular children to amplify their voices, perspectives, concerns, and work products in ways that might not be possible if I were not a participant in the classroom. In doing so I can more effectively coach and empower prospective teachers to teach all learners, especially as interns come to trust me as someone who takes genuine and direct responsibility for student achievement in their classrooms. In turn, it is typical for prospective teachers to report and enact a sense of empowerment because they are confronting their fears of “difficult-to-teach” students in a safe learning context where they know their supervisor (and in many cases their mentor teacher) is publicly grappling with her own professional development, as well.

In the case of Ms. S’s fourth-grade classroom, the site of this study, it was more difficult for me to cultivate educator learning that included student collaboration than it was for me in other contexts. This was because Ms. S was new to the PDS and its unique goals, had never had interns before, and may have had some apprehension about my “expertise” and power within the school. All of these new challenges posed a

tall order for any classroom teacher trying to reframe her role as a teacher educator in a school-university partnership. Additionally, Ms. S was trying to make sense of my orientation and assumptions as a university supervisor and PDS partner, as was evident through her questions. This set of challenges was typical in my work with new mentor teachers. In this case it required me to scaffold and support Ms. S in her own learning curve, as well as to build at least a working foundation of trust with her. First, I consulted with and deferred to her regarding how much participation and decision-making I would have in the classroom. Second, I stayed as open and transparent as I could regarding my roles and expectations. Third, I was careful to enact my genuine belief that I had little authority or expertise as a teacher in this classroom, or any fourth-grade classroom, for that matter. I made a conscious effort to temper any positionality teachers assigned to me as “an educational expert.” For example, I chose to sit on the floor while writing field notes to physically mark the work I was doing as a *researcher* as “lesser,” and “informal” in comparison to the regular on-goings of the classroom. In addition, I always turned my laptop screen toward Ms. S so she was able to see all that I was writing. Finally, I emailed her often to “check in,” and to get her help in making decisions about how to go about my work in ways that would not disrupt the classroom routine. As a result, Ms. S took many admirable risks in trusting our work process as it unfolded, and was gracious in allotting a space for the interns, children, and me to work together, and a deep, caring relationship developed between Ms. S and me. Had I been able to continue my work with Ms. S over the course of a full year I am convinced that we would have broken even more ground in negotiating, and even blending, one another’s work within the context of the classroom.

Participant Selection

During this particular semester I was intimately involved as a PDS university partner in six diverse, inclusive classrooms where co-teaching pairs of interns were engaged. Each classroom offered me, as a researcher, plenty of opportunities to locate students who were not considered “school successful.” I ended up selecting the classroom with the oldest students for two reasons. First, while I experience consistent success in working with primary grade students as collaborators in supervision, I do not yet have the research skills to capture and analyze discourse practices of small children in a way that would help me document, with evidence, changes in school identity. Second, as an educator with a tremendous passion and concern for middle school education, I wanted to work with pre-adolescents in order to help them transition academically and socially into middle school the following year. Once the fourth-grade classroom context was established as my primary focus, my colleagues and I then took four weeks to sift out four of the nineteen available students and officially invite them to become members of our community of practice. This decision was the result of a complex interplay between ongoing data collection, negotiation, and in-depth discussions. After losing one female, gifted student of interest because her family was not comfortable providing consent, I ended up identifying three boys, “JJK,” based on a constellation of factors. These include my observations and analysis of teacher talk about and interaction with students; focus interview data I had collected on how former and current teachers situated each student’s school performances; individual interviews with ten students in the classroom; and my own personal observations of classroom behavior, academic performance, and peer interaction.

In this selection process I had to honor two competing tensions within myself. One was my commitment as a critical action researcher to democratic inquiry. This meant that the voices and personal agendas of the educators must have a primary role in the children chosen, especially as they expected me to take some responsibility for the academic performance of target students. For example, the principal wanted me to focus on students who were “below grade level” in reading, according to the assessment tools in place at the time, as she expected my work as a PDS partner to directly support the school improvement plan. My other commitment was to the special issues associated with the learning and growth of the prospective teachers I was supervising. In this role I wanted to have the ability to select students who posed the most unique challenges for the interns. Then I could make a plan to support the development of efficacious novice teachers who could effectively respond to all learners in this specific classroom context.

I felt I could formally include these three students in the study and continue to effectively fulfill the many other responsibilities I had in the classroom. Teachers did not consistently agree on the same student candidates, although individual recommendations almost always included at least two of the three students that ended up participating. I did three things to lead to a final decision due to the fact that there was not perfect agreement among the adult stakeholders. First, I looked at the total of six students ultimately recommended. I then allowed my own subjectivity as a supervisor to guide me. I narrowed the number of students to those my data led me to believe were the most socially and academically marginalized by both adults and children during instructional time, lunch, and recess. These were the children who, from

my point of view, were not able to fulfill their full learning and social potentials, as a result. My ability to make this final judgment was only possible because of the relatively privileged distance I was able to maintain in the classroom as I was free from the endless layers of responsibilities and decision-making complexities facing the classroom teacher and the interns.

Choosing these three students allowed me to include students I believed would be most challenging for the interns to teach without coaching. Second, I had to make sure at least one student demonstrated strong verbal skills, even though these “skills” were not readily defined or appreciated by teachers in the same way they were by me! I expected that these verbal skills would enable him to scaffold his peers in developing their voices. I hoped that this student would be pivotal in brokering a common, inquiry-oriented language and approach to looking at the art of teaching and learning, and that he would help us blend our adult and pre-adolescent perspectives and languages. Finally, once I had established J, J, and K as the final candidates for participation, I offered the fourth-grade team and the principal one more opportunity to argue for a different trio. In the end, the faculty involved in the project expressed wholehearted agreement with the students chosen, although they also expressed their feelings of worry that they had not advocated strongly for a girl to be included. This was a concern I shared, as well, and I assured the teachers I would include girls in the process of collaborative supervision and inquiry, which I ultimately did.

The Participants

Marking the boundary between people who were considered participants in this study and those who were not was a difficult feat. Many adults and children associated with this classroom signed informed consent forms and actively engaged in designing

and navigating the study, as well as in the ongoing generation and interpretation of data. However, over time there became two rather distinct circles of participants. Those most intimately involved in the project included those who became the “inner circle” of our community of practice. Surrounding this inner circle was an “embracing circle” of educators and fourth-grade students who supported, acknowledged, consulted with us, and provided an invaluable critical examination of our work over time. For this reason it is not accurate to say that they were not members of our COP. However, for purposes of this study, I defined the COP as the six of us who met most regularly over the course of the semester for the explicit purpose of promoting the professional development of our two interns.

The Inner Circle: Our Community of Practice

The six members that came to be our COP included three fourth-grade boys, “JJK,” two interns placed in the classroom as co-teachers, and myself. Due to the parameters of confidentiality, I will not present individual profiles of each of the three boys. As a group, however, they had all grown up in this rural community, and had older brothers, sisters, and cousins who had attended Yearling Elementary before them. They were of both African- and European-American ancestry, and each represented a different location on the school label continuum of “disability” and “non-disability.” All three of them were passionate about being outdoors or in the woods, where they could engage in activities popular in rural north Florida, including football, four-wheeling, hunting, and fishing. JJK gradually assumed variable and complex roles in the classroom as a result of being in our COP. They were consultants in supervision, co-inquirers into effective classroom instruction and learning, co-designers of curriculum,

fourth-grade learners, and valuable data sources for both prospective and veteran teachers, including myself.

Our two interns, Ms. E and Ms. B, were in the final semester of their senior year at the university. Both were from affluent coastal Florida communities. They were bright, articulate and passionate about their emerging roles and responsibilities as teachers. As interns they were required to develop and demonstrate proficiency in co-teaching, and needed considerable coaching and support in order to successfully meet this goal. After an in-depth examination of their visions for teaching, we came to understand that their struggles with co-teaching stemmed from having diametrically opposed pedagogical and political orientations. This posed an interesting dilemma for our work in the COP, and ultimately became a rich source for dialogue, negotiation, and the critical examination of our tensions and practices.

The Embracing Circle: Our Support Team

Our support team included Ms. S, our classroom teacher and mentor to the interns, and the fourth-grade teaching team. We also had the participation of the principal, teachers who had taught JJK in the past, as well as Ms. S's sixteen other fourth-grade students. Ms. S was a fifth-year teacher who had transitioned into the profession from the business world. She was the team leader for the fourth grade which included four classrooms and five teachers. They had their own separate building on campus. All four of these classrooms included students with disabilities and were co-taught and supported by a special education teacher who shared her time among the four classrooms. Our principal, a savvy instructional leader, worked directly with us to help position this study within the normal school routine and educational agenda. She was also an invaluable, ongoing resource for understanding the historical careers of the

students who participated in this study, and for helping to link the PAR to the school improvement plan.

Ms. S's classroom of nineteen students represented a heterogeneous group of general, special, and gifted education students. However, Ms. S's students mixed with the rest of the fourth grade students for reading instruction, which was grouped by ability for this portion of the day. Seven of Ms. S's students were considered to be African- American, eleven were of European-American ancestry, and one student with an East Indian background had recently moved from the Caribbean. English was the first language of all the students.

The most emphasized aspect of the curriculum in the classroom was writing. This was because the first high-stakes writing test in the state of Florida is in fourth grade. Ms. S's students expressed pride in their work in writing, especially because their teacher was a teacher leader in the district for supporting writing instruction.

The Many "I's:" My Situational Subjectivities

As this study was embedded in my normal professional and social world, it is important to understand the complexity of my role as a participant-observer. Different times and situations demanded multiple subjectivities, or "I's" (Peshkin, 1988) from me. These "I's" had to be systematically acknowledged as they directly impacted the data collection and analysis process over time. I experienced these many "I's" as different identities which allowed me to shift my positions as needed. In naming them publicly I could alert participants, including myself, as to which hat I was wearing at a given time. These included: Co-Inquirer with our PDS's twelve interns, University Supervisor, Ms. B and Ms. E's Teacher and Coach, Middle School Teacher, PDS Partner brokering

standards for teacher preparation within the context of this school's improvement goals, Change Agent, Peer Co-Teacher, and, finally, a pregnant, first time Mother-to-Be.

Enacting multiple roles and identities is common practice for me as a university partner in the PDS. However, adding the formal role of "researcher" into the mix initially posed a challenge for me. It became easier to manage my researcher role when I incorporated it into my normal identity as "Co-Inquirer" with my interns in the PDS. My Co-Inquirer role became the primary framework I used for organizing all of the other roles and responsibilities I had in the classroom and in the school. Being my interns' Co-Inquirer allowed me enormous flexibility because I could invoke and act upon my other identities, depending on the context. For example, as a Co-Inquirer my interns might ask me to collect data on how a particular portion of a lesson was effective for a certain group of students. If this request was made during a formal observation, I could easily collect the data for them as their Supervisor by sitting at that group's table and taking a "close up picture" of an aspect of learning going on there. If this request was made during a non-observed lesson, I could quickly become their Co-Teaching Peer and collect the data while being assigned instructional responsibility for that group.

I cultivate this Co-Inquirer identity in my relationship with my interns in the PDS in order to be able to explicitly model the inquiry process through my own work, and to demonstrate inquiry as a lifelong stance for all teachers (including myself). This allows me to blend my supervisory responsibilities with the teaching and learning tasks associated with the interns' seminar with me, as well as with the other courses associated with their internship. As my interns' Co-Inquirer, I can also directly serve their needs by becoming a data collection source for their own inquiries into teaching

and learning in the classroom. I do this to help them develop a lifelong collaborative stance to inquiry, in which I “work myself out of a job” later by being replaced, or at least joined, by other colleagues, including their mentor teachers.

As a Co-Inquirer I am able to use my relatively more powerful position as a Supervisor to elevate and endorse a passion and sense of ongoing “wondering” (Dana & Yendol-Silva, 2003) into the relationship and into the classroom culture. This makes my work with interns more dialogic, data-driven rather than emotional or judgmental, and safe for exploration and experimentation. It allows prospective teachers, mentors, and students to witness first-hand as I wrestle with my own felt difficulties (Dana & Yendol-Silva, 2003), which includes the naming and studying of my own dilemmas of practice. As this inquiry stance gets increasingly more normalized in the classroom community, it often becomes the impetus for teachers, children, interns and I to interrogate school practices that diminish equity. This happened in this case, as well, and allowed me to activate my identity as a Change Agent, another subjectivity that had to be examined during the course of the research process.

As the interns’ Supervisor, I could carry out my responsibility for creating a learning context for interns that would offer the most access to the goals associated with the internship, as defined by the university, standards of professional associations, the state’s department of education, and the needs of the students in the PDS. I was also responsible for coaching and then collecting the evidence of mastery of these learning goals through a formal observation system, and providing opportunities for remediation when needed. My identity as “Ms. B and Ms. E’s Teacher” was very closely aligned with that of being their Supervisor. However, this subjectivity had a subtle difference in

that it captured more accurately how the students and mentor teacher made sense of my role in the classroom. They knew I taught the interns in a separate seminar each week, and they knew that we were incorporating some of our assignments in the classroom. The students expressed great enthusiasm for seeing Ms. B and Ms. E's Teacher with them in the classroom, as well as hearing that their academic performance as a class had a direct role in helping their interns "get an A in their class."

Again, bringing out this subjectivity as Ms. B and Ms. E's Teacher within my own work as a researcher and in my day-to-day work in the classroom contributed to a culture whereby all participants were positioned and encouraged as ongoing learners. I was no exception. The way we made sense of my stance as a learner came out in my role as Co-Inquirer, as well as in my self-identification as a "Middle School Teacher." Naming myself as a *Teacher*, and frequently drawing from over a decade of history as a teacher in their district, allowed me to relate with my Yearling Elementary colleagues and equalize our aims, statuses, and local concerns. Naming myself as a *Middle School Teacher* helped me amplify my identity as a learner within this group of experienced elementary school teaching professionals, a group I was genuinely in awe of. It helped to insulate me from assumptions people had about me as "someone from the university." It was common for me to ask teachers and students to help me understand something happening in a lesson, or to explain to me what the social worlds of fourth graders were all about, by reminding them that "I was only a *middle* school teacher." While I did recognize, embrace, and act upon my own pedagogical expertise in the classroom, I was sensitive to the contextual dependency of my skill set. I had no illusions that my skills held any great currency in the teaching of fourth grade, especially

as I had not been in the classroom for two years, and because I had taught a content area in middle school that was not assessed by high stakes testing.

As a PDS Partner the way I conducted, interpreted, and acted upon research mattered. This role colored my subjectivities in a very real sense as I was trying to accomplish many things with the work I was doing. Ultimately it turned my focus and interpretative lens toward some aspects of the unfolding process of this PAR, and away from others. My work had to serve my constituents, which included the college, the school, and the greater PDS research and practice community at large. Serving them, I limited my focus to two formal concerns shared by these groups, including how PDS work could impact achievement and equity. This meant that I ignored, and likely did not even recognize, many other worthy stories that could have been told.

Finally, at the time I was engaged in this study, I was in the first two trimesters of an unpleasant pregnancy that diminished my sense of professional efficacy in every way. On the other hand, it also contributed immediately to humanizing my presence in the classroom as I had to excuse myself often to the restroom, or sit down and take a breath. Most of all, it was the most critical factor in forging a bond between Ms. S and me. We spent most of our time talking about pregnancy and what I should expect as a new mother, and I highly valued her mentorship and support during this time. Being pregnant helped me feel more a part of the “tribe of teachers” for the first time in my life. This was because I could now engage and connect with teacher conversations about pregnancy, birth, and child-rearing - topics that naturally wove in and out of daily conversations about teaching, learning and schooling.

Freedoms and Limitations

Because this study was framed as a Participatory Action Research (PAR) endeavor, several limitations are posed for the greater research community. PAR positions the participants of the study, including the anchoring researcher, in ways that make their political agendas and subjectivities inseparable from the interpretations of the study's outcomes. Also, action and change are central in PAR. This means that while researchers study and name phenomena, they are simultaneously and deliberately influencing social change. This makes the focus and the findings of PAR an ever-moving target. Finally, the findings from a PAR are highly tied to context, so they may or may not be easily generalized.

These very same limitations, however, are also what offer the delimitations of this study. In a PAR researchers can embrace their subjectivities as an integral component of the research context and allow them to be embedded in the conclusions drawn from the study. It can be argued that this embrace of subjectivities allows the researcher to deepen her effectiveness as a participant observer as she is then freed up to bring "all of herself" into the social agenda setting, the naming of phenomena, and the generation of solutions. Finally, while the findings from this study may not be reproducible, they were beneficial to both the immediate and surrounding participants, particularly in regard to shaping a more equitable educational experience for children. In this way this study created conditions that emancipated participants in ways that may not have been otherwise possible.

Other freedoms and limitations inherent to this study deserve a closer look, and were primarily due to the unique problems and opportunities that presented themselves by my relationships and positionalities with different participants. First I will discuss

freedoms that these relationships provided. Then I will examine some of the limitations that relationships presented.

Freedoms

In order to understand how I positioned myself as a participant-observer in this experience, it is important to highlight my historical relationships with the faculty at this school. Beyond the university-based relationship with the faculty that I had forged over time within the PDS partnership, several of my relationships at the school went even further back. These were woven within prior professional experiences when I had been a teacher in the community. In addition, some of the newer faculty had been directly under my university supervision as prospective teachers in other schools. Some were currently students with me in graduate school, and some were teachers I had taught alongside years ago in the middle school setting. This included the principal. Not only had she and I taught together thirteen years before, we also shared the unique struggles of completing our doctoral programs together while working as full-time educators. This experience provided a unique bond between us in both the school and university setting.

For faculty for whom I was “new,” these historical relationships served to quickly position me as part of the school community in ways that may not have been otherwise possible. For example, in introductory conversations with new teachers, the principal and other teachers often mentioned that we had taught together, or that we were students together at the university. I was often referred to by these people first as their “friend” or “co-worker,” rather than the “PDS field advisor.” Other key university-based partners with the school often expressed to me that my historical relationships granted

me social and political access to particularly strategic members of the faculty that they could not achieve.

Limitations

However, my direct history with some of the faculty, and particularly with the principal, may have actually hindered my efforts to shape this study as a Participatory Action Research endeavor. My goal was to share power with stakeholders, such as the fourth-grade students, the interns, and Ms. S, to determine core questions and to plan actions taken during the study. However, I worried that my friendship with the principal, for example, may have inhibited the level of voluntary informed consent that participants actually experienced. I already knew that educational researchers, regardless of gender, are historically positioned as having a higher social status than those whom they study (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993) and that this issue would be an ongoing tension I would have to deal with. Not being completely sure how “voluntarily” the adults and pre-adolescents participated in the study worried me at times, especially as the goal of a PAR is to diminish oppressive power relations.

I believe I was somewhat successful in addressing and negotiating power with JJK and the interns, even though I was a true gatekeeper and authority figure for all of them, to varying degrees. I was also mindful of feminist concerns involving the possibility of making them objects of knowledge (Eder & Fingerson, 2003). To reduce these concerns I was careful to use strategies such as self-disclosure, reciprocity, group interviews, democratizing the research process, using the ideas and specific words of participants in meaning-making, and embedding the research context within the natural context (Eder & Fingerson, 2003). Finally, both the interns and the three boys had other professionals in the building or at the university who frequently checked in with them to

be sure they continued to feel comfortable with their participation in the study. However, I had a much more difficult time feeling at ease with my researcher's role in relation to Ms. S. Specifically, I worried about coercion and inadvertently violating Ms. S's personal sense of boundaries as the classroom teacher. Ms. S had to share her classroom and instructional decisions with several other professionals throughout the school day, and I was sensitive about my being yet one more adult asking for a stake in classroom affairs. Ms. S was beginning her second year at Yearling Elementary, and she was new to the PDS concept and how it reorganized the traditional roles and responsibilities in the school. She often commented to her interns that she had never experienced the supervision process the way she was seeing it unfold at this school. For example, she was not used to the university supervisor being in the classroom above and beyond times of formal observations of intern lessons. Nor had she been introduced to the idea of the university supervisor building relationships with students or helping out in the teaching.

I worried that she may have felt compelled to consent to this study only because she thought I was friends with the principal and did not feel she could say no. Because of the intense demands on Ms. S's time and energy as a fourth-grade teacher trying to prepare her students for a high stakes test, there was little room for discussing these unspoken tensions. My hypersensitivity with not stealing Ms. S's valuable time may have ultimately ended up becoming a barrier to the potential power that Ms. S could have experienced in this PAR. For example, I did not always get to speak directly to her about my ideas, or about the thinking behind my actions. Instead, I had to rely on other methods for communication, such as mentor teacher meetings, or think-alouds with the

interns during instruction, and personal emails to communicate to Ms. S the reasons behind my actions and plans, and to encourage her to define her own.

Over time Ms. S did appear to trust me more. This happened after two critical points in our relationship. First, at the beginning of the study she was able to articulate her boundaries with me. For example, she asked that I only come to the classroom when the interns were present. Her being able to tell me this was an important accomplishment because it gave me a chance to show my deference to her authority. The second critical juncture in the relationship came with my announcing my pregnancy to her. The pregnancy became a touchstone of commonality that we could talk about over time. As a mother of two, she told me stories and provided invaluable wisdom and guidance as I embarked on the journey of becoming a first time mother. By the end of my time in her classroom we were able to share with one another deeply personal and even painful experiences regarding pregnancies and children. However, Ms. S remained quite peripheral to the community of practice that developed among the interns, JJK, and me. This limited our ability to influence the classroom culture as significantly as we may have. In turn, this may have reduced the power that the COP had on impacting the performance and identities of JJK.

Ultimately, the greatest limitation to this study was that it can never be defined as more than an exploratory PAR. This is for several reasons, some of which have just been mentioned. First, my role as the site coordinator at the school meant that my power with interns, children, and even with faculty, was real. Second, children were not granted access to the initial agenda-setting and design stage of this PAR. Over time, however, this changed as children went from peripheral to highly active participants and

designers of the research process. However, to demand that teachers and children in this rural school step too far beyond their comfort zones of traditional school roles and practices with a high stakes writing test looming would have been unethical and irresponsible of me. Even more importantly, *at that particular time*, it would also have dishonored the context-specific goals of the PDS partnership, itself, of which I was responsible. Ultimately, the democratic commitment embedded in this PAR was treated as an unfolding process, rather than as an assumption. Through more cycles of exploratory PAR at this PDS, the democratic participation of children and their educators is highly likely to increase as they garner more stamina for risk-taking while meeting their regular demands.

Research Methods

In this section I will provide a description and rationale for the use of participant observation to address the research question, and why I worked as an ethnographer with a feminist lens. Next, I will outline the data collection methods chosen and the rationale for each one, focusing on the three stages of data collection that occurred. Finally, I will discuss how data were analyzed and interpreted. I will note, however, that in order to create the highly dynamic and flexible conditions needed for PAR, there could be little standardization for methodology or implementation (Creswell, 2008). As Maykut and Morehouse (1994, p. 123) articulate, "(C)oncomitant action on the part of the researcher allows the research design to emerge over time, suggesting the direction for subsequent data collection efforts." That being said, data collection did follow a planned sequence and framework, driven by the central questions I had at each stage of the project. Data analysis, on the other hand, emerged in response to the data I was able to collect as events and unanticipated opportunities unfolded.

Participant Observation

In this study I investigated how student identities were co-constructed through a COP devoted to collaborating in the supervision of two prospective teachers. The shared questions of our COP were: *“How can we ‘make’ better teachers?”*, and specifically, *“How can we help Ms. B and Ms. E teach all students in an equitable way?”* In order to foster the most optimal conditions for data collection in this endeavor, I had to continue deepening my role as a participant-observer in the PDS. In doing so I would be able to enhance the intersubjective knowledge co-created between myself, as a researcher, and the participants with whom I was inquiring (Stacey, 1991), in a way that would get at issues of equity in the classroom.

Participant observation is used by researchers who partake in the daily lives of communities so that they can get closer to both explicit and tacit meanings constructed within a group, and so that they can systematically record and analyze information gained from observing and participating in the communities in which they work (DeWalt & Dewalt, 2002). Participant observation was appropriate in this research context because I was already a key player and an “insider” in the PDS community. Participant observation allowed me to increase the quality of the data collected, the interpretation of that data, and the formulation of new research questions (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002), some of which will be shared in the final chapter. Through participant observation, findings are potentially richer than those gathered by methods that do not situate the researcher within the research. This is because data are contextualized in ways that would be nearly impossible, otherwise. Ongoing analysis also has potentially more power with participant observation. For example, in this study ongoing data collection and analysis in the field provided many insights into what was important to participants,

including the specialized ways that children, young prospective teachers, and seasoned educators used language in different ways and for different purposes. This allowed me to craft highly contextualized interview questions, collect the most luminous artifacts, and better interpret these data relative to my day-to-day experience within the classroom community (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Glesne, 1999).

Feminist ethnographic field methods were used in this PAR for three reasons. First, I needed to spend prolonged time in the field to get at the everyday life of participants. Second, the focus of the research was identity, and third, I knew that my findings would need to be told in narrative form (Creswell, 1998). As a participant observer I collected data on participants' behaviors, words, use of symbols, space, and time, and their interactions. This was done through observations, different forms of interviews, and artifacts. What made the ethnographic field methods "feminist" is contestable but I make this argument for three reasons, supported by Buch and Staller (2007) and Crotty (1998). First, I came to the research question with the intention of carving out a space for the voices and decisions of women and children (who are within the realm of women's work), an agenda that I publicly espouse as a stakeholder in the PDS. Second, my theoretical lens emphasized the relationship between women, children, and the powerful political forces that act upon them from outside of the classroom. Finally, in the process of data analysis I was paying specific attention to how the current No Child Left Behind political agenda pushes teachers, and subsequently their students, into institutional practices and belief systems that sort children into narrow, and fairly fixed categories of "winners" and "losers," a practice done without the active consent of children (and many of their teachers), and that while increasingly

difficult to challenge over time, has real life consequences. In applying a critical action component in this research, I was continuing a quiet revolution for children, and the women who educate them, by recognizing that we can learn how to give or reject consent for the identities and labels that institutions mark us with, and find creative ways to stretch, reshape, and even disrupt them.

Data Collection Methods

Lykes and Coquillon (2007) write that we are looking for an “approximation of understanding” (p. 298) when approaching a research question through a participatory, feminist theoretical perspective, an approximation that resides at the nexus where feminisms, participation, and action come together. Therefore it is important to select data collection methods that honor and capture the many different ways of “being and doing in the world” (Lykes & Coquillon, 2007, p. 301). This meant I needed to find data sources that considered multiple perspectives and ways of communicating for individual adults and children, as well as those co-researchers who helped us build meaning together (Wahab, 2003).

Ultimately, methods were chosen based on how appropriate they were for recognizing and capturing the problem and phenomenon of focus, as well as how they facilitated co-discovery (Lykes & Coquillon, 2007). A constellation of different data collection methods were used to shed light on the relationship between student collaboration in the supervision of teacher candidates and student identity and school performances. These included observational field notes and the collection of a wide range of artifacts which were generated and gathered during semi-structured conversations occurring both in and outside of the classroom. Semi-structured individual and focus interviews were also employed.

The decision to use these data forms was based on two reasons. First, because I would be involved with this classroom for an extended period of time, it was important to locate methods that were powerful enough to answer the research question but as unobtrusive as possible to maintain the regular classroom routine. Second, methods had to be “user-friendly” enough to manage while participants and I simultaneously met the demands of our other work responsibilities. Observations, interviews, and artifacts are data forms that are readily accessible and can be incorporated into the structure of a school day. They are also the collection methods modeled for teachers and candidates in the PDS as they learn to engage in inquiry. Therefore, these collection methods had an additional teaching function in our PDS.

Observations

Observations were conducted during semi-structured conversations with educator participants, such as the third- and fourth-grade teachers, the principal, and the interns. In every case I recorded field notes, and in many cases these conversations were also audio-taped to aid my memory. This was especially important because these conversations often included three or more educators speaking together. The goal of recording these conversations was to capture critical incidents (Stringer, 2007), or moments where educators used key words, phrases, or labels to describe “what kind of student (and/or person)” (Gee, 2000, p. 99) students were, and how they defined their school performances. In my data analysis these words later came to be called “markers” of student identity.

Observations of students were also conducted during regular school activities, and during semi-structured conversations, in order to better understand how JJK enacted school identities while participating in collaborative supervision with me. Again,

learning within communities of practice is embedded in the very process of being active in the everyday practices of that community (Wenger, 1998). Therefore, it was important to capture what participants *did* while they worked out their identities as collaborators in the supervision of prospective teachers. This led me to the extensive recording of observations through field notes. Field notes offered a wider cross section of data than interviews and audio recordings could do alone. This is because interviews and audiotape, while highly valuable, only capture “snapshots” of subjective meaning (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). In addition, observations were indispensable because I needed to document shifts in JJK’s enactments of identity that occurred within the interactions they had *with one another*. I also found it difficult to structure interview questions in a way that would lead to how JJK defined their school identities. While it was both important to use methods that captured how they talked about their school identities, I put my focus on how JJK “did” their identities (Moje, 2004a; Moje & Luke, 2009). This required a great deal of observation of their social interactions in the classroom context, including words they used, behaviors they exhibited, and tools and symbols they used.

In order to capture enactments of identity in relationship with one another, I needed to use field notes to record “critical incidents” enacted by JJK (see excerpt of field notes in Appendix A). In the analysis of these data, critical incidents were later labeled as “moves.” Appendix B provides an excerpt of how field notes were analyzed for critical incidents. For JJK “moves” were behaviors, words, or the use or creation of artifacts or symbols that provided evidence of discourse practices that challenged their previously defined institutional, school identities. For example, if J, J, or K offered

feedback or ideas for the teaching and learning process, this was recorded as a single discourse move because it indicated how this student was “moving” *from* a previous classroom identity not associated with leadership and on *to ward* repositioning himself in the classroom as a teacher leader. Sometimes moves were marked as more significant than others. In the previous example, had this student’s feedback been solicited by an adult, it was marked as a regular move. If the feedback was offered without a cue or prompt, it was marked as a “more important move.” This is because the move was interpreted as more spontaneous. It would have indicated that the student was independently generalizing this new aspect of his identity, and making his own judgment as to when and where it was appropriate to enact it. As such, we believed that it was “more important” because it likely expressed an increased ease or fluency with this part of his emerging identity.

All field notes were recorded in three stages. First, “jot notes,” (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995), or anecdotal notes of moves and contextualizing information were recorded. These notes were taken during semi-structured conversations and observations during classroom-related activities. These later aided my memory of specific events, behaviors, and keywords or phrases in conversations that occurred as they related to my research question (Stringer, 2007). I consciously tried to use the “verbatim principle,” or the use of participants’ own ways of talking and labeling categories or ideas (Stringer, 2007). After leaving the classroom I expanded these jot notes to include a record of the events as they occurred (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995; Spradley, 1979), including details about the people, places, acts, activities, events, objects used, purposes, timing and sequencing, and emotions in

which these events took place. Finally, these jot notes were expanded further into “meta-notes” that focused on my interpretations and inferences about the observed events relative to my research question (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2004; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995), including the role my contextual subjectivities had in these interpretations.

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups

Adults participated in recorded, semi-structured focus groups with me at the beginning and at the end of the four-month research period. At the beginning of the school year teachers were asked to share what they thought I needed to know about each of Ms. S’s nineteen students. At the end of the project teachers were asked “what next year’s middle school teachers needed to know about JJK as incoming 5th graders.” These major interviews acted like “book ends” that contributed to making sense of JJK’s institutional identities at the beginning, and then at the end of the study.

Semi-structured interviews and focus groups were also used with student participants at the beginning and ending points of the PAR in order to allow them to reflect on their lives and to share stories that might help me build a picture of their self-defined identities. These were recorded and transcribed. Interviews were designed to help bring out student voices regarding “what kind of people and students they were,” and to learn more about what was important to them in ways I might not have been able to capture otherwise (Eder & Fingerson, 2003). In addition, since the first interview occurred before students began collaborating with me in supervision, I was able to gauge the kinds of discourses and communicative rules that they used (Eder & Fingerson, 2003). This helped me to better craft our semi-structured conversations that occurred later because I could start hybridizing their vocabulary and values with the formal discourses associated with teacher education and supervision. For example,

JJK identified early on in the study the need for teachers to make learning “fun,” a word I used initially in our COP. Later, I consciously code-switched by replacing this word with “engaging” when I spoke. JJK later appropriated this term, as well, into their spoken and written language.

Document collection

Finally, the ongoing collection of artifacts was central in capturing moves and key language that were recorded in field notes and in interviews, as well as to provide ways for participants to express themselves that were otherwise not available (Mason, 1996). Artifacts included those gathered from discussions and COP-related activities, such as graphic representations by students and teachers, lesson materials, journals kept by the interns, student grades, handwritten notes, emails, work samples, and formal supervision data collected during observations of prospective teachers.

In this study artifacts were not just powerful data sources for documenting student identity. Their symbolic use also shaped our identities as members of the COP (McCulloch, 2004). For example, the fact that JJK knew I saved all of their hand written notes about their teaching ideas, or the data they collected during observations, helped them understand how central their roles were in my job as a teacher educator. Therefore, their production of these artifacts marked their special status in the classroom. The artifacts they designed and/or used became vital to shaping a new layer of their school identity in the classroom. They provided evidence of how these students not only situated themselves as classroom leaders but how they *acted upon* this identity, and how they were recognized as such by others.

Data Analysis

The overall goal for analysis was to investigate the relationship between JJK's collaboration in the supervision of the prospective teachers in their classroom, and how their school identities and interpretations of their performances were co-constructed over time. Data analysis occurred in an ongoing, recursive manner and was framed by the overarching goals for each stage of data collection. In Stage 1 the goal was to gain the general "landscape" of institutional identities that Ms. S's students represented, and then to situate JJK's institutional identities within this schema. In Stage 2 the goal was to document and explain the changes in JJK's discourse-identities (Gee, 2000) throughout the work we did together in the COP. In Stage 3, I looked again at how JJK's institutional identities were defined by adults to see if there was any change in this layer of how they were defined in school. These stages will be explained in more detail in the following sections.

Stage 1: Situating JJK's school identities within the landscape of fourth-grade

Stage 1 was accomplished by going through transcriptions of focus group interviews and field notes in order to create a master inventory of "markers," or words used to identify "kinds of students in school." Appendix C is an excerpt of how field notes were organized that captured data about students in teacher conversations, and Appendix D provides the complete list of markers distilled from those interviews and observations of teacher conversations. In this way I used focused analytic coding by looking line-by-line for ideas and themes that were framed by my question, "What kinds of students do we have in Ms. S's classroom (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995)?" I also kept track of markers used by individuals to see if certain role players focused on different aspects of school identity. Markers used by teachers included examples such

as “bright,” “struggling reader,” or “totally unfocused.” Markers used by students included examples like “bad student,” “patrol student,” or “smart.” While coding all of these markers, I “memoed” as I went along, allowing categories to distill. For example, I clustered the markers of “bright” and “being tested for gifted” under the category of Intelligence. Next, I did a frequency count of the number of markers in each category. The numbers allowed me to make judgments about the robustness of each category. The strength of each category became especially important later in defining the two overarching cultural models (Gee, 2002) of school identities that almost immediately began emerging from the data. One of these models captured school identity associated with school success (“School Successful”) and one captured identity associated with school failure (“Not School Successful”). Each of these cultural models held some categories that the other did not, or emphasized some categories more than the other did (see Appendix E).

Next I worked to sort each of Ms. S’s students by identifying who was considered to be “School Successful,” and who was “Not School Successful.” I thought that this might help me better situate JJK’s school identities, as well as how they were positioned and assigned power within the classroom community. I accomplished this by examining each separate marker assigned to individual students within the context of teacher talk. This was important to do as some markers could indicate either school success or school failure, depending on how they were used. For example, the marker of “quiet” could be used to indicate a successful school identity (as in “well-behaved”) or an identity associated with school failure (as in “withdrawn”).

I then used the same data set to create a portrait of JJK's combined institutional identity. In creating this composite I drew from all of the markers that emerged from transcriptions of focus group conversations with teachers, observations of teacher conversations, artifacts produced from these interactions, and semi-structured interviews with students. I then sorted the total of 61 markers assigned to JJK that I retrieved from the first four weeks of school into the categories educators used to define school identities. Finally, I wanted to know how JJK situated themselves at the beginning of the school year, particularly in relation to the schema of adult- and student-defined school identities. After collecting interview data from each of the boys, and recording field notes about the words they used to describe "what kind of person I am," I built a picture of the kinds of markers they used to describe themselves. I then sorted these markers into categories of "Successful" and "Not Successful" cultural models, as defined by the analysis process described above. At this point I had a picture of JJK's institutional identities, as defined by themselves and by others, at the beginning of their fourth grade school year. While most of this institutional identity was created from adult-generated markers, I was able to substantiate this model by cultural models built from markers gathered from students, including JJK (see Appendix F). Later I would be able to create a new portrait of their institutional, school identities at the mid-point of their fourth-grade year and make comparisons between the two.

Stage 2: Documenting JJK's community of practice (COP) journey and changing identities

Stage 2 of data collection marked the middle to late period of the study in which our community of practice (COP) was in action. There were three goals for analyzing data collected from Stage 2. The first was to locate, name, and describe the critical

junctures that occurred over time and defined the path that our COP ultimately took. Critical junctures were those distinct events that marked our special mission for and our membership in the COP. These events defined us as a team of six people, both from our own perspectives, as well as from those who were more peripheral to the group. Each critical juncture that happened through time fortified our sense of belonging to and responsibility for one another, and even enhanced a sense of privilege associated with our work that I believe was perceived by our supporting team of students and teachers, as well. Examples of critical junctures include the six of us sitting at lunch together to talk through our plans and ideas for the next lesson, or working as a team during a formal observation of the interns to collect data and accomplish shared goals, such as differentiating instruction so that students had more ways to express their learning. Critical junctures were only those events that were carried out by all six members of our “inner circle,” regardless of how many other teachers or students were weaving in and out of the COP at different times.

The second goal for Stage 2 of the analysis was to document how JJK’s discourse identities (Gee, 2000) were enacted throughout these critical junctures. After creating a chronological inventory of all of JJK’s moves, categorizing them, and then interpreting the meaning of each of these moves (see data analysis excerpts in Appendices B and L), I synthesized a new composite of JJK by creating a storyline that represented how I made sense of their change in discourse identities. In doing so I allowed myself, as the researcher, to borrow methods from narrative inquiry (Chase, 2005) and claim my role in the study as a storyteller (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). The grand narrative I wrote, capturing JJK’s shift in identity, helped me make sense of

the many different pieces of evidence that I had collected across time and from multiple data sources. Putting the analysis into story form also helped me translate my findings in a way that would help participants better understand. This was especially important for member-checking purposes. Finally, the last goal of analysis for Stage 2 was to make sense of the moves I made throughout the critical junctures. I wanted to build a picture of what it meant to be an active agent who includes students in the supervision of interns for the purpose of establishing more equity in the classroom. I did this by collecting all of my moves, putting them in sequential order, and then thematically analyzing them based on the motives I had for each action I took (see sample of a Critical Juncture #2 in Appendix G). In my researcher's notebook I had been diligent in tying my behaviors with my subjectivities, making it relatively easy to code them and allow themes to emerge. Later this analysis would help me understand and become more conscious of the guiding principles of my work, and how to operationalize these principles for others.

Stage 3: Situating JJK's school identities at the end of the study

The goal of analyzing data from Stage 3 was exactly the same as that of Stage 1. The aim was to create a composite of JJK's institutional identities at the end of our work together as a COP. I then compared the composites of JJK's institutional identities from Stage 1 with those from Stage 3 to see if there had been a shift in the way adults in the school defined their school identities and performances over time.

Analyzing Observational Field Notes

My lens for observations and the recording of field notes was very specific to my needs as both a supervisor and as a critical action researcher. In both cases I actively sought evidence of change, and especially evidence I believed was indicative of positive

improvements in classroom equity, teaching, and learning. Because my subjectivity as a change agent was so strong, I needed a method of analysis that would help me gain some distance from the field notes. For this reason I analyzed field notes with coding methods borrowed from grounded theory (Stringer, 2007). Social justice researchers use grounded theory in data analysis in order to anchor agendas for future actions, policies, or practices. They do this by explicitly pointing out connections between the “before,” the “during,” and the “after” processes about which they are theorizing (Charmaz, 2005). This was especially applicable in light of the three stages of this PAR. First I defined my “sensitizing concepts” (Jorgensen, 1989), which in this case were school identity and performances. Then I explored how these sensitizing concepts played out in light of the deliberate “action” of collaborating with students in supervision. Finally, I looked to see if this collaboration had made any change in identities. Thus the cycle was poised to repeat itself.

However, *how* these sensitizing concepts played out in the field had to be established, or “earned,” through the data analysis process (Charmaz, 2005). I did this by coding each line of my field notes. Initial codes were defined by short episodes of behaviors and words I had recorded. These codes were later analyzed for frequency and for those that helped me conceptualize the data. For example, during episodes where our COP was actively engaged together, I used codes to mark, and later categorize, the different moves made by COP members. This allowed me to define the kinds of actions that our COP members took that might explain the change in JJK’s identities. Going even further, I distinguished these moves by how they exemplified different features of discourses, including ways participants used words, space, time,

tools, and body language to express being a certain “type of person”(Gee, 2002), and/or to express their positionality in the COP, or in the classroom. I was then able to look more closely at the discourse moves JJK made over the four-month period of our COP. I used this sequence of moves to tell a story of JJK’s change in school identities over time. For example, I recorded the body language of the three boys during instructional episodes over the four-month period. At the beginning of the study, one boy often had his head down on his desk or had his body and legs facing away from the teachers and his peers during instruction. In time we interpreted this behavior as one of his few strategies for maintaining his sense of choice in the classroom. By the middle of the study, his body was usually oriented toward his teachers or group members during instruction and he was making full eye contact with the people to whom he was speaking. These changes in body language, alone, do not explain his change in school identity over time. However, this small piece of data contributed to an overall picture built from an inventory of different recorded discourse moves that pointed to a likely change in how this student was making bids for a new identity and position in the classroom – bids that were driven by choice.

Next, memo writing (Glaser, 1978) helped me build a bridge between coding and reporting the findings (Charmaz, 2004) as memo writing helped me “to raise (my) codes to conceptual categories” (Charmaz, 2003, p. 322). Memos allowed me to study the data in a new way by helping me take apart initial codes, define them, raise new questions, evaluate which data communicated more than others, and unlock my assumptions in the codes and the relationships between them. These new insights contributed to my emerging theoretical categories and also revealed any gaps in the

data that I might want to go back and fill in with theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2004). For example, it was difficult to capture observations of JJK talking *about* their changing identities, although coding revealed many *actions* they took that suggested the enactment of new identities. Seeing this gap in the data later helped me create a protocol for a conversation with JJK that I thought would create an opportunity for them to better articulate their changing identities with words.

Analyzing Interviews and Focus Groups

During Stages 1 and 3 of this study I built composites to represent my interpretation of the co-construction of JJK's institutional identities. These representations came from data collected from JJK, their teachers, and other students. To build these composites of institutional identity, I privileged data gathered from adult definitions of JJK's identities and performances, because educators in schools hold tremendous power over the formal domains of a child's identity. However, I also wanted to collect data that would include the perspectives of children, because even institutional identities are socially created and maintained (Gee, 2002). Semi-structured interviews and focus group sessions, "co-authored" (Kvale, 1996) by children, teachers, and myself, allowed me to capture inter-subjective conversations about JJK. I had tried individual interviews with JJK at the beginning of the study but found that interviewing the boys in isolation from one another failed to produce rich data on how each of the boys defined his identity. From this point on I made sure to interview groups of students together to allow them to co-construct meaning by using their relationships and shared stories as common touchstones.

I used two methods for analyzing transcripts of these conversations, based on the purpose for which I collected the data. I used grounded theory methods for those

conversations I was using to build taxonomies for institutional identities assigned to children. For example, in teacher focus groups at the beginning of the study, I examined the markers and labels used by teachers to define different students, and then coded and classified them as outlined earlier. On the other hand, the purpose of recording and transcribing the conversations that occurred within our COP was different. These conversations were captured in the attempt to find evidence of JJK's changing discourse identities, guided by the question: *What discourse practices do JJK use that provide evidence of their emerging identities as "teacher leaders?"* Therefore, I needed to not only be able to look at JJK's behaviors and values but how they used language. Discourse analysis was used to make connections between JJK's language and their identities.

I did not use discourse analysis for every recorded conversation that occurred within our COP. After a preliminary analysis of all of the transcripts, I chose two episodes of conversation because they contained more "building tasks" (Gee, 2002) of how identities and relationships were being played out within the COP than any other transcripts. These two conversations came from the final COP meeting between JJK, the interns and me, and from the final focus group conversation I had with JJK. It makes sense that these final conversations would manifest considerable evidence of changed identities and relationships. At this point the COP was as highly evolved as it was going to be. We had grown more established in our sense of belonging and purpose, we shared common understandings and an ease with sharing power, and our work together had come to its most heightened level of sophistication.

I followed Gee's (2002) recommendations for analyzing multiple layers of data in exactly the same way for each of the two episodes of conversation. As displayed in the data excerpt in Appendix N, I re-organized the transcripts into lines or "spurts" of conversation, and then into stanzas, or groups of lines that hung together as a theme or single topic. Next, I listened again to the recordings and used bold print to mark stressed words, as well as other intonations. I also wrote my ideas about how I, as a participant in the conversation, interpreted the different tones that were used, which included irritation, dominance, submission, and the posing of suggestions versus directives. These tones helped give me a hint into how each speaker positioned him or herself in the conversation at a given moment. I also marked who inserted new information into the conversation as yet another way to gauge how each participant in the conversation defined his/her positionalities in relation to one another.

Next, I used three of Gee's (2002) eighteen questions that allowed me to focus on socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building. I used them also to see if any other themes or questions might converge within the data set. Finally, as themes emerged, and then began converging together, I was able to organize them into "motif baskets" (Pace, 2002, personal communication). By doing frequency counts, I was able to determine which motifs, or themes of meaning, were the most robust in the data. For example, in the final focus interview with JJK, one salient motif was that of one boy's "resistance" whenever I made the attempt to position him as an "expert teacher leader," or whenever I positioned myself as a student/learner. It was not until after one of his peers recognized him as a "great writer" that he proceeded to make seventeen uninterrupted bids (Gee, 2000) for the identity of "expert," or "teacher leader." Discourse

analysis allowed me to theorize, in this case, that perhaps pre-adolescents do not passively accept, or trust, bids by adults to identify them as colleagues in the learning process, and will only do so once their peers endorse the idea. Finally, while I analyzed the episodes of conversation, I had to remind myself repeatedly about the reflexivity of language. For example, what a boy said did not only reflect how he positioned himself within our relationships but it also simultaneously created how he did so (Gee, 2002).

Analyzing Artifacts

Interviews and observations were critical in building a picture of JJK's school identity, and in being able to document its change over time. However, I needed artifacts to help me have examples of how tools and texts were used by the COP members to redesign JJK's school identities. Artifacts were also used later to cross-check oral accounts or observations, to illustrate a descriptive account (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004), and in many cases to offer additional texts for conversational analysis. For example, emails and notes exchanged between COP members were used as extensions of our oral conversations, so I applied the framework I used for discourse analysis to these artifacts, as well. As an example, in handwritten notes passed between JJK and me during a teaching observation, I analyzed the moves within these co-constructed texts, included who contributed new information, who accepted bids to enact a teacher leadership stance, and the kinds of voices JJK used to frame their ideas, suggestions, and even directives in the supervision process.

Making sense of the documents generated in this study involved strategic decision making. I knew that no document stood alone, separated from its authors, its interpreters, and even other documents and contexts (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004). Therefore the artifacts I collected were closely analyzed in relation to the context, which

included the meaning assigned to them by their designers and/or interpreters. For example, in one recorded episode an intern spoke to me about one of the student participants in the study. She expressed great enthusiasm about a writing sample she had collected from one of the three boys that demonstrated his ability to generalize a strategy she had taught him in a completely novel way. I not only collected the artifact but I recorded how she talked about it, the key words she used, and, specifically, how it captured a critical moment of “school success,” from her perspective. Without her words that contextualized the writing sample, the document would have likely lost its potential power to illustrate evidence of change in this student’s school identity and performance.

Trustworthiness

Four mechanisms were used to strengthen the integrity of this study. First, there was an ongoing, embedded system of member checking. Second, triangulation was built into the data collection plan and the analysis process. Third, I committed to meticulous record-keeping of the data analysis steps. Finally, there was a constant attempt to name and “to tame” my subjectivities during all phases of the data collection, analysis, and writing process (Peshkin, 1988).

Because of the nature of this study as participatory action research, member checking became a normal and ongoing feature of our work. There were three major ways that member checking was accomplished. First, I made it a habit to create follow up questions for JJK over time in order to double check or revise my interpretations of their ideas and artifacts. This served many purposes beyond member checking. It allowed JJK yet another opportunity to hear how I translated their ideas into the professional discourse of supervision. It also gave all of our COP members a chance to

review JJK's ideas and begin the process of putting them into action. Most of all, this form of member checking emphasized to the COP, as well as to the classroom, that JJK's ideas were central to the supervisory relationship between the interns and me. JJK also read, revised, and approved my interpretations of their data collection and analysis in both informal conversation and in formal observation summaries.

Member checking with the interns and teachers was also in place. First, I asked teachers to confirm my interpretations of how they defined the performances and academic standings of J, J, and K. One of the most rewarding mechanisms for member checking occurred during preparation for a national conference presentation in which the interns and I planned to share our preliminary findings. This opportunity allowed us to have a chance to co-construct our analysis of artifacts being exhibited as evidence of JJK's changing identities and classroom performances. The presentation also gave the interns a chance to use their own voices and to emphasize their unique perspectives and experiences in the PAR. The principal was also present at this conference presentation and took the opportunity to weave in her own perspectives about our preliminary findings. This unique member checking scenario led me to revisit the data set and reorganize it so that I could look at changes in JJK's institutional identities separately from those changes in their discourse identities. The principal also read the final manuscript to verify that it was, from her point of view, an internally balanced representation that captured the school culture, the ways educators at Yearling Elementary made sense of their students, her understanding of JJK, as well as how all of these factors played out through my unique subjectivities as a critical action researcher.

The interns and the special education teacher became invaluable member checkers throughout the research process. They not only provided evidence of discourse moves made by JJK, they also helped me make sense of them over time. More importantly, they took a central role in how the COP would move forward on its unique trajectory. Their analysis of moves was especially appropriate as they were critical to the “recognition work” necessary for JJK as they attempted to enact, or “pull off” (Gee, 2002) their new identities.

JJK did not directly member-check the data set of discourse moves. However, these interpretations were triangulated from situation to situation and across data sources. Our interpretations of JJK’s moves over time then became the main texts the interns and I drew from as we composed informal questions for the boys along the way in our ongoing conversations. This allowed us to further verify how close our interpretations were to JJK’s constructions. For example, one of the moves I included for analysis was the fact that JJK had been able to secure informed consent from their families in the form of a signed document. In the final interview the boys referred to this artifact as “the blue paper,” and said that it marked, for them, the beginning point of our journey together. The “blue paper” was the first moment in which they tried to make sense of my role, the roles of the interns, and our relationship as a group. For this reason the “blue paper” became symbolic of an important move in our work as a COP. Through triangulation I was able to document, at a much later time, that JJK had indeed experienced it in closely the same way.

The triangulation of data collection and analysis, as well as a commitment to meticulous record keeping and reflective journaling throughout the analysis process,

also helped to fortify the trustworthiness of my findings over time. I tried to build texture into the analysis of the process and outcomes of the study by including a diverse set of data collection sources that captured multiple perspectives and points in time. For example, through the discourse analysis of a conversation with JJK, I was able to gather evidence of the boys making explicit connections between their roles as teacher leaders and their academic improvement. I was able to substantiate these findings by adults in separate conversations. This allowed me to have confidence that JJK's institutional identities as "school successful" were, indeed, a co-constructed reality. I was also able to cross-reference connections between their enactment of new school identities with changes in their school performances through classroom observations and artifacts.

As analysis unfolded over time, I documented every step I took in the process so that I could remember the sequence. This was especially important to do as analysis was "messy," requiring the interpretation of multiple data forms and the multiple layers of questions embracing our work, including those centered on the school identities of JJK, as well as our COP's wonderings associated with "making better teachers," and how we could improve access to relevant and powerful learning for all students. Documenting the process of analysis this way helped me make informed decisions as I came to each point in the analysis process. This was because I recorded my rationales for each of the decisions I made, allowing me to become more strategic as analysis continued.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it was vital for me to remain in conscious contact with the "many I's," or subjectivities that I brought to this project as a participant

observer (Peshkin, 1988). In addition to this, I had to maintain a constant critical interrogation of my own position, as it was always a privileged one in the classroom. This was due to my role as the “lead researcher” and because I take an educational leadership position within this PDS. Educational researchers, regardless of gender, are historically positioned as having a higher social status than those they study (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Harding, 2007). As I made the claim that this study was approached through the methodology of a PAR, my positionality became an ongoing consideration in issues related to voice and power, especially as there were true tensions between the academic modes I was expected to uphold and the reflexive and collaborative demands of PAR (Wahab, 2003). While I never attempted to deny my power or positionality in the study, I did try to be as transparent as possible with the many strategies I used to balance power between participants and myself.

Conclusion

Ethnographic field methods were used in this study in order to interpret the multiple layers and nuances of how and why JJK’s school identities changed over time through their dialogue and collective actions (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). Through the theoretical perspective of Participatory Action Research (PAR), I was free to claim and work within my natural subjectivities. This helped me maintain my role as a participant observer with very real roles and responsibilities in this PDS. PAR also allowed me to more effectively honor the intersubjective researcher-participant relationship (Wahab, 2003), including that which occurred within myself, and to better distribute power among participants. In the next two chapters I will share interpretations from the data analysis process. Chapter 4 will present how JJK’s formal school identities were defined at the beginning and then again at the conclusion of the four-

month period where we formed and developed a COP in order to “become better teachers.” Chapter 5 will outline the story of our COP, how it unfolded over time, and how it functioned as a platform for experimenting with new situated identities, or “possible selves” (Markus & Nurius, 1986).

CHAPTER 4 CHANGES IN JJK'S SCHOOL IDENTITIES AND PERFORMANCES OVER TIME

As discussed in Chapter 2, students are typically sorted and categorized in public schools. The labels for these categories change over time but are generally defined by different degrees of “school success,” whereby mainstream texts and literacies are privileged (McCarthy & Moje, 2002). Being categorized as a “good student” in school by peers and teachers is the function of one’s institutional identity, or how one is positioned, in formal organizations such as schools (Gee, 2000). In this chapter I will make the case that JJK’s institutional identities changed significantly between August and December, or over the first half of their fourth-grade year. During this period of time JJK participated in a distinct community of practice (COP), along with their two interns and me. By the end of the study their institutional, school identities shifted from “mostly unsuccessful” students to being “more successful” students. In Chapter 5 I describe how participation in the COP facilitated this change in their school identities.

To make the case that JJK’s institutional identities clearly did shift over time, I will share the insights I gained from multiple levels of and methods of data analysis. First, I will present the general cultural models (Gee, 2002) for institutionalized, school identities that were closely shared by students and teachers affiliated with Ms. S’s fourth-grade classroom at Yearling Elementary. Then I will situate JJK’s school identities within this shared schema by presenting a single “composite” of JJK’s institutional identity, as defined by teachers and the principal at the beginning of their fourth-grade school year. I will then present a new composite of their institutional identity at the end of four-month period of work in the COP. Finally, I will compare these

two composites to demonstrate how the adults in Yearling Elementary had come to redefine JJK's formal, school identities.

Cultural Models for School Identities at Yearling Elementary School

Cultural models for school identity held by the fourth graders and by educators were closely aligned at Yearling Elementary School. It was important when developing these cultural models to consider the perspectives of both adults and children in light of the assumption that identity is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gee, 1999; 2000; 2002). First I will present how adults defined school identities, and then I will present how fourth graders defined students in school.

How Educators Define School Identities

In a series of focus group interviews, I asked the principal and teachers at this PDS, "What should we know about (Ms. S's nineteen) students as incoming fourth graders?" I explained that I needed their data on each child so that the interns and I could quickly begin building a social and academic picture of each child for the purposes of learning to differentiate instruction. They used two general methods to communicate "what kind of student" each fourth grader was: "telegraphing" (Pace, personal communication, August 17, 2008) and storytelling. By using labels, which I called "markers," teachers could quickly communicate short, "telegraphed" codes for "different kinds" of students. Each code could be packed with mutually understood meaning and assumptions. For example, referring to a student as a "Level One" in the state of Florida can generate a great deal of meaning in increasingly time-compressed teacher conversations (Hargreaves, 1994), including the score a student got on the state-wide assessment, what ability group s/he is placed in for reading, what socioeconomic group s/he possibly comes from, and the intensity of teacher support

that the student demands. Telegraphing was the most common way that teachers shared information about their perceptions of students with me and with each other. A total of 215 telegraphed codes, or markers, were collected from teacher talk about Ms. S's students, and a total of seventeen stories were also collected which enhanced the meaning of these markers. These stories were important for me to pay attention to for two reasons. First, teachers had great difficulty talking about nineteen separate students under constant time constraints. Therefore, spending time telling stories underscored how salient particular markers were for describing key students. Stories were also used when a commonly shared marker needed further clarification. For example, when one teacher marked a student simply as "No home support," she elaborated on information she had on the family's personal struggles as a way to correct any potential misconceptions that the family was negligent or uncaring.

First uttered markers by educators

What words do educators choose *first* to define each of Ms. S's nineteen students? Considering how difficult it was for me to gain access to teachers' time in order to discuss students in focus groups, this became an interesting and relevant question. I wanted to examine any patterns that might emerge from the 48 first-uttered markers used by teachers and the principal to describe these students (see Appendix I for the full list). I looked at how markers grouped into categories, and if I could determine the importance of each category based on how many markers it contained. For example, out of all of the first-uttered markers describing Ms. S's 19 students, I captured ten for the category of "Behavior," and only one for the category of "Children's Aspirations in Life." This example allowed me to conclude that when teachers must economize time when socially constructing student identity, or when they are simply

expressing the most immediate information that comes to their minds about a child, behaviors become a much more important way to define children than by their hopes and dreams. I then wanted to compare the categories that emerged from this group of first-uttered markers with the categories that emerged from the entire collection of markers used to describe Ms. S's students. When looking at the entire data set, would other categories emerge as more important in the social construction of children's school identities? Do teachers have to make decisions on how they will identify children depending on how much time is available for communicating this information? I also wanted know if adults with different roles in relation to the children would change how they identified the saliency of different categories of school identity generated. For example, would the teachers from the previous year, the current teachers, and the principal focus on different categories of school identity?

Ten categories emerged from the first-uttered markers (see Table 4.1 below). The most robust categories included behaviors, academic skill, intelligence, and disability (in this order). Positive labels that captured the generic idea of the "good student" identity, such as "Great kid," or "Wonderful student" were also a prominent form of telegraphed markers but more so with the fourth-grade teachers who had only known the students for a few weeks. Other less prominent first-uttered markers included how students ranked against one another in teacher-defined academic terms, ethnicity, family and community relationships, physical appearance, and disposition. The fourth-grade teachers, who had the shortest histories with these students, used far more labels associated with behavior, and every one of these markers was negative. Educators

with longer histories with these students did not tend to name behaviors first. Rather, they highlighted constructs of intelligence and aptitude, academic skills, and disability.

Table 4-1. Categories of first-uttered markers by educators

Marker Type	3 rd Grade teaching team	Principal	4 th Grade teaching team	Total markers
Behavior	1	1	8	10
Academic Skill	3	3	2	8
Intelligence	5	0	1	6
Disability	2	3	1	6
General Positive	1	1	3	5
Rank Against Peers	3	0	0	3
Relational	0	2	1	3
Ethnicity	0	3	0	3
Physical	0	1	1	2
Disposition	1	0	1	2

I reflected on why the educators with longer histories with the students might immediately name fewer behavioral attributes than their colleagues who had just inherited them. Perhaps experience and history with students matter in the interplay between children and adults as they co-construct institutional identities. For example, the opportunity of refining class management plans over time may have diminished many undesirable behaviors of key students, or had allowed teachers the time to reframe these behaviors within the richer context of a long-term relationship with each child.

Finally, the principal maintained a different emphasis on identity categories than the classroom teachers. The principal was the only educator whose first-uttered markers named ethnicity. She was also the only adult whose first-uttered markers named her relationships with students and their families over time. The salience of ethnicity made sense to me as I reflected on how principals in Florida must attend closely to race in order to meet “Adequate Yearly Progress,” mandated by the No Child

Left Behind Act of 2001, and to achieve their “grade” from the state each year. It also made sense that as a principal, and as a prominent leader and resident of this rural community that she would first perceive students as members of family networks as she watched younger siblings enter Yearling Elementary behind their older brothers and sisters. Indeed, as principal she was positioned to work with families over time.

General categories of school identities defined by teachers

After building and ranking categories of first-uttered markers of school identity, I started the process over again. This time I created categories from the entire collection of 215 markers generated when teachers spoke about each of Ms. S’s nineteen students. The first column of the table in Appendix J displays the breakdown of these general markers by category. The first three categories of general school identity matched those of teachers’ first-uttered markers, including their rankings. These included behavior, academic performance/skills, and constructs of intelligence. However, the fourth ranked category of frequency for general school identity was disposition, rather than the undefined, positive markers, such as “Great,” or “Wonderful student.” The remaining categories were ranked in this order: the role family played, class ranking, disability, ethnicity, physical attributes, and relationships. In most cases when ethnicity and relationships were mentioned, they were not associated with the cultural model of the “Successful Student.”

What was most salient when the taxonomy for a general, formal school identity emerged was that categories continued to polarize. For the entire collection of 215 markers, 90% of them were used to sort how “successful” or “unsuccessful” students were in school. The remaining markers could not be interpreted as one or the other. Educators use markers to sort students in reference to how school “successful” or

“unsuccessful” they are. Appendix D lists all of the markers captured from educator descriptions of each of Ms. S’s students. After analyzing this list I created a picture of the proportions that each category held within what emerged as two cultural models of school identity: the “Successful Student,” and the “Unsuccessful (or “Struggling”) Student.” This is represented in Figure 4.1 below. Notice that in the “Successful Student” model that academic performance carries the most markers, while “intelligence” and dispositions follow very closely. In fact, academic performance, “intelligence,” and disposition combine as 2/3 of this model.

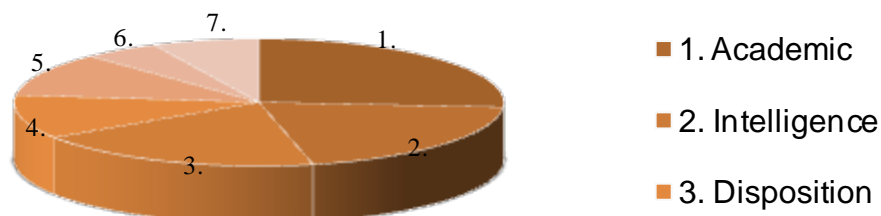


Figure 4-1. Educator’s cultural model of the “Successful Student” school identity.

The “Successful Student” meets the following criteria in rank order:

1. S/he is perceived to possess necessary academic skills and performances marked by daily reading, math, writing, and yearly standardized test scores.
2. S/he is perceived to have high intelligence. Intelligence was most highly described as “giftedness” or “being smart or bright,” and spoken of as if this were an inherent quality.
3. S/he is perceived to have dispositions and personality traits valued by teachers. The most popular marker was “sweetness.” Other traits included friendliness, helpfulness, humor, and leadership qualities.
4. S/he is perceived to have behaviors desirable to teachers. These include raising hands, good manners, self-monitoring, and a certain quality and frequency of participation in class.
5. When asked “what kind of student” a child was, teachers responded with general labels, such as “Good Student,” or “Wonderful.”

6. The student is supported by strong family collaboration with the school. The family of the “Successful Student” is willing to share the responsibility for educating the child.
7. Other markers included: creativity, physical traits, ethnicity (non-white), relational, metacognitive ability, and the expression of goals and aspirations.

Using the same data set I then created a representation for the cultural model of the “Unsuccessful Student.” This is represented in the Figure 4.2 below. Notice that for the “Unsuccessful Student” behavior is the most salient category, holding at least 1/3 of all markers for this cultural model. It is also interesting to note that while constructs of “intelligence” are not even included in the “Unsuccessful” model of school identity, ranking performances against a student’s peers is included. Finally, it is important to distinguish between Criteria One and Four, as they may seem to be identical at first glance, and because they interrelate. Criterion One refers to the behaviors of children. When teachers talk about this aspect of school identity, there is an implicit emphasis on the *choice* that children are making to perform these behaviors. Criterion Four refers to teachers’ definitions of the dispositions of children. When teachers describe this part of school identity, there is an implied meaning that these are aspects of Nature-identities (Gee, 2000), or traits or attributes that are biological, or that children are pre-disposed to have.

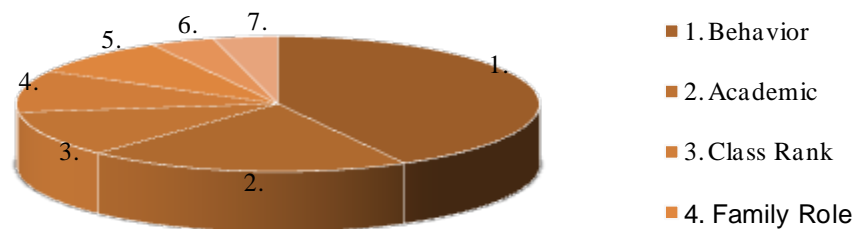


Figure 4-2. Educator’s cultural model of the “Unsuccessful Student” identity.

The “Unsuccessful Student” meets the following criteria in rank order:

1. S/he is perceived to have undesirable behaviors. The most common included behaviors such as: disengagement/lack of focus, lack of motivation, poor attitude, inappropriate behaviors that undermined relationships with teachers and peers, and disruption.
2. S/he is perceived to possess a lack or low level of the necessary academic skills and performances valued by the school. These, by far, were named as reading fluency, decoding, and comprehension. Writing and math came next in importance.
3. S/he is perceived to be ranked in the “lower” range of academic performance as compared to the rest of the class in the areas of reading, math, and writing.
4. S/he is perceived to have dispositions and personality traits not valued by teachers. These crossed over into ideas associated with behavior but included “spacey,” “bossy,” or “withdrawn.”
5. S/he may be perceived to have a disability of some kind.
6. Other markers might include weak family support, ethnicity (non-white), and physical traits that impede “school success.”

There were further implications from both tacit and explicit verbal expressions from teachers that differentiated the “Successful” from the “Unsuccessful” student. In particular, the “Successful Student” required less teacher attention and was perceived as more independent. These qualities generated more teacher satisfaction with the teaching and learning relationship.

Once I had defined the landscape of school identity, I then wanted to see how educators sorted each of Ms. S’s students. What emerged was a surprise. Only one student in the entire class carried markers that perfectly fit one of the two models. In this case this student exemplified the “Successful Student.” Most of the collection of markers positioned each student somewhere on a continuum between “Successful” and “Not Successful.” Samples from the dialogue about Abby captured from the past and

current teachers demonstrate how the majority of students were defined by a kind of hybridized school identity. The words in italics are the markers I extracted for purposes of building a taxonomy of school identity:

(She's) as *sweet* as can be but *very, very low*.

Second to the lowest kid in the class...

(She's a) *fluent reader* but has *no comprehension*.

Hear she *passed the FCAT* but *should be tested* (for special education).

She's *eager to please, well-mannered* but *struggles in writing*.

Notice that although teachers identified Abby as one of the “lowest kids in the class,” this did not seal Abby’s fate as an “Unsuccessful Student.” She was also seen to hold many qualities of the “Successful Student,” including behaviors and dispositions, as well as appropriate skills in some academic areas. In a story told about one of the male students in Ms. S’s classroom, a third grade teacher spoke about the tension teachers feel regarding students who linger between the two poles of “successful” and “unsuccessful,” a situation often implicitly presented as a child’s personal “choice.” She summed up her tale about a summer school essay that the student wrote with these words: “And now I wonder...which way will he (decide to) go?”

How Fourth-Grade Students Define School Identities

Once I had a picture of how educators constructed (and/or reproduced) the institutional identities of children, I wanted to compare this to how fourth-grade students defined school identities. From both individual and focus group interviews, I learned that students also have their own taxonomies for “kinds of students” in school. While students did not always name them in the same ways as teachers, different categories of students did follow fairly consistent patterns. In one focus group three girls identified

labels to explain how they sorted one another in the classroom. These are listed in Appendix F, along with the markers they used for each school identity.

Fourth graders will agree that the “Patrol Student” is an almost mirror-image of the “Good Student,” but they insist that there is a difference between the “Bad Student” and the “Crazy Student.” While their behaviors often look the same, the “Crazy Student” is strategic with his/her behaviors, conscious about when and where to break the rules, as explained by these two students:

E: Yeah, the (Bad Student) doesn’t think about the rules.

C: “Yeah, like in the hallway, say you were like one of the people who says, “Walk.”

E: Yeah, they don’t listen.

Darby: So a Crazy Kid would, like, stop if I (as a teacher) said to walk?”

E: Yeah, but the Crazy Kid, as soon as he’s out of sight, would, like, start running again, like once you walk around the corner they are starting to run.

School identities are not necessarily fixed, either. For example, one student described her identity this way: “I’m a patrol kind of kid, a good kid, and a partially crazy kid.” It was important to this student to be seen as a “patrol kind of kid” and a “good kid” for her teachers but as a “sometimes crazy kid” for her peers, and she explained how and why she balances these student identities. She knows when and where to be “crazy” and when and where to be “good,” and is able to articulate her identity as fluid and contextual. For example, she notes that she lets herself be “crazy” on the playground but always presents herself as a “good student” in the hallways.

The Patrol Student Identity

The “Patrol Student” identity became a common denominator between student-definitions of the “Good Student” and teacher definitions of the “Successful Student.”

For fourth graders, “being a patrol” versus “not being a patrol” was the most significant issue associated with school identity. Indeed, it is the very mark of being a fourth grader. Fourth graders are the oldest group at Yearling Elementary School because the local middle school serves grades five through eight. Being a patrol comes with many privileges, including access to trips, selling chocolate, and permission to direct peers and their behaviors. During observations of classes walking to lunch, it is easy to identify that a good three-fourths of the students in the four fourth- grade classes wear the signature orange patrol belt. In other words, *not* being a patrol student is very noticeable in the fourth grade.

Students explain that there is a stringent application process that involves teacher and principal endorsement, forms, and deadlines. The criteria for becoming a patrol are well-known and easily shared by all fourth graders I interviewed. These include being able to set a good example for peers, being a mentor for younger students, making good grades, having exemplary behavior, demonstrating helpfulness, and having the ability to articulate how you are a leader. Teachers and students share almost the same list of factors that would prevent membership with the patrols, which include a bossy disposition, or disruptive behavior in class. However, students will add that good grades are critical for membership, while teachers say that they often grant membership to students with low grades in order to improve their morale and motivation. Fourth graders further explain that once one becomes a patrol, there are stratifications of rank within the group. They also explain that while the “patrol student” and the “good student” are very similar, it is indeed possible to be a “good student” but not a patrol, although that is rare. It is also possible to be a “bad student” and still be

chosen as a patrol by the teachers, which is a cause for confusion for the students. As a self-defined “good student” told me, “The thing that I don’t get is...I didn’t make the patrols. But the weird thing is that Scarlett also got a white (denial) letter but she got a safety patrol belt!”

An Initial Composite of JJK’s School Identity at the Beginning of the Year

Now that I had gained some understanding of how educators and students defined school identities, my next goal was to build a composite that captured the institutional identity of JJK as students in their first six weeks of their fourth-grade year. I used data gathered from their third- grade teachers, the fourth-grade teaching team, the principal, and the interns’ and my observations regarding JJK during this period of time. I did not ask students to talk about specific students. I did, however, gain some insights from JJK, themselves, regarding how they situated their identities as students in school. These insights will be presented later.

I evaluated JJK’s identity through the constellations of categories adults used to define school identity. First, I collected the markers and stories from the data that specifically addressed the question, “What kinds of students are JJK?” Appendix K lists the data sources I used to gather this information, how I approached analysis, and the resulting markers and stories used to define JJK as students in school. I then returned to the transcripts and observational notes in order to examine markers in context so I could begin sorting them into cultural models associated with the “Successful Student” or the “Unsuccessful Student.” I further sorted the markers into the distinct categories associated with school identity to see if any of them carried more saliency than others. In other words, I wanted to know if some of the categories weighed more than others in

the minds of adults constructing JJK’s identity. Table 4.2 below displays how the markers distributed across categories.

Table 4-2. Categorical breakdown of markers of JJK’s school identity at the beginning of fourth grade

Category of School Identity	“School Successful” 9/61 (15% of the Markers)	“Not School Successful” 48/61 (79% of the Markers)	Not Determined 3/61 (7% of the Markers)
Behaviors	1	15	
Dispositions	2	12	
Academic Performance	5	7	
Family Roles	1	7	
Disability	0	3	
Ranking Against Peers	0	2	
Relationships	0	2	
Physical Attributes	0	0	2
Ethnicity	0	0	1
Intelligence	-	-	

Out of the sixty-one markers used to describe JJK at the beginning of their fourth-grade career, the majority (78%) leaned toward the “Unsuccessful Student” end of the spectrum. By far the most markers (15) fell into the category of behavior, and almost every one listed was framed as undesirable in school. The emotional dispositions of these three students came a close second (12), and most of these were also considered liabilities for school success.

The majority of constructions regarding JJK’s identity fell into the “Unsuccessful Student” category. I concluded that adult educators defined JJK, at the onset of their fourth-grade year, as the kind of students who were not successful in school. While teachers defined each boy as a unique individual, they used three of the same markers for the three boys. First, all three of the boys were defined in terms of a low academic performance ranking against other children (if not labeled “the lowest” in the class).

Second, all three were defined as using well-developed avoidance behaviors. They were seen as “distracting” to themselves and others by playing with objects during instruction, making too many trips to the bathroom or to get water, and making inappropriate noises in class to purposely disturb other students. Finally, JJK were treated and talked about as dependent learners. For example, during writing instruction these three boys (as well as two other students in the class) were directed to “use the teacher’s example,” while the rest of the class was encouraged to use their creative writing skills during instruction. This led to JJK copying teacher writing from the overhead projector for much of writing time.

Markers of “intelligence” were never mentioned by teachers when defining JJK’s institutional identities at the beginning of the school year. However, it was not unusual for teachers to immediately describe other students as “smart” in comparison. JJK were identified as students who struggled academically, although two of them were seen as having at least one academic strength. Two were also noted for their willingness to answer questions by teachers, although they were known to offer frequently inaccurate responses. This demonstrated JJK’s attempts to make “bids” as “Successful Students,” but the bids were not accepted or recognized by the teacher (Gee, 2000). As far as their dispositions were concerned, only JJK’s past teachers offered glimpses into positive aspects of their personalities, and these were few. Most of the attributes associated with JJK were negative, and one of the three students was described as especially immature, withdrawn, and low in confidence. All three were either directly named, or implied to be “lacking in motivation.”

When counting the frequency of different kinds of markers educators used to describe JJK as students, the role of their families was a salient part of their identity. While one of the three boys was marked as having a “supportive family,” another of the boys had a school identity so associated with a lack of family support that this was almost *a/ways* the first marker used to describe him. Allusions to less-than-optimal family support for the third boy was emphasized in regard to his mother not being present in his life. His well-meaning grandmother was his only stable family but she had to care for many other siblings, as well. This was implied as a kind of deficit and even associated with his ethnicity. As one educator said, “You get that a lot from the African American community – siblings *everywhere*.”

As mentioned, behavior was the category of JJK’s school identity educators emphasized the most, and most of their behaviors were said to pose challenges for teaching and learning in the classroom. These behaviors ranged from lying and cursing, picking on other children, and “shutting down” in resistance to adult directives to read or complete an assignment. However, similar behaviors of each of the boys had different meanings to educators as they co-constructed definitions of JJK’s school identities. While all three boys presented behavioral challenges for the teachers, two were spoken about as if these behaviors were unacceptable and problematic for school. For example, one teacher told another, “Oh, you are going to have a problem with him!” The third boy’s behavior, although emphasized the most as far as its scope and challenge, was never framed as “anti-school,” but something that had to be understood first as a function of his disability and second as a function of what was perceived as his physical and emotional vulnerability. Whenever teachers in a group spoke of his

behavior, their entire facial expressions would look concerned and their voice tones would shift to express sympathy, if not pity. Even I found my first impression of this student in my researcher's notebook: "I am worried about (this student)...so quiet, so small...he doesn't do his work." This student had a much wider range of unacceptable behaviors than the other two boys. However, in his case they were more tolerated by the teachers. As one teacher put it, "He's our little guy," as if he was, out of the entire class, the most in need of protection, patience, and understanding. I interpreted this "little guy" description as a perfect example of how teachers extended to this student a wide latitude of sympathy, a latitude influenced very much by his small, if not "cute," frame and demeanor.

My own notes from my researcher's notebook revealed an early concern for two of the three boys as members of the classroom community:

I keep worrying about (these boys). As usual, they just don't seem to be part of the group. Most everybody is sitting on the floor but (one) is sitting in his chair and he's covering his ears, not even looking at the book. (The other boy) joined the group later after it started, and sat on the floor in the back, apart from the rest of the group. The rest of the students are in a tight circle together and seem totally enthralled and engaged – and (the intern) is reading it very enthusiastically. (One) is doing behaviors such as whistling, hitting his shoe repeatedly, and parroting words spoken by the teachers from time to time. I just feel like these two guys don't feel they are part of the group...

As educators at the beginning of the school year, we were clearly interpreting JJK's institutional identities as not school successful. In the next section I will attempt to infer how fourth graders might have defined JJK as students at the onset of their school year.

Fourth-Grade Perspectives on JJK's School Identity

To form a possible picture of how students in Ms. S's classroom might have positioned JJK as students, I went back to the adult-generated data and looked at them

through the lens of “kinds of students” in school that were constructed by children. I then applied the fourth- graders’ definitions to the markers generated by teachers about JJK. I found eight examples of markers specifically labeling JJK that fourth graders would likely define with their “Bad Student” model. These included “talks too much in class,” “lies,” “picks on other children,” and having a disability. None of the markers offered by teachers would fall into the fourth-grade definition of the “Good Student,” although two of these three boys were patrols. Two markers might have best fit the student-defined identity of the “Crazy Student.” While I cannot claim that the data show how their peers would define JJK’s identities in school, the teacher-defined behaviors of JJK mostly match student ideas associated with the “Bad Student” profile in school. This was important for me to know so that I could have some sense of how JJK’s peers might name their school identities in light of the fact that school identity is assumed to be a co-construction among all participants, including children.

JJK held some of the same ideas about themselves that might have been contributing to the reproduction of their institutional identities at the beginning of their fourth-grade year. For example, each expressed an aversion to reading or going to school, in general. One mentioned that his teachers last year thought he had bad behavior, which, incidentally, was used to deny his application for being a patrol. This same student said, “I am good in math but I always get bad grades.” When I asked one of the boys if he was interested in coaching or teaching, he said, “I’m not smart enough to be a teacher.” All three of them answered my questions about particular goals they had as students for the year, which helped me learn more about areas they wanted to improve. However, both teacher and JJK recognized strengths that led to “school

success.” JJK noted some good dispositions they had as students, including helpfulness, the ability to follow directions, and specific academic areas in which they demonstrated strengths. One was lauded as a strong writer by both his third- and fourth-grade teachers.

However, JJK did not present their school identities to me as important. Rather, they preferred to talk about themselves as athletes, hunters, and fishermen. One made many bids (Gee, 2000) during the first weeks of school to be recognized as a “drummer.” These were the parts of their identities that they took the time to elaborate upon with stories. However, overall I was unable to get data that was clear on how JJK defined their school identities, and I felt strongly that this was due to their lack of trust in my role. For example, shortly after these initial interviews, the grandmother of one of these students called me because she was concerned that my interest in her grandson was tied to a plan to staff him into special education. Later in our work together, JJK also expressed their initial confusion over my role in the classroom, and were not sure how to answer my questions at that time.

A Second Composite of JJK’s School Identity at Mid-Year

As I had used the first six weeks of teacher markers to form a composite of JJK’s institutional identities at the beginning of the school year, I used the markers I collected from teachers during the last six weeks of the study to create a second composite of JJK’s school identity at mid-year. These data, gathered from focus group interviews, field notes, and artifacts, were analyzed through the lens of this question that I frequently asked teachers during the last weeks of the study: “If you had an opportunity to talk to the fifth-grade teachers (in the middle school) next year, what would you want them to know at this point about JJK?” I used the same process as I did before by

paying special attention to moments where educators used key words, phrases, or labels to describe each of the student participants, or how they defined the school performances of these students. When pulling together the second composite, fewer categories distilled from the coding process, and a brand new one arose.

Only five categories emerged from the total of 136 markers that I had collected. These categories mirrored four of the ten major categories that teachers used to define “kinds of students” at the beginning of the school year. The rest of those categories did not even emerge in the second composite of JJK’s school identity. Those that came up included, in rank order: academic skills/performance, behaviors, dispositions, and the role family played in their school identities. However, this time the categories were more interdependent in defining JJK, making them more difficult to tease apart for analysis but lending a much richer, more synthesized picture of how educators defined them. For example, any mention of poor academic performance was tightly tied to JJK’s behaviors and dispositions, such as things they did in class to avoid work, as well as their “lack of motivation.”

The new category that emerged was the fourth most robust category of identity, holding a total of fourteen markers. This category helped describe how *educators* responded to JJK’s needs as students. This was an important shift. I came to interpret this to mean that when teachers defined “what kinds of students” these three boys were by the middle of the school year, they were no longer able to separate how they perceived these students from their roles and responsibilities as teachers. For example, in talking about one student’s “shy disposition,” teachers immediately emphasized their perceived responsibility in “showing him patience.” As another example, when one

teacher spoke of one of the boy's improved compliance with teacher directives, she said it compelled her to "just want to help him."

Table 4.3 below displays the five categories of school identity distilled from the data. As before, I had to sort the markers collected during the last six weeks according to how they were used to define JJK's school identity as "successful," or "not successful." The markers split in half almost exactly, with nearly 50% marking "school success" and nearly 50% marking "school failure." The categories of disposition, behavior, and academic performance all held near-equal numbers of markers, while the role of the family or home, as well as the teacher responses to these students held much fewer. Behavior had a total of thirty-eight markers, 66% of which were considered "not school successful," and 34% which were seen to contribute to JJK's school success. Dispositions held thirty-six markers in which 50% described school failure and 50% were assigned to school success. Only four markers brought family into the picture of school identity, and none of these were considered assets. There were fourteen markers that indicated how teachers responded to JJK's school identity through the interpretation of their roles and responsibilities. Nine (64%) were responses to aspects of student failure and five (36%) were responses to aspects of JJK that were associated with school success. Finally, academic performance became the most robust category of JJK's school identity. This was significant to me because this category is the most salient in defining the "Successful Student" cultural model, depicted earlier in Figure 4.1. Further, academic performance was the only category in which JJK's identity was aligned more with school success than with school failure, and this alignment with school success was dramatic. While sixteen of the markers (32%) in the

category of academic performance defined these students as “not successful” in school, twenty-eight (68%) of them were associated with school success. Finally, unlike the first composite of JJK’s school identity, there is absolutely no mention in the second composite of JJK’s low ranking against their peers.

Table 4-3. Categorical breakdown of markers of JJK’S school identity by the middle of fourth grade

Category of school identity	“School successful” 64/136 47% of the markers	“Not school successful” 72/136 53% of the markers
Behaviors (38 total markers)	13	25
Dispositions (36 total markers)	18	18
Academic Performance (41 total markers)	28	16
Family Roles (4 total markers)	0	4
<i>New Category:</i> Roles and Responsibilities of Teachers (14 total markers)	5	9
Ranking Against Peers (no markers)	-	-
Relationships (no markers)	-	-
Physical Attributes (no markers)	-	-
Ethnicity (no markers)	-	-
Intelligence (no markers)	-	-

Comparing the First and Second Composites of JJK’s School Identity

Now that I had two composites of JJK’s school identities as defined by the adult educators at Yearling Elementary, it was possible for me to compare how their institutional identities had changed over time. These are depicted in Figures 4.3 and 4.4 below. Please note that Figure 4.3, representing the first composite, does not

express all ten categories of school identity assigned to JJK at the beginning of the year. I included only the most robust categories, which at that time included their behaviors, dispositions, academics, and the role of their families.

Several important shifts in JJK’s school identities are notable when comparing the two composites represented above. As mentioned earlier, the second composite includes a new category, which is labeled “Teacher Role/Responsibilities” in Figure 4.4.

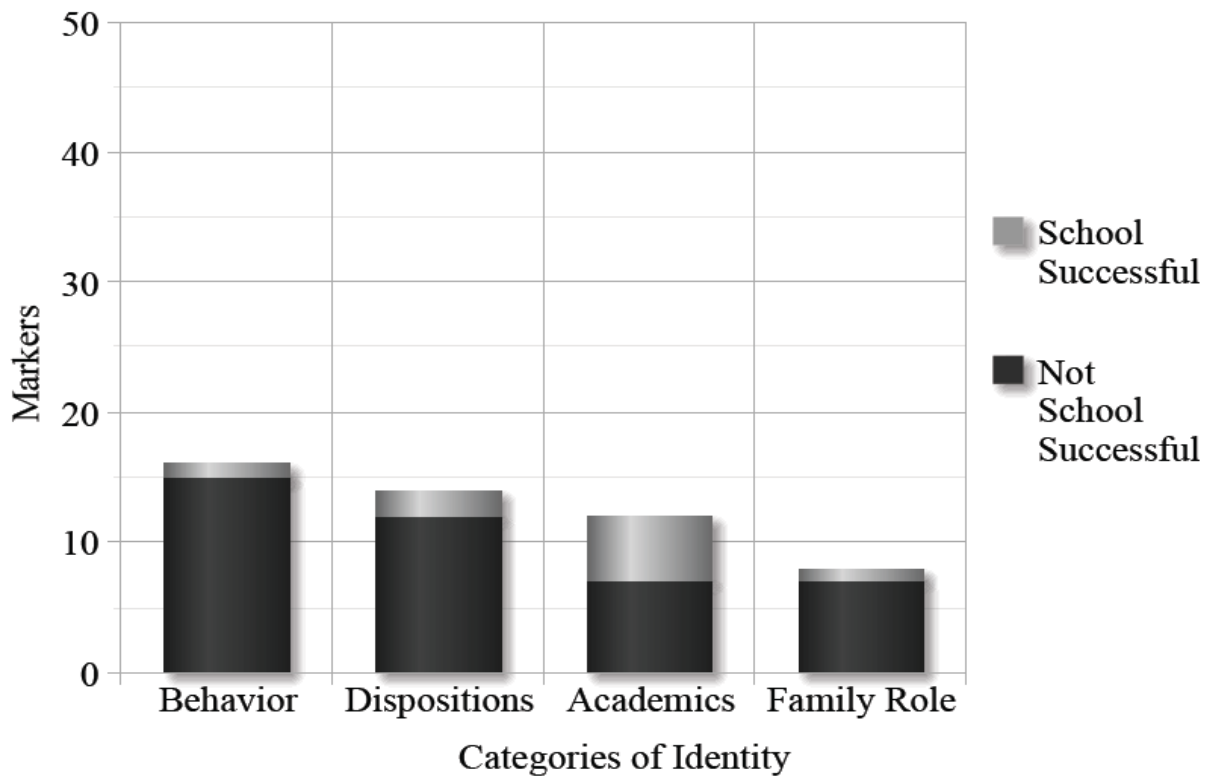


Figure 4-3. How educators defined JJK’s school identities at the beginning of the school year.

This category may indicate that over time formal identities of students in schools become increasingly tied to the ways teachers respond to them as relationships begin to form, lending support to the theory of identity as being socially constructed. What is most salient, however, when comparing the two composites is the portion of each category assigned to “school success,” and to “non-success.” When evaluating

markers of behavior, dispositions, and academics, their proportions become increasingly more associated with school success than they were at the beginning of the year. Finally, it is clear that by mid-year the academic performances of JJK in

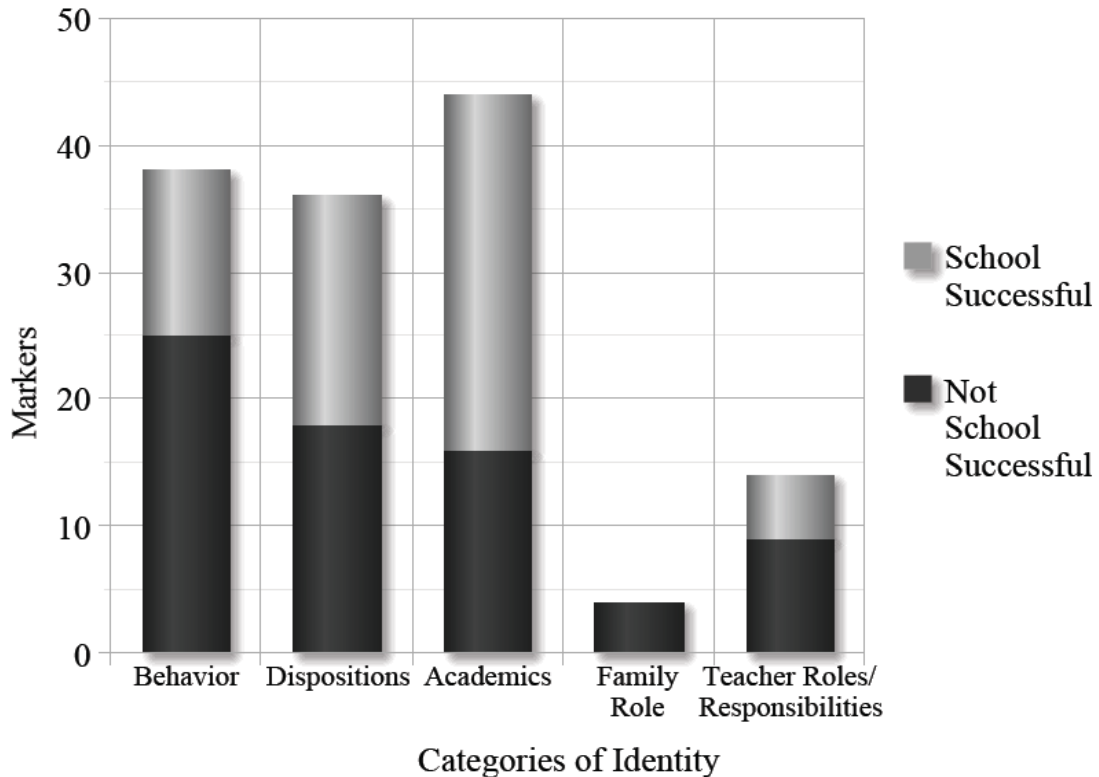


Figure 4-4. How educators defined JJK's school identities by mid-year.

association with "school success" fully outweigh performances associated with school failure.

Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the general cultural models that define the formal identities of fourth graders at Yearling Elementary. First, I explored general categories that educators used to define students. From this analysis I determined that markers of school identity tend to fall into two major domains, perhaps more easily thought of as two ends of a continuum. On one end is the collection of markers that define the

“Successful Student,” while on the other side is the collection of markers defining the “Unsuccessful Student.” In the cultural model of the “Successful Student,” the category of academic performance holds the most power. For the “Unsuccessful Student,” the category of student behavior becomes the most important factor in defining this archetype.

Fourth-grade students share cultural models for “kinds of students” in school. In the case of the “Patrol Student,” they roughly match teacher definitions of the “Successful Student.” Fourth graders also have an archetype for the “Good Student,” which has much overlap with the definition of the “Patrol Student.” Their model of the “Bad Student” also closely parallels the adult definition of the “Unsuccessful Student.” However, unlike teachers, pre-adolescents name a blended identity of the “Crazy Student,” whose first agenda in school is to have fun, and who is strategic enough to avoid being formally identified as a “Bad Student.”

I then presented a composite of JJK’s combined, formal school identity as educators defined it at the beginning of their fourth-grade school year. This early composite was mostly one that would fit the “Unsuccessful Student” model whereby their behaviors were the most predominant category. When using this model to reflect on perspectives from fourth graders on school identity, including those from JJK, one can infer that the students in Ms. S’s classroom may have agreed that JJK were mostly “Unsuccessful Students” at that time.

Following this discussion I then presented a second composite of JJK’s formal school identity, as defined by the educators working most closely with them on the fourth-grade team at the mid-point of the school year. This second composite revealed

a change, demonstrating a significant shift in the direction of the “school successful” cultural model. In this shift their positive changes in academic performance became the most prominent category explaining their new school identities. In addition, a new category emerged, which may suggest that as teachers develop close relationships with their students, they find it increasingly more difficult to separate the school identities and performances of children from their own roles and responsibilities as teachers. In the next chapter I will explain how the shift towards “school success” may have happened.

CHAPTER 5 EXPLAINING THE CHANGES IN JJK'S SCHOOL IDENTITIES AND PERFORMANCES OVER TIME

As discussed in the previous chapter, there is evidence that JJK's situated identities and academic performances shifted over the course of the first half of their fourth-grade year. This shift moved them closer on the continuum to the formal identity of "good student" reproduced in schools. The purpose of this chapter is to document the process of this change. I will present the findings that capture the work of our community of practice (COP), and how it may explain the shift in JJK's situated identities over time, and specifically how these were expressed through their evolving discourse identities (Gee, 2000). By making the case that JJK's discourse identities expanded to include a sense of being a "teacher leader," I hope to explain and validate the findings from the previous chapter.

This chapter is organized into three parts, each representing a different layer of analysis of over three hundred recorded discourse "moves" made by members of our COP during the fall of 2008 (see samples in Appendix H). Again, moves were identified by the interns, other teachers, and me during the data collection period. These were defined as our six COP members' verbal and nonverbal behaviors, as well as our symbolic use of time, space, and objects that "moved" the unique path, definition, and outcomes of our work. The moves recorded were interdependent and critical for understanding how JJK redesigned their membership and positionality in the classroom. However, we marked "important moves" as those that directly expressed JJK's ever-changing school performance and situated identities as a result of their membership and participation in our COP. I recorded moves that involved special language being used by COP members, how participants positioned themselves in relation to the

others, as well as any moves that were evidence of JJK enacting discourse identities that challenged their institutional identities as mostly “unsuccessful students.”

Examining these three layers of our moves is important because it contextualizes JJK’s shift in identities over time in relation to the activities and relationships forged within our COP, and in relation to the facilitation of our collaborative work through my PDS role as the interns’ supervisor.

In the first layer of analysis I looked at the entire chronology of recorded moves made by the six members of our COP that occurred during nine critical junctures, or the “happenings,” that marked our work as a COP as different from the normal activities of the classroom. These critical junctures included the times we carved out together during the school day that defined us as a distinct, although permeable group working together toward common goals, and transcended the boundaries of traditional relationships between interns and their students, and supervisors and their interns. These junctures mainly included the formal and informal observations of the interns, as well as special meetings and conversations the six of us had together. In the second layer of analysis, I extracted all of the moves made by JJK in order to describe how their discourse identities expanded over time to include that of being “teacher leaders.” Finally, I interpreted the motives behind the moves I made as a PDS university partner to articulate my stance and operationalize the strategies I used in order to directly influence equity and student performance in the classroom.

Layer 1: The Story of our COP through Nine Critical Junctures

The work of our COP was marked by nine critical junctures, or important events that created bridges for JJK to cross from older to newer enactments of school identity. Most of these junctures occurred within highly structured times and defined spaces.

However, their meanings were further shaped and directed by ongoing conversations among the six of us that traversed the period of the study via impromptu talks in the cafeteria, on the playground, during lunch and planning times with other teachers, in seminars with other interns, and email interactions. Together the critical junctures, much like chapters, work together to tell the story of our COP and to help explain the process of identity change that JJK experienced. While more than half of these experiences were planned in advance, what could never be entirely planned was how each one would play out in relation to the complex set of aims we had embedded in our work together.

Our COP shared many important experiences during the four-month period of this study. It can certainly be argued that all of the experiences we shared were critical in the evolution of our COP and in shaping JJK's identity over time. However, only nine fit the criteria for being critical junctures in these ongoing processes. The word *juncture* is important as it implies a point of connection. In this case, the criteria for determining whether an event was a critical juncture, or not, came down to the data. To qualify as a critical juncture, the event had to have been collected as data that were able to capture evidence of JJK enacting their identities in slightly newer ways than had been previously documented during this study. The nine critical junctures are listed below. Following this list I will discuss how each juncture shaped our story as a COP.

1. Initial interviews with JJK and other student candidates (late Aug.-early Sept.)
2. Selection of JJK as members of the COP and setting the stage (mid-Sept.)
3. First formal teaching observation (late Sept.)
4. First informal teaching observation (early Oct.)
5. Second informal teaching observation (late Oct.)
6. Second formal teaching observation (early Nov.)
7. Last formal teaching observation (late Nov.)

8. Last COP conversation (early Dec.)
9. Last focus group interview with JJK (mid-Dec.)

Critical Juncture #1: Initial Interviews with JJK and other Student Candidates

The first significant event in the forming of our COP was a series of initial conversations I had with each of the three boys while I was interviewing student candidates for the COP. These first conversations were guided by interview questions that helped me form an initial picture of how each defined himself as a student in school and how close he came to his own cultural model of the “good student.” This model was exemplified by most of the students interviewed by the “patrol student” archetype, as defined in the previous chapter. As one of the three boys said, “They (Teachers) said they seen my behavior through the year and they said like...That they didn’t pick me (for patrols) because of my behavior...”

The interview also helped me gauge each student’s response to the idea of being positioned as a potential expert collaborator to help the interns and me improve our practices as educators. I did this by introducing my opinion that students should be included in the process of teacher learning, and then by asking each student to reflect on the lesson the interns had taught that day. In all three cases JJK provided neither the body language nor the words to indicate that they believed they could play an important role in teacher learning. They also did not provide specific feedback or reflection on their interns’ teaching that day, even though I asked for it. I guessed that they did not yet have the language or schema available to organize and then articulate the kind of thinking necessary to reposition themselves as “advice-givers” to teachers. Regardless, these interviews offered an opportunity to explicitly present my personal agenda for the work I wanted to accomplish as a university supervisor. They also provided me with

important bits of information about JJK's interests, goals, and beliefs that I would follow up on later as I worked to cultivate with them a conversation about teacher learning.

Critical Juncture #2: Selection of JJK as Members of the COP

The third- and fourth-grade teaching teams, with the help of the interns, helped me review the eight candidates we were considering for the job of co-supervising the interns. We ended up choosing J, J, and K as the three student participants, although several of the teachers collectively expressed their worries that they had not selected at least one girl. In general, J, J, and K came up repeatedly when we brainstormed about which students struggled the most in class, and the teachers expressed that they felt that these boys would most benefit “from the attention” they believed they would receive from my work with them. I then explained to all eight student candidates that JJK had been chosen as “teaching coaches and researchers” for the interns and me. I shared that the criteria for selecting the three students was based on how well the teachers and I felt each student would be able to contribute to the learning and improvement of all of us as teachers, as well as who we felt would be able to handle being students, teaching coaches, and researchers at the same time. I explained further that the remaining five students would still be called upon as consultants during the course of the inquiry.

JJK, the interns, and I met together briefly. I explained that the six of us were going to be working closely together over the next three months in order to research better ways to practice teaching and learning. I also said that we would tie this work directly to the regular work that I had to do in order to help the interns graduate from college with their teaching degrees. JJK would be asked to directly support my work as the interns' supervisor, which meant that they would help me during observations of the interns' lessons. Finally, I explained that I was also looking for their direct support and

help in my becoming a better teacher educator for the interns. I invited the interns and JJK to begin thinking about how these goals could be accomplished, and on what we should focus our learning and research as a group.

Critical Juncture #3: First Formal Teaching Observation

In the first formal observation I initiated most of the moves that were recorded. However, several key moves were initiated by the interns and by JJK in ways that indicated their willingness to take ownership of our work together. Prior to the lesson, JJK and I talked through what my goals were for this first observation. I reminded them that while my first goal was to observe the interns' teaching, I also wanted to use the observation to conduct my own "inquiry, or research" into how JJK could help me be a better teacher educator and coach for the interns. While I said that I was not sure how this would unfold, I did say that I knew I was going to try to help JJK begin to develop their "eyes and ears" as teaching coaches and researchers. To do this they did not need to plan anything. They simply needed to play the part of "student" and I would ask them questions about their experiences along the way. The interns then shared their expectations and needs during the observation so that they could remain as comfortable and focused as possible. This included their desire that we not talk while they engaged in whole group instruction. They also decided where they wanted us to sit in the room, which involved reassigning seats for other students.

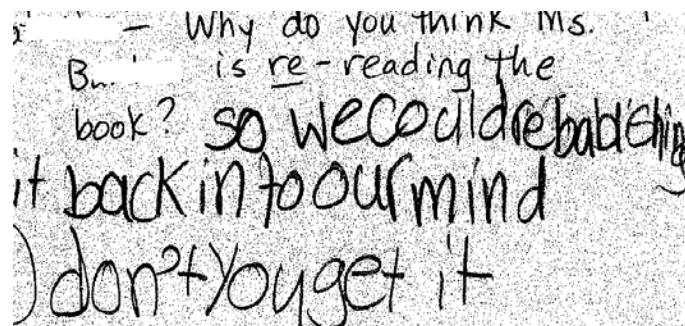
I then shared one of our first tools that would, from that point forward, define our work together as different from the work of other students in the classroom. This was my data collection instrument, the "Pathwise observation form," which was used to collect evidence of prospective teachers effectively planning, implementing, and reflecting upon their instruction. I explained that as the interns' teaching coach I used

the form to “capture examples of the teachers doing good teaching” in ten different categories, as well as to write down suggestions for improvement. I explained that we could call the notes I wrote down *data* for our *research* into better teaching, words I consciously included in our developing discourse together as a COP. I also pointed out that the interns would be taking “mental notes” as data, as well, as they were learning to become classroom teachers and researchers at the same time. I reminded the group that just the week before, we had read a story in class about a scientist. That story had the word *data* in the text, and one of the students in the class had said at that time that “...(D)ata is the facts and lets you prove it.” From this point on in our COP, JJK never appropriated the word *data* into their conversations with us but did consistently use the word “facts” as their own term for this. Finally, I explained to JJK and the interns that during observations I was careful to try to be conscious of, and then note, any “felt difficulties” (Dana & Yendol-Hoppey, 2009), or feelings of discomfort I had during the lesson. I explained that they would potentially be useful data for our COP to focus on together in our work to improve teaching and learning in the classroom.

During the lesson I wanted to locate a moment whereby the supervision process could provide an opportunity for JJK to practice becoming aware of the reasons behind the choices teachers made, as well as their own responses as learners to these choices. This would help introduce the kind of thinking I had to do as a field supervisor for teachers. Soon after the teacher-led lesson began, I noticed that two of the three boys maintained eye contact with the interns, who were reviewing a book of little-known personal facts about U.S. presidents. But one of them continued to flip his pencil, tilt his chair back, drum on the desk, and keep his body facing away from the teachers. He

was the only student in the room exhibiting this kind of body language. I sensed the interns' discomfort with his behavior, especially as this was a formal observation. They first desperately tried to make eye contact with him, followed by an attempt to use proximity control to change his behavior. Neither strategy influenced a change in his body language. And then I realized something: Whether he was listening or not *did not matter*. What mattered was that the adults in the room – those who had power over how this student's institutional identity would be defined – did not *believe* he was listening. This was the opportunity I was looking for. It was my “felt difficulty.”

I had three intentions in that pivotal moment. First, I was searching for the right time to begin including JJK in the supervision conversation. Second, I wanted the student who appeared “off task” to become aware of his teachers, what they were doing, and why they were doing it. Finally, I hoped that these first two goals would influence a change in his behavior. The trick was to figure out how to accomplish all of these goals with one act. I had to make a move. I decided to pose a question for JJK that anchored all of my goals together. On an index card (see Figure 5.1 below) I wrote the first question of many more to follow over the course of the semester: “J – Why do you think Ms. B. is re-reading the book?” He wrote back immediately: “So we could reestablishing (reestablish) it back into our mind - don't you get it(?)”



The image shows a handwritten note on a piece of paper. The text is written in black ink and is somewhat messy and informal. It reads: "Why do you think Ms. B. is re-reading the book? so we could reestablishing it back into our mind) don't you get it". The word "reestablishing" is written with a flourish, and there is a closing parenthesis at the end of the response.

Figure 5-1. Sample written dialogue between Darby and JJK.

Why was this question the one I chose for us to think about in that moment? In my journal I commented that, "...it is so hard to pull these reasons apart –they feel like one big feeling in me." After analyzing my own moves through the course of the study, this moment captured the four major motives behind my work with the COP, which are discussed later again in this chapter. First, I was assuming that J was "not listening to his teachers," although later when he completed the assessment, I had been quite wrong about this. I wanted to give him a chance to think for a moment about where he was, what was going on, and why. I wanted to break what I assumed was his distraction and get him to refocus on the task at hand so that he could engage with the content and perform well on his assessment later. In other words, I wanted to influence his academic performance during the lesson. Second, I wanted him to be perceived as a "good student" by everyone else in the room. For this to happen, he needed to at least adjust his body language. Indeed, when he finished responding to me on the card he turned his body forward, although he never did give the interns eye contact. Next, I wanted to shift the assumptions behind traditional student-teacher discourse from one that focused on student performance to one that put the learning of the teachers at the center. Thus I was initiating the beginnings of a collegial dialogue of supervision that would help JJK build and then focus their lenses as teacher educators. For the rest of the lesson all three boys began writing to me and, to my delight, to one another. On our little cards we not only argued over which president could not read, we discussed how we thought the interns were trying to make the lesson interesting, who seemed bored in the class, as well as ideas for the interns so that they could get more students to visibly participate in future lessons. This was evidence of the motive for the fourth kind of move

I made as a supervisor: I wanted to position JJK as both a *source* of data for teacher learning, as well as to help them develop their skills and dispositions as data *collectors*.

Next, I wanted to influence our written conversation in a way that positioned them as my partners in the supervision process. Asking questions (as the “adult-teacher”) for them to answer (as the “child-student”) was the normal discourse practice in the classroom. I decided to participate in this familiar discourse pattern but begin using words in a way that positioned JJK as experts. I did this by inserting the word *engaging* in my question: “How could this part be more engaging, or interesting, for kids?” None of the boys responded, except with shrugs of their shoulders and perplexed looks on their faces. I moved to scaffold their understanding of my question by writing an answer to my own question, which they read: “I had an idea: Maybe give facts to each group – then each group does the teaching. What do you all think?” Once I wrote this they began grabbing index cards and simultaneously writing their ideas and trading them back and forth to read. These pivotal moves struck me in that JJK were not only reading and using a new social language (Gee, 2002), they had to carefully consider their responses and then apply their skills in writing for an authentic audience and purpose. Both of these moves required complex intellectual and academic skills. After this point, JJK had entered a special conversation, or discourse with us as educators. For the moment, however, their ideas generated during the lesson were shared with the interns, who decided that they wanted to put parts of them into practice the very next day. JJK saw that not only were their ideas heard but were actually considered good enough to change the way teaching would occur in the classroom from that point on.

Other important moves made during this critical juncture occurred during the assessment portion of the lesson. The class was asked to write a letter to a president of his/her choice. One of the boys got straight to the task. One complained to me that he did not want to write but then got to work with the help of a teacher serving as a scribe. The third boy wrote the salutation portion of his letter but then spent seven minutes doing everything but writing. He went to the bathroom, got a drink of water, and sharpened two pencils. Neither the teacher nor the interns intervened. After talking his dilemma through with him, I found that he had only needed his ideas to be validated and to verbally rehearse his letter. He began this process by making a personal connection with this president's middle name. This was an important piece of observational data that I included in my notes for the interns, who by this time in the school year had appropriated the fourth grade team's definition of this student as a "motivation problem." In our post-conference following the observation, I explained that this student was not only able to persevere in completing the assignment. He was also able to show strong evidence of meeting the learning goals once he had access to a quick verbal rehearsal with a teacher.

In this same post-observation discussion, the interns helped me pinpoint four pieces of evidence that suggested how the work of our COP was not only opening up new possibilities for JJK's school identities but that it was positively impacting the teaching and learning occurring in the classroom, as a whole. First, one of our three boys had raised his hand to contribute to the whole group discussion for the first time this year. Second, this same student created a written artifact for the first time. Third, having one of the boys move back to the table with me allowed another student to take

his place in the front of the room, helping her “not disappear” from the interns’ awareness during instruction. Finally, my willingness to participate as a supporting educator freed the interns up so that they could get around to assessing the writing of other students who normally did not get such one-on-one attention. In that sense the interns felt the ongoing work of our COP was contributing to making achievement more accessible, and therefore more equitable, for the entire class.

Critical Juncture #4: First Informal Teaching Observation

In this math lesson JJK and I sat together, again, with no plan except for the boys to play the role of “students” and allow me to ask them questions. I did not have the extra responsibility of formally collecting data using the Pathwise observation instrument, so I had to identify my own anchor for a conversation about the teaching and learning occurring in the classroom. As the lesson progressed I felt tightness in my abdomen, and I knew that my “felt difficulty” had arrived. I wrote my feelings down: “I am concerned about this traditional format - how many students who want to respond are not getting to? And how many students can get away with ‘checking out’ of the lesson altogether and not be held accountable?” In these wonderings I actually had two felt difficulties that I wanted to bring to articulation so the six of us could use them as data for learning: First, I wanted the interns to incorporate more ongoing assessment within their lessons, rather than depend solely on the end-of-the-week math test, or even an end-of-the-lesson worksheet to gauge learning. Second, I had observed enough thus far in the semester to see that the interns were caught in a rigid, repetitive question-and-answer pattern that they were observing from their mentor teachers. In this pattern the teacher poses the question, students raise their hands, the teacher selects one student to answer the question, and then the cycle starts again. While most

of the students were following the expected pattern, Mark, another student in the class, continued to disrupt the pattern. Soon J, one of our own COP members, began to disrupt the pattern, as well. Both were “calling out” and receiving frequent verbal reminders to “(P)lease raise your hand.” Mark also had a behavior card on his desk marked by the mentor teacher each time. I wanted to figure out a way to help the interns become aware of this repetitive question-answering pattern and how it might be frustrating for some learners. I wanted to challenge the interns to expand their repertoire of classroom discourse in ways that would allow more students to engage in academic conversation. Finally, I wondered if there was a way that these two issues could be taken care of with one new practice. I also wondered if JJK could help me with my felt difficulties, especially because one of them was struggling to negotiate his desire to participate in class within the limited social norms available.

I decided to first get JJK to focus on the aspect of ongoing teacher assessment, which, as a supervisor, I try to assume is the purpose for teachers asking students questions. I wrote on our first index card of the day: “What ways are the teachers finding out what we know?” None of the boys seemed to understand the question, so I wrote on: “Are they giving us a test? Are they asking us to write a paragraph?” One of the boys wrote back: “They’re asking us questions. They are kind of testing us on what we know.” I then wrote, “What could they do so that all students can answer at least one question?” One of the boys wrote back, “(They could) say you shout it all...” I then wrote, “What about a quieter way? A way they can know each person’s answer in case they can’t hear everyone?” One of the boys spoke, “We could write it!” I then suggested that in order to do this, we could give everyone a sheet of paper on which to

write and then hold up their responses: “...(Y)ou all write the answer and hold it up – like ‘shouting it out’ – but quieter.” One of the boys wrote back, “Sure so we could do it starting right this minute.” Another wrote, “You (know) it would be easier for Mark.”

Next, I had to figure out how to turn these ideas into action. At the end of the lesson the classroom teacher and the interns said I could have a minute to process our thinking out loud. First, I clarified my role with the class again, as well as how JJK were part of the interns’ coaching team. I then shared my felt difficulty with the class, “I was worrying during math that everyone wasn’t getting a chance to answer a question, and JJK and I wanted to figure out a way to help the interns gather information on more people’s thinking during the lesson, rather than just waiting for the test on Friday.” I then explained that, “JJK came up with an idea. The interns could ask a question and have each person write his or her answer and hold it up. What do you all think about this idea?” The class showed great enthusiasm, and the interns then asked the class, “Can we try this tomorrow?” The class showed agreement.

Before I left that day I wrote thank-you notes to JJK. In the notes I asked each of them to remind the interns of their new strategy tomorrow. This was the first responsibility for coaching that I gave JJK that was independent of me. Later at lunch that day JJK, the interns, and I talked about this new idea. One of the boys said he hoped it would help Mark experience more success during the lesson. The interns and I talked about how we hoped so, too, especially as he really wanted to participate and it would give him a chance to do so without getting into trouble.

Critical Juncture #5: Second Informal Teaching Observation

For this observation JJK and the interns expressed excitement about putting their new idea into action. That morning the interns had emailed me to share the good news:

JJK had indeed reminded them to incorporate their idea into today's lesson. However, during the lesson I noticed that there had been a change in how it was implemented. Rather than seeing all students holding up their written responses after the teachers asked a question, I witnessed small groups of four deliberating over a single response and writing it down. Each group was assigned a card holder for one person to display the answer, as well as a speaker role to explain the group's response. I asked JJK on an index card: "Why are they asking a whole group to predict the answer, rather than letting everyone at one time?" One of them answered in writing, "Now they can ask every group a question." Another wrote, "It would be harder for the teachers to see a bunch of cards up in the air." The third wrote, "Just in case (someone) doesn't know the answer." JJK were thinking of the teaching value of supporting and assessing group problem solving, how to make assessment more manageable for the interns by looking at fewer responses at once, as well as how to support individuals who might struggle to respond without peer support. K told me orally that JJK and the interns had come up with this new plan before I had come in. JJK then told me to watch how the new strategy worked during the lesson when they played their roles "as students."

At the end of the lesson I wrote to JJK: "...(P)lease be ready to tell the teachers why their math lesson is better for everyone's learning now! What have they improved?" I reminded them orally that during the last lesson the interns were calling on only one person at a time. I then wrote, "Why is this better for kids and teachers?" One of the boys wrote back, "There are more people answering now." Another wrote, "It's funner because everyone gets to think of their own answer and write it on a piece of paper and they get to hold it up – better because before they were just calling on

(individual) people.” At the middle point of the lesson the interns invited JJK to publicly share their feedback on how the new strategy worked to increase participation and assessment, and to explain these reasons to the class, which they did. The interns built on this moment and shared their new “felt difficulty” with the class, which was that they still could not see the responses on the cards very well. While they said that participation was visibly improved through student conversation, their ability to assess more students’ thinking was still impaired. I told the interns that JJK and I would work on this problem as the lesson continued. JJK brainstormed on the index cards some ideas, which included:

- We could use a highlighter or a pen.
- Use a big pencil. You know – the kind you can change the size.
- Crayon.
- Or a white board with erasers and markers.

The interns were passing by at this time and said that the whiteboards were the “perfect idea,” one that they learned in college but had not yet thought of how or when to put into practice. They gave the four of us a “high-five.” We continued with finishing the assignment.

Critical Juncture #6: Second Formal Teaching Observation

Several days before the next formal observation, I wrote a note to the interns and to JJK: “On Friday I’ll be here to watch Ms. E and Ms. B teach a lesson. Could the five of you come up with one thing you want JJK and me to watch for? Thanks, guys. I can’t wait to work with you all again – we make an awesome team for teacher learning!” The interns emailed me later that day and said they shared with JJK their latest felt difficulty. The interns had explained to JJK that when they teach they get so caught up in the content of their lesson that they forget to pay attention to who is participating and

who is not. They often called only on students with their hands raised, forgetting the more “invisible” students, as well as the ones who were “checking out” and not listening. They were now ready to assess more individual thinking during discussions but were having trouble getting all students to engage in discussion.

The interns invited JJK to attend the pre-observation conference so that they could share with them a “data collection tool” they had created. They wanted JJK to consider using it during the observation. One of the boys got a list of half of the class, while the other two boys got a list with the other half of the class. They would be using the lists to observe two parallel groups during a science lesson about conserving natural resources. One of the boys would handle one group, and the other two boys would team up to collect data on the second group. After explaining the learning goals of the lesson and the sequence of activities, the interns then explained that during the parallel group portion of the lesson that they wanted JJK to record every instance where students were “participating.” I shared that in collecting these data that JJK would be acting like “researchers,” but as researchers we needed to define exactly what was meant by “participation.” What would “count” and what would not? The interns then explained that their definition of *participation* was a “conversational exchange” between a student and the teacher, or a student and another student, which related to specific topic of the lesson. This meant that JJK not only had to record conversation exchanges, they had to be able to discern the relevance of each student’s contribution to the conversation. JJK and the interns practiced coming up with examples and non-examples of relevant conversation topics. In this way the interns were also giving JJK, as students, an advance organizer for the content being taught that day.

While observing their groups, JJK would keep this guiding question in their minds: “Who is participating in this moment?” They would then mark a tally next to the name of each person who was participating. At this point one of the boys asked if he could record times when he noticed “non-participation.” JJK then talked through using different symbols for “participation” and “non-participation.” The interns and I agreed that writing down instances of “non-participation” would be another valuable focus for collecting data. We talked about the difficulty in collecting both at the same time, especially as the boys would also be responsible for their full participation in the lesson as students. We realized that we would need to make a decision as to whether to collect data that demonstrated “participation” or “non-participation.” Once we talked through all the various ways “non-participation” might look and sound, we realized that it was a lot easier to record instances of oral participation, and that these data would still give us a lot of valuable information.

Finally, the interns and JJK considered my question: “What if your data collection instruments cause too much distraction for the other students?” JJK independently came up with the idea of presenting the instrument to the class and explaining its purpose. The interns supported this decision and asked JJK to rehearse their presentation for us, which they did. When the class actually entered the room and got seated, JJK opened the lesson by presenting the lesson’s main learning goals, which surprised us in that it had not been part of their rehearsal. Then they explained their role in collecting data on “participation.” One of them held up the chart for the class and explained that every person who participated would get a tally. The other two traveled from table to table to show their classmates the chart. Another boy explained the

definition of “participation” to the class this way: “Giving ideas, saying things out loud to help the group, and asking questions.”

During the background reading portion of the lesson, one of the boys left the room and stayed gone for quite a while. This was unfortunate to me as he was assigned to be the peer support reader for the student the interns had identified as the “most struggling reader” in our group, comprised of JJK and me. However, the other two continued with the reading of the passage. When the third boy came back the other two caught him up with the content. Then the “most struggling reader” suggested to his assigned peer support reader that he circle key words in the passage to enhance his comprehension as he read. He explained that this would help him find important ideas in the passage quickly when he needed to refer back to them. This strategy was not shared by any teachers that day but was independently suggested by this student to support his friend’s success in the lesson. One of the interns whispered in my ear, “You see? He is becoming a *teacher leader*.” This was the first time the term “teacher leader” had entered our COP conversation. After this observation one of the interns emailed me and continued sharing her joy about this student, “... (Y)ou do realize that _____ is not only speaking in class to his peers now but he is standing up at the front of the whole room doing *public speaking*!”

During the parallel group portion of the lesson, JJK carried their observational sheets with them to document peer participation, as well as their learning sheet to record their ideas as students during the group activities. They handled their double duties as students and researchers with no problem, only needing me to scribe for them on occasion in order to quickly record their thoughts (regarding the lesson) without

falling behind. One of the boys said he wanted to be sure to be able to check himself off at least once for participating that day. When the lesson was over, I asked JJK to examine their data together. I asked them to choose and write down one important thing they wanted the interns and me to gain from these data, especially as they were not going to be able to attend the post-conference. Two other students in the classroom asked if they could participate in analyzing the data, as well. JJK led their peers in examining the patterns of tallies and they discussed what they noticed. As the class left for their next class, each boy wrote their final conclusions on their data sheet without any assistance from me. Below are excerpts from the data collection sheets each boy used during this portion of the lesson. It also includes the final written conclusions JJK drew from the data after leading their small group in an analysis of their findings (Figure 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4):

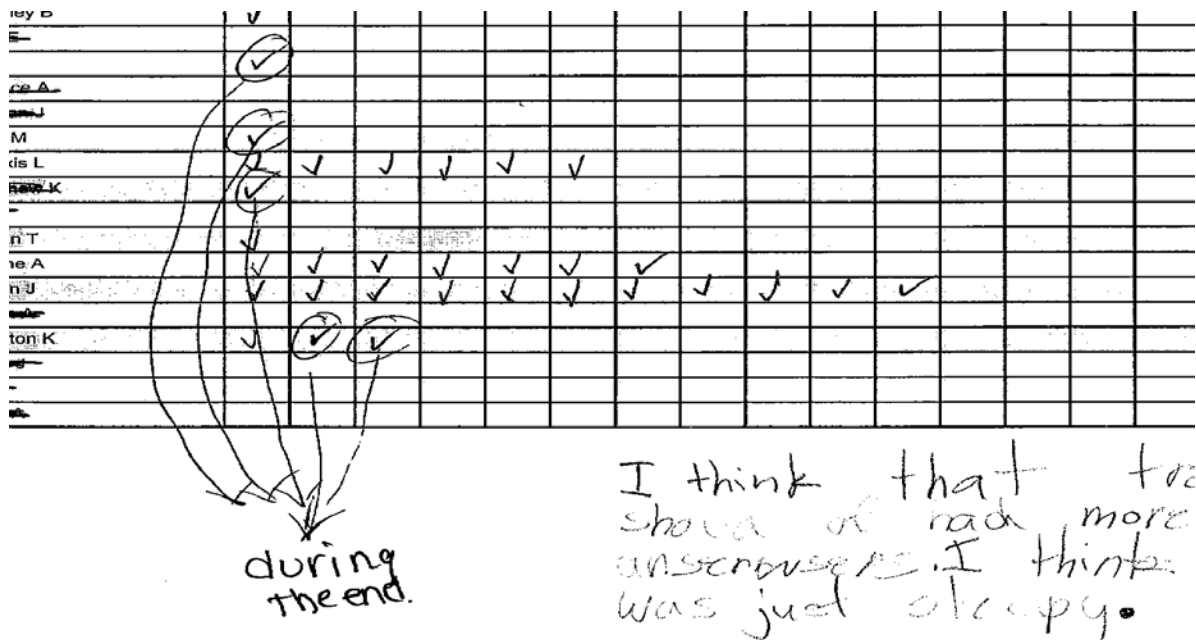


Figure 5-2. (Boy 1) Data collection and analysis of student participation during parallel groups: "I think that they should have each answered more questions. I think G_____ was just sleepy."

ny E	+	+	+					
N	+	+	+					
in J	+	+	+					
M								
L								
K	+	+	+					
d.B	+	+	+					
A								
A								
J								
ayah A								
K								
J	+	+	+					
M	+	+	+					
stin A	+	+	+					

I notice's every body was participating.

Why? Because we told them about the sheet.

Figure 5-3. (Boy 2). Data collection and analysis of student participation during parallel groups: "I noticed everybody was participating...Because we told them about the sheet."

B	✓	✓	✓					
A Absent								
J								
A								
L								
ew K	✓	✓	✓	✓				
A								
A								
K	✓							
J	✓							

M participated more than anyone
 In the group he answered every
 question that Mrs. E said
 but A really needs to
 answer more questions

Figure 5-4. (Boy 3). Data collection and analysis of student participation during parallel groups: "M participated more than anyone. In the group he answered every question that Ms. E said. But A really needs to answer more questions."

One of the boys wrote under his data set: “I noticed everybody (in my group) was participating.” I read this and asked him why he thought this might have happened. He answered, “Because we told them about the sheet.” I asked him to write down this idea for the interns to consider. He was theorizing that the act of publicly sharing the data collection plan with the class had led students to increase the desired behaviors. The next boy who shared responsibility for observing student participation in this same group went further in his final written analysis by pointing out individual cases: “Mark participated more than anyone in the group. He answered every question Ms. E said. But Allie really needs to answer more questions.”

In the post-observation conference I shared JJK’s data and conclusions with the interns. The interns especially valued JJK’s observations of Mark and Allie. They congratulated themselves for setting up the discussion in a way that met Mark’s need for participation in a more engaging and appropriate way. They then agreed that we needed to figure out a way to gain more access to Allie’s thinking during lessons. The interns then continued sharing their excitement about their observations of the so-called “most struggling reader” that they had planned to accommodate with a peer support reader, who had left the room. This “most struggling reader,” in that moment, had become a “teacher leader,” an identity assigned to JJK from this point forward. They also shared their excitement that this same student was motivated by the data collection instrument, itself. It had allowed him to set a goal to verbally contribute to the discussion topic at least once, which was atypical of his normal classroom behavior. After collecting all of the post-conference data that included the interns’ reflections and

analysis of assessment data, I completed the official Observation Summary. In this summary document I also included a discussion on the data provided by JJK.

Critical Juncture #7: Third Formal Teaching Observation

In this final formal observation JJK and I observed the interns facilitating a math lesson in which they incorporated the boys' idea of using whiteboards and markers to display individual responses during the lesson. This time JJK had asked to be able to collect data on the Pathwise observation instrument with me, so we first needed to determine what kind of observational data they could help me gather. First, during the pre-observation interview, the interns explained their lesson sequence and their reasoning behind each step. Then I reviewed the Pathwise instrument, pointing out the boxes I had to fill in with different kinds of evidence. I stressed that I needed to capture strong evidence on the interns' ability to promote equity and fairness, to facilitate positive classroom behavior, and to provide students with clear instructions and procedures, as these were goal areas the interns wanted to show improvement in at this point in their professional development. The boys agreed to help me with these three domains. I explained that the interns had to "pass" this observation in order to graduate with their degree, so that all six of us needed to sign the final summary, if all were willing.

We then reviewed the language on the Pathwise instrument associated with each of the three domains we were focusing on. I stressed that our goal was to try to find as many examples of good teaching for each domain as we possibly could. We talked about key concepts, such as *fairness*. I helped explain how I might "see" fairness: "Fairness here might mean how many kids are getting to participate – how many kids are getting more of a chance to really practice during the lesson. You are trying to

capture data on the teachers 'being good.' You will do that by listing all the ways you can catch them making their teaching, the materials, and the learning *fair* for all of the different learners in the classroom." One of the boys then made a key connection between our past work together and the concept of fairness: "Like when we did the...each person has to hold up a card and everybody would know what they're thinking? Like that?" We then highlighted key words on the form to remind JJK what their focus would be, as each had a different domain. In two cases we translated some of the words into more user-friendly guiding questions.

The interns stressed again how important it was to them that JJK and I collect these data for them. They said they needed our "extra sets of eyes, ears, and feelings." I asked the interns to predict for us what kinds of evidence of each domain they expected us to see. They listed many teaching tools and behaviors for us to look for, including JJK's idea of using whiteboards for individual responses. I asked JJK how the white boards might be evidence that the interns were succeeding in all three domains. Related to the domain of fairness and equity, I asked, "Why might (the white boards) make the lesson, for example, more *fair*?" One of the boys explained to me, "Cause...on the white board it is easier (for the interns to assess right away) and it takes longer on the – what you call it (worksheet). And if you ...if we do it on Tuesday and you grade it on Friday, uh, the kids won't learn more... (because) it's *three days*." One of the boys then made the connection between this point and the interns' co-teaching strategy for this lesson. One of the interns was going to take a support role during the lesson and work with small groups and individuals during the whole group lesson. Therefore, he said, "...*(W)hen* students might not know the answer" and "...you

could like go outside with them and help them..." I responded, "You bet. And just like you just said, how are they supposed to know that *now* if they wait until the end of the lesson to give a worksheet, or at the end of the week when they give a test?"

After performing a verbal rehearsal of the lesson sequence, the interns came upon a dilemma. They could not make a decision about their expectations of students at a particular point in the lesson. JJK and I watched them do a think-aloud of two scenarios while one of the boys explained to them why he thought one idea was better than the other one. One of the boys then asked the interns to consider what might happen if students began fighting over markers, something the interns and I had not considered. JJK and the interns came up with a solution, and I asked JJK to be sure to try to note this strategy when they saw it happen as a way to prevent behavior problems. I said, "So you see, you are not focusing your attention on the kids that are misbehaving. (Rather,) (y)ou are focusing on the things teachers are doing so kids have a better chance to behave well - and so that more learning can happen."

<i>How are our teachers helping kids behave?</i>	
*Models appropriate and respectful standards of behavior *Responds appropriately and consistently to inappropriate behavior *Re-teaches, reminds, and reinforces appropriate standards of behavior as necessary	B.4 Establishes and maintains consistent standards of classroom behavior <i>off task list 2 min</i> <i>the rules 2 min</i> <i>not paying attention to be quiet 2 times</i> <i>2 min</i>
*Configures the room so that all students have	B.5 Makes the physical environment as safe and conducive as possible

Figure 5-5. (Boy 1): "How are our teachers helping kids behave?" His observation was- Off task list, the rules, reminding not paying attention, to be quiet 2 times, verbal reminder, 2 minutes, 4 minutes, 2 finger silence reminder." As a side note, this same student verbally asked me, "Ms. D, what's the difference between verbal reminders and verbal warnings?"

Domain B: Creating an Environment for Student Learning		
BENCHMARKS	EVIDENCE	OBSERVER'S COMMENTS
*Treats students fairly, and does not accept unfair behavior among students. *Avoids either excluding or over-attending to certain students. *Conveys the attitude that all students are valued	8.1 Creates a climate that promotes fairness <i>whiteboards smart board paper little passport thingies letting every one have a chance so they can move around</i>	<i>you can write the words bigger so everyone can see the work</i>
*Relates positively, shows concern, and tailors personal interactions with students	8.2 Establishes and maintains rapport with students	
*Shows by words, actions, and attitudes that	8.3 Communicates challenging learning expectations to each student	

Figure 5-6. (Boy 2): “How are our teachers creating a climate that promotes fairness?” His observation was - “Smartboard (graph) paper; little passport thingies; letting everyone have a chance so they can move around... You can write the words bigger (on the overhead) so everyone can see the words.”

Domain C: Teaching for Student Learning		
OBSERVER COMMENTS	BENCHMARKS	EVIDENCE
	*Communicates learning goals for instruction either orally or in writing at the beginning or during instruction *Assists students in making inferences regarding learning goals through inquiry/discovery *Communicates instructional procedures through means appropriate for the students under instruction, taking into account the needs of diverse students; examples of communication include oral or written directions and modeling	C.1 Makes learning goals and instructional procedures clear to students <i>How are teachers making sure kids understand?</i>
	*Demonstrates content knowledge and organization Makes instruction relevant by assessing and activating students' prior background knowledge and experience *Structures lessons in a coherent and connected manner (e.g., sequenced logically, ordered conceptually) *Organizes instruction through a variety of approaches (e.g., presentations, small groups) appropriate to students *Understanding that builds bridges to	C.2 Makes content comprehensible to students <i>By asking the student to do the questions and if they can't she will help them do it until they understand it.</i>

Figure 5-7. (Boy 3): “How are teachers making sure kids understand?” His observation was - “By asking the students to do the questions and if they can't, she will help them do it until they understand it.”

When the lesson began JJK and I took our places at our table. Each one of us collected our data on separate Pathwise observation instruments. JJK also participated in the lesson as students, completing both their guided practice and independent practice tasks with near 100% accuracy, a feat not accomplished by all students in the class. Below are the data that JJK collected from this observation.

JJK could not attend the post-observation conference. After I shared JJK's data with the interns, we talked about how one of the boys had been reluctant, until this time, to enact all three roles as data collector, teacher leader, and "good student" by maintaining focus and accuracy on his math assignment, which was his weakest academic area. However, he was playing all three roles very well. They said that this reinforced their beliefs that all students need higher expectations in order to succeed in school. They believed that this student would have done little to no work under normal circumstances, focusing, instead, on his belief that he was not capable of being a good math student. They also believed that under the more optimal learning conditions our COP was providing for JJK, he only needed proximity to the teacher and frequent pep talks in order to persevere as a successful math student. Under these conditions he was producing accurate calculations and was also able to explain his math reasoning.

After this last observation I typed up the final observation summary document for all of our COP members to read, approve (or ask for changes), and then sign off "so that the interns could graduate." I included a special note to each member of our group on the signature page, based on my listening to each person's contributions to our COP over time. It was as follows:

Ms. B, Ms. E, and "JJK,"

It has been so amazing to work with you all to improve teacher and student learning in your classroom! I have learned so much from each of you! Go Teacher Leaders!

Ms. B. and Ms. E.,

Our advice to you is to keep finding ways to make learning fun for your students. You are off to a great start and we hope you will keep your high expectations for students plus the fun and joy you bring to the classroom everyday. We know it wasn't easy and we appreciate all you did for us.

“JJK,”

Our advice as teachers to you is to keep growing as the talented leaders you are. We need good leaders in Ms. S's' classroom! And next year in middle school, too! And in the future - no matter what job or sport or anything you decide to do, you will definitely be strong leaders there (it's so exciting to us to imagine!) You have totally impressed us with your high intelligence, your hard work (such as writing down your ideas during lessons and doing class work at the same time!), your thoughtfulness, your maturity, all of your great ideas, and your willingness to teach us how we can become even better teachers. We hope you had fun learning more about how teachers think and why they do the things they do. We sure had fun sharing our “teacher world” with you. Take care of Ms. E this spring and keep helping her learn – just as she will be helping you learn, too! But don't forget to have fun over the holiday, too...

Critical Juncture #8: Final Conversation in our COP

At the end of the fall semester our COP convened for one last conversation in order to better understand how JJK and the interns had made sense of our work together. I have included an excerpt from this conversation below in order to reveal how we had come to define our COP as a shared learning experience, as well as how this related to changes in our identities as teachers and learners. The length of the excerpt was chosen in order to demonstrate the richness of dialogue that occurred between us, including how meaning was co-constructed, and how willing the interns were to share their feelings with us in order to support their growth.

Darby: What has it been like to be ‘teacher leaders?’

Boy 1: We can know more about what they (the interns) (are) thinking. And, they'll know more about what we're thinking and what we're doing in class.

Darby: Has that been different than what you have experienced before in a classroom?

Boy 2: Yes – it has been a lot of things...we can give facts (data), what we know and they'll (the interns) start learning more...

Boy 1: I think we're giving facts (data) and they read it and try to come up with things...

Darby asks interns: (How has) having these guys be teacher leaders...helped you two in teaching?

Intern 1: Just to be more cognizant of what's going on in my classroom. I know that I really love this example that with you, ____, in reading... (an author) had said something to the class that maybe some students might not have understood...and you rephrased what (he) said and you helped explain it to the other classmates and I really think after you reemphasized it in a different way that it helped students. So I like to think now that maybe now I'll give more chances for students...to say things in their own words.

Intern 2: And for me...it's helped me be able to look at things from a different perspective. Like we see things differently as a teacher than they see...then you guys see things as students...actually taking part in the lesson, because we may think things are being effective, or I may think things are being effective and they're really not...so having your input really helps and especially in the sense that it has helped us realize that like, we can put you guys more in charge of your learning. Like you guys are very responsible.

Darby, Did it surprise you to find out how much (JJK) can be in charge of their own learning?

Intern 1: Honestly, on one level, yes, but on another level, no, because I know everybody is so capable of it. I think the surprising part was just...when they were given responsibility they just took it to a completely different level... Do you guys agree?

Darby: So, guys, how do you, even if your classmates don't realize it...how have you helped them?

Boy 1: By giving them the facts.

Boy 2: They can learn more about like math...

Interns 2: Also like when you took the participation data. Sometimes we just focus on those students who are raising their hands because it's easy for us...

Intern 1: Yes, and it's like the concept of wait time. They tell us to give students wait time...and that means just giving you time to think about the problem...

Darby: I always forget to do that.

Intern 2: Exactly. A lot of times it's really scary for us to be up there when we ask you guys a question and no one responds...like that silence is kind of scary for us...and we need to learn to give that wait time. And like that participation check, like that really helped us to see like, we were calling on, for example, (Gwen) all the time because she raises her hand all of the time.

Boy 1: Yeah, because people they might not know what you are saying. And (need it explained) in a different way.

Darby: Exactly. Like remember in your group there was one girl you and ___ realized had not raised her hand – not one time?

Intern 1: Yeah, because everybody else...was paying attention and participating. I had not noticed that one student...just sitting in the back and just writing down the answers without sharing any answers or ideas. And that really helped me.

Darby: Yeah, me too...How has being a teacher leader helped you guys?

Boy 3: It helped us learn more, like, when we want to grow up we want to become a teacher and we have to start out as interns like Ms. E. and Ms. B...

Darby: And, ____, you are thinking about the...army... and there are definitely leadership roles in the army...

Intern 2: J____, do you think that after we put you in this teacher leader role as a student that you come to our lessons a little bit differently than you would if you were just, 'Oh, I'm just a student.'?...

Boy 2: I got nothing.

Intern 1: (An) (e)xample of scary wait time!

Intern 2: Well, I see like when you guys first started...after you guys got... in this role, the level of your work has improved. Like you guys are more focused...on task. And I really think you guys are more reflective while we're learning.

Intern 1: Also...we've let you in our world and what we are doing. Do you think it's easier to approach us ...about your learning than it would be if you didn't have this role as teacher leader?

All 3 Boys: Yes!

Boy 1: I just thought (teachers) were aliens (before)...Aliens that came from like Mars...made out of rock.

Intern 1: Do you guys like to know the reasons we do things?

Boy 1: Yeah, it gives like, it gives a head start about what you're doing and we can build on that.

This excerpt of our conversation illuminates four important ways our COP created the vehicle for transforming all of us as participants. First, JJK were witnessing the act of teacher learning. Second, and on a related note, the role of “teacher” was being demystified as JJK began to see that teachers were “no longer aliens made out of rock.” Third, we were making direct connections between the work of the COP and our growth as teachers and students. Finally, the discourse we engaged in continued to solidify JJK’s situated identity as teacher leaders, and our view of them as experts.

Critical Juncture #9: Final Semi-Structured Interview with JJK

The analysis of this semi-structured interview as evidence of a shift in JJK’s identities was already discussed in Chapter 4. However, it is necessary to look at this interview as a critical juncture that, in and of itself, helps explain this shift. The focus interview protocol I used was designed based on the data I had gathered in our last conversation (Critical Juncture #7). I gave JJK the questions a day in advance so that they could think and talk together about how they wanted to respond (see artifact in Appendix M). Analysis of the interview produced eight themes illustrating how JJK and I positioned both one another and ourselves by this point in our relationship. Appendix N offers an excerpt of the first stage of discourse analysis used to generate these themes. Themes also revealed the kinds of bids (Gee, 2000) we made for ourselves and for one another to be seen as certain “types of people” (Gee, 2008, p. 3) within this relationship. These themes are presented in Table 5.1 below.

Table 5-1. Making bids for identity and asserting positionalities (Critical Juncture #9)

Theme	Number of Occasions
Theme 1: Darby Making Bids for JJK's Identities as Expert/Teacher Leaders	15
Theme 2: JJK Accepting Expert/Teacher Leader Bids by Darby	22
Theme 3: J ² Resisting Expert/Teacher Leader Bids by Darby	7
Theme 4: J ² Accepting Expert/Teacher Leader Bids by Darby	10
Theme 5: Darby Positioning Self as JJK's Authority Figure/Teacher	13
Theme 6: Darby Positioning Self (Making Bids) as JJK's Learner	5
Theme 7: JJK Making Bids for One Another's Academic Identities	8
Theme 8: JJK Connecting Teacher Leader Identities with Improved Academic Performance of their Peers	13

Comparing this last conversation with the initial conversations I had with JJK uncovered how we had renegotiated our positionalities with one another over time. For example, in each of our first conversations at the start of the study, I was the only person contributing new information. This made my position in these conversations very powerful because I was the only one setting an agenda. These first conversations were interviews, so it makes sense that I was the only one inserting new information into these early encounters. This new information was usually in the form of questions, such as, "What kind of student are you?" or was an introduction to my philosophy by saying, for example, "It's my opinion that we (supervisors) should work together with children to make teachers better." In those earliest conversations JJK struggled to make sense of my role and how they were supposed to position themselves, accordingly. By this last conversation, our positionalities with one another had changed dramatically. Even though it was still in a semi-structured interview, I was contributing new information to our conversation only one-third of the time, while the boys collectively took charge of the focus and direction of our topics for the remaining two-

thirds of the time (see Table 5.2 below). This proportion indicated that they were much more at ease in taking positions of power in their working relationship with me.

Table 5-2. Power and positionality: Turning the conversation with new information

Participant	Number of Times Participant Inserted New Information into the Conversation
Darby	41
J1	34
J2	32
K	17

Returning to Table 5.1, other interesting points are worthy of note that reveal how we negotiated and defined our discourse identities and positionalities in relation to one another. During this conversation one of the students (J²) initially resisted my bids to position him as an “expert” or “teacher leader” on seven different occasions. He used several strategies to deflect or sabotage my attempts to position him as a teacher leader. For example, he might change the subject, or distract us by making a joke. At one point he insisted he had nothing to do with the professional development I experienced in the COP by saying, “But you (were) *already* doing well.” Each time J² resisted my recruitment (Gee, 2000) of him as a teacher leader, the other two boys (J¹ and K) repaired the situation by either ignoring him, directly disagreeing with him, or by bringing forth evidence of how he had, indeed, made a significant impact on teacher learning, including mine. Once his peers had made this repair, J² ended up accepting ten of my additional bids to position him as an expert for the remainder of the conversation.

By the time this last conversation was over, JJK had been able to collectively produce thirteen examples of how their acts of teacher leadership had directly influenced the academic performance of one another, as well as specific classmates

who were part of the COP. What was most interesting, however, was that while JJK were enthusiastic about pointing out how their work as teacher leaders had impacted one another's academic identity, they struggled with (or resisted) identifying academic improvement within themselves as *individuals* in connection to their work as teacher leaders. Each did take personal credit for "doing more work now," and named math and writing as specific areas of significant improvement. As one of them explained, "I improved in math a lot. We took a test today and I think I'm going to get a hundred 'cause I *studied*... that pretest thing from yesterday." Indeed, after this interview I checked his math test score and it was a 100%. But, overall, JJK seemed to work hard to deflect the focus of improvement from themselves to that of others, including one another in our COP. This deflection demonstrated to me that the most significant outcome for JJK as teacher leaders was not how it related to their personal school identities. Rather, the significance for JJK was how their participation in the COP *helped others*. While two of the three boys were safety patrols and had expressed early in the school year that this role signified their "helpfulness," their participation in the COP deepened the complexity and sophistication of this dimension of their school identity. "Helping others" went beyond vague references to school safety issues to specific examples of how they were impacting the sense of community in the classroom, how they were making the learning environment more accessible to and equitable for their peers, and how their personal relationships were being reshaped in a powerful way, including the fact that they now defined one another as "best friends." Below is a sample of dialogue that illuminates how difficult it was to get the boys to articulate how their work had impacted their personal academic performances, although they were

happy to give credit to one another, and to point out the improvement of their interns and classmates:

Darby: How have you changed since you became a teacher leader?

Boy 3: Like the whole *class* did...everybody started doing more work.

Darby: Yes, but how have each of *you* changed?

Boy 1: I think everybody in the class has changed....since...we've been giving ideas to Ms. B. and Ms. E...They've (the interns) came up with...they've added onto our ideas and they said it to the whole class and the class has learned more.

Boy 2: Yeah, and they *liked* it.

Boy 1: Especially Daniel...he's not getting in trouble much more.

Boy 2: And (he's doing) more writing.

Darby: So, so you're telling me that you guys have had...a positive impact on your classmates and their learning?

Boy 2: Because they're (interns) taking...our examples so *they* could get better.

Boy 1: (But) I've seen, uh, seen ___ more...I think ___ is getting more ideas (for writing)...(and) better and better at being a teacher leader.

Darby: What about ___? How has he changed?

Boy 2: He actually helped people when they need help in math. And he *explained* it to them. An' den like when you get done with a problem he'll explain it to you den, you do it on your *own*.

Boy 3: Well, he sort of acts like a *leader*.

Darby: What I hear you all saying is that you have become better students since you've become teacher leaders. Can you please try to explain why being a teacher leader is making you better students?

Boy 2: Because the people are looking *up* to us!

Darby: How does that change (how you are) a student?

Boy 2: Uh, it makes us like be *interns*. What are you thinking, ___?

Boy 1: Uh, it's been helping us like...

Boy 2: *A lot...*

Boy 1: Yeah, we haven't been thinking this hard before!

Regardless of how JJK drew connections between their teacher leadership roles and positive outcomes for themselves, their teachers, and their classmates, the point is that they did express a strong sense of agency. They believed their work changed peoples' lives for the better. This final critical juncture illustrates how JJK made the connection between their work in our COP, and their being "better students," an idea that, for these boys, was associated with a position among their peers, and one that depended on status and respect.

Layer 2: JJK's Enactments of Situated Identities over Time

In the previous section I laid out the synthesis of our collective moves as six members of a COP, organized by nine critical junctures. These junctures, and the moves that made up their content, ultimately shaped the story of our COP. In this section I examine only the moves made by JJK over the course of the four-month period we worked together. In doing so I believe I can offer evidence of how their situated identities, or subjectivities, came to change over time (Gee, 2002). Situated identities are "characteristic ways of acting-interacting-feeling-emoting-valuing-gesturing-posturing-thinking-believing-knowing-speaking-listening (and, in some Discourses, reading-and-writing, as well)" (Gee, 2002, p. 38), or the different identities we take on in different contexts. While there were many instances of JJK's moves that I interpreted as their enactment of Affinity-identities through our kinship in the COP, using the lens of how they enacted their discourse identities provided a substantially more powerful mechanism for analysis.

After taking a chronological inventory of all of JJK's moves, categorizing them, and then interpreting the meaning of each of these moves (see Appendix L), I synthesized my findings into narrative form (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). As a tool the narrative helped me to more easily capture an impression, or composite, of how the interns and I saw JJK's shift in identity over time. The narrative created, written from the point of view of JJK as a collective "character," was also a helpful way to present findings to the interns for member-checking purposes. Chase (2005) both cautions and celebrates the fact that this narrative is highly situated in my own subjectivities as a researcher, and was consciously "produced in (a) particular setting, for (a) particular audience, and for these particular reasons" (p. 657). In telling this story I am shaping, constructing, and performing my own reality and experience as a participant in the meaning-making process (Chase, 2005). Embedded within this narrative is still a collective voice that comes from the data. This collective voice includes those of us endorsing and doing the crucial recognition work JJK needed as they reconstructed their identities in our COP (Gee, 2002). Each composite is listed below, organized chronologically by each critical juncture. Each juncture is titled with a fictitious quote that captures the most salient theme that relates to the question, "How are JJK's discourse identities changing over time?"

A Narrative of JJK's Expanding Identity over Time

#1 (August-early September) "We don't like school that much. We'd rather be outside. We see ourselves as active people. We love sports, hunting, music, and fishing. We don't like reading, although one of us seems to be a pretty good writer. We call ourselves "good students," especially because two of us are patrol students. But we don't always do very well in school with our grades. One of us has been told by all the teachers he has bad behavior but we aren't sure why. But we aspire to be strong, generous people who uphold justice and defend the weak..."

#2 (early September): “We are chosen as the best students to help our teachers learn. The teachers picked the 3 of us to be teaching coaches and help them with observing the interns. Five other students were not chosen. We are not really sure what all of this means, yet, or what jobs we will have but it was exciting to be picked...”

#3 (late September): “We are really trying to figure out how to be good students, and what leadership means. Sometimes we know things teachers, and even leaders don’t. We still struggle with how exactly to be a “good student” during all parts of the school day but two of us know that when the teacher is doing a lot of talking, a good strategy may be to stay quiet and not really ask too many questions. One of us doesn’t seem to get that – he calls out in class without raising his hand, just like Mark does, who has to have a behavior card on his desk. But during the assignment today he was the best writer in our group. The other two of us didn’t want to do the writing at all. One of us even left the room for a while, probably because he just did not want to do the work. But then he came back and Ms. D. helped him by talking through his ideas first. Then all three of us had no problem writing our letters.

The idea of “leadership” is getting confusing these days. One of us wants to know why great leaders, like presidents, have been known to get into fights. One was unable to read until he was 14. That does not make sense when it comes to what a leader should be able to do. Ms. D. talks a lot about leadership, too, for some reason, but we think she has a different idea of what this means than we do. Nonetheless, we are getting to do things with Ms. D. that other kids don’t get to do. We get to talk to her by writing notes on the cards. She is treating us like experts. She asks us for our opinions about what is going on with the teaching and learning in the classroom. Sometimes we give her ideas without her even asking first. Sometimes we even have to correct her knowledge of history, and she is a history teacher!..”

#4 (Early October): “We are starting to be like coaches for the teachers - and the whole class is starting to know it now. We are a special team. We have access to and are part of a special team. We are practicing being both students and coaches for Ms. D. and the interns. We are even allowed to tell them what to do and when to do it, and they listen to us. We are starting to see things the way teachers see them. We are aware of the performances of our peers. Like Mark, he gets in trouble a lot but we are in a position to help him now and we are going to. We know how to make connections between what the teachers do and the quality of learning that goes on with our classmates. We also give our advice on how to improve these connections. Many times Ms. D. and the interns have not seen what we see and it is our job to explain it to them. We are becoming really good at helping the teachers make different choices in order to improve learning and behavior in the classroom. Our ideas are really helping them do a better job. Now the whole class is getting to see how smart we are...”

#5 (Late October) “We know how to act like researchers and students at the same time, and our whole class knows it. Our expertise is now indispensable to the teachers’ learning process. Now our team meets at special times. We get to eat lunch together in the classroom with our teachers, for example. We get to observe the interns with the same tools Ms. D. uses, and sometimes even different ones because it

is too hard for her to use different kinds all at once. We are becoming like science researchers because we collect data (facts) on the teaching and learning going on in the classroom. We have our own ideas on the kinds of data we think would be good to collect to help the teachers improve and learn to do their jobs better. We also know how to help our teachers make good instructional decisions when they get stuck – we know which decisions are better for helping more students learn. We are even starting to use the right kind of words and language to communicate our competence. We are so good at this now that we can stand up in front of the whole class and explain what we are doing as researchers, and what the goals for a lesson are. Not only that, we are able to perform as both excellent students and researchers at the same time...”

#6 (Early November) “We are researchers now. Our teachers call us ‘teacher leaders.’ We are even stronger members of this special team, and even better at being researchers, students, and coaches for the teachers – all at the same time. Our teachers would say that we are ‘teacher leaders!’ But one of us still doesn’t like being the ‘student’ if that means we have to read the lesson’s text. Luckily, the other two of us are really competent and strategic readers when we work as a team, and we can help him get back on track as a good student. Ms. D. also helps when being a student and being a researcher is too much to do at one time. As researchers we can collect, analyze, and then draw conclusions from the data and share them with both adults and students through both written and spoken explanations. We are also getting better at using the words of researchers and teachers. Our ideas and words are included in the observation summary that the interns need for us to sign in order to graduate with their teaching degrees...”

#7 (Late November) “We are expert teacher leaders. Our expertise is integral to teacher learning and change, and is even needed for our interns to graduate and become full-time teachers. As expert teacher leaders we are both teacher coaches and researchers. We are able to help our teachers plan their instructional decisions, as we have access to their thinking and planning. We are learning more about teaching and supervision, and we are able to articulate the kinds of practices that make a good teacher - without even being asked. For example, we can help our teachers value their planning for how it benefits students in ways they haven’t even thought of before. We are also able to make connections between what teachers are doing now to improve their skills with examples from the past.

As expert researchers we now have more autonomy over the kinds of data we want to collect to help improve our teachers’ practice, and we can each specialize in different research questions. For example, we can decide the kinds of data to collect to address classroom management so that the teachers can see all the ways they are doing a good job in that area. As another example, we understand the kind of data to collect to address the clarity of instruction. Finally, we can identify and record data that shows the ways teachers are making their instruction fair for all students. Then we can analyze this data and explain it to our teachers.

We are gaining further insights into why teachers do what they do. We contribute these thoughts and connections to help them learn – these are celebrated by our teachers and tried out right away. We are practicing the concepts important in our team

for teacher learning. We can blend our language as students with our special language as teacher leaders, because the new words are starting to be part of the way we think now. Our data analysis and teaching recommendations are so important that they are typed up, printed out, signed by all of us, and put in the folders that the interns must have in order to graduate from the university and become teachers...”

#8 (early December) “Because we can influence changes in teacher behaviors, we can help our classmates who are struggling. Because we have access to teacher thinking, we can improve equity in the classroom. We can do these things because we are teacher leaders. We can articulate that being a teacher leader sometimes means doing the job of action researcher. This means collecting data, sharing the data with teachers, seeing the teachers change their practice as a result, and thus helping our classmates. In other words, we can help our classmates through influencing changes in teacher behavior. The teachers can also explain to us exactly why they think we are teacher leaders. We have access to the teachers’ special language, conversation, thinking, and their personal feelings. Sometimes teachers are afraid when they are teaching, for example. Being a teacher leader gives us insight into the adult world of work, including the learning and stages adults have to go through to become professionals. We really feel better about the relationships we have with teachers now and this has enhanced our learning conditions dramatically. Before we were teacher leaders we had no idea what teachers did and why. We like having access to the thinking of teachers because it gives us a rationale for learning, which improves equity in the chances to learn...”

#9 (mid December) It wasn’t a ‘me-ness’ that has changed. It was an ‘us-ness.’ It was all of us. Everyone in the class became more productive – every single person in our class changed as a result of our being teacher leaders. We can identify specific students who we believe have been directly impacted by our work as teacher leaders. For example, Daniel used to get in trouble a lot. Now he is not getting into as much trouble and his writing skills have improved. We can also see changes in one another here on our team, specifically as writers and math students. For example, one of us aced a test today because he actually studied, and being a teacher leader motivated him to study. One of us has been a weak writer. But now he is generating ideas as a writer, especially because he is also working with Ms. E. He has also become a stronger teacher leader over time. Another one of us has become a leader for the entire class. For example, he helps people with their math. He explains the math and stays to see you do it on your own. He has also been producing more work as a result of being a leader.

Everyone changed as a result of our being teacher leaders, and this includes the interns. First, we generated ideas to improve the teaching and learning we did together, and the interns were able to take these ideas, expand upon them, and then put them into action to see what would happen. The entire class has learned more as a result. The interns also made our ideas public, so we got credit for our role in their teaching and learning. And the class liked the work we were doing.

We can tell you the secret as to why being teacher leaders made us into better students in class. It is this: Other people are respecting us because we have a special

status among our peers and we are seen as interns. In addition, there have been very high expectations on us. We have never had to think this deeply before in school..."

In looking at the narrative created from the compilation of individual moves JJK made over time with oral and written language, their physical expressions, the special use of tools, space, and time, and through the artifacts they created, conclusions can be drawn regarding how JJK's discourse identities changed over time, which may have contributed to the changes in their institutional identities. JJK went from identifying who they were in their lives outside of school to being a powerful force in making school a more equitable learning community for their classmates and teachers. They attributed this change in their sense of identity to learning about the world of a teacher's work, and to their taking an active role in that world as "teacher leaders," which included a blend of their roles as coaches and researchers.

This shift in their discourse identities went through three stages. The first stage was in mid-September when they were chosen by their teachers to collaborate with the interns and me, although they were not yet clear on the work we would be doing. After this point they were repeatedly positioned as, and directly called "coaches" and "researchers" by the interns and me. They were asked to carry out tasks that we assigned to those roles. The second stage came in mid-October when their roles, ideas, and work were formalized in the classroom by being made public and visible to the rest of their peers. At this point JJK began enacting their identities through their verbal and nonverbal language, expressing a kind of "ownership" of themselves as teacher leaders and researchers situated within our COP. This shift became evident as they increased the expression of independent ideas and decisions for application in the classroom. In the final stage of their change in discourse identities, their behaviors and

ideas began to express an increasingly sophisticated stance as collaborators in the supervision and action research process. Instead of being simply positioned as experts, they were *being* experts, as was evident in their increased ability to be reflective and metacognitive about their work. This was especially clear in how they were able to connect their expertise to changes in teacher behaviors, which, in turn, they were able to connect with the idea of equity in the classroom. While they were less willing or able to make strong links between their work as teacher leaders and that of their individual improvements in school performance, they were adept in articulating how and why their work had positively impacted the performance of others in the classroom, and how this changed the classroom as a learning community.

It is important now to turn attention to the role that I played in facilitating the COP with JJK and the interns. In the next section I will reveal how I stretched the boundaries of my supervisory role in order to directly cultivate equity and student performance in our PDS. Looking at how this was done helped me draw more conclusions about how the COP contributed to the change in JJK's school performance and to the shift in their formal, institutional identities.

Layer 3: Motives behind the PDS Supervisory Role

So far I have presented the overarching story of our COP. This story was tied together by nine critical junctures, each made up by a collection of moves by all members of the group. Then I pulled out the moves made solely by JJK in order to examine how their situated identities ultimately shifted. Now I will give shape to the individual moves that I, as the interns' supervisor, made over time. Examining these moves helps explain how the relationship between JJK, the interns and me went from a loose affiliation of "3 kids in a classroom, two interns, and a supervisor" to a conscious,

fully functioning COP. This layer of findings helps explain how I pushed the boundaries of my role as a PDS university partner so that I could facilitate faculty, teacher candidate, and student learning in a way that challenged unexamined cultural models of “kinds of students” perpetuated in public schools.

I analyzed recordings of and artifacts from my own moves made over time within the COP. Preliminary analysis of this portion of the study was done during the period of data collection, allowing me to see that my work was driven by a definable framework, although I was initially unaware of it. I excavated this framework by coding the collection of moves I made as a supervisor, focusing my attention specifically on those moves that repositioned JJK in novel ways. Data were drawn from field notes, artifacts, and transcriptions of conversations that occurred during eight of the nine critical junctures that occurred over time and defined our COP.

Table 5-3. Jot notes to expanded notes

Jot Notes (recorded during event)	Expanded Notes (recorded immediately following event)
1. ___ and ___ : eyes	“...___ and ___ maintain eye contact with the interns, along with the rest of the class. ___ just looks ahead in my direction. ___ flips his pencil, tilts back in chair, drums on desk, is the only student in the room whose body is not facing the front of the room...I began sending them a card...I write this question to ___: “___, why do you think Ms. B is <u>re</u> -reading the book?”
2. ___ pencil, chair, drum – body away – only one	
3. D(arby) card #1	Reasons for writing this card: I’m hoping that the boys would be aware of this being a strategy for comprehension or review – that it wasn’t to bore them to tears with a second reading. Also, I want to prompt ___ to be more aware of how his body expressed disinterest. And if he wouldn’t listen to the book, would he at least engage in writing with me? And will this question help get these guys to start thinking in terms of observing with me?..”

During the process of data collection, I identified and recorded the motives and feelings behind many of the choices I made that facilitated the creation and focus of our COP. While I was in the classroom, I recorded short “jot notes,” and then expanded these field notes immediately after leaving the school. An excerpt of my field notes is below, and demonstrates how I tried to stay focused on the reasons behind my actions. The portions in bold-face type were the kinds of data I coded in order to understand the guiding principles behind my work.

Appendix G provides an example of how this level of data was organized. Each of my moves is listed, along with the motives behind each move. In the final column is the code, in the form of a number, so that I could more easily see patterns in the data. Four overarching motives guided my behavior as a supervisor, and these are listed below.

1. To consciously impact the immediate and long-range academic and social performances of JJK as “good students”
2. To consciously attempt to disrupt JJK’s institutional identities as defined and reinforced in school Discourses
3. To help scaffold and apprentice JJK in developing an inquiry-oriented “teacher educator’s” lens for observing and making sense of the classroom
4. To identify and focus on the professional development needs of the teacher candidates. As their supervisor with her own political agenda, as well as that of the PDS community I was a part of, this included their development as inquiry-oriented teachers who take charge of their own professional development, as well as teachers with a mission of social justice.

The series of moves listed in Appendix G demonstrates how all four of these motives were often inseparable. The inseparability of my motives was often because I was always maximizing the time I had in the classroom by “killing four birds with one stone” – quite literally by making moves that would allow me to meet as many of these four goals as possible. The act of recording this kind of data during moments of our

work together had an additional benefit. In sharing the motives behind my actions with JJK and the interns, often by reading them aloud from my researcher's notebook, I was able to model my own inquiry process within the COP. I was also able to incorporate my motives into "think-alouds" in order to support the professional development of the interns and to scaffold JJK's development as supervisors. This reflexive process made my moves increasingly deliberate and conscious over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter I present three different layers of analysis in order to both explain and contextualize JJK's shift in identities over time. First, I laid out the nine critical junctures that our COP experienced, and that contributed to the "storyline" of our work. Next, I analyzed how JJK's informal, discourse identities had shifted over time, marked by three phases. Third, I created a framework of motives that guided my work as the PDS university supervisor facilitating the complexity of our COP. In presenting these three layers of analysis, I demonstrated that JJK had expressed a shift in their discourse identities. In doing so, I have supported the evidence from Chapter 4 which indicated that JJK had also experienced a parallel change in their formal, institutional identities. In the next and final chapter I will synthesize these layers of findings, present new questions that emerged as a result, and discuss the implications that this work has for the PDS movement, and for the critical role school identity will have in educating children in the 21st century.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will present an overview of this dissertation research and consider the implications of the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 in which I addressed the question: *How and why do the identities and performances of three “struggling students” change during and after participating in a community of practice designed to support the supervision of prospective teachers?* The findings from this study can offer school-university partnerships an example of creatively redesigning shared roles and responsibilities in a way that can directly disrupt unexamined inequity in classrooms. These findings also begin to answer the call from literacy-and-identity scholars who have yet to thoroughly explain the phenomena of the co-construction of children’s identities and the classroom contexts that contribute to shaping this process (Flores-Gonzalez, 2002; Gee, 2000; McCarthey, 2001).

Overview of the Study

In recent times the democratic purpose of schooling has been dangerously muted in favor of social efficiency models for education which are designed to fuel economic growth and capitalism (Sleeter, 2005; Wolk, 1998). And yet, even in the name of “leaving no child behind,” this trend has, in fact, disenfranchised more students than ever before from economic opportunity and social equity (Apple, 1993; Brandt, 2001; Hinchey, 2004; McLaren, 2003). This inequity is reinforced by testing and sorting practices that track children into different educational classes that reproduce barriers between socioeconomic classes (Gee, 2004). Ultimately, it will take fundamental changes in all social and economic institutions to correct such institutionalized inequity (Goodman, 2002) but schools that organize grass-roots shared governance between

institutions, such as PDS partnerships, can lead the way. The goal of this participatory action research (PAR) was to illustrate a small step toward this aim. Through a small community of practice (COP) involving a PDS university partner in a supervisory role, two interns, and three fourth-grade students, I wondered if the school identities and performances of three pre-adolescents (“JJK”) would change, and if the quality and manifestations of these changes could be documented and explained from a theoretical point of view.

Evidence of change in JJK’s school identities and school performances was indeed gathered during this PAR. These changes convinced participants in this study that including children directly in a COP inquiring into effective teaching could have the power to disrupt taken-for-granted cultural models of the “Successful Student.” Data were analyzed through two lenses, each helping to get at different aspects of the social identities of JJK in school, and offering another way to triangulate the findings. By first establishing the cultural models available for students in the fourth grade at Yearling Elementary, it was then possible to build a single composite encompassing the three boys’ school identity at the beginning of the school year, and then once again at the mid-point of that academic year. These two composites were interpreted through the lens of James Gee’s (2000) institutional identities. As students in the formal institution of public schooling, the three boys’ school identities fell on a continuum between “successful” and “unsuccessful” at the very beginning of the school year. JJK’s initial school identities were comprised of a significant number of markers that made the case that they were, essentially, most commonly defined as “unsuccessful.” By the end of

the four-month study, their composite of school identities shifted toward a “mostly successful” definition.

The question that these findings raised at this point was this: Would these three boys have experienced the same degree of a shift from “unsuccessful” to “successful” students had they *not* participated in our COP? While the shift in their school identities was worthy of celebration, we could not know if their experience in the COP was the impetus for that change. For this reason we also analyzed the path that the COP took over time to see if any evidence for changes in JJK’s identities could be found in that process. To do this, JJK’s behaviors were closely documented. We collected evidence of changes in their discourse practices, which included their words, body language, and use of texts and other props that defined their ongoing membership in the COP. By doing so we were, essentially, asking this question: *How did JJK’s discourse identities change over time?* By creating a composite in the form of a single storyline of these changes, we were able to assert that JJK (and their teachers) had gone from viewing their school identities in light of low reading abilities and inappropriate social behaviors to viewing them as teacher leaders, competent writers and mathematicians, and agents of change for their peers. JJK insisted that the change in their school identities, marked by their new academic performances, was not due to individual effort. Rather, they attributed this change to a new sense of belonging gained from their participation in our COP. This insight led me to the conclusion that in order to impact equity in the PDS classroom where teachers, prospective teachers, university educators and children come together, it may be necessary to consciously forge purposeful learning communities. These and other implications that come from the findings of this study will

be discussed. But first I will outline ten guiding principles that participants in this study and I believe are important components to include when building collaborative COPs between children and educators to support the supervision of prospective teachers in the PDS in ways that can help children with marginalized school identities to take ownership of those identities and reconstruct them in new ways.

Guiding Principles for Building Student-Teacher COPs for Supervision in the PDS

Because of the nature of participatory action research (PAR) that formed the basis for which our COP was established, it is not possible to recommend a model that will replicate our experience, as the outcomes of PAR depend on the agenda setting and actions of its unique participants within their unique contexts. In addition, every PDS takes a highly individualized approach to interpreting, assembling, and enacting the blended goals of university- and school-based faculty learning, teacher preparation, and P-12 student learning through inquiry-based practices. However, the data analysis process still led to ten assertions that organize the most important elements needed in order to build student-teacher COPs that support the supervision and learning of prospective and practicing teachers for the purpose of facilitating change in the school identities and performances of children in the PDS and beyond.

1. We expected student participants in the COP to simultaneously perform their multiple roles as students and as teacher leaders with a high degree of competency. While this is a highly sophisticated cognitive load for anyone to bear, not to mention for nine-year old people, teachers were convinced that it was critical to expect JJK to manage all of their responsibilities as both students and as teacher leaders. In fact, we concluded that these were the very conditions needed for JJK to perform so well and experience a shift in their school identities. At no time were these

students “off the hook” from the academic tasks they were expected to perform, or for the quality of work that the entire class was expected to produce. In each of the five intern observations that JJK helped facilitate, they not only kept up with their peers in the tasks presented to them as students but they excelled in them unlike ever before. JJK’s high academic performance then began to occur during instructional time when we were not working together as a COP. Late night emails from the interns illuminate this assertion:

This asks more of them than what the “typical teacher” would ask but it’s having a positive effect on their school work and classroom demeanor, and they have risen to meet every expectation that we’ve had of them!

...I also just wanted to tell you, Darby, that...since last Friday, ___ has been asking to do his work...and the amount and quality of work he has put out has been astounding! He’s also more inclined to ask questions...he clarifies what he’s thinking, and he loves to bounce teaching ideas off of us! Today he made a comment about (a teaching strategy) we tried today. He said, “Wow, this has really helped me edit this.”

___ is so enthusiastic! He is still hesitant sometimes but (his) social levels have risen so much! He comes over to read in groups, he talks more to his peers (and he starts the interaction!), and is more open to us (interns). It was amazing to see how much he has changed since the first few weeks...he did his homework for the first time last week...I think (the COP) has really meant a lot to him. I think it’s really helped him see that we really do value what he’s saying, and want to hear it!

___ just became a little teacher now! We just finished a reading lesson in which he said after someone gave an answer, “I like how (the author) used the word extreme. It really grabs the reader’s attention.” He is really thinking like a teacher and even more so, he is orating his thoughts in a professional and thought-provoking way...he’s becoming a teacher leader by pointing out how everyone can make their answers better by “being a little bit more like (the author)” in using detailed vocabulary. I love it and hope you do, too!

There were times when data collection tasks did impede JJK’s ability to complete assignments or participate in activities. For example, one of the boys struggled with fine motor control and often used a scribe during instructional time. During these occasions

he would dictate responses for me to record for him. While it was never possible to both take notes as a student and collect data as a researcher, all three of the boys figured out ways to economize their time, stay focused, use their available resources (including me), and meet the demands of both roles by sliding back and forth between them. This contributed to our conclusion as a team that increasing the demand on JJK actually increased their school performances. Again, the interns emailed thoughts about this to me over the course of the semester:

...I think if you treat the students like adults, then they act like adults as shown by evidence of the 3 boys' evolution throughout the past semester. They can handle the challenges we set before them and they can handle them in an appropriate manner. (This) has made them more responsible for their own learning and you can see how their participation in both activities and as group members has changed. They are more engaged and more willing to put effort into their work...

2. We demystified the teacher's world of work and "privileged ways of knowing" by inviting students to think and act like teachers. Whenever the interns and I shared our rationales for our actions as teachers and inquirers, JJK responded quickly to our high demands of them as both students and as teacher leaders. JJK expressed that they had never believed before that they were allowed to have access to teacher thinking. Learning the reasons behind our decisions and actions during classroom instruction and planning was fascinating and motivating to them, and opened up more of their questions about teaching along the way. But our ultimate reason for sharing our worlds as teachers was to help them begin to think like teachers. We wanted them to "get inside our heads and hearts" so that they could bring their unique points of view as students to our conversations and enhance our own professional development. Interestingly, the interns began observing that this had the added benefit of shaping JJK's own processing and behaviors as strategic learners by helping them

own their personal learning experiences. This shift in JJK's ownership of their own learning was highly intertwined with their changing status and positionalities in the classroom. In more late night emails, the interns illustrated these conclusions:

The boys are applying what they have learned about thinking like a teacher to their own thinking about learning. They seem to be approaching learning in a new way. I think that this will help them be in charge of their own learning, and give them a sense of ownership, and have them create a deeper meaning and connection with the materials. Instead of something being given straight to them, it becomes understanding that they've created, they've connected, and they've been responsible for...

___ has come into the role of teacher leader. I have seen him on two occasions share and teach a strategy that works for him with his peers. He has really stepped up and has the confidence to help his peers learn. The best way to know someone understands something is to watch them effectively teach it to someone else. I think his thinking like a teacher has transformed his role of student to peer teacher, which is a very powerful position to be in...

...I think that (JJK) have really taken on the challenge of thinking like teachers. I think since they have worked on understanding why we do the things we do as teachers they have become more metacognitive about why and what they do as students... This has changed the way in which they go about their everyday learning and how they interact (with the class) on a daily basis...

3. We kept our focus on *teachers-as-learners*, rather than on *students-as-performers*. It was almost never necessary for the interns or me to point out JJK's performance in the classroom as students. Rather, we put our full conversational focus on the three of us as adult learners, and positioned JJK as the coaches and data collectors we needed to improve our practices, including mine as a supervisor. This positioning was not a strategy to mask our intentions. Indeed, the learning of the prospective teachers was the first priority of the function of supervision. Making this the forefront of our work in the COP was appropriate. My joining in as another educator trying to improve her practice as a supervisor only amplified this focus for all of us. This

focus created a safe space for JJK to explore their “student-ness” by studying and sharing their own responses to our teaching. By modeling our own metacognitive processes as teachers, JJK took risks in exploring their own thinking, behaviors, and motives as students in this classroom.

All of this happened because we cultivated an inquiry stance in our COP, modeled first within my role as a supervisor engaged in her own inquiry. I positioned myself right alongside my interns who were also engaging in inquiry into their own teaching practice. Our blended inquiry focus became a powerful experience for the interns, and they often shared with their colleagues in their intern seminars how intertwined their inquiries were with mine, and how all of it was impacting JJK’s growth as successful students in school. The interns easily switched positions with me and became *my* inquiry coach, as exemplified here in an email:

I talked to J yesterday...I also asked him if he like using the cards, and if there was anything we could do to improve using them. We talked about giving each group a question to answer and he said that he liked (this idea), and it would help us as teachers because we would be able to see everyone’s answers. Ask him for the (data), Darby...*it’s there!*... and would be great for your inquiry, too...☺

The interns also made explicit connections between the work of our COP and their own development as teacher researchers:

...JJK really are rising above and beyond what I thought they could do and have shown me that collaboration with students can be rewarding – not only for them to embrace a new active role in the classroom but also to help give me the insights that students have toward everyday teaching and learning...

As inquiry-oriented COP members, we used our most salient “felt difficulties” (Dana & Yendol-Hoppey, 2009) found in the teaching and supervision process as our focal points for learning. While there were always many felt difficulties and tensions in

our work, we tried to prioritize the ones that were the most emotionally or professionally pressing to each of us. While as the supervisor I relinquished a great deal of control of the agenda-setting for the interns' learning, the pay-off was that the learning, and even the professional development experience we all shared, went much deeper than it would have if I had constructed the entire supervision experience from my single authority and point of view. The interns were then able to practice taking control of their own professional development with the skilled scaffolding I provided. Finally, as each COP member was given increasingly more freedom to determine what he or she wanted to learn or explore, the underlying social justice agenda embedded in the PAR came closer to realization. In the end, my entire agenda as a teacher educator and supervisor was *addressed* well beyond my expectations.

4. We recognized and honored the boundaries of the classroom, the school culture, and our roles...while actively reinventing them at the same time. Deciding to actively disrupt narratives designed to keep unexamined school practices firmly in place is not a popular choice for teachers to make, let alone for interns or children. This kind of work can potentially upset the critical psychological balance teachers need in order to cope with unprecedented external pressures bearing down on how they define teaching and learning, how they define children, and the instructional decision-making power that they once owned in years past. For this reason it was clearly important that the work we did as a COP respect the comfort zones of our colleagues and students. We did this by seeking out and then honoring the personal boundaries of children and teachers in the PDS regarding how much the interns and I would be allowed to do. On the other hand, we believed that in order to change some of the long-held assumptions

about children and teachers being perpetuated as a result of external pressures on schools, we had to take a chance and redraw some of the boundary lines. Negotiating this tension was not easy. Our work in shaping the sometimes rigid boundaries for our work relied heavily on my historical and political role in the school. Because I had some degree of “insider-ness” established, and because the partnership was highly valued by school leadership, I had creative latitude in re-inventing my roles and responsibilities over time. I did not take this privilege for granted, however. Constant conversations with my colleagues were necessary as our COP work developed and moved to be sure that it did not impede on the teaching and learning routines and expectations of others. In addition, I had to be sure I was providing a great deal of reciprocity to my colleagues. One way I accomplished these goals is by expanding my own role in a way that allowed me to have a more direct impact on the achievement for all learners in the classroom. For example, I provided access to assessment data on all of the students that might not have been captured otherwise. I also often served as a co-teacher for the interns during instruction. In this way I not only gained more insights into JJK’s development as students, I was also able to reduce the student-teacher ratio in the classroom and take responsibility for the instructional load.

5. We scaffolded JJK’s moves toward “teacher leadership.” While it was not difficult getting JJK to explore their potential for being teacher leaders, it did require strategic planning and mindful facilitation. It also required a sensitivity to these fourth-graders’ ideas of what teachers are “supposed to do,” and what “students are supposed to do,” which did not typically include students teaching teachers how to teach. For example, at the beginning of our work together, I had to brainstorm with the interns

ways to create the conditions and opportunities needed that would allow JJK to have the space to generate their own ideas, take ownership of these ideas, and begin leading us into translating their ideas into practice in the classroom. These early brainstorming sessions were also critical for the interns as they, too, were searching for their creative ways to enact their own fledgling identities as teacher inquirers. The first ideas JJK came up with to impact the interns' classroom teaching were heavily scaffolded by the interns and me. However, JJK were able to quickly take increasing ownership of the generation of ideas and planning from that point on. Over time JJK took more responsibility for the way their learning journey unfolded together with ours as educators. Meanwhile, I began the enjoyable transition into facilitating, rather than leading the process. Toward the end of the study I was most actively helping JJK and the interns identify their felt difficulties as valuable data and getting them to define what they wanted to learn during a particular observation. This help included supporting JJK's decisions on the lenses they would use as researchers, as well as roles and responsibilities each member would have, including how they wanted to use my role.

6. We found refuge by lingering in the “sweet spot” of anticipation between what “was” and what “could be.” Engaging in work that disrupts the status quo can bring despair as participants become increasingly more critically conscious. There were times that the interns became disheartened by the oppressive conditions of schooling that felt in stark contrast to the liberation they felt as teachers in the COP. While I do not have data to substantiate this, I often wondered if JJK felt the same way, at times. In order to bring relief, we found it most effective to act with confidence and operate as if the vision for equitable schools was *already* a reality. We chose to believe that learning

was the most important business of school, and that world was already a better place as a result of our work together. In doing so our dialogue produced new narratives about students and teachers, and about teaching and learning. These new narratives focused on the successes we saw, no matter how small. We looked greedily for the successes we could find in one another, and in the children and teachers who surrounded us. We looked for success with the passion of treasure hunters, people who enjoy lingering for long periods of time in the periods between being empty handed, searching, and anticipating the next find. We then acted upon the new narratives we cultivated from this “sweet spot” of anticipation, thereby disrupting narratives we were hearing marked by deficit-thinking, ranking, and other myopic views of human beings.

7. We made our work public. JJK, the interns, and I worked diligently to publicize our efforts. First, through conversations with the fourth-grade teaching team at lunch, the interns and I made explicit connections between JJK’s work as teacher leaders and their academic development as students. We showed our colleagues artifacts, such as the cards JJK and I wrote back and forth during observations of the interns. However, we presented them not as supervision notes but as impressive writing samples. Fourth grade was the big “writing year” for teachers and students at Yearling Elementary, as this was the first year they experienced high stakes testing in this area. Teachers saw these kinds of artifacts as especially powerful examples for two of the three students, as getting them to write in normal academic activities was nearly impossible. We also shared JJK’s verbal language development with our colleagues, and how they were appropriating teacher language they were hearing from our COP. This generated excitement for several other teachers, especially the special

education teachers. These same colleagues later began reporting other times they heard JJK generalizing new vocabulary and their newly developed metacognitive skills about teaching and learning in new academic contexts. Such sharing cast a new narrative and perspective about JJK in educator discussions.

Second, we made our work visible to the entire classroom. This visibility not only enhanced JJK's status among their peers. It also shaped the classroom community in a way that nurtured the curiosity of other students who wanted to be included in the problem-posing we did together through inquiry. The interns were able to capitalize on the increased curiosity and interest demonstrated by the class by building in conversations about teaching and learning into their lessons in a way I could have never done alone. These two strategies for publicizing and sharing our work were critical in stretching the boundaries of the classroom and school culture in a way that would allow us to interrogate our assumptions and interrupt the ways children are defined by narrow curricula and school practices.⁸

8. We designed and used special texts that marked our membership and meaning-making in the COP. The six of us generated and shared multiple text forms that defined our relationship with one another as collaborative designers in our COP. These texts included oral and written conversations, observation instruments, work samples, lesson plans, meeting notes, data collected during observations, and our specialized vocabulary. By generating and using these texts together, power was more equalized among us, even though we had to maintain enough of a hierarchy of power to continue moving forward in a focused and productive way under the constraints of time and institutional goals we had to adhere to. All of the texts were powerful and symbolic

reminders of our distinct membership in the COP, even though they were embedded within the regular classroom community. Children outside of the COP found them fascinating, and frequently asked JJK to explain their meaning. In several instances JJK invited other children to engage with these texts and even help generate new ones.

I consciously nurtured our specialized vocabulary that marked our COP membership. For example, I purposely inserted key words into our oral and written conversations. These words came predominantly from the readings the interns were doing that semester, and from my own specialized language as a supervisor. Some of the most common words we used that distinguished our COP from the rest of the class included: *data* (called “facts” by JJK), *research*, *inquiry*, *felt difficulty*, *teacher leader*, *teacher learning*, *engagement*, *assessment*, *verbal reminders*, *participation*, and *observation*. In addition, we had several catch-phrases that marked our relationship with one another, as well as the focus of our work. One of the most common phrases we used was, “We have to catch teachers and kids ‘being good.’” This was used as a cue to look for the successes of both adults and children in the teaching and learning process during an observation.

9. We found the “bread crumbs” of JJK’s available designs and followed them. JJK did not know how to be teacher leaders, or that such a way of being was even possible. We had to scaffold JJK in this process over time by exploring and building upon available designs they brought with them to the group (Rogers & Fuller, 2007). These included their discourses, dialects, histories as students, their beliefs and models about schooling and appropriate relationships between students and teachers. It became important to find the “bread crumbs,” or the clues that helped give us insight

into JJK's available designs so that we could start to draw them out, and then build on them through shared dialogue. For example, while JJK did not initially have the ability to articulate specific feedback to help improve the interns' lessons, one of them did have a strong opinion that teachers needed to learn to incorporate fun into teaching if they wanted their lessons to be more effective. I quickly identified this notion of *fun* as a bread crumb to follow and I appropriated the word into my conversations with the COP. I used this word to nudge JJK into thinking more deeply about why teachers need to make learning more *engaging* (a word they later appropriated and used in replacement of *fun*), how we could make that happen, and how to test their assertion with data that more engaging lessons did, indeed, result in quality learning. Over time one bread crumb collected from JJK's belief system led to the next, and each time these ideas and thoughts became increasingly connected to their ability to gather evidence that tested their assumptions about "good teaching."

10. We embraced my differentiated status as a teacher educator in the classroom. The interns and I came to believe that in order for our work to shape the school identities of JJK, the status of the university supervisor clearly matters. For the other students and teachers to endorse our bids for JJK's new institutional identities, I had to carry enough clout with the fourth-grade teaching team. I did this by first demonstrating my genuine interest in all students and teachers in the fourth-grade wing, and then by spending special time with each child in Ms. S's classroom over the course of the semester. I also shared my instructional support with all of the children in the classroom. Soon it became a "big deal" when I entered the classroom and we had to manage the appropriateness of the student reactions when I came. We believe that this

“celebrity status” associated with my role was critical in order to elevate JJK’s status in the classroom. If my role had not been valuable to the students in the class, then the privileges JJK had as members of the COP would have likely had less impact on shaping their new school identities.

The ten principles outlined in this section are by no means prescriptive for educators and researcher who wish to collaborate with children in teacher supervision. However, we believe that the findings support that these assertions paint a picture of how participants in our study needed to reframe their thinking, practices, and relationships with one another and with the curriculum in order for students to be able to re-author their school identities. It is clear that one of the most important ways this goal was achieved was by consciously creating a community of practice (COP), and this will be discussed next. Following this I will turn attention to the questions that the findings of this study posed for us, as well as the broader implications that this research has for the field of educational research and practice.

The Critical Role of the Community of Practice

“It’s almost like we are going to have to figure a way to carve out a little niche to learn in spite of the barriers imposed here.” – Researcher’s Notebook, October 14, 2008.

Our community of practice (COP), consisting of JJK, the two interns, and me, indeed became the most critical factor in facilitating change in the classroom through my role in the PDS, and further as a participant observer in the PAR. The power that this COP had in mediating change within, and even outside of, its boundaries fully surprised me, especially because it was never formalized or named. There were two main functions that the COP facilitated for JJK, which empowered them to take command of their own school curriculum and ultimately reposition their status and social

identities in the larger classroom community. First, the COP created the belonging that JJK named as being the most important factor facilitating their change in school identities. Second, it allowed us to carve out a space of resistance where unspoken curricular and social rules could become more pliable and we could let the process of our shared inquiry into “making better teachers” unfold. These two functions of the COP will be discussed next in more detail.

Creating Belonging and a Space of Resistance

Our work together as a COP was very much “against the grain” (Cochran-Smith, 2004), and was not rewarded by the traditional structure that came from the state- and district-imposed curriculum, nor by the value system that permeated the classroom culture. The space of resistance we created was absolutely critical in order to learn in a situation where there seemed to be more barriers to than facilitators for doing so. This space of resistance was created by several strategies that were in my control as a PDS partner and supervisor. First, my status and my role gave me some license to “speak out of turn” during classroom instruction and bring attention to my own learning through think-alouds. Over time I expanded the focus of learning to include that of the interns and students. Second, I acted as a surrogate source of power and status for the interns, teachers, JJK, and the rest of the children in the class. As their surrogate I could let children and interns “borrow” my relative power and status by extending these to them when needed. Third, I designed and modeled my identity in the classroom as an enthusiastic and public learner, and then recruited the interns, other adults, and the students to reposition themselves in the same way. Finally, I wove into my language a specialized vocabulary that began marking a clear distinction between the six of us as members of the inner circle of our COP, and those outside of it. Many of the words that

I used created a special discourse of educational theory and an agenda of supervision and teacher inquiry that came from the readings I was facilitating with the interns in a separate seminar. This discourse was appropriated fairly quickly by JJK, the interns, and even a few other students who were highly interested in the work of our COP.

As a COP we engaged in inquiry and redistributed formal allotments of power on a regular basis. This repositioning could happen in an instant, and the interns and JJK became quite adaptable to these shifts in our roles and identities during the course of the school day. The cue was usually when our shared inquiry question became implicitly or explicitly activated: “How do we make better teachers?” Once this question was asked or assumed, we entered into a special place of collegiality where roles of power became fluid and shared. This collegiality between the interns, JJK and me was important to the outcome of the study, pointing to how adults must be willing to relocate and redistribute expertise in order to facilitate situated learning. Shifting into collegial relationships allowed us to name reality from the contexts of a differentiated but entirely shared fabric of expertise, one carried by all participants and manifested in different degrees at different times. Because of the clarity of our goals and purposes, the adults were able to more safely experiment with sharing power with JJK as we treated the task of internship supervision as a collaborative inquiry.

While I acknowledged and maintained my status as an authority figure with children and as an evaluator of the prospective teachers, I consciously blurred the boundaries of that authority by becoming a surrogate power source for JJK and the interns. In a short time the interns became comfortable extending their relative power to JJK, as well. They found that the more they invited JJK to develop their own voices in

the conversation about “making better teachers,” the more powerful the boys evolved as a viable data source for the interns’ personal professional development. At this point the interns also began documenting significant changes in JJK’s academic performance in the classroom as they boys began showing more fascination in the relationship between their interns’ actions and their own performances in class. This was particularly evident in JJK’s ever-developing metacognitive think-alouds about their learning experiences in the classroom. As JJK became more publicly metacognitive, this increased the sense of efficacy on the part of the interns, motivating them to deepen their collaboration with JJK over time and increase their expectations of the boys both as teacher leaders and as academic performers. The interns also began to accept my invitation to begin designing their own learning agendas. They demonstrated this by taking charge of the decisions on how to utilize JJK and me as data sources and as their coaches. By the end of our COP experience together, JJK were also actively experimenting with and enacting their emerging identities as learning experts and teacher leaders by making decisions about the direction of our work, strategies for teachers to try, and our pedagogical foci, including their special interest in making the learning conditions in the classroom more equitable for all.

It was frankly surprising how quickly JJK took on their role of “teacher leaders” and how they began enacting this role across contexts, including instructional time when I was not there. JJK’s manifestation of teacher leadership is especially significant considering how long they had been positioned in school as “less than successful students.” In this sense perhaps James Gee (2009, personal communication) has a valid point when he says that we tend to take more risks as learners when we can

assume a new identity, such as when adolescents play and become proficient in sophisticated video gaming. In gaming a mistake is no longer the learner's fault. Rather, one can say the mistake was "just my elf," or whatever character s/he is embodying at the time. Perhaps this is what happened in JJK's case regarding the risks they began taking in their academic performances. It was no longer JJK risking failure, but their new characters as "teacher leaders," a role that existed solely to provide data and insights for teacher learning, rather than to judge JJK as students, or perhaps more accurately, as human beings. In coming to this new identity as teacher leaders there was suddenly room to enact competent performances because "failure" had lost its relevance and meaning within the context of our COP. Providing their teachers with data for learning was the sole objective of JJK's academic efforts. The honest and natural form of this effort, "mistakes" and all, was celebrated as the raw material we needed to evaluate the effectiveness of the interns' teaching and my supervision. All learning data that JJK generated for the COP became the next exciting clue in our game of "how to make better teachers."

As mentioned, I modeled and began positioning myself as a public learner in the classroom. Presenting myself as a learner became necessary because when I initially joined the class as a participant observer, both adults and children immediately projected onto my role an expectation of authority and expertise that was problematic for the aims of this PAR. Therefore, I made deliberate bids to the entire class to define me as a learner. These bids initially created some disequilibrium in the classroom culture but ultimately paved the way for me to position the interns and other teachers as public learners, to different degrees, both within and outside of the inner circle of the

COP. This was especially true once they saw that I was able to successfully “pull off a Discourse” (Gee, 2002, p. 16) in which the words and actions I used to get people to identify me as a “learner” clearly posed no threat to my assigned identity as an “expert” educator. The interns, and a few other colleagues, soon began to experiment with reshaping their professional identities to include that of public learner, at least within conversations with me. JJK began doing the same by appropriating think-alouds into their regular dialogue with us. Once this happened, JJK and several other children gained access to new discourse patterns with the adults and with one another. For example, they were able to liberate themselves from the safe, predictable, but constraining discourse patterns of classroom conversations where teachers are the ones who ask the questions and a privileged few children are charged to answer them. Data on this change in discourse were not collected on a whole class level. However, such data would have been interesting to gather in order to document how changes in the positionalities of adults and children contributed to co-constructions of school identities and academic performances within the classroom community, as a whole.

Questions Remaining for Further Study

The question of how engaging in COPs like this one might shape school identities and academic performances among an entire classroom community, or even an entire PDS, is one that I wonder about at the close of this study. I also wonder how active and visible the “more successful” and “teacher leader” dimensions of JJK’s school identities will be over time. As the study ended after month five, we did not document what Holland and Lave (2001) call the “thickening of identity,” or the “lamination” of JJK’s hybrid psycho-social positioning (Hollad & Leander, 2004) which occurs over an extended period, becoming stronger and more resilient. Did JJK’s

school identities ultimately sustain within the co-constructed social reality in the classroom (Wortham, 2004)? What did JJK's academic performances in school look like once the COP experience ended? Finally, how did this experience shape the next school year when they became middle school students?

Another question that emerged in this study is how the intensification of teacher time through increased external demands and political agendas (Hargreaves, 1994) impacts the co-construction of school identity. Namely, how do such pressures compel teachers to employ "telegraphing" discourse practices (Pace, personal communication, August 18, 2008) so that they can pack information about students into one and two word labels and convey them quickly? What power do such discourse practices among teachers have in limiting and reifying school identities for children? If teachers had fewer students, more time, and more voice, how much richer would their conversations be about children, not to mention their assessment practices? How would this impact how children are institutionally identified? How would the life chances of children change if their school identities were formed in social learning environments where the complexities of their talents, perspectives, identities, and competencies were recognized and celebrated, and then used as the impetus for learning new knowledge(s), skills, and dispositions?

Final questions that continued to come up during this study focused on the interns. How did our COP change their discourse practices, and thus their emerging professional identities? How did this experience lead to their development as change agents for social justice in schools? Did their participation in the COP impact the way they positioned themselves, including their ongoing learning, relative to their students?

If so, in what ways? How did this field experience impact the way they perceived the role of data in their classroom? Finally, how did their taking such a central lead in their professional agenda shape their internship and their early years as novice teachers? These questions, and many others, are at the heart of PDS work and will be examined in subsequent studies. For now, I will outline the implications that this study's findings have on the PDS community, and for educators, in general.

Implications for PDS Work and Beyond

While this PAR brings to light many new questions for investigation in the PDS, there are six implications for university-school partnership work that must be seriously considered if we intend to go beyond programmatic and descriptive research and begin actualizing equity in schools. These include collaborating directly with students in supervision and inquiry into teaching and learning, including children in discourses of power, capitalizing on opportunities to engage children in multiliteracies and situated practice, doing democracy with children, preparing children for political and economic participation in the 21st century, and making explicit connections between the PDS social justice agenda and literacy-and-identity scholarship. All of these implications involve actions that are highly accessible because they can be embedded within the regular goings-on of PDS classrooms. They require no extra time, money, or additional curriculum because they utilize the natural resources already present, allowing participants to use immediately available tools to redesign their lives in the PDS setting.

Collaborating with Students in Teacher Inquiry

The PDS community would be wise to seriously consider learning strategies from urban science teacher educators who engage in communities of practice with marginalized learners in the teacher inquiry process through cogenerative dialogue

(Tobin, 2006; Tobin, Elmeskey & Seiler, 2005). “Research as real work involves teaching students to do work that historians, anthropologists, or physical scientists perform” (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 1998, p. 15). I would argue that in the school, that “research as real work” would include teaching students to do the work of teacher researchers, and in the case of the PDS, perhaps even that of teacher educators. After all, as Steinberg and Kincheloe (1998) also point out, isolating children from the adult world is a very recent historical phenomenon. Children were once fully positioned within the daily work and community lives of their families. My work with students as collaborators in the supervision of teacher candidates reclaims this tradition of apprenticeship, giving students “privy” to the lives and experiences of the adult world through work that really matters and for which they are truly central in importance. In this way children shift from being objects to subjects of education and in life. In becoming collaborative inquirers, including students as scientists, students as historians, or even students as teaching coaches, students can expand their identities in school beyond the dehumanizing constraints of leveled reading groups or standardized test scores. Collaborating alongside children as teacher researchers and educators, therefore, can become acts of emancipation and revolution.

Including Children in Discourses of Power

In recognizing that school practices are based on middle class value systems and assumptions, James Gee says that, “(Children in schools) not born in the middle class need to know how (this) will be used against them” (personal communication, January 14, 2009). One way to help children to both critically read and strategically utilize school literacy practices is to teach and include students in discourses of power. The data from this study reveals that by providing public school students access to

discourses, such as theoretical languages of educational supervision and pedagogy, educators can, indeed, directly help to reclaim the institutional identities of children. In doing so educators can disrupt the hegemony of schooling that continues to perpetuate a system of “winners” and “losers” and that, in turn, leads to real life psychological and social consequences and economic outcomes that do not embrace the potentials of *all* individuals for the benefit of the greater society. No matter how privileged a child is, or not, s/he can learn how to use special languages and discourses, as children regularly demonstrate with proficiency in the world of their own media texts (Gee, 2004). This study demonstrates that children can participate in specialized academic discourses, such as those that mark the special languages of action research and supervision. Why should such available discourses remain locked up in the worlds of teachers and academicians? Granting access to children to expand their cultural capital through discourses would likely lead to access and fluency with other specialized discourses necessary, for example, in the math and sciences. These are the very areas from which students like JJK are marginalized. This marginalization is exasperated by the specialized discourses such academic areas require, which often depend on the ongoing support of language acquisition that happens outside of school. As Gee (2004) points out, traditional schooling continues to fail to teach these discourses in everyday practice.

Activating Multiliteracies

Indeed, school literacy practices are the contexts in which identity is constructed, including how students feel, form relationships and beliefs about themselves as the “types of people” (Gee, 2008, p. 3) that they are (and are not), or are being recruited to believe that they are (Egan-Robertson, 1998; Gee, 2000). School practices dictated by

bureaucratic definitions of *literacy* appropriated by conservative politicians, researchers, educators, and the media (Brandt, 2001) often constrain and disable literacy learning due to their limited scope (Street, 2001) and in authentic purposes for literacy learning (Kubey, 2004). In this study JJK were actively engaged in complex social tasks involving reading, designing, problem-solving, evaluating, and writing by using and generating multiple forms of formal and informal texts for authentic purposes and audiences. These texts, and social activities surrounding them, transcended traditional academic boundaries for literacy in the classroom. Examples included written notes of adult-student conversations, formal observation instruments requiring recording and analysis of numerical and linguistic data, teacher-generated instructional materials, lesson plans, as well as the regular curricular texts that JJK were simultaneously expected to transact with and respond to with competence.

If we expect children to learn to be independent and critical thinkers and problem-solvers, and have more than a utilitarian relationship with reading and writing, we must provide authentic opportunities in which to explore real social questions. Such opportunities need to include experiences that demand an authentic purpose for designing and transacting with texts, and access to real audiences with which to communicate. As it stands now the imposed curricula and the implications of standardized tests end up suppressing such opportunities (Torres, 1998).

Doing Democracy and Reforming Schools

We talk often about the need to offer direct and practical routes for doing democracy in public schools (Goodman, 1992; Parker, 2003). Creating communities of practice that include children in the supervision of teachers or teacher candidates offers a readily accessible way to do democracy in the PDS context. Such work can also

impact school reform through the creation of learning communities of teachers and children that focus on student strengths, rather than on perceived deficits of learners (Nieto, 2005). It brings voice to children who, alongside their teachers, get to experience generating their own knowledge and truth-seeking through situated certainty (Hargreaves, 1994) alongside their teachers, and provides a way for children to access broadly humanistic educational experiences that consider context, judgment, critical reflection, multiple perspectives, and opportunities to evaluate (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Noddings, 2006). Finally, collaborating with children in teacher supervision work provides an example of an answer to the New London Group's (1996) call to schools to teach students to embrace the development of multi-layered identities, and to cultivate cultural repertoires by learning to use these identities strategically in different life worlds, work contexts, and civic spaces. Working in the PDS with children as teacher leaders allow teachers and students to practice the kind of sophisticated work that is critical for developing democratic schools and societies.

Preparing Children for the New Work Order of the 21st Century

Collaborating with children in schools in research, democratic reform, the development of multiliteracies, and discourses of power prepares them for a globalized economy that public schools currently fail to prepare most students for (New London Group, 1996). Gee (2004) emphasizes how the nature of work in the twenty-first century has changed. To be successful in the virtual and corporatized work world it will be necessary to creatively enact many identities and literacy practices within many different social networks. Workers who can do this will have the most access to opportunity, and the privileged members of the Millennial generation are already socialized to be fluent with such skills (Gee, 2004). Privileged classes of people are

engaging in more project-oriented team work (New London Group, 1996), a way of working that is replacing hierarchal or assembly line organizations which follow clear chains of command (Street, 2001), and one that relies on social working styles that happen through informal networking (Gee, 2000; New London Group, 1996). However, this shift, in fact, makes the rules of the new working world harder to identify, define, and then learn, making learning the literacy practices needed to gain access to opportunity even more difficult than it was during the era of hierarchal organization (New London Group, 1996). Yet, school curricula and organization are still gridlocked by these old hierarchal cultural models (Hargreaves, 1994; Street, 2001), making it nearly impossible for children lacking privileged opportunities *outside* of school to practice and become fluent with the languages and social relationships of the new work world (New London Group, 1996). As these students are denied access to the kind of learning through situated practice that is needed for the 21st century work world, we effectively guarantee that they will be relegated to service sector jobs (Gee, 2000). This PAR offered three fourth graders an opportunity to engage meaningfully in situated practice to enhance adult learning in a manageable way by creatively working through the roles and responsibilities that already defined their PDS.

Literacy-and-Identity Studies: A Call for Putting Theory into Action

The final contribution that this study makes is to call literacy-and-identity researchers to move beyond the initial stage of naming problems and on to applying the powerful insights gained from research in this field. This study confirms the critical importance of cultivating communities of practice in order to get at issues of identity in schools. It offers yet another example of the power of enacting theory into practice, and allowing practice to inform theory, through critical action research at the grass-roots

level. It also provides another example of how identity is at the heart of school performance and literacy learning. It does this by presenting evidence for the very real power children and educators have in schools in redefining school literacies, what counts as knowledge and competence, and how embracing the multiliteracies and perspectives of children marginalized by schooling, in the words of JJK, “makes (all of) us a lot smarter,” including that of teachers and of university school partners.

I would like to invite literacy-and-identity researchers to begin seeking sustained, reciprocal, collegial relationships in the PDS and in other deliberate, committed university-school partnerships. The PDS is a rich source for literacy-and-identity studies to begin blending theory and practice because inquiry is the mechanism that holds such partnerships together. University and school-based faculties committed to learning through inquiry create the optimal conditions needed to facilitate agendas of social justice. The PDS can reposition researchers in ways that allow them to directly change the “here and now” by amplifying the voices of children and teachers; changing perspectives and unexamined assumptions about children’s school identities that perpetuate inequity; and impacting literacy practices and policies at the local, state, national, and global level. Finally, literacy-and-identity researchers committed to the PDS would not only facilitate real change in the lives of teachers and learners. Researchers would also be impacting the development of the next generation of teachers. Through inquiry-oriented apprenticeships with such researchers, prospective teachers would more likely develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to embrace, rather than attempt to homogenize, the multiliteracies of diverse students; develop a critical orientation to literacy teaching and learning; and begin to reclaim educators’

ownership of defining the competencies of children and what and whose knowledge(s) to value.

Conclusion

Democracy does not exist without educating a critical mass of intelligent users and creators (Goodman, 1992). The vision for public school as a democratizing institution for the masses is seriously in danger, particularly for its most vulnerable populations of women and children. The case has been made in this dissertation that the wrath of high stakes testing, and the social and academic sorting and tracking practices that organize schools as a result, reproduce inequity and lead to school and social identities of failure. The PDS must seriously embrace its unique position and power in resisting the debilitating political assault on teachers and their students who are working under increasingly colonized conditions. In such conditions teacher time, energy, professional judgment, choices and voices are so compromised that it becomes nearly impossible to act, let alone reflect upon how teachers are systematically positioned to define children in oppressive ways. In the name of “education,” teachers are coerced into institutional practices that end up disabling them. These practices, in turn, disable the very children who will be expected to develop the innovation and skills needed to participate in a globalized and competitive economy.

The PDS must be an educational and political forum that courageously addresses and acts upon social injustice that vulnerable populations face daily in public school. While PDS partnerships are also limited in the collective power they can garner, they have the potential to disrupt status quo school practices by creatively exploiting the unique context created when multiple positionalities and perspectives from different institutions come together. Indeed, PDS partnerships between universities and schools

carry a great responsibility for putting agendas for equity at the forefront of their daily work (Holmes Group, 1990; NAPDS, 2008; NCATE, 2001).

Courageous acts of social justice can be achieved through many constellations of partnership relationships, roles, and goals that are cultivated in the PDS. As demonstrated in this PAR, the activities of the university or school-based supervisor for prospective teachers creates a highly accessible point of entry into the social and political fabric that reproduces school identities that perpetuate inequity in schools and society. The PDS university supervisor carries tremendous potential power for disrupting narratives about students in school, and for restorying, or casting, new narratives defining children. The function of supervision is often an underdeveloped venue for the doing of social justice. But this is not the job of the lone supervisor. This work must be embedded in larger communities of practice and value systems that support and reward such a vision for teacher preparation (Jacobs, 2007).

If the global PDS community claims to stand for promoting social justice, then we need to treat school identities as the institutional and social constructions that they are, and coach children and adolescents explicitly in the power they possess to co-construct their own social identities in school. Explicitly researching how identities are defined in classrooms can help us begin restructuring classroom education so that goals of educational equity can be addressed (Egan-Robertson, 1998). Beyond this we need to help students (and their teachers) fashion the tools needed to contest and resist oppressive positions and identities being imposed on them, and garner an appreciation for and fluency with hybrid identities (Gee, 2004; McCarthy & Moje, 2002). Perhaps a commitment to recognizing the social nature of identity and offering students and

teachers the chance to increase their repertoires of “possible selves” through inquiry into school practices (Markus & Nurius, 1986) may present a more viable way of promoting school success and for changing perceptions of students in ways that increase equity and access to meaningful learning in school.

Merely leveling the playing field in schools is not enough. Rather, we need to seek to change the entire playing field of power in classrooms and schools (Lewis, Enciso & Moje, 2007). The PDS could be a place where this happens if participants fully explore creative ways to use resources already in place. JJK’s identities changed because their literacy practices and discourses were given room to gain breadth and depth. Learning became possible for them because they had the social support to play with new words, find new windows into the world, and position themselves as students in new ways. It must also be noted that learning is highly tied to position (Moje & Luke, 2009), and JJK were able to develop the status needed to learn that came from their membership and participation in our COP. Gee (2000) stresses that in this new century of globalization, or “new capitalism,” that power and wealth will come to people who have the social and physical access (including both virtual and spatial mobility) to specific networks of people and information, and that their learning will occur not within school, per se, but within communities of practice. For this reason it becomes even more pressing for public schools to be places where less privileged children, constrained by their localities, can participate and create new forms of dialogue and discourses in order to re-author their identities in limitless ways. “Kids don’t want to spectate and consume (curriculum), they want to participate and design (it)” (Gee, 2009, personal communication), which is what the 21st century demands, and testing-and-

sorting practices in public school are putting poor students at a further disadvantage. While this study offers only a glimpse into how to position children to enact identities and competencies as designers of curriculum and pedagogy, it provides a significant piece of evidence that opens up endless possibilities for the PDS. The PDS is a context whereby new theories about the social nature of learning, tied to identity, should be able to play out through the committed work of scholars and educators.

The implications of students living twelve or more years in the margins of public schooling under the banners of “struggling learners,” “resistant readers,” “Level Ones,” and the like, are morally unacceptable. How many trajectories of possibility are available for such children who are told repeatedly that school represents the blueprint for life and their place in it? The PDS movement must actualize the potential for schools to be places of liberation for students like JJK. Indeed, the movement has made a commendable start in traversing the gulf between the historical and traditional boundaries that have separated intelligent, caring, and like-minded people working in universities and public schools. But twenty years since its beginning, the PDS movement must move forward. By taking imaginative leaps that deepen the PDS community’s signature location in the dialectic between theory and practice, and by re-examining its courageous commitment to healing the unacceptable gulf between the haves and the have-nots, the PDS can become a social and political force to be reckoned with. Indeed, the PDS *must* claim its fundamental mission as a key force in balancing equity and opportunity for all children. This call is urgent. If schools become so impaired by intrusive reform efforts that they cannot uphold their central role in

maintaining and redesigning democracy to meet the needs of its people, we will be hard pressed to locate another social institution in which this work will be done.

APPENDIX A
EXCERPT FROM FIELD NOTES WITH NUMBERED CRITICAL INCIDENTS

[] - *Their fun and they like explaining president.*
(They're fun and they like explaining about the presidents.)

(10) []
(11) []

[] - *they need to be more exiting with the children.*
(They need to be more exciting with the children.)

I nodded after reading the cards and gave strong nonverbal cues that they were helping me. But what about []? He was still staring off into space. How could I get him into the conversation? It was [] turn to get a question. I just decided to proceed and see what would happen.

Question 3 was directed at []: "[] - why do you think Ms. B is re-reading the book?" I was hoping that the boys would be aware of this being a strategy for comprehension or review - that it wasn't to bore them to tears with a second reading.

(12) D

[] responded first. Then [] - and then []! He wrote on the card, too!

Reasons:

[] - *so we could reestablishing it back in to our mind don't you get it*
(So we could re-establish it back into our minds - don't you get it?)

(13) [] - pedagogy

[] - *So we could learn how the presdinets lived.*
(So we could learn how the presidents lived.)

(14) [] - content

[] - *Be cas we de not now tha mey prasdns.*
(Because we do not know that many presidents.)

(15) [] - content

Again, I gave nonverbal praise. They had responses to the question!

After the book was read, [] and [] engaged in a sort of lecture - a very long lecture (30 minutes!) that I wrote on my observation instrument about needing to reduce "teacher talk." It was hard to keep everyone focused on the talk. At one point they passed out a fact sheet on presidents that many of the students started reading, but then [] got frustrated that they were looking at that rather than looking up at [] while she talked. I

(16) D

APPENDIX B EXCERPT OF ANALYSIS OF CRITICAL INCIDENTS

Critical Junctures	Data Sources	Critical Incidents	Analysis Methods	Findings
Formal Observation #1 Sept. 2008	Field Notes	<p>PRE-LESSON</p> <p>D-1 Move to table in back of room together</p> <p>I-2 A explains to JTK why they are moving & purpose of their participation. Ask us to move to back table</p> <p>D-3 Present Pathwise instrument Show JTK and tell its use/purpose</p> <p>D-4 Darby writes questions on cards during lesson - she tells them that we can have a "silent conversation" - this way - to share response between us (to literally "pass notes")</p>	<p>Artifacts</p> <p>Field Notes</p> <p>Code all of the "Moves" made and who initiated.</p> <p>D = Darby initiates I = Interacts JTK = boys</p> <p>Actions/Behaviors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Talk Tools used <p>Anything that served to define the specialness of CA, Y, D, JTK'S: ... experience as a separate entity with a separate purpose above & beyond the normal teaching & learning context as a CoP. Anything that marked ours as</p>	<p>EXAMPLE:</p> <p>D-4 [] looks bored... disengaged. I craft a question card for him to make observations of engagement. Purpose - to improve his metacognition about his own disengagement. to get him to participate in the classroom w/ a purpose. to increase his engagement w/ the lesson</p> <p>SILENT CONVERSATION: why:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> to encourage cross-pollination of ideas & participation; reduce student → teacher one way talk to encourage writing for authentic purpose (esp. [] & [] as asked for by teachers and based on interviews for JTK) - to make writing a vehicle rather than a focus of our work. <p>I-2 I am pleased because [] take ownership of their own professional development - they decide when they want us to be as their observers.</p>

A special Discourse.
"Privileged behaviors outside of the normal routine & roles"

See Reflections p2 - Good for final chapter *implications*

Critical Junctures	Data Sources	Critical Incidents	Analysis Methods	Findings
Formal Observation #1 Sept. 2008	Field Notes & Artifacts	<p>DURING LESSON</p> <p>Participation of JTK as both students and teacher leaders</p> <p>JTK as student stance as Observer stance</p> <p>p3 [] does not respond</p> <p>[] ask to see card</p> <p>[] writes back</p> <p>[] writes back</p> <p>D-9 Darby writes Question #2</p> <p>[] writes back</p> <p>[] writes back</p> <p>D-12 writes Question #3</p> <p>[] writes back</p> <p>[] writes back</p> <p>[] writes back!</p> <p>p4 D-10 Darby writes on Pathwise form observational data of JTK of disengagement</p> <p>D-11 Darby writes Question #4 - throws word "engagement" in.</p>	<p>JTK as student stance as Observer stance</p>	<p>D-4 Example: Question #1 (for []): "[] - Who seems interested in the lesson? Who doesn't?"</p> <p>"I do, but I don't know about []" Brings awareness to []'s lack of participation - <u>Observer stance</u></p> <p>Purpose: To get JTK to think about why teachers do what they do.</p> <p>Pedagogical reason</p> <p>Concrete content reason</p> <p>Content reason</p> <p>Big Idea of Observations: Too much TEACHER TALK JTK perfect data source (their behaviors). How can I get them to help? How can they be part of the solution to this problem of disengagement?</p> <p>High reading comprehension demand</p> <p>Inserting new discourse</p>

APPENDIX C
EXCERPT OF TEACHER CONVERSATIONS ABOUT MS. S'S FOURTH-GRADERS

Strategy for analysis: ① Ways in which ~~students~~ children are identified in school.
② Specifically how ~~it~~ are situated within that framework.

Step 3

9/11/08 – Data Collection Stage 3b

Conversation with 3rd Grade Teachers (recorded)

Conversation with [redacted] – taught 3rd Grade last year (not recorded)

I went to the 3rd Grade Team Meeting today and was able to get 3 out of 4 of last year's 3rd grade teachers to talk about [redacted]'s kids (Ms. [redacted] was not present). This meeting was recorded (about 7.5 minutes). I got [redacted]'s responses after the meeting – she now teaches 2nd grade so she wasn't at the team meeting. I started by asking the teachers, "...Do you see anyone you know and what should we know about them as incoming 4th graders?..Whatever you want to tell us – whatever stands out in your mind."

Student	Teacher	Comments
[redacted]	[redacted]	"low reader, struggling reader...struggles slightly in math...eager to please...well behaved...good manners...She probably struggles in writing..."
[redacted]	[redacted] (summer school teacher)	Ms. [redacted] taught her in summer school this year for reading – she passed the FCAT but, like [redacted] was recommended for the extra practice. "What I noticed about her - her strong suit – was her personality...she's got a lot of leadership qualities..."
[redacted]	[redacted]	"She is being recommended for gifted – she had really high FCAT scores...she was not a behavior problem...she was one of my better students (which is why) she was recommended for gifted...she was very good in math...very nice, very well behaved."
[redacted]	[redacted]	"She's gifted...she's very intellectual <i>but</i> does not put forth a lot of effort...very high writer, very humorous in her writing...however, she can have a bad attitude...and sometimes her self perception is low."
[redacted]	[redacted]	"top notch of the class"
[redacted]	[redacted]	"[redacted] also ESE...he did not pass the FCAT last year...he was promoted with 'good cause'...there are a lot of motivational issues there...not so much lack of ability but lack of motivation...he is a very low writer...he used "Co-Writer" some last year to help him with writing." (Darby asked if we should continue doing that – [redacted] said "I would experiment with some Co-Writer, but then again a lot of it's motivation.")... "A lot of it's lack of...and there's not a lot of home support, so there's not a lot of follow through with things from home...but I mean he <i>should</i> have passed the FCAT last year ([redacted] asked why)...because <i>he can</i> read. <i>He can</i> read. And he can

APPENDIX D MARKERS THAT MAKE UP TEACHERS' CULTURAL MODELS OF SCHOOL IDENTITIES

1. This time I focused on the entire body of markers as a whole, rather than per child, although I continued to value them in context as I did when considering each student independently. First I marked "school successful" attributes with a blue highlighter, and then I marked "not school successful" attributes with a yellow highlighter. Here they are:

Markers of School Identity

School Successful		Not School Successful		Coding
10	Good student	1	Totally unfocused	1 Behaviors
3	Very bright	1	Disruptive:	2 Acad. Skills
9	Good disposition		• loves to talk	3 Intelligence
9	Cheerful	5/2	low reader	4 Disability
13	He realizes he is (misbehaving)	2	struggling reader	5 Ranking
13	Understands teacher discipline	2	struggles slightly in math	6 Relational
9	Eager to please	2	struggles in writing	7 Ethnic (non-white)
1	Well behaved	2	Below grade level reading	8 Physical
1	Good manners	5	Very, very low	9 Disposition
9	Sweet as can be	2	Has no (reading) comprehension	10 unspecified Positive
2	Fluent reader	4	Should be tested for ESE ESE	11 Family Role
11	Family getting tutoring	5	Lowest kid in the class	12 Creativity
2	Passed the FCAT	2	Struggling academically	13 Metacognitive
9	Really sweet:	4	Has a 504 for language:	14 teacher pleasing
	• Soft spoken		• needs extra time on tasks	15 Aspiring
	• Does not like attention drawn to her		• needs things repeated in many ways	
1	A little teacher's helper	5/2	Below grade level reading	
9	Quiet	1	Blurts out	
13	Knows what's going on:		Not a patrol:	
	• Has her own opinion		1 • quite disruptive	
9	Strongest suit is her personality		1 • talks non-stop	
9	Lots of leadership qualities		1 • shouts out	
2	Passed FCAT	2	skips lines when reading	
2	Reads well	5/2	lower in reading	
1	Doing well with raising hand	1	does not put forth effort	
14	I love her!	6	unique family	
9	Just a really sweet girl	1	has an attitude with teachers	
6	We had a really good time last year	1	awkward with peers	
1	Impressed with her ability to self monitor	1	not social	
1	Responds well to rewards	1	rolls her eyes	
3	Recommended for gifted:	1	refuses to work with black students	
	2 • Really high FCAT scores	1	bad attitude	
	1 • Not a behavior problem	9	low self perception	
	5 • One of my better students	6/11	rarely sees mother	
	2 • Very good in math		expected to lose patrols to demerits	
	9 • Very nice/very well behaved	4	ESE	
	Doesn't stand out as being "lower"	2	Did not pass FCAT	

obvious
22 = choice

Explain difference between behavior & disposition:

Behavior ~ actions, often framed as "choice"

Disposition ~ framed as personality, "natural state"

SOME MARKERS WERE BOTH.

When in doubt I went back to context.

Example

"Good at... personal..."

2	Good at math	1	Shuts down during testing
6	I'm close to the family	1	Lack of motivation
11	Family involved in school		Promoted with "good cause"
	<u>Safety patrol student</u>	4/7	ESE and African American
3	She's gifted	4	Lots of learning issues
3	Very intellectual	11	Very little parent support
2	Very high writer	5/2	Below grade level in reading
12	Very humorous writer	2	Requires a lot of support
3	Bright	9	Very withdrawn
12	Unique	1	Acts like a baby
1	Trying to be helpful	1	Attracts negative peer attention
3	Really bright	1	Asks to do less work than he is capable of
5	Top notch of the class	5/2	Very low writer
3	Being tested for gifted	11	Not a lot of home support:
14	Wonderful!		• lack of follow through from home
3	Being tested for gifted	2	reads 10 words a minute
14	Wonderful	5	low
12	Multifaceted: musical	11	living with adopted family
14	Amazing	11	crack baby
2	Should have passed FCAT because <i>he can't read!</i>	11	dad hangs out at the store outside
2	Comprehends what he read	5	no support from home
3	No lack of ability	2	lowest kid in the class
2	Math not his weakness	11	struggles
	Took me a while to like her	5/2	mother does not value school
9	He likes to be right	1	below grade level reading
15	Wants to be an engineer	9	talks a lot
3	Really smart	11	spacey
3	He's smart	11	parents predict she would fail 3 rd grade
2	Academically ok	11	mother refuses to buy school supplies
14	Wonderful	1/9	mother refuses to get her to school on time
9	Super sweetie	1	kinda like a bully
9	Very helpful	1/9	some behavior issues
1	No behavior problems whatsoever	8	bully last year
11	Really supported at home		needs glasses - can't read board
9	Self-motivated	1/9	<u>predict will lose safety patrol:</u>
3	Bright	1/11	• really bossy
2	Finishes early		Parents refuse to hold student accountable for behavior (blames teachers)
3	More gifted than some of the gifted kids	1	Doesn't get along with peers
3	He's bright	1/9	Bossy/resistant with adults
3	Smart	5	Low middle
2	Passed the FCAT	1	Gets off track
12	Loves to write	1/9	In his own world
2	One of the better writers in summer school	5	Borderline grade level
12/2	Good at including personal stories in writing	5/2	Mom worries about them a lot because older sisters are high achieving and they

14	"My Golden Boy"		are not
9	He is so sweet	1	Restrained in primary school for behavior
14	Wonderful	1	Seeks inappropriate attention from adults:
2	High in reading		• To avoid work
2	Medium high	9	So spacey!
14	Love him!	1	Dad says he has "attitude" and predicted he would get into trouble
11	Mom very sweet	8	Poor body image (weight)
3/6	Assuming he's gifted – many of that family is	5	Low
3	Very bright	1	Has no desire to work
10	A good kid	3	Needs a lot of enrichment I can't provide
7/12	Class clown:	1	a "motivational issue"
	• Likes to make people laugh	9	he doesn't (believe in himself)
	• Funny kid	1	behaviorally challenging:
9	Really friendly		• Puts head down and cries when he chooses not to do something
9	Everyone loves him	4	ADD/medications
11	Has a lot of home support	11	Very verbal mom
2	Did better every quarter (improved)	1	Behavior prevents academics
1	Volunteers information	1	Our "behavioral inquiry"
2	Now he's much better	1	Can't pay attention for more than a minute
		1	Will not write
		11	Mom's a little challenging
		9	Easily fatigued on tasks
		1	Shuts down
		-14	I'm fed up with him!
		5	Medium low
		2/5	Below grade level in reading
		1	Picks at other kids
		8/1	Physically slower:
			1 • Always 20 feet behind
			8 • Heavy
			1 • Takes forever to get out materials
		11	Middle of 7 kids – lives with grandma now
		5/2	Got a 55 on first chapter test in math
		5/2	My lowest in math
		1	Terrible attitude
		5/2	Low in math
		1	Distractible
		1	Never ever engaged – ever ever
		1	Constantly distracting those around him
		1	Lost during instruction
		1	Not interested
		2	Struggler
		2/5	He's low
		2	Verbal answers usually wrong

/	Contradicts his brother
/	Doesn't get along with brother
/	Lies/stretches truth
/	Curses at other students
/	Last teacher said, "Oh, you are going to have problems with him."

2. After distilling the kinds of markers that defined "school successful" and "not school successful," I wanted to see what kinds of themes emerged that would help me build a definition of each school identity. I built a taxonomy of what the "school successful"

APPENDIX E
FREQUENCY OF MARKERS MENTIONED BY EDUCATORS

“School Successful” Cultural Model <i>94 Total Markers</i>	“Not School Successful” Cultural Model <i>121 Total Markers</i>
Academic Performance/Skills 24 = 26%	Behaviors 51 = 42%
Intelligence* 19 = 20%	Academic Skills/Performance 24 = 20%
Dispositions 18 = 19%	Ranking 14 = 11%
Behaviors 11 = 11%	Role of Family 12 = 10%
Unspecific Positive Markers* 10 = 11%	Dispositions 11 = 9%
Role of Family 5 = 5%	Disability* 5 = 4%
Other Various 7 = 7%	Other Various 5 = 4%

**These categories are only associated with the “School Successful” cultural model.*

APPENDIX F
 MARKERS THAT MAKE UP FOURTH GRADERS' *CULTURAL MODELS* (GEE, 2002)
 OF SCHOOL IDENTITIES AT YEARLING ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

School Identity	Markers
"The Patrol Student"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Likes to follow the rules Good role model Sets a good example A normal kid Does good things A leader Doesn't jump around Walks properly Helpful to teachers (especially when there is a substitute)
"The Good Student"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Listens when the teacher's talking Pays attention in class Follows directions Gets good grades Does nice things Likes helping people Gets rewards/recognition (such as extra stamps and privileges) Smart Likes learning
"The Bad Student"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Likes to play around a lot Doesn't pay attention in class Doesn't do what s/he is supposed to do Gets sent to the principal's/BRT's office Flunks many grades Not focused Doesn't think about the rules Does anything s/he wants Doesn't listen Breaks things Pushes people down Makes fun of people In the self contained special education class
"The Crazy Student"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jumps around/"Bounces off the walls"/"Goes loco" during class Does whatever s/he wants Almost like a Bad Student, but different Doodles/draws instead of doing assignments Always asking to have a class party Pays attention sometimes but usually not as s/he wants to have fun Funny

APPENDIX G
 DARBY'S MOVES AND MOTIVES DURING CRITICAL JUNCTURE #2: FORMAL
 OBSERVATION OF INTERN LESSON

Move	Motive(s)	Motive Code
<p><i>A. Darby asks JJK to leave their assigned desks and join her at a shared table off to the side...and explains the her purpose for asking them to move there.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want the four of us to be able to communicate more easily together during the lesson. • I want it to be clear to JJK and to the rest of the class that we are doing something different than the other students are. • I want the rest of the class to become curious about our work together and begin to ask questions about it. • I want to define JJK as special, sophisticated colleagues who are in the business of inquiring into the complexities of teaching and learning and will be positioned as consultants. • I want to put JJK together so I can better support them academically during instruction, especially because I will be adding an additional layer of cognitive work on top of their normal expectations as students. 	<p>3 2, 3</p> <p>2 2, 3, 4</p> <p>1, 2</p>
<p><i>B. Darby presents to JJK her observation instrument and explains how she uses it during the lesson.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to introduce the tools to JJK that we will use that define our work as a COP. • I want JJK to begin exploring the observation instrument to decrease its “mystique.” • In the future I will invite JJK to actually write on the instrument, themselves so that they see themselves as data collectors and writers with authentic purposes. • I want others in the classroom to see JJK looking at, using, and eventually writing on the observation instrument. 	<p>3 3</p> <p>1, 3, 4 2, 4</p>
<p><i>C. Darby writes a question on a card and gives it to one of the 3 boys: “J2 – Why do you think Ms. B. is re-reading the book?”</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I believe J2 is not participating as a “successful student” during the lesson and wants to redirect his attention back to the teachers’ behaviors. • I want to engage JJK in an authentic writing experience. • I want to communicate with J2 but I do not want to create a distraction for the interns or to the rest of the class. • I want to begin helping J2 develop his lens as an observer in the classroom. • I want the other two boys to become curious about what we are writing about. • I want to begin the collegial dialogue of supervision with JJK. 	<p>1, 2</p> <p>4 1</p> <p>2, 3 2, 3, 4</p>
<p><i>D. Darby asks K if she can write his suggestion on the observation form.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to communicate to JJK that their input is a privilege for me to collect as data and that they, ultimately, have the choice whether or not to include it. • I want JJK to understand that their thoughts and ideas are valuable to me and worthy of being noted and remembered. • I want JJK to see that their ideas and participation can be data for teacher learning. • I want JJK to know that we will be <i>doing something will follow as a result</i> of their ideas. 	<p>3, 4</p> <p>1, 2, 4 2, 3, 4 2, 3, 4</p>

<p><i>E. Darby writes K's suggestion on the observation form.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to formalize JJK's feedback as data to be used for the interns' professional development. • I want JJK to see that their input is being recorded on the actual observation instrument as co-observers. • I want JJK to understand that their thoughts and ideas are valuable to me and worthy of being noted and remembered. • I want to model for the interns how interviewing children in the classroom and taking anecdotal notes is yet another powerful way to collect ongoing assessment data on both teaching and learning. • I want to communicate to the interns that I am moving toward positioning JJK as serious participants in the supervision process. 	<p>2, 3, 4 2, 3, 4 1, 4 4 2, 4</p>
<p><i>F. Darby ignores J1 who wants to talk to her at during a point in the lesson where it would be inappropriate.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to help JJK understand the boundaries of our work together, and they are this: We are a special COP with special work but whenever our interns are teaching, their rules for our interaction supersede all. In this case my power as the supervisor does not transcend their power as the teachers facilitating instruction. Talking with one another at this moment was not acceptable. • I want to build trust with the interns so that they knew the COP would not undermine their teaching. • I want to establish with JJK that while I am not directly responsible for them as their teacher, I did have a teacher in me. In other words, I was not exactly their friend. I had the power to be a teacher, if needed, and have authority over their behavior. 	<p>1, 4 4 (other)</p>

APPENDIX H MOVES FROM CRITICAL JUNCTURE #6

Data Sources: Field Notes, Artifacts (student work, observation instruments) and Focus Group Conversation Transcript

1. Interns invite JJK to pre-conference.
2. During pre-conference interns explain the lesson sequence and their reasoning behind each step.
3. J1 says the lesson is "...exercising and doing math (at the same time.)"
4. Darby re-introduces the Pathwise observation form and explains how she has to fill in 10 boxes at the same time but would JJK fill out one each to help me. Darby explains she needs help on these 3 boxes: fairness, classroom management, and making instructions clear.
5. JJK talk about their preferences. With the interns each boy assigned himself to a box.
6. Darby translates the meaning of each box into user friendly language and underlines (or adds) key words in the descriptor for JJK to focus on as their observation lens. Key concept explained about how to use the instrument: "What you are trying to do is capture the teachers being good...what are all the ways they are trying to remind and help and support kids to motivated...to be on task."
7. Interns explain how important this data is for them as they can't be everywhere at once to observe these things and to be sure to write suggestions for teaching for things they don't notice (examples given).
8. Darby asks interns to predict for JJK the kinds of things they might see that they'll be able to record in their boxes.
9. Interns list: off-task list system, tens table race with room markers, rules on the board, etc. For each one they explained how these might be examples of each of the 3 boxes.
10. Interns converse with one another more pre-planning and explanation of rationales behind what they plan to do (such as that they will be very strict about certain rules so that everyone stays safe).
11. Interns come to a point of not knowing their plan for how students will record their responses but wondering out loud with an idea.
12. J1 says that this idea would be better.
13. Intern 1 says, "Well how do you want to do that? Because I was trying to keep them hidden."
14. Intern 2 says, "I mean you could just get them and then write the answers up and show it."
15. J1 says, "Then we figure out the answer and figure out the problem, too."
16. Interns play out that idea as a scenario (JJK witness their think-aloud) and agree that it will work.
17. Darby asks us to focus on fairness now. "Fairness means how many kids are getting to participate – how many kids are getting more a of a chance to practice during the lesson."
18. J1 asks, "Like when we did the, each table, each person has to hold up a card and everybody would know what they're thinking? Like that?"
19. Darby: "Exactly."
20. Interns come up with an idea to make the lesson more equitable involving ongoing assessment – how they needed to know student thinking during the lesson in order to know how to direct their teaching.
21. J1 says, "Yeah, like some people might not know the answer and you can like go outside with them and help them with their multiplication."
22. Darby says, "You bet, and how are they supposed to know that if they just wait until you guys do a sheet at the end of the lesson and then they grade it that night...I mean, they need to know this right away, don't they?"
23. Darby asks, "...can you all tell us anything that J2 might see I your lesson that is promoting more fairness? Things we could be looking for?"
24. Interns talk about their incorporation of white boards for each student to hold up responses (K's idea in action).
25. Darby asks, "Why does this make the lesson more fair?"
26. J2 says, "Cause...on the white board it is easier and it takes longer on the – what you call it?" (worksheet at the end)
27. J2 continues, "And if you...if we do it on Tuesday and you grade it on Friday, uh, the kids won't learn more...it's *three* days."
28. Interns discuss more ways they will be promoting fairness
29. JJ bring up a question: What should we do if kids fight over markers?
30. Interns problem solve this and make a decision.
31. Darby points out to J1 that this is a good strategy to "catch the teachers being good" in preventing behavior problems. Darby says, "...you're not focusing your attention on the kids that are misbehaving, you are focusing on how these teachers are getting kids to have more of a chance for behaving well."

32. Darby asks JJK what it has been like to be “teacher leaders?”
33. J1: “We can know more about what they’re thinking. And, they’ll know more about what we’re thinking and what we’re doing in class.”
34. Darby asks, “Has that been different than what you have experienced before in a classroom?”
35. J2 says, “Yes – it has been a lot of things...we can give facts, what we know and they’ll start learning more...”
36. J1, “I think we’re giving facts (data) and they read it and try to come up with things...”
37. Darby asks interns how “having these guys be teacher leaders has helped you two in teaching?”
38. Intern: “Just to be more cognizant of what’s going on in my classroom. I know that I really love this example that with you, J1, in reading...Remy had said something to the class that maybe some students might not have understood...and you rephrased what Remy said and you helped explain it to the other classmates and I really think after you reemphasized it in a different way that it helped students. So I like to think now that maybe now I’ll give more chances for students...to say things in their own words.”
39. Intern: “And for me...it’s helped me be able to look at things from a different perspective. Like we see things differently as a teacher than they see...then you guys see things as students...actually taking part in the lesson, because we may think things are being effective, or I may think things are being effective and they’re really not...so having your input really helps and especially in the sense that it has helped us realize that like, we can put you guys more in charge of your learning. Like you guys are very responsible..
40. Darby, “Did it surprise you to find out how much they can be in charge of their own learning?”
41. Intern: “Honestly, on one level, yes, but on another level, no, because I know everybody is so capable of it. I think the surprising part was just...when they were given responsibility they just took it to a completely different level... Do you guys agree?”
42. Darby, “So, guys, how do you, even if your classmates don’t realize it, how have you helped them?”
43. J1: “By giving them the facts.”
44. J2: “They can learn more about like math...”
45. Interns, “Also like when you took the participation data. Sometimes we just focus on those student who are raising their hands because it’s easy for us...”
46. Intern 2: “Yes, and it’s like the concept of wait time. They tell us to give students wait time...and that means just giving you time to think about the problem....
47. Darby, “I always forget to do that.”
48. Intern 1: “Exactly. A lot of times it’s really scary for us to be up there when we ask you guys a question and no one responds...like that silence is kind of scary for us...and we need to learn to give that wait time. And like that participation check, like that really helped us to see like, we were calling on, for example, G___ all the time because she raises her hand all of the time”
49. J1: “Yeah, because people they might now know what you are saying. And in a different way.”
50. Darby: “Exactly. Like remember in your group there was one girl you and K realized had not raised her hand – not one time...”
51. Intern: “Yeah, because everybody else...was paying attention and participating. I had not noticed that one student...just sitting in the back and just writing down the answers without sharing any answers or ideas. And that really helped me.”
52. Darby: “Yeah, me too...”
53. Darby: “How has being a teacher leader helped you guys?”
54. J2: “It helped us learn more, like, when we want to grow up we want to become a teacher and we have to start out as interns like Ms. E. and Ms. B...”
55. Darby, “And J1 you are thinking about the...army... and there are definitely leadership roles in the army...”
56. Intern, “J2, do you think that after we put you in this teacher leader role as a student that you come to our lessons a little bit differently than you would if you were just, ‘Oh, I’m just a student.’?”...
57. J2, “I got nothing.”
58. Intern 1: “Example of scary wait time.”
59. Intern 2, “Well, I see like when you guys first started...after you guys got put in this role the level of your work has improved. Like you guys are more on focus...on task. And I really think you guys are more reflective while we’re learning.”
60. Darby defines ‘reflective.’
61. Intern 1: “Also...we’ve let you in our world and what we are doing. Do you think it’s easier to approach us and to us about your learning than it would be if you didn’t have this role as teacher leader?”
62. JJK: Big MMMMMhMMMMs, all at once. Wide eyes.
63. J1: “I just thought (teachers) were aliens (before)...Aliens that came from like Mars...made out of rock.”
64. Intern: “Do you guys like to know the reasons we do things?”
65. J1: “Yeah, it gives like, it gives a head start about what you’re doing and we can build on that.”

66. Darby, JJK get ready for observation as students come in...
67. (During lesson) J1's box: "How are our teachers helping kids behave?"
68. J1 lists: "The rules; reminding not paying attention – to be quiet 2 times; verbal reminder; 2 minutes; 4 minutes; 2 finger silence reminder"
69. J1 also explained each piece of data to Darby verbally.
70. J1 asks during the lesson, "Ms. D., what is the difference between verbal *reminders* and verbal *warnings*?"
71. J2's box: "Creates a climate that **promotes fairness**."
72. J2 lists: "Smartboard (graph) paper; little passport thingies; letting everyone have a chance so they can move around."
73. J2 tells Darby later, "You can write the words bigger (on the overhead) so everyone can see the words." As feedback.
74. K's box: "How are the teachers making sure kids understand?"
75. K's list: "By asking the students to do the questions and if they can't, she will help them do it until they understand it."
76. JJK also participate in and complete the math assignment on regrouping with multiplication.
77. (Post conference) JJK can not attend.
78. Interns point out and reflect on how J2 was able to be both a teacher leader and data collector, as well as keep up with his math assignment with accuracy (his least strong subject). Interns point out again that this reinforces their idea that students need higher expectations in order to succeed. All J2 needed was proximity and psychological support (cheerleading) and he was able to continue working the algorithms.
79. Darby types up Observation Summary and includes specific data collected by JJK on the document. All participants sign this document – it is explained that this last document would allow the interns to graduate. A special note from Darby to each participant included...

APPENDIX I
FIRST UTTERED MARKERS BY EDUCATORS OF YEARLING ELEMENTARY

Good Student
Totally unfocused
Low reader
3 months below grade level reading
Sweet as can be
Struggling academically
504 for language
Strong suit: personality
Another African American student
Reads well
Recommended for gifted
Skips lines in reading
Gifted
Bright
Has an attitude
Top notch of the class
Being tested for gifted
Wonderful!
ESE
ESE
"Our little guy."
Struggles
3 months below grade level reading
Talks a lot
Average
Behavior issues
A safety patrol <i>but</i> bossy...
He's ESE
ESE
Wants to be an engineer
Brothers (twins)
Attention seeker
Another mixed student
Wonderful
Bright
Another motivational issue
ADD/medications
Our "behavior inquiry"
Passed FCAT
Big, round black boy
Picks at other kids
New
Wonderful
Medium high
Probably gifted
Distractible
Good kid
Brothers
D's twin brother

APPENDIX J
RANKING OF CATEGORIES FOR SCHOOL IDENTITY BASED ON FREQUENCY OF
MARKERS USED BY EDUCATORS

General School Identity 215 markers	“School Successful” 94 total markers	“Not School Successful” 121 total markers	JJK 1st 6 Weeks
Behaviors 29%	Academic Performance/Skills 26%	Behaviors 42%	Behaviors 23%
Academic Performance/Skills 22%	Intelligence 20%	Academic Skills/Performance 20%	Disposition 20%
Disposition 13%	Disposition 19%	Class Ranking 11%	Academic Performance/Skills 17%
Intelligence 9%	Behaviors 11%	Role of Family 10%	Role of Family 11%
Role of Family 8%	General Positive 11%	Disposition 9%	Disability 4%
Class Ranking 7%	Role of Family 5%	Disability 4%	Ranking/Physical/Relational (Each 3%)
Disability 2%	Other 7%	Other 4%	Ethnicity 1%
Other 10%			Intelligence 0%

APPENDIX K
SOURCES, NOTES, AND DATA USED TO BUILD JJK'S INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY
FOR COMPOSITE #1

Data Source	Notes for Analysis	Data Extracted
Intern Classroom Observations	<p>I highlighted key descriptions of each student as JJK came up in journal entries. These included two categories:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) visible behaviors of JJK (b) educator definitions of JJK's dispositions, attitude, academic performance that spoke to "what kind of student" JJK is. <p>Student behaviors reported by teachers were included only if they were essential to defining "what kind of student" JJK is (Example: ___ has low self confidence – he hides work, inaudible in class, etc).</p>	<p>Brother to another student in class Used to being enabled to do less work Shuts down and becomes unresponsive when ashamed Ashamed of his work ("He created his own shelter so others won't look at his work.") Stays off task by using self-distraction behaviors (paper clip) Will attempt to work if he feels safe from judgment Will not read out loud although he reads fluently Voice normal in social situations (like games) but inaudible in academic situations Low self confidence Jokes and plays with friends compares his grades to others Claims to be good in math but expects low grades Responds to timed challenges and encouragement Needs challenge and motivation help</p>
My Classroom Observations	<p>The intention behind supervision notes is to primarily (1) help interns develop as ongoing assessors and to widen their fields of vision for <i>all</i> students (J and J had not been in their field of vision during first month of journal observations, for example – common situation with pre-interns when they first get to classroom to not "see" some of the most struggling students) and secondarily to (2) influence classroom teacher's perception of students marginalized (in my judgment) by schooling, which includes the practices of labeling by educators.</p> <p><i>This work on my part is a paradox in the PDS as a supervisor and support for student learning:</i> to both call attention to struggling students so that all students can be noticed and pushed toward success (not ignored), and to help all of us elevate our common conversations about such students to a more positive, "can do" level, by finding their strengths (including what I interpret as their "expert school survival skills!"), rather than focusing on what we might name as "deficits."</p>	<p>Raises his hand to respond to teacher directed questions All 3 boys told by teacher not deviate from teacher-led model of writing Needs teacher scaffolding to take risks with his own ideas Well developed avoidance strategies Drums a lot; makes strange, inappropriate noises to distract or gain attention from peers Raises his hand often to respond to teacher's questions Writes about Disney World but has never been there Uses "transition cards" as a writing accommodation Rarely finishes his work</p>

<p>Focus group discussions from 3rd and 4th grade teachers and principal</p>	<p>Telegraphed markers from focus group interviews –from previous data analysis.</p>	<p>Low Volunteers incorrect information Class clown Really friendly Everyone loves him Good home support No self-motivation Participates in class but usually has the wrong answers Lies/embellishes stories Curses “Going to be a big (behavior) problem.” “He’s the ‘other one’ (trouble maker).” Picks at kids in the class Physically slower than the rest; loves to write; Passed the FCAT Below grade level in reading African American Heavy/Overweight Physically slower (always behind) Terrible attitude Talks too much in class Lives with grandma and other siblings “One of the lowest students in the class.” “Not sure which way he’ll go.” ESE student “Our little guy” African American/LD”at risk” “Lots of learning issues” “Requires a lot of support” Very little parent support Rumors of family drug use Very withdrawn Below grade level in reading Did not pass FCAT but should have because he can read/comprehend what he reads Very low writer Lack of motivation Asks to do much less work than he’s capable of “Lowest student in the class” Requires a lot of support Acts like a baby</p>
<p>Informal conversations with 4th grade team</p>	<p>I highlighted key descriptions spoken by educators (mentor, interns, SPED push in teacher) of each student as JJK came up in my field notes. These included two categories:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) visible behaviors of JJK (2) educator definitions of JJK’s dispositions, attitude, academic performance that spoke to “what kind of student” JJK is. <p>Student behaviors reported by teachers were included only if they were essential to defining “what kind of student” JJK is.</p>	<p>Place value trouble Brother of D – “I’m worried that the two brothers are in class together since D gets in trouble.” Talks a lot – will need to be moved to a new seat Middle of 7 siblings: “You get that a lot from the African American community – siblings everywhere.” Needs to be identified for ESE services Has 10 cousins No home support Tough getting things back from home (signed papers)</p>

APPENDIX L
 JJK'S MOVES, DISCOURSE PRACTICES, AND ENACTMENT OF SITUATED IDENTITIES

Critical Juncture	The Move	Aspect of Discourse Practice that Signifies Enactment of Identity	Enactment of Situated Identities: Interpretation of "What Kind of Person I Believe I Am" and/or "What Kind of Person I Seem to be to Others"
#1	Characteristics of those they admired: smart, strong, helpful and generous, justice-oriented (they set the blacks free), those that protect the vulnerable	Oral Language	Our goals are to be smart, strong, generous, upholders of justice
#1	JJK talk about their personal interests and personal dislikes.	Oral Language	We like to be active all the time. We do not like to read. One of us is good at writing.
#1	JJK talk about their identities and school performances so far in their careers <i>Ex: "They said they seen my behavior through the year and they said like...That they didn't pick me (for patrols) because of my behavior through the year. I don't know what that means...(but my mom) said you don't have to be a patrol to be like a good person."</i>	Oral Language	We do ok in school. We are all good students. One of us has been told he has bad behavior.
#3	JJK sit with Ms. D. in the table in the back.	Use of Space	We are doing something special that no one else gets to do. We are going to help Ms. D. coach the interns.
#3	__ tells Darby he is going to be a drummer.	Oral Language & Body Language	I am different than anyone else here.
#3	__ and __ maintain eye contact with interns. __ flips pencil, tilts back in chair, drums on desk, is the only student in the room whose body is not facing the front of the room.	Body Language	Two of us are being good students right now. One of us is not.
#3	During lesson __ calls out answers without being called on first.	Oral Language & Body Language	I am a good student: I know the answer. I am a bad student: I am being redirected.
#3	Series of written conversations between Darby and JJK: __ initiates feedback about the lesson – what could be better – without being asked. __ mention __ is not interested in the lesson. They practice use of dialogue conventions in their writing. __ corrects Darby's understanding about a fact about the presidents.	Use of Special Tools (index cards – special in that no other students are using these tools)	We are getting to write and talk to Ms. D. when others are not. We can use our new writing skills here. We are observing the behaviors of our classmates and teachers and telling her what we see. She is treating us as experts. One of us offered unsolicited specific feedback about the interns' teaching. One of us corrected Ms. D's misunderstanding about a president. Both are enacting their roles as expert.
#3	__ raises hand and asks interns which president got into fights all of the time.	Oral Language & Movement	I am a good student. I am raising my hand first. I'm getting ideas for my writing assignment: Sometimes leaders get in fights, too.

#3	__ begins writing immediately and independently.	Use of Special Tools & Body Language	I am a good student. I am a writer.
#3	__ asks Darby to clarify the directions. He then expresses his dissatisfaction with the assignment: "Oh no, it's a writing assignment."	Oral Language	I am a good student. I want to follow directions. But I hate writing. I am not a writer.
#3	__ comments that it is not good that a president could not read until he was 14.	Oral Language & Body Language	People should know how to read by the age of 14, or something is wrong with them.
#3	__ writes the opening of his letter but then sharpens pencil, goes to the bathroom, gets a drink of water ...	Body Language	I do not want, or do not know how, to do this assignment. What are my other behavior choices that will not target me as a "bad student," at least in this moment?
#3	After <i>talking ideas through first</i> __ then starts and completes his written assignment.	Oral Language & Use of Special Tools	I am allowed to write it like I would say it. Now I can do my work. I have been able to restore myself as a good student.
#4	__ says he doesn't understand the question and __ agrees.	Oral Language	I want to answer this question.
#4	__ answers Darby's question by writing back: "There asking us questun. Their kind of testing us on what we know"	Written Language & Special Tools	I am an expert. I am helping Ms. D. coach the interns.
#4	__ reads card but does not respond.	Body Language	I have access to this conversation because I am part of this group.
#3	__ answers Darby's question by writing back: "If he needs help he can as sombotey"	Written Language & Special Tools	I am an expert. I am helping Ms. D. coach the interns.
#4	__ wrote back: "To say you, shout it out. All	Written Language & Special Tools	I am an expert. I am helping Ms. D. coach the interns. I am allowed to tell them what to do.
#3	__ wrote back: "The kind of explain it to us it's Ahaaa very Interesting"	Written Language & Special Tools	I am allowed to write on these cards with Ms. D. and __. I am part of this group.
#3	__ asks to read K's response. J corrects misspelling on K's card.	Written Language & Special Tools	I am a good writer. I know how to identify and correct the errors of my peers, like a teacher does.
#3	__ says out loud, "We could write it!"	Oral Language & Body Language	I am an expert in helping Ms. D. coach the interns. I am allowed to come up with ideas for the whole class to do.
#3	__ writes back response to new suggestion by Darby: "Sure sowe could Do it starting right this minte"	Written Language & Special Tools	I am an expert in helping Ms. D. coach the interns. I am allowed to tell the teachers what <i>and when</i> to do something.
#3	__ writes, "you it would be eazer for M__."	Written Language & Special Tools	I am aware of the performance of my peers. I am concerned about M__ because he gets in trouble a lot. I am in a position to help him now.
#3	At lunch JJK and Darby talk about their specific feedback regarding their concerns for particular students and their success during lessons (M__) and how this strategy will help them.	Oral Language	We know how to make connections between teaching and learning in our classroom. We are giving our expert advice on improving these connections.
#4	JJK remind interns to put their new strategy into practice before the lesson.	Oral Language	We are helping to direct the teaching that goes on in our classroom.
#4	__ points to chair to ask Darby to sit next to him.	Body Language; Use of Space	I have influence over where Ms. D. sits down. We are affiliated with one another – we are a team.
#4	__ moves over to our table (not prompted by adult).	Body Language; Use of Space	I am part of this group.

#4	___ answers Darby, "Now they can ask every group a question." (can assess group thinking all at once)	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am an expert. I know something Ms. D. does not and it is my job to explain it to her.
#4	___ adds, "It would be harder for the teachers to see a bunch of cards held up in the air." (to reduce the amount of responses for easier ongoing assessment on the part of the teachers – seeing 5 rather than 20 responses at once)	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am an expert. I know something Ms. D. does not and it is my job to explain it to her.
#4	___ adds, "Just in case he doesn't know the answer." (to check and assess individual students)	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am an expert. I know something Ms. D. does not and it is my job to explain it to her.
#4	___ answers: "There are more people answering now."	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom.
#4	___ answers: "It's funner because everyone gets to think of their own answer and write it on a piece of paper and they get to hold it up – better because before they were just calling on (individual) people."	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom.
#4	___ said he had no other reasons but he agreed with these.	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am a member of this group.
#4	___ says his reason in front of the class.	Oral Language; Use of Space/Positioning	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom. Now my expertise is public – the whole class is getting to see it.
#4	___ says his reason in front of the class.	Oral Language; Use of Space/Positioning	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom. Now my expertise is public – the whole class is getting to see it.
#4	___ actually read the card first and responded verbally: "We could use a highlighter or a pen."	Written Language; Use of Special Tools	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom
#4	___ read it and wrote back: "Use a big pencil." And then said, "You know – the kind you can change the size."	Written Language; Use of Special Tools; Oral Language	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom
#4	___ wrote: "Crayon." But then whispered, "Or a white board with markers and erasers"	Written Language; Use of Special Tools; Oral Language	I am an expert on how different choices teachers make can impact learning and behavior in the classroom
#4	___ high fives interns.	Body Language	My ideas are really helping the teachers do a better Jb.
#5	That day JJK and the interns made a plan based on intern's felt difficulty: they would have JJK collect data on participation on an observation chart.	Oral Language; Special Tool; Special Use of Time; Special Vocab (<i>participation</i>)	We get to meet together as a group during lunch when the rest of the class is in the cafeteria. We get to use special tools so that we can collect data and be researchers on the teaching and learning in our classroom.
#5	___ asks if he can also record students <i>not</i> participating under that definition. Unsolicited.	Oral Language; Special Tool; Special Vocab	We have ideas on data that we could collect. We use the special language of our team to communicate our competence as researchers.
#5	JJK talk about symbols they would use to mark each kind of observation.	Oral Language; Special Tool	We have ideas on how we might organize our own data.

	Unsolicited.		
#5	___ then suggests the boys move around the room with their sheets during the lesson. Unsolicited.	Oral Language; Special Tool	We have ideas on how we might collect the data.
#5	JJK answer yes, that this would "better prepare" everyone.	Oral Language; Special Language	We know which decision our teachers should make so that it will help more students learn. We know how to use the right language to communicate our competence.
#5	JJK and the interns brainstorm ways to present their role during the lesson to the class, as well as what they were recording.	Oral Language; Special Tool	We know how to help our teachers make good instructional decisions.
#5	JJK say yes, they would like to present the idea to the class.	Oral Language; Special Tool	We are ready to explain to the class what we are doing as researchers.
#5	___ went first and said, "We have with us a spreadsheet for marking participation."	Oral Language; Special Tool; Special Vocab (<i>spread sheet</i>)	We are practicing how to explain our work to the class. We are members of a special group with a special language and special tools.
#5	JJK say yes, they can handle doing both tasks at once (student and researcher).	Oral Language; Special Tools	We believe we are so competent that we can be both student and researchers at the same time. We can carry all of these responsibilities at once.
#5	(During Lesson): ___ and ___ present to class their rehearsed introduction into what they were doing (one does not, even though he had rehearsed).	Oral Language; Special Tool; Special Vocab	We are members of a special team with the interns and Ms. D. We are researchers <i>and</i> students. We talk about and use different language as a team.
#5	___ explains the definition of "participation" for this observation. He said it meant: "Giving ideas, saying things out loud to help the group, and asking questions."	Oral Language; Special Tool; Special Vocab	We are members of a special team with the interns and Ms. D. We are researchers and students. We use special language as a team.
#5	JJK walked around with their charts to show the students what it looked like – and how it had everyone's name on it.	Body Language; Special Tool	We are members of a special team with the interns and Ms. D. We are researchers and students. We own a part of the teaching here today (names of students)
#6	JJK take their seats for the whole group portion of the lesson with me.	Body Language; Special Tool	We are members of a special team with the interns and Ms. D. We are researchers and students.
#6	JJK take their roles as students in their groups, generating ideas on cards.	Body Language; Special Tool	We are members of a special team with the interns and Ms. D. We are researchers and students.
#6	___ goes to the bathroom (we think to avoid the reading).	Body Language	<i>I do not want to be a student if that means I have to read.</i>
#6	___ and ___ do the reading and begin answering the question before ___ comes back.	Oral Language; Special Tool (reading passage)	We are being good students. We are competent at reading.
#6	___ re-reads the passage to ___ upon his return and suggests to ___ to circle key words in the passage to support comprehension (not a strategy mentioned in class today!).	Oral Language; Special Tool (reading passage and pencil)	I am not only a student but I am a teacher, too.
#6	JJK verbally tell Darby what to scribe for them so that they can stay with their data collection sheets	Oral Language; Special Tool (student worksheet and researcher's data collection sheet)	Ms. D. is here to help facilitate my role as student.
#6	___ tells me he wants to be sure he can check himself off at least once during the group discussion.	Oral Language; Special Tool (student worksheet and researcher's data collection sheet)	I am both a competent student <i>and</i> researcher.
#6	___ answered 3 questions and marked	Special Tools (student	I am both a competent student <i>and</i>

	himself off for participation all 3 times.	worksheet and researcher's data collection sheet)	researcher
#6	After the lesson JJK and Darby sit together again and look at their data sheets.	Use of Space; Special Tools	We are a special group. We are researchers.
#6	Two other students asked if they could look at the data, as well. Together they discussed patterns as Darby listened, ready to scaffold as needed. Then Darby leaves students to discuss independently.	Oral Language; Use of Space; Special Tools	We share our data with our peers. We are here to help our teachers get better at their jobs. Ms. D. trusts that we can do that.
#6	___'s conclusions about his data (he wrote on the sheet): I noticed everybody (in my group) was participating."	Oral/Written Language; Use of Space; Use of Special Tools (data sheet); Special Vocab	We can analyze our data and draw conclusions about it to help our teachers get better at their jobs. I can use the vocabulary of our team as I am a member.
#6	___ verbally answers: "Because we told them about the sheet."	Oral Language; Use of Space; Use of Special Tools (data sheet)	We can make inferences in data analysis to help our teachers get better at their jobs.
#6	___ wrote on his data sheet: "M___ participated more than anyone in the group. He answered every question that Ms. E. said. But A___ really needs to answer more questions."	Oral/Written Language; Use of Space; Use of Special Tools (data sheet); Special Vocab	We can analyze our data and draw conclusions about it to help our teachers get better at their jobs. We can appropriate the language that defines our team.
#6	JJK read specific feedback written on Darby's Pathwise form that they had contributed.	Access/Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	We get to read Ms. D.'s observation form because we are members of a special team. She values our thinking. We know this because she wrote our ideas down on the form. What is written on this form helps our interns graduate from college.
#7	JJK come to the pre-conference	Use of Special Space, Tools, and Time	We get to skip the morning announcements and leave the classroom in order to work together. We are members of this special group designed to help the teachers get better at their jobs.
#7	___ says the lesson is "...exercising and doing math (at the same time)." Unsolicited.	Oral Language	I am able to make connections about the value of the teachers' planning and how it benefits students in ways they had not thought of before.
#7	JJK talk about their preferences. With the interns each boy assigned himself to a box.	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	We are researchers. We are deciding which data we want to collect. All of us will be collecting different data this time to help Ms. D.
#7	___ says that this idea would be better.	Oral Language	I am able to help my teachers make better instructional decisions.
#7	___ says, "Then we figure out the answer and figure out the problem, too." Unsolicited.	Oral Language	I am able to make connections about the value of the teachers' planning and how it benefits students in ways they had not thought of before.
#7	JJK witness think-alouds by interns.	Oral Language	We are allowed to have access to our teachers' thinking and planning.
#7	___ clarifies his idea of <i>fairness</i> (unsolicited), "Like when we did the, each table, each person has to hold up a card and everybody would know what they're thinking? Like that?"	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form); Special Vocab	I am able to make connections between what the teachers are working on to improve their work now with examples from the past. I am practicing the concepts important in our team for teacher learning.
#7	___ adds (unsolicited): "Yeah, like some people might not know the answer and you can like go outside with them and help them with their multiplication."	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	I am gaining insights now into <i>why</i> teachers do what they do. My thoughts are valued by my teachers. I am allowed to contribute

			these thoughts and connections to help them learn.
#7	__ answers Darby's question: "Cause..on the white board it is easier and it takes longer on the – what you call it?" (worksheet at the end)... "And if you...if we do it on Tuesday and you grade it on Friday, uh, the kids won't learn more...it's three days."	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	I understand the practices of a good teacher – I am an expert.
#7	__ brings up a question: What should we do if kids fight over markers? (unsolicited)	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	We think of things that our teachers do not. They need our expertise to make this lesson better.
#7	Darby, JJK get ready for observation as students come in...move to table.	Body Language; Use of Special Space	We are special members of a special group. We are both students and researchers.
#7	__ writes on Pathwise form: "The rules; reminding not paying attention – to be quiet 2 times; verbal reminder; 2 minutes; 4 minutes; 2 finger silence reminder"	Written Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form); Special Vocab	I am a researcher. I am collecting observational data to improve my teachers' practice. I can incorporate the special language of our team to show my competency as a member. I am competent in understanding the kind of data to collect to address classroom management so that the teachers can see all the ways they are doing a good job.
#7	__ also explained each piece of data to Darby verbally.	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	I can explain my data.
#7	__ asks during the lesson, "Ms. D., what is the difference between verbal <i>reminders</i> and verbal <i>warnings</i> ?"	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form); Special Vocabulary	I am learning more about teaching and supervision. I am now ready to scrutinize some of the special language used so I am can become even more competent a member.
#7	__ writes on Pathwise form: "Smartboard (graph) paper; little passport thingies; letting everyone have a chance so they can move around." "	Written Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form); Special Vocab	I can blend the language of the classroom in with my special work as a researcher and teacher leader. I am competent in understanding the kind of data to collect to address fairness so that the teachers can see all the ways they are doing a good job.
#7	__ tells Darby later, "You can write the words bigger (on the overhead) so everyone can see the words." As feedback.	Oral Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	I am able to contribute ideas to help the teachers learn in ways they could not do without me.
#7	__ writes on Pathwise form: "By asking the student to do the questions and if they can't, shew ill help them do it until they understand it."	Written Language; Use of Special Tool (Pathwise form)	I am a researcher. I am collecting observational data to improve my teachers' practice. I am competent in understanding the kind of data to collect to address the clarity of instruction so that the teachers can see all the ways they are doing a good job.
#7	JJK also participate in and complete the math assignment on regrouping with multiplication.	Oral/Written Language; Use of Special Tool (math sheet)	We are not only researchers but competent math students, too.
#7	(Post conference) JJK cannot attend. They go to specials.	Lack of access to Special Time and Space	We have to be students first. If being a teacher leader takes away from our being a student, we cannot participate at that time.
#7	Darby types up Observation Summary and includes specific data collected by JJK on the document. JJK read their parts of the document and sign it.	Written Language/Use of Special Tool (Pathwise Summary Document)	Our ideas are on the document. Our signatures were included in the final document that will allow our interns to graduate and become teachers of their own classrooms.

			That makes our ideas real to the University of Florida.
#8	__ answers Darby's question about "what it has been like to be teacher leaders:" "We can know more about what they're thinking. And, they'll know more about what we're thinking and what we're doing in class."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab (<i>teacher leader</i>)	We get to eat lunch together in the classroom while the rest of the class is in the cafeteria. We are called <i>teacher leaders</i> by the adults. We can articulate that being a teacher leader means having access to teachers' ways of thinking, and allows teachers access to students' ways of thinking.
#8	__ adds: "I think we're giving facts (data) and they read it and try to come up with things..."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab (<i>teacher leader; facts</i>)	We can articulate that being a teacher leader means doing the job of action researcher (collecting data, sharing the data with teachers, and then seeing the teachers change their practice as a result)
#8	__ answers Darby's question about "how different this being a teacher leader and a student has been than what you experienced before in a classroom:" "Yes – it has been a lot of things...we can give facts, what we know and they'll start learning more..."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab (<i>teacher leader; facts</i>)	We can articulate that being a teacher leader means doing the job of action researcher (collecting data, sharing the data with teachers, and then seeing the teachers change their practice as a result)
#8	JJK witness interns and Darby talking about how their participation has made them better teachers and specific reasons (and examples) why.	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab	We have access to the teachers' special language, conversation, thinking. They can tell us exactly why we are teacher leaders.
#8	__ answers Darby's question about how their work as teacher leaders has helped their classmates and their teachers: "By giving them (interns) the facts."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab	We can articulate that being a teacher leader means doing the job of action researcher (collecting data, sharing the data with teachers, and then seeing the teachers change their practice as a result – thus helping their classmates).
#8	__ adds: "They can learn more about like math..."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab	We can articulate that being a teacher leader means we can help our classmates with math through changing of teacher behavior.
#8	JJK witness Darby and interns talk about their own insecurities as teachers which lead to less-than-optimal instructional practices.	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab (e.g., <i>wait time</i>)	We have access to the teachers' special language, conversation, thinking, feelings.
#8	__ makes a connection with how this negatively impacts students: "Yeah, because people they might not know what you are saying. And in a different way."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab	We are able to elaborate on our teachers' ideas – we can offer more perspectives into how their actions impact students in the classroom.
#8	__ answers Darby's question about how being a teacher leader has helped JJK: "It helped us learn more, like, when we want to grow up we want to become a teacher and we have to start out as interns like Ms. E. and Ms. B..."	Oral Language/Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab	Being a teacher leader gives us insight into the adult world of work, including the learning and stages adults have to go through to become professionals.
#8	JJK: Big MMMMMMMMMMs, all at once. Wide eyes. In response to intern's comment: "Also...we've let you in our world and what we are doing. Do you think it's easier to approach us and to us about your learning than it would be if you didn't have this role as teacher leader?"	Oral Language/Body Language; Use of Special Space and Time; Special Vocab (eg., <i>wait time</i>)	We really feel better about the relationships we have with you and it has enhanced our learning conditions dramatically.
#8	__ adds (unsolicited): "I just thought (teachers) were aliens (before)...Aliens that came from like Mars...made out of rock."	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	Before I was a teacher leader I had no idea what teachers did and why.
#8	__ answers intern question, "Do you guys like to know the reasons we do things?"	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and	We like having access to the thinking of teachers because it

	"Yeah, it gives like, it gives a head start about what you're doing and we can build on that."	Time	gives us a rationale for what we are doing, and scaffolds our learning. It provides more equity in having the chance to learn.
#9	___ answers Darby's question about "How you have changed since you became a teacher leader": Like the whole class did...Everybody started doing more work.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time (4 of us staying in class for lunch and through recess)	Our work as teacher leaders changed the entire class. Everyone in the class became more productive.
#9	___: I'm already good in my writing.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	I am a great writer.
#9	___ answers Darby's question about who has changed since you became a teacher leader:" "Jtavias, Jhn, me, Trent..."	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	We saw specific students change as a result of our being teacher leaders, including ourselves and others outside of our COP.
#9	___: I have been doing more work. ___: Writing, math... ___: Writing. Pretty much writing.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	Specifically, as individuals our writing and math skills have improved since we became teacher leaders.
#9	D: Was it fun working together to help the teachers get better? All (<i>same time</i>): Yeah/Mmmhmm.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	Our work as teacher leaders in this COP was very fun.
#9	___: I think everybody in the class has changed.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	Every person in the class has changed because of our work as teacher leaders.
#9	___: Uh... since uh (<i>choosing words carefully</i>) we've been giving ideas to uh Ms. B and Ms. E, they've came up with....they've added onto our ideas and they said it to the whole class and the class has learned more. ___: (behind ___'s voice): Yeah, and they liked it.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	The interns have changed, too, as a result of our teacher leadership. Specifically, this is because we have generated ideas to improve the teaching and learning we did together, and they have been able to take these ideas and expand upon them. They made our ideas public, too, so we got credit for our role in their learning. The entire class has learned more as a result. And the class liked what we were doing.
#9	___: Especially D___. D: Especially D___ – in what way have you seen this impact D___? ___: He's...not getting in trouble much more. ___: And more writing.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	We can identify specific students who we believe have been directly impacted by our work as teacher leaders. D used to get in trouble a lot. Now he is not getting into as much trouble and his writing skills have improved.
#9	___ answers Darby's question, "How does being a teacher leader help you classmates and teachers improve?" Cause they're taking ...our examples, so they could get better.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	The reason our role as teacher leader has impacted our teachers and peers is because the interns really listen and apply our ideas to improve their practice.
#9	___: Mostly everybody in the class. I improved in math a lot^, we took a test today^ and I think I'm going to get a hundred, cause I studied.....uh, that um, pretest thing from yesterday	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	I can offer a specific example of how my job as teacher leader has influenced my performance as a student previously weak in math: I aced a test today because I actually studied. Being a teacher leader has motivated me to study.
#9	D: Have you all seen any changes in each other since you've become teacher leaders? ___ answers Darby's question about "Have you all seen changes in each other since you became teacher leaders?": (<i>immediately</i>)	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	We see changes in one another. One of us has been a weak writer. But now he is generating ideas as a writer, especially since he is also working with Ms. E. He has also become a stronger teacher leader over time.

	I've seen uh, seen ___ more since he was working with Ms. E, uh, I think ___ has been getting more ideas... Better and better at being a teacher leader.		
#9	___: "(And ___), (h)e actually helped people when they need help in math. And he explained it to them. And like when you get done with a problem he'll explain it to you then, you do it on your own." ___: Well, he sort of acts like a leader... (And) (h)e has been doing more work.	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	Another one of us has become a leader for the entire class. For example, he helps people with their math. He explains the math and stays to see you do it on your own. He has also been producing more work as a result of being a leader.
#9	Darby asks: "...Can you please tell me...try to explain why being a teacher leader is making you better students?" ___: Because the people are looking up to us! Darby: How does that change your being a student? ___: Uh, it uh, it makes us like be a interns. ___: Uh, it's been helping us like.... ___: (<i>adding</i>) A lot. ___: ...we haven't been thinking this hard before...	Oral Language; Use of Special Space and Time	The reason being a teacher leader impacts our being good students is that <i>other people are respecting us. We have the special status of interns. We have high expectations on us. We have to think harder than ever before. This makes us better students.</i>

APPENDIX M
ARTIFACT GIVEN TO JJK A DAY BEFORE OUR LAST SEMI-STRUCTURED
INTERVIEW

Hi J, J, and K,

At recess I want to interview the 3 of you in the classroom, if that's ok with you.

Here are some questions to think about:

1. What advice do you have for **all** teachers who want to improve?
2. What advice do you have for me? I also want to improve as a teacher's coach.
3. How have the three of you changed since you became teacher leaders?
4. If we could talk to your 5th grade teachers today, what would you want them to know about the three of you?

APPENDIX N
 SAMPLE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS EXCERPT FROM JUNCTURE #9 (FINAL SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW WITH JJK)

Defining
 The "Magic!!.. continued 21

5D 1 Darby: How does that change your being a student?

2 []: Uh, it uh,

5D 3 it makes us like be a interns^.

4 Darby: Like interns?

5 []: Yeah.

6 Darby: Okay. Ooooh.

5D 7 What are you thinking []?

5D 8 []: Uh, it's been helping us like...

5D 9 []: (adding) A lot.

10 []: ...we haven't been thinking this hard before...

11 Darby: Oh okay.

12 []: ...like you know sometimes....

5D 13 Darby: This is college level thinking that we're doing. Darby defines COP as "college level work"

14 []: We don't, we don't uh...

5D 15 []: (Interrupting) Something stinks. [] attempting distraction

16 []: We don't uh, [] ignores []...

5D 17 know some of this [] alludes to new skills & knowledge as supervisors/TLs

18 and we've learned it as we've been helping

19 uh, Ms. [] and Ms. []h.

More on why being a "teacher leader" translates into academic performance
 • We are seen as "interns" (changed our positionality in the classroom)

Darby adds new info (redirects context to include [])

[] adds new info: Being a TL has helped JJK ~~in school~~ negotiate school

[] adds new info: Being a TL has impacted performance as students
 • thinking hard!

supervision skills, knowledge, dispositions

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Darby Delane grew up on the northeast coast of Florida where she started an early career as a musician. As she became increasingly dissatisfied with the extensive and lonely hours in the practice room, she packed her pick-up truck and moved to Gainesville. There she pursued her passion for ethnomusicology and ethnographic research in Latin America. Upon graduation with a master's degree in 1994 she had no job prospects, so she begged the local school district to give her a chance in the classroom. She promised to take night classes for as many years as it took to secure a viable certification. How hard could it be? Two nights before the next school year started, she was given an assignment as a high school special education teacher. After three terrifying months without a clue, and more nights than she cares to remember lying face down sobbing on her bedroom floor, she realized she had, indeed, finally found her calling in life: she was an *educator*. She has embraced the privilege ever since. Today she is tremendously fortunate to have the opportunity to continue her career in the College of Education at the University of Florida. Darby currently lives in Micanopy, Florida, with her partner, Farhad, their beautiful son, Rami, and their hound dog, Skeeter.