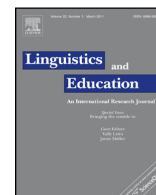
Linguistics and Education 31 (2015) 44–58

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Linguistics and Education

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/linged



Co-constructing beliefs about parental involvement: Rehearsals and reflections in a family literacy program

Ariana Mangual Figueroa[a,*], Sora Suh[b], Meredith Byrnes[b]

[a] Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, Graduate School of Education, United States
[b] Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 10 Seminary Place, New Brunswick, NJ 08901, United States

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Parent involvement
immigration
Teacher belief
Funds of knowledge
Competence

ABSTRACT

This article examines the ways in which participants in a six-week family literacy program—graduate students, immigrant parents, and their children—co-constructed a set of norms for appropriate parental involvement during a role-play activity in which they rehearsed placing and receiving phone calls between parents and school staff. The findings highlight an important tension: on the one hand, the graduate students' actions and stances during the role-plays reveal a set of normative beliefs about what constitutes competent parental behavior in schooling contexts; on the other hand, the graduate students' participation in the program was formative in challenging and extending (not simply reproducing) those beliefs. The authors suggest that graduate students' initial stances, and their shifting beliefs, can be situated along a continuum of understanding—viewing teachers' beliefs along such a continuum can help teacher educators to support them in developing more culturally-sustaining modes of teaching when working alongside immigrant families.

© 2015 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

Introduction

This article examines the ways in which participants in a six-week family literacy program—graduate students, immigrant parents, and their children—co-constructed a set of norms for appropriate parental involvement in U.S. public institutions. We explore face-to-face interactions during a role-play activity in which the participants rehearsed one form of exchange familiar in U.S. public schools and medical clinics: placing and receiving phone calls between parents and teachers or doctors. The interactions that we analyze formed part of a six-week family literacy program integrated into a teacher education course designed and taught by the first author during the spring of 2011. The course was based upon a "funds of knowledge" approach to teacher education (González, Wyman, & O'Connor, 2011; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) and informed by a language socialization approach to the study of interaction (Baquedano-López, Solís, & Arredondo, 2010).

Through a close analysis of selected role-plays, we seek to answer the following questions: What roles do participants assume as they socialize one another to local norms for parental involvement? How do participants challenge or reproduce broader discourses of parental involvement as they participate in the phone call rehearsals and discussions about those rehearsals? Our analysis provides insight into two key issues prevalent in the literature on parental involvement and relevant to the field of educational anthropology: first, the ways that parents and school employees negotiate role-taking and power

* Corresponding author at: 10 Seminary Place New Brunswick, NJ 08901, Brooklyn, NY 11238, USA. Tel.: +1 8489320788.
E-mail addresses: amf@gse.rutgers.edu (A. Mangual Figueroa), sora.is@gmail.com (S. Suh), merrymc9@gmail.com (M. Byrnes).

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2015.05.005
0898-5898/© 2015 Elsevier Inc. All rights reserved.

relations *vis-à-vis* one another; and second, the values that individuals express when socializing one another to appropriate behavior in school settings. We begin by reviewing the relevant literature on immigrant parents' involvement in U.S. schools and situating our theoretical framework within Hymes' conceptualization of communicative competence. We also briefly review anthropological perspectives on the significance of rehearsals and performance in social life. In this study, we turn to a description of our study and presentation of our analysis. The article closes with a discussion of the findings and the implications for researchers, teacher educators, and teachers.

Literature review

There is an extensive body of critical literature examining mainstream beliefs that shape approaches to parental involvement in the U.S. (see reviews by Auerbach, 1989; Baquedano-López, Alexander, & Hernandez, 2013; Delgado Gaitan, 2012; Erickson, 1984; Rodríguez-Brown, 2009; Valencia, 2002). Much of this work focuses on describing alignments and misalignments between home and school literacy practices and showing how school-based programs attempt to remedy existing differences by imposing a normative framework for parental participation. This normative framework, based upon white American middle class and monolingual practices, often leads to the classification of behavior in diverse racial, national, and socio-economic communities as deviant and deficient (Baquedano-López et al., 2013) or idealized and unrealistic (Qin, 2008). Over the last two decades, a "funds of knowledge" approach has offered theoretical and methodological guidance for researchers and educators to learn about the culturally specific ways in which immigrant parents impart cultural knowledge to their children outside of school (Moll et al., 1992; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). A common, though often unstated, theme in the parental involvement and funds of knowledge literature is *competence*—on the one hand, there is a tendency to generalize about immigrant parents' abilities to participate effectively in their children's schooling; on the other, there is an attempt to counter those generalizations by documenting cultural strengths that shape immigrant parents' ways of teaching and socializing.

Parental involvement: immigrant parents' competence

In her 1996 study of Mexican parents' beliefs about and participation in their children's schooling in the southwestern U.S., Valdés traces various arguments leveraged in public discourse and policymaking regarding parental participation in schooling. She notes that the cultural argument, now widely known as "deficit thinking" (Valencia, 2002, p. 81), was used to explain the educational failure of European immigrants in the twentieth century and continues to be used to account for the perceived low achievement of African-Americans and Latinos. Policymakers and educational leaders tend to blame immigrant and historically marginalized families for national "literacy crises" (Auerbach, 1989, p. 167), "achievement gaps" (Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 3) and, more recently, "language gaps" (Blum, 2014) measured by indicators such as standardized test scores. The cultural argument states that parents' inability to participate adequately in their children's education stems from a lack of "life experiences or cultural values that would have allowed or encouraged them to take advantage of the opportunities offered to them by American educational institutions" (Valdés, 1996, p. 22).

Valdés warns that, by defining immigrant parents as deviant, schools tend to prescribe a set of decontextualized language and literacy practices that parents should adopt (see also Auerbach, 1989). According to Moll and Ruiz (2002), deficit model perspectives that identify language use as a liability contribute to "the great illusion of American education: that to learn English (and have academic success), it is necessary to shed Spanish and the intimate social relations created through that language" (365). This focus on parental deficiency and remediation obscures the linguistic and cultural resources that immigrant families employ on a daily basis as well as broader questions about systematic inequities (such as poverty) that may hinder parents' abilities to engage in those practices valued in schools (such as reading children a bedtime story when parents' conditions of employment require them to work nights) (Zentella, 1997).

While the deficit model is used to explain the low achievement of African-American and Latino students, the cultural argument of the "model minority" presents an image of highly competent Asian-American children who obtain high test scores and maintain low drop-out rates (Sue & Okazaki, 1990; Wong, Lai, Nagasawa, & Lin, 1998). According to the model minority myth, Asian-American students are high achieving because they inherit cultural values from their parents, who are portrayed as better educated and more economically advantaged than their immigrant counterparts (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Sohn & Wang, 2006). Ji and Koblinsky (2009) warn that the myth of hyper competence obscures the incredible diversity of Asian-American immigrants, ignoring the realities of Southeast Asian and recent immigrant groups who are often socioeconomically disadvantaged and culturally and linguistically isolated (see also Kao & Thompson, 2003). The myth blames other immigrant parents for not "keeping up" with Asian Americans, overlooking structural inequities that impact non-dominant families of various ethnicities in schools (Ngo & Lee, 2007; Zhou & Kim, 2006).

Another perspective: funds of knowledge

The "funds of knowledge" approach to research and teaching (Moll et al., 1992) has become one of the most widely-known models for debunking deficit perspectives and gaining an understanding of the linguistic and cultural resources that immigrant parents and children bring to bear on schooling (Paris, 2012). These resources are developed within vast social networks and "multi-stranded" relationships between children and adults that are often overlooked by educators in traditional settings (Moll et al., 1992, p. 133). The approach advocates a fundamental shift in educators' perspectives on

immigrant parents, one in which parents are treated as expert and equal partners in their children's schooling. González et al. (2011) explain that

> The original FoK research differed crucially from other approaches to so-called "parent/family involvement" in that it aimed at mutual transformation: not only of students' and families' relationships with the school, but also of teachers' relationships with students and families, and of teachers' understanding of how community funds of knowledge might inform academic knowledge (485).

This model offers us one way to rethink parental competence—not as a predetermined set of behaviors evaluated against a mainstream, monolingual set of educational policies and practices, but instead as a body of knowledge situated in a historical trajectory and contingent upon social relationships and everyday interactions that are situated both within and beyond the family.

One of the hallmarks of this approach is the emphasis on *confianza*—the mutual respect and trust that families and teachers build with one another by collaborating over time (González et al., 2005, p. 3). Transformative relationships based upon *confianza* have the potential to change two key components of the traditional parent–teacher relationship: first, as reciprocal understanding is developed, educators may revise deficit model perceptions and recognize family strengths (see Rodríguez-Brown, 2009; Zentella, 2005 for examples); second, as collaborative partnerships are formed, power relations may shift and lead to mutual "learning and the co-construction of knowledge" between educators and families (González et al., 2011, p. 483). Our work responds to González et al.'s 2011 call for "anthropologists of education to continue to document how co-constructing knowledge beyond local classrooms, for local purposes, can both bring theoretical insights and foster a profoundly reflexive practice for teachers, community members, and students" (491). As we will show, "educators, too, are culture bearers. They bring into classrooms a multitude of ideas, beliefs, and knowledge based upon their own experiences" (Delgado Gaitan, 2012, p. 307). Studying parents', children's, and developing teachers' beliefs allows us to look beyond the institutional privilege that often renders teachers "cultureless" and the normative frameworks that ascribe parental behavior to a set of pre-existing cultural models.

Communicative competence and co-construction

The themes raised by Hymes in his 1972 treatise "On Communicative Competence" parallel the themes that we have identified in the parental involvement and funds of knowledge literature. Hymes critiqued evaluations of everyday talk as deviations from an idealized norm of the speaker-hearer, instead advocating for a focus on the communicative resources used by social actors in settings defined by difference and linguistic diversity. Similarly, scholars critical of traditional notions of parental involvement argue against privileging normative frameworks for evaluating parental participation, and instead advocate for learning about the culturally specific ways that parents from diverse backgrounds partake in their children's schooling. We integrate these parallel arguments by focusing on the ways in which participants in the cross-cultural setting of the family literacy program use language to express their beliefs about what counts as competent parental participation. We draw on Hymes' conceptualization of communicative competence as we attend to the ways in which individuals acquire relevant social knowledge needed "to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others" (1972/2001, p. 60). This underscores the sociocultural and situated nature of participants' ability to co-construct and evaluate criteria for appropriate parental behavior.

Using a language socialization approach to studying communicative competence, we focus on "language as the primary tool for expressing socio-cultural and pragmatic meaning and as the focal means for competent socialization" (Baquedano-López et al., 2010, p. 343). This framework draws on Hymes' work and conceives of socialization as a lifespan process in which novices of all ages are socialized into culturally specific forms of appropriate and competent behavior. The language socialization approach directs our attention to the "interactional processes" by which participants co-construct the idea of parental involvement, where co-construction is defined as "the joint creation of a form, interpretation, stance, action, activity, identity, institution, skill, ideology, emotion, or other culturally meaningful activity" (Ochs and Jacoby, 1995, p. 172). The exchanges during the role-plays and participants' metalinguistic commentaries about them provide a unique view into the co-construction of their identities and roles during the activity.

Bridging an ethnography of speaking approach (Hymes, 1964) with a language socialization approach highlights the ways in which parents' and teachers' evaluations of competence shape interaction during the course of communicative events such as role-plays. Fig. 1. illustrates Hymes' seven dimensions of a communicative event using an example from the family literacy role plays that we will examine shortly.

Speakers judge one another along these seven dimensions—individually or as a composite—and may deem one another competent or incompetent. In school settings, evaluations of communicative competence based upon fluency in English and adherence to social norms in monolingual U.S. contexts often shape teachers' evaluations of parental competence. These judgments enable or constrain the roles that parents can assume during interactions with teachers. In the family literacy program, the graduate students focused on evaluating immigrant parents' adherence to social norms encoded in language (forms such as politeness rules) while the parents were concerned with competently communicating their social needs (on topics ranging from arranging a meeting with a teacher or obtaining medical care for their child). GSE students and immigrant parents attended to different dimensions of the communicative event that they found to be most important, leading to different goals within the exchange and distinct evaluations of parental competence.

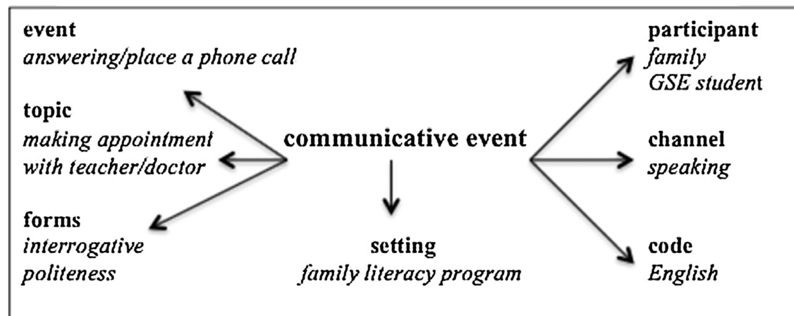


Fig. 1. Seven components of a communicative event.

Competence and performance

Drawing from linguistic anthropology, one of the foundations of the interdisciplinary Language Socialization approach, we define performance as "a domain of human action where special attention is given to the ways in which communicative acts are executed" (Duranti, 1997, p. 15). Performances inherently entail heightened attention to what one is doing and saying as well as to the audience's perception of one's actions and words. As a result, the social context of a performance foregrounds participants' evaluations of their own and others' competence (Bauman, 1975/2001). In his exploration of the relationships between theater and anthropology, Schechner (1985) writes that the "process of collecting and discarding, of selecting, organizing, and showing, is what rehearsals are all about" (p. 120) and claims that post-performance evaluations are an understudied area that could "help illuminate the links between "performance," "knowledge," and actors and "society-at-large" (p. 31). Rehearsals predispose participants to evaluation, and these assessments are not neutral. Who assesses whom and the particular focus of the critique provides insight into participants' beliefs regarding competent behavior within a particular performance while also reflecting broader institutional ideologies regarding behavior.

Ethnographers of schooling have drawn our attention to the emergent quality of classroom interaction—a characteristic that resembles the improvisational nature of rehearsal—and the ways in which tensions that arise from teachers' and students assessments' of one another's behavior can lead to opportunities for reflection upon and adaptation of classroom practice (Baquedano-López et al., 2005, p. 19). Bloome et al. (1989) argued that these moments of evaluation and tension should be considered cultural events in and of themselves, and should not be ignored by focusing on the acquisition of academic knowledge for the sake of achieving a future outcome. This is true in the case of role-plays—which are often seen as useful for acquiring language to be used in an authentic or "real-life" event that might take place in an imagined future (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2013; Wright, 2010)—but which can reveal a tremendous about those cultural expectations for teachers, parents, and students that currently circulate in educational settings. Moreover, Baquedano-López et al. (2005) argue, "researchers need to interrogate how learning spaces are actively constructed and when the tensions in those spaces can in fact be productive" (p. 20). We take up this call, which appeared previously in this journal, to view classroom interactions as opportunities to reflect upon and reexamine social dispositions.

The study

Program and participants

The family literacy program that is the focal site for this study was housed at a public elementary school that we call Oaktown.[1] Families with children enrolled in the Oaktown School District were invited to participate via letters sent home in English, Spanish, Korean, and Chinese (Mandarin). At the time of the study, the five major language groups at Town Elementary School were English (65.4%), Spanish (10.2%), Chinese (8%), Russian (3.1%), and Korean (2.7%). Each of these languages was represented among the family literacy program participants. During the first year of the program, eight graduate students enrolled in the course. They included two doctoral students in language and education, four pre-service teachers with student teaching experience in New Jersey public schools, and two practicing teachers. One of the graduate students immigrated to New Jersey from Western Europe while another was born in Central America; two others were second-generation immigrants with families hailing from West Africa and East Asia. The professor and first author was born in the U.S. with Spanish-speaking Caribbean heritage and four graduate students were born in the U.S. with European ancestry.

The family literacy program formed part of a growing service-learning initiative in the Graduate School of Education (GSE) at Rutgers University where the authors teach and study. This article focuses on data gathered during the spring of 2011; the second and third authors were student researchers in the course in 2011 and 2012, respectively. The goal of the family literacy program was to provide pre-service teachers, developing educational researchers, and immigrant families with the opportunity to learn from and teach one another about their language learning and literacy practices. The broader

[1] All proper nouns in this article are pseudonyms.

Table 1
Overview of the spring 2011 course.

Weeks 1–8 (January 18, 2011–March 8, 2011) *Seminar*	Students became familiar with different models of bilingual education and funds of knowledge concepts by reading from: • Brisk, María Estela & Harrington, Margaret. (2007). *Literacy and Bilingualism: A Handbook for all teachers*. (2nd edition) • González, Norma, Moll, Luis C. & Amanti, Cathy. (2005). *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practices in Households, Communities, and Classrooms*. Students created lesson plans to conduct during field visits. Professor (first author) reviewed and gave feedback on the plans.
Weeks 9–14 (March 22, 2011–April 26, 2011) *Seminar + Family Literacy Program*	Students continued reading about funds of knowledge and bilingualism; class met for one hour to discuss readings and other relevant topics, reflect upon participation, and share lesson plans. Graduate students and family groups met.
Week 15 (May 3, 2011) *Course Conclusion*	Students wrote a final paper modeled after the teacher essays published in the 2005 *Funds of Knowledge* text.

initiative, which involved collaboration among four professors including the first author, sought to develop a series of service-learning programs in which university pre-service teachers and local community members could develop mutually beneficial relationships. As the first author developed the family literacy program, other professors created an adult literacy program embedded in courses at the GSE. Over time, immigrant families living in Oaktown attended both program models, adding a longitudinal component to this service-learning initiative.

In preparation for the family literacy program, the first author worked with Town Elementary School's Title I Coordinator and English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher to learn about their programs and recruit immigrant families. The first author invited these staff members to speak with her graduate students at the start of the semester, so that they could share relevant information about Oaktown's families and the schools' policies and practices. The Title I Coordinator and ESL teacher explained that in previous years, the district had proudly hosted a family literacy program that included home visits and tutoring, funded by the federal EvenStart program. Shortly before we initiated the family literacy program, EvenStart funding had been cut and the district had lost the program, making this a welcome addition to the district's resources.

The Title I Coordinator and ESL teacher explained that Oaktown's immigrant population represented not only various languages and countries of origin, but also different reasons for immigrating. Immigrant families who settled there tended to either work or study at the local university or work in the region's service industry.[2] The Town Elementary School staff asked that we offer support in two critical areas: first, with academic orientation so that parents would know how to best support their children in school; and second, with building social networks so that immigrant parents would be better able to integrate into the broader school and town community (second author, field notes, February 1, 2011). They believed that both issues were relevant to all of the immigrant parents and children residing in the district.

The graduate course that is the focus of this article was modeled after a funds of knowledge approach in which teachers and professors work hand-in-hand to ethnographically observe and document learning in immigrant communities, critically examine classroom instructional practices, and participate in reflection and planning (Moll et al., 1992). During the first seven weeks of the course, the class met to read and discuss research on bilingualism and funds of knowledge, drawing on the course textbooks identified in Table 1 below. For the next six weeks, the class convened at Town Elementary School; during that time, the professor and students discussed readings and reflected on teaching for an hour and the graduate students and families met in the family literacy program for an hour and a half. During this phase of the course, graduate students continued to discuss research on bilingual pedagogy and the funds of knowledge approach while the professor integrated discussions of relevant issues such as immigration, communicative competence, and ethnographic research methods. The graduate students were encouraged to make connections between the readings and their experiences in the family literacy program, reflect upon and prepare for teaching, and grapple with connections and challenges between the original funds of knowledge approach and our adapted model.

The graduate students developed field plans that sought to elicit a different aspect of the families' funds of knowledge each week; they were paired with the same families for consistency over time and these groups were created according to home families' language and/or children's age. The graduate students developed a series of four rotating activities in order to learn about family members' funds of knowledge and to provide the kinds of support that the families and the Town Elementary School staff requested. The four rotating activities included: participating in a role-play, creating a memory game, designing a family tree, and drafting "about me" books. Throughout the semester, graduate students continually reflected on their experiences engaging the families in role-plays; interestingly, the role-plays became more central in the seminar discussions than the other lessons they created and implemented. Prior to conducting the role-plays and during the reflections about

[2] This trend is exemplified in the data presented, and represents an example of what Portes (1997) called the "hourglass" pattern in which immigrants tend to enter the U.S. in either very highly skilled, well compensated or low skilled, low wage sectors of the economy. The two focal families in this article represent these broader trends in U.S. immigration.

Table 2
Overview of data collection.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Graduate Course
weeks 9-15
(March 22, 2011-
May 3, 2011)

Graduate Seminar + Family Literacy Program</td><td colspan="3">• Audio recordings of graduate seminar
• Field notes by professor</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Family Literacy Program
meetings 1-6
(March 22, 2011-
April 26, 2011)</td><td colspan="2">• Audio recordings of graduate seminar and family literacy groups
• Field notes by professor and students
• Lesson plans and group work</td></tr>
<tr><td>Role-play activity
Meeting 3
(April 5)

Reflections on role-play activity (from April 5-May 3)</td><td>• Audio recordings of all four groups
• Audio recording of seminar discussion</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">• Audio recording of final graduate seminar meeting
• Final papers modeled after teacher essays found in Funds of Knowledge</td></tr>
</table>

them, the professor provided pedagogical and conceptual support to the graduate students by providing feedback on their lesson plans and by drawing connections between best teaching practices and language, culture, and funds of knowledge.

Data collection

Data collection occurred throughout the semester and included three kinds of data: first, audio recordings of the seminar discussions between the professor and graduate students; second, audio recordings of interactions between the graduate students and the participating families; and third, the field plans and final papers that the graduate students developed. The first author obtained the graduate students' consent on the first day of the semester and requested the families' consent to participate during the first meeting of the family literacy program. All of the graduate students and families agreed to take part in the study. Each week, the first and second authors brought digital audio recorders to the school and placed them in the rooms where the seminar discussion took place and where the family literacy groups were meeting. Table 2 indicates which data were gathered on which weeks of the family literacy program.

The analysis presented here focuses on the transcripts of role-plays recorded during the third meeting of the family literacy program and the graduate student-professor reflections during the following weeks of the semester, highlighted in bold in Table 2. All four of the family literacy groups engaged in role-plays on April 5, 2011—these role-plays were led by the graduate students and informed by the families' requests to practice particular kinds of exchanges. The role-plays in the four family literacy groups tended to last an average of one-minute and forty seconds and the exchanges presented in this article ranged from one to three-and-a-half minutes. The role-play topics varied since they emerged from the families' and graduate students' discussion of relevant topics; although each family literacy group developed a different list of topics, nearly all of them included calling an educational or medical institution.

Data analysis

The second and third authors of this article transcribed all of the data recorded in the two focal family literacy groups. Once we reviewed the transcripts for accuracy, the research team (comprised of all three authors) coded the data using Dedoose qualitative data coding software in order to facilitate a systematic group process that involved developing a coding schema, creating a coding dictionary, and coding data. We took a grounded theory approach to analysis—first coding for emergent themes, refining them based upon patterns across the transcripts, and triangulating the data with final papers and lesson plans (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Creswell, 2013). This iterative process was refined by conducting a close analysis of selected transcriptions that exemplified recurring codes. We used an "ethnography of speaking" lens to code for the components of

Table 3
Participants in Family Literacy Group 1.

The Rios family	The Velez family	GSE students
Parents: Marco and Alba; born in Mexico *Children*: **Julia** (7th grade), Dalia (5th grade), Flor (1st grade); U.S.-born	*Parents*: Fidel and **Ava**; born in Mexico *Children*: **Marlon** (3rd grade), **Joel** (2nd grade), **David** (preschool); U.S.-born	**Abby**: Pre-service mathematics teacher **Clara**: Language education doctoral student

communicative events, detailed by Hymes in 1964, and illustrated in the previous section titled "Communicative competence and co-construction".

This dual approach to coding thematically and sociolinguistically drew our attention to the content of the interactions as well as the interactional process itself. For example, we began by coding thematically for family members' mentions of topics such as *identity*, *cultural description*, and *national comparisons* as well as graduate students' mentions of *funds of knowledge*. We simultaneously coded sociolinguistially for the forms of talk that were significant to the class content such as *reporting* and *narrating* or *codeswitching* and *translating*. We continuously returned to Hymes' model of the communicative event and created subcodes for speaker (*parent*, *child*, *GSE student*), channel (or mode, such as *speaking*), and event (such as *role-play*). By focusing not only on what was being said, but also on who said it and how it was said, we were able to examine the significance of particular utterances for different speakers.

We adhere to Conversation Analysis (CA) transcription methods to capture the communicative resources used by the participants (Schegloff, 2007).[3] CA is compatible with our approach to studying role-plays and funds of knowledge for two reasons: first, it considers social interaction among different interlocutors to be an accomplishment that can be understood empirically through a micro-analytic focus on unfolding talk (Stivers, 2002); and second, it gives "analytic priority to the perspective of the participants" (Pomerantz & Fehr, 2011, p. 167). This view of interaction as a sequence of turns that lead to joint meaning-making and communication, coupled with the focus on the emic perspectives of interlocutors, aligns closely with an ethnography of speaking and funds of knowledge analysis of families' and teachers' talk.

The focus on routine talk and institutional norms in CA is especially relevant to our analysis of telephone role-plays in a family literacy setting. Schegloff's early work on telephone calls (1968, 1986) demonstrates that these routine events reveal valuable information about existing social norms. He showed that telephone conversations involve real-time coordination between speakers who often rely on a "canonical order" of greetings and openings in order to accomplish a specific task (1986, p. 116). This insight, coupled with Heritage (2005) analysis of institutional talk—talk which is generally highly restricted in settings where interlocutors may be sanctioned or reprimanded for not speaking competently according to an accepted set of social norms—underscore the significance of the telephone role-plays analyzed here. In our case, these telephone rehearsals draw our attention to the ways in which participants that represent institutional practices (here the graduate students representing normative U.S. telephone practices in schools and medical clinics) tried to impart a set of accepted norms to immigrant parents in an attempt to socialize them to become competent speakers of English in those settings.

Findings

On the third day of the family literacy program, the four family literacy groups participated in a role-play activity that offered parents and children the opportunity to identify and rehearse different types of phone calls that they routinely made. Examples One and Two are excerpts of the longer exchanges that took place in two of those family literacy groups.

Example one

The first example includes the families and graduate students listed in Table 3; the names of those who appear in the transcript are highlighted in bold. The Rios and Velez family were close friends who attended the same church; each family had two children enrolled at Town Elementary and, on those nights that one set of parents had to work late, the children would all attend the program under the care of the other parents.

On this afternoon, both families were present and Sora and Abby began by eliciting a list of phone calls that the families wanted to practice. The families generated ideas; including: parents' calls to employers, the cable company, school, the

[3] The transcripts adhere to the Conversation Analysis transcription conventions reprinted in Schegloff (2007). This system does not follow grammatical rules (such as the use of the inverted question mark at the onset of a Spanish interrogative); instead, the codes signal the following:

(.)	"micropause"	CAPS	especially loud talk
.	falling, or final intonation contour	°	talk following it was quiet or soft
?	rising intonation	↑↓	sharper intonation rises or falls
::	prolongation of the preceding sound	(())	transcriber's description of events
_	stress or emphasis	-	cut off prior word or sound
[	a point of overlap onset	<> ><	rushed or slowed talk
hhh	aspiration, can indicate laughter		

dentist, as well as calls among members of the family. Julia and Dalia were the first to role-play, calling one another to confirm that they had spoken to their mother earlier that day. As a transition into the second role-play, Sora pointed out that the sisters had not identified themselves because they could recognize each other's voices, and she raised the question of whether this was applicable in all scenarios.Sora cued the switch from family phone calls to school phone calls, employing the conjunction

Segment A: Establishing the rehearsal frame.

1 Sora Bu::t? what if (.) you get a phone call from school?=
2 Ava Mmhmm
3 Sora =for a meeting (.) ri::[ght?
4 Ava [°It's scary° (.) Hhh ((nervous laugh))
5 Sora ((laughs))
6 Julia ↓What did he do now? What did my child do now?
7 David Sca (.) wy?
8 Ava Ya::h
9 Sora So let's pretend? (.) Okay (.) so=
10 Abby I'll be teacher.
11 Sora =okay Abby will be the tea?cher. Who wants ta:::=
12 Ava °I want to°
13 Sora =okay, okay.

"but" to establish a contrast between talking to one's sister and talking with someone from school (line 1). Ava, the parent who requested practice with this particular type of exchange, offered an appraisal of these calls as a scary experience, laughing nervously in line 4. Her ability to sincerely express her fears about parent–teacher interactions—especially when talking to graduate students who represented teachers within the family-literacy program—indicates that they had begun to establish trusting relationships in which vulnerability and anxiety could be shared openly. Two of the children immediately responded to Ava's claim. First, Julia mimicked an imaginary parental response, voicing concern in a somber tone (line 6). Then David, the youngest child present and the only one enrolled in preschool, repeated in an interrogatory tone what his mother had stated and what Julia had enacted (line 7). This suggests that David was not familiar with the stigma attached to this type of phone call, while the older children were clearly more familiar with this genre of exchange. Ava affirmed that she did indeed find this prospect scary (line 8) and Sora continued establishing the rehearsal frame, reassuring the group that the ensuing conversation would not be real ("let us pretend," in line 9). The nervousness and anxiety shared by both parents and children reflect the assumption that interactions between teachers and parents about their children would be confrontational or at least fault finding.

In the subsequent turns of talk, Abby specified the subject of the call. She stated: "I'm gonna say that Joel is acting up in class," ratifying the idea that school-home phone calls are punitive. As we will see, however, during the rehearsal itself, Abby switched to another disciplinary frame that focused instead on the completion of school assignments in the home. Like many teachers and future teachers, the most readily available framework for conceiving an interaction with parents was disciplinary instead of collaborative. Finally, Sora simulated the sound of the phone call by making a "ring, ring, ring" sound, and the rehearsal began.

Segment B: The teacher–parent phone call.

13 Abby Hello?
14 Ava °Hi°
15 Abby <Hi. This. Is. Ms. Smith (.)> I'm looking for the parents of Jo↑e::l?
16 Joel No, no. David, David.
17 David No Jo::el::!
18 Others Shhhh
19 Ava Uh. You uh. Call uh. >about what<?
20 Abby I'm. Joe::l's teacher?
21 Ava Oh:: (.) You're Joel's teacher. Oka::y?
22 Abby <U::m. He:: ha::s been ha::ving trou↑ble with home↑work?>
23 Joel NO
24 Ava He:: has been ha::[ving a trouble with the home. work?
25 Marlon [That's your fault
26 Joel NO stop it
27 Marlon °YES°
28 Joel °NO stop it°
29 Abby Yeah
30 Ava Okay. Uh. Can we uh have a meeting. so I can >talk to ju< about. ah Joel's ah
31 ho::mework?
32 Abby A:::bsolutely. <What time can. you::. come. in?>
33 Ava Um
34 Joel Seven fifteen
35 Ava How about ah ah nine o clock. in de morning?
36 Abby O::kay. Can. you. do:: Wednesday?
37 Ava Um. No::: I have >something to do< on Wednesday. Can I have a other day?
38 Abby Can you come Thursday at. eight? o'clock?

39 Ava Uh. In the morning?
40 Abby Yes.
41 Ava Oh oh. Yes.
42 Abby ↑Okay per::FECT.
43 Ava Bye bye. Okay tha::nk you very much.
44 Abby Okay thank you.
45 Ava Bye bye.
46 Abby Bye.

After the opening greeting, Abby provided her name (with the title Ms. and her last name) and identified the intended audience for the call (the untitled and nameless "parents of Joel," line 15. Meanwhile, Ava's sons attempted to negotiate which of them would be the cause of the bad news (lines 16 and 17 and again in lines 25–28). Their bids were silenced as Ava quickly moved to ascertain the reason for the teacher's call (line 18). But before Abby revealed this information, she stated that she was Joel's teacher, something that Ava presumably knew because she recognized her name, but which Abby wanted to clarify. Only then did Abby reply to Ava's question "You call about what?" (line 19) by stating that Joel has been "having trouble with his homework" (line 22). Abby's slow paced and elongated pronunciation was meant to increase Ava's comprehension of this important information, and Ava demonstrated her understanding by repeating Abby's complaint as a question (line 24). At this point, Abby had the opportunity to elaborate on her concerns about homework but she offered the minimal amount of information possible. Stating the problem but not proposing a resolution placed the onus on Ava to suggest a possible next step. Ava demonstrated her understanding about what a concerned parent should do in response to a teacher's phone call by requesting a meeting with the teacher.

The second half of the exchange involved a negotiation of scheduling that consists of three notable features. First, Joel (Ava's 8 year-old son) suggested a specific time for this visit, suggesting both that he was familiar with when parent–teacher conferences typically occurred and that he had previously served as a language broker during these types of exchanges. Second, Ava practiced scheduling by offering a time but negotiating the day of the visit. In this way, she indicated that this visit was a priority (it was, after all, her idea) but that she also had other responsibilities to attend to. Given the fact that we were meeting in an evening family literacy program, it is conceivable that Ava would have been available for an evening meeting as well as an early morning meeting; however, this possibility was not pursued by Abby, who sought a time before the instructional day had begun (line 38). The rehearsal ended once the meeting time had been established, with a minimal amount of time spent on establishing the academic issue at hand and the majority of the exchange focused on finding a time to meet.

The group shifted into a reflection about the role-play with a round of clapping and affirmations; Abby stated "that was really good." The participants' discussion about the call underscored their different priorities within the exchange. Sora and Abby, the teachers, focused on establishing roles and negotiating time while Ava and her sons were more concerned about the subject of the call (in terms of who the focal student was and establishing the reason for the call). During the reflection, Ava's first question to Abby was: "did you understand me?" While the graduate students did not directly answer Ava's question, they provided extensive feedback on two things. First, they focused on scheduling and as Abby explained:

> It's a little tricky with a teacher because the schedule might be different so maybe Wednesday at nine was ok but Thursday at nine is not. So they might tell you. Can they come- you- this time, this time, or this time, and then you pick.

Abby attempted to socialize Ava to defer to the teachers' authority, instead of attempting to negotiate a time that was mutually convenient for both. The fact that Ava wanted to pursue a more in depth, face-to-face exchange despite finding it scary was not taken up here. Second, the graduate students focused on the way in which Ava identified herself on the call, pointing out that she should have stated that she was Joel's mother. Sora explained:

> So in that situation if she said this is Ms. Smith, I'd like to speak with Joel's parents, you could say I'm Jerry's mother or this is she.

In response, Ava again explained that her focus was on the subject of the call, stating that she "didn't understand when uh she uh speak me. I don't know she calling for what." While the graduate students focused on socialization to politeness that involved deferring to the teachers' schedules and properly identifying roles and kinship on the phone, Ava was much more concerned with whether she understood what was at stake in the phone call and whether she communicated her ideas clearly.

While Abby's participation in the role-play established a participation framework in which the parent was required to respond deferentially to the teacher, in our seminar discussions Abby demonstrated her understanding of the ways that educators' assumptions and role-taking in relation to parents may alienate those who want to participate actively in their children's learning. During our discussion of this role-play activity in the subsequent seminar meeting, Abby reflected upon an exchange that she had with one of the parents in her group:

> When I went to write down notes from last week, I was trying to think about the whole group activity, but what I remembered most—probably because I was most interested— was I had a conversation with Marcos before. Sora was doing something with, I forget, maybe signing sheets or something. So he was there with the kids and I was asking him

Table 4
Participants in Family Literacy Group 2.

The Lee family	GSE students
Parents: **Mira** and **Juno**, born in Korea	**John**: Pre-service science teacher
Child: Shelly (Kindergarten), born in Korea	Laura: doctoral student in Spanish language

> about math. And they learn the same program that I teach the kids so I asked him how do you feel when they bring home homework, because that's the one thing I always wonder with the Spanish-speaking parents of my students. And he completely just confirmed everything I thought. That they feel bad. They would help. They can't. And he said he learned the math so differently and he actually took out paper and started to show me how he learned things. And he's like they're doing all this like crazy stuff. And I just thought it was a really productive conversation. I was able to remember so many more details from that than from when like everything was going on at once. . . . And it sounds like the teachers are not recognizing that problem. Because there are Spanish versions of the book that they could have and keep at home and he didn't even know that. Because I guess because she speaks English so well they never thought. . .And it's sad because they've been in the school system doing it for a while you think somebody along the lines would think maybe they need help at home.

Here, Abby recounted an exchange in which Marcos explained his difficulty helping his daughter Julia with her math homework when he learned that her teachers preferred a different solution path than the one he had learned in Mexico. In her reflection, Abby suggested ways that teachers could redistribute power and expertise to parents by listening to them, providing Spanish-language translations of English textbooks, and not assuming that the child's English proficiency level is shared by everyone in the household. She also noted that this brief exchange, which took place moments before the role-play activity began, was quite formative for her. This suggests that creating opportunities for parent–teacher interactions that go beyond traditional formats—those that are often limited to parent–teacher conferences or formal school-based activities—may provide teachers with rich insights into immigrant families' lives and prompt new connections with the families that they serve. This role-play exchange, coupled with Abby's reflection, also suggests that while educators may express culturally-sensitive stances in their teaching reflections, they may still revert to more traditional, punitive, models of parent–teacher engagement in institutional contexts (or rehearsals for institutional exchanges).

Example two

Like Group 1, the role-play activity in Group 2 began when the graduate students elicited family members' ideas about what types of phone calls they wanted to rehearse. Group 2's role-play included the following participants (Table 4):

Mira, the mother, explained that she wanted to practice "Talk to teacher. If my daughter sick. When my daughter is sick I will call to teacher. . ." Juno, the father, who had brought the family to New Jersey in order to complete a postdoctoral fellowship in spinal cord injuries and rehabilitation at Rutgers University, explained that "I studied medical parts. . .but I don't know normal people use which word to talk about that pain." The parents wanted to rehearse the social conventions of the parent call to the school nurse as well as the linguistic register that would be appropriate in that exchange. After explaining that register selection depends on the interlocutor, John shifted into the rehearsal frame by assigning roles, providing a script, and signaling the hypothetical nature of the exchange by speaking in the conditional tense ("you would say"). John directed the information to Juno even though it was Mira who took up the role of parent:

> Okay. Um. So, you're gonna be the patient? Okay. And just use this as a guide. Does that make sense? So for example I can say good afternoon Juno, this is the doctor's office. How can I help you? So summarize or change it into your own words so that it's more realistic. So, so for this it would say, you would say, hi I'd like to make an appointment for my daughter to see the doctor because she's having stomach pains or eye pain or something. Does that make sense?

While the initial plan was to rehearse a parent–school nurse call, John described a hypothetical call to the doctor. John's selection of this framework did not necessarily respond to the parental request, as interacting with a conventional doctor's office and a school nurse can be distinct experiences. John's assumption that the parents just needed help establishing a doctor's appointment excluded the possibility that the parents wanted to learn how to navigate the specific overlap of scholastic and medical spaces in public schools. This might be an instance in which the parents were attempting to develop a more nuanced form of communicative competence—one that varied by setting and interlocutor in addition to register—than the graduate student realized. He signaled the start of the call by answering the phone.

Segment A: The parent–doctor's office phone call.

1 John	Um. Hello, this is the doctor's office. How are you today?
2 Mira	Hello? I'd like to make an appoi:::ntment to see (.) doc↑tor for my daugh↑ter
3	plea:::se.
4 John	Okay (.) um. What would uh you like to make uh an appointment for?
5 Mira	Uh::::
6 John	What are your daughter's symptoms?

7 Mira	Uh:::: My daughter::: mm (.4) um (.5) um my daugh↑ter uh:: catch a c↑old?
8 John	Okay.
9 Mira	May↑be:::? For uh:::: (.2) Mm::: >two [weeks< mo:::re.
10 John	[Okay. Does she have uh a head cold? or
11	a chest cold. Is she coughing? Or::::
12 Mira	Uh she i-is coughing for a rong tie for about 2 w↑eeks
13 John	Okay. Um. What-what other types of things? Does she have a cough? A runny
14	nose?
15 Mira	Uh::: Mm:::
16 John	fever?
17 Mira	Yes, a liddle fev↑er. She has a liddle fev↑[er::
18 John	[okay
19 Mira	and cou? °cough?°
20 John	Cough? Okay?
21 Mira	C-hhh. Yeah. ((laughs))
22 John	Okay? A Cough? Okay. Okay what days would you. like. to. come. in?
23 Mira	Uhh::
24 John	I. have. >an appointment< that you can come in today? at five o' clock? or
25	tom↑orrow a::t noon.
26 Mira	Uh::: I want to:: tomorrow (.) Ti-tomorrow.
27 John	Okay.
28 Mira	Hhhh
29 John	Tomorrow at noon?
30 Mira	Yeahhhh
31 John	Okay. Um::; Is there anything else that I can help you ↑with (.) today.
32 Mira	Uh (.2) No thanks? Hhhh ((laughs nervously))
33 John	Okay.
34 Mira	Hhhh
35 John	Ok. See. you. tomorrow. >at noon<
36 Mira	Yeah. See you::: tomorrow::: Thank you hh[hh
37 John	[Okay. Bye.
38 Mira	Bye hhh ((laughs nervously))

Once John answered the phone as the doctor's receptionist, Mira explained her reason for calling. Like Ava, Mira skipped the opening politeness routines (she did not, for example, respond to his query, "how are you?" or return the question); instead, Mira immediately established the reason for the call (line 2). John responded with the phrase—"what would you like to make the appointment *for*" (line 4)—which he meant to signify the reason for the appointment but which Mira found confusing because she may have interpreted it as a question about the *who* she was making the appointment for instead of *why* she was making it (evidenced by her hesitation in line 5). John rephrased the question, using the word symptom and Mira responded with a possible diagnosis (line 7) and a length of time specifying the duration of the illness (line 8). John pressed for more descriptions, without acknowledging the primary symptom that Mira shared (that her daughter was coughing for two weeks, line 12) for another ten lines (until line 22).

Almost half of this exchange is focused on scheduling the appointment, with interesting parallels to Group 1. The graduate student (acting as service provider) offered possible times, instead of asking the parent what times of day would work for them. In response, Mira (like Ava) agreed to a time but negotiated the day of the week instead of taking the first appointment offered. Once the scheduling was completed (Mira agreed to the time proposed in line 29), John began to close the exchange by asking if there was anything else that he could do for her (line 31). With nervous laughter, Mira accepted the bid to close the exchange and the call ended. John provided almost the exact same assessment as Abby did in Group 1, stating "ok, that was good, that was really good," but not specifying what was good about the exchange. He continued to provide feedback by reviewing the meaning of terms like "runny nose" and "mucus," explaining that they were synonymous but signaled a different register. Mira indicated that she was familiar with those terms and the activity continued as Juno began to rehearse a phone call to the doctor.

During subsequent reflections about both Mira and Juno's participation in the role-play activity, John expressed empathy and tried to instill confidence by stating that "learning another language is hard. And most Americans can't speak another language so you should be proud of yourselves." He suggested that they should "just be confident when you're speaking" and recommended that Mira and Juno ask speakers to "slow down" if they don't understand the speech. While John attempted to empower the parents through positive reinforcement and strategy building he, like Abby, placed the onus on the immigrant parent to improve an exchange without naming ways in which he may have constrained parents' sense of possibility within it (by not immediately responding to Mira's claims about her daughter's symptoms, for example).

John and Laura–a graduate student and John's partner in family literacy group 2–both reflected on how this role-play and their participation in the family literacy program prompted them to rethink key ideas related to language, social networks, and culture. In his final paper for the course, John reflected on those cultural frameworks that he took for granted:

> On the last week of the project, I asked the two of them whether they are lonely here without their families. The mother said not really, while the father surprised me by readily admitting that sometimes, yes, he felt lonely and isolated. At work, his coworkers were all English-speakers who would chat easily—and rapidly—about pop cultural

> references he didn't understand: music, TV, movies, etc. I was touched by his openness, and by both their readiness to ask questions by the end of the project, rather than just waiting for us to come up with topics. Often the questions were about how to handle certain situations, like calling to make an appointment or being asked to buy supplemental warranties, but occasionally they were curiosities about subtle cultural differences, like why western children are given middle names. I was sometimes embarrassed that I could not be a 'cultural ambassador' and explain all these differences, since I had never stopped to consider them as out of the ordinary.

Elsewhere, John admitted to feeling "ashamed" for making assumptions about Mira and Juno based upon stereotypes of Asian families in which the father assumed a "dominant," professional role and the mother served as a housewife who "did calligraphy" in her spare time (final course paper, May 5, 2011). In class, he reflected on those face-to-face interactions in which he gained insight into parents' vulnerability and strength and he identified a new understanding that these qualities did not easily map on to gendered and ethnic stereotypes. In the quote above, John recalled role-play topics of interest to Mira and Juno and noted that interactions with linguistically and culturally diverse learners led him to identify cultural knowledge that he took for granted—a point made by the course texts that was more meaningful when learned firsthand.

During the last seminar meeting of the course, Laura also reflected across the semester's experiences:

> I remember one of the last sessions that we had at the school, we were talking about like how could we recruit for next semester, or not us specifically but the class and the idea of having families invite their own social networks and bringing them in, and then I may have said, "Well, you know, then you may create cliques." But now rethinking . . . I think to on-purpose create cliques of families that then can support each other in feeling comfortable approaching the school and practicing what language they would use and the questions they would ask. . .and then, you know, maybe bringing those groups together, but at least creating like a safety net at first, so that then maybe can feel they have a stronger voice.

Here, Laura referred to the presentation given by the Title I and ESL staff members from Town Elementary School (described in the previous section titled "Program and participants"). She explained that, over the course of the semester, she rethought her negative perception of immigrant families' social networks as cliques—denoting social groups with "clear membership" and boundaries (Eckert, 1989, p. 18)—a concept evoked in popular discourse when mainstream politicians and educators view immigrant groups' attempts to retain their cultural or linguistic practices through schooling as threats to U.S. social cohesion.[4] Instead, Laura came to view social networks as an important part of immigrant families' adjustment to life in the U.S.—and as a process that might in fact support their participation in civic life instead of limiting it. In her final paper, as she reflected on her previous work as a public school teacher, she added: "I'm embarrassed and slightly ashamed that I played into that same system, which tends to alienate the very parents who need its support the most. Honoring parents as people in and of themselves, instead of just in periphery to their children, should be a responsibility of all schools" (final course paper, May 5, 2011). Interestingly, Laura used similar language as John to describe the way that she felt about her early interactions with immigrant families; yet as she talked about feeling an initial sense of shame, she also shared new insights reconceptualizing parents' roles in schools and teachers' responsibility to respectfully work alongside them to achieve shared educational goals.

Discussion

Our primary interest in this article has been to examine the different roles that speakers assumed *vis-á-vis* one another during the role-plays, and the values assigned to each role, because these actions and stances reveal what graduate students in education and immigrant parents with school-age children conceive of as normative exchanges in institutional settings. We have identified four key themes that span the data, and we will explore each of them now in turn: the significance of *confianza*, rethinking parent and teacher competence, the tension between reproduction and transformation, and developing a continuum of understanding.

The exchanges in both of the family literacy groups mirror overarching themes in the literature that we reviewed at the outset of this article, the first being the importance of developing *confianza* within the community and among the course members. Through our funds of knowledge approach, the graduate students had begun to establish *confianza* with the participating families—evidenced by the families' appraisals of the activities (defining teacher–parent interactions as "scary" without fear of offending the graduate students who acted as teacher-researchers in Group 1) and parents' articulation of their goals for the activity (in Group 2, where the parents had originally expected to receive direct instruction in English but became more involved in expressing their needs and shaping the activities by the end of the program).

The reflections that the graduate students shared during the seminar meetings that followed each family literacy group meeting and in their final papers suggest that the graduate students also began to develop *confianza* among themselves

[4] See, for example, the argument made by Rosalie Porter—a Latina educator and spokesperson for the anti-bilingual (English-only) movement in the U.S.—in which she claims that "many bilingual programs became more concerned with teaching in the native language and maintaining the ethnic culture of the family than with teaching children English in three years" (Porter, 1998). See also the arguments made by officials in Arizona's state department of education when deciding to outlaw ethnic studies curricula in public high schools because it promoted "ethnic solidarity" that could incite anti-American sentiments (Planas, 2015).

and with the professor. By working in a funds of knowledge framework and having explicit conversations about their roles in the program, the graduate students began to question their own assumptions about the role of teachers. They began to raise important questions about teachers as disciplinarians and the role of schooling as remediation, and they began to articulate how recognizing their own discomfort formed an important part of engaging in challenging and productive conversations about the significance of race, class, language, and power in the classroom. They also raised questions about how these insights could be leveraged within the confines of the fifteen-week semester and our adapted funds of knowledge model. The students called on the professor to consider strengthening the program by: arranging for graduate students to report their learning to the teachers and staff at Town Elementary School, creating a similar course for educators at schools where they currently teach, and creating opportunities for the immigrant families to share their experiences with Oaktown educators. These suggestions highlight the graduate students' understanding that making meaningful changes to parent–teacher relationships in public schools requires institutional change along with interpersonal trust.

As they developed *confianza* within and beyond the course seminar, the graduate students gained three new insights into parental and teacher competence that they shared during their reflections. First, they found that parents' linguistic competence does not easily map onto their level of formal education or reasons for immigrating to this country. Second, as the graduate students learned about the multiple roles that parents play, they began to honor and respond to different parts of their identities—shifting from emphasizing their role as immigrants learning English toward enlisting them in the learning process as parents, laborers, advocates, and much more. Finally, the graduate students began to make macro and micro connections—for example, they began to relate individual parental concerns about communicating with teachers or doctors to larger social issues related to immigrant parents' ability to access equal educational opportunities and advocate for their children's health and well-being.

As the graduate students began to view immigrant parents and families within this complex social landscape, they also began to examine their beliefs about professional responsibility and to rethink their positions on current educational trends. They named policies and practices that impact families' lives both inside and outside of school, and they reflected on the ways in which these phenomena could pose challenges to the kinds of pedagogy that we advocated for in our seminar. These policies—operating at multiple layers including the state, the school as institution, and the classroom (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996)—include statewide English-only laws and anti-immigrant legislation, mainstream school curricula that privileges English monolingualism and offers reductive portrayals of culture, and school-based practices that delimit the boundaries for parental participation in school-based associations and events. Graduate students raised concerns that these policies and practices were often sedimented in the everyday routines of the schools where they might teach and in the systems for evaluating teacher performance as well as student progress. As a result of the experiences documented in this article, the graduate students participating in the literacy program expressed their desire to work against these trends using a funds of knowledge stance that could create new forms of solidarity between teachers and parents.

The tension between reproduction and transformation—as well as remediation and participation—was evident throughout the semester, as the graduate students simultaneously enlisted parents in their own learning while attempting to teach them how to assume more traditional roles for participation in U.S. public institutions. We found, for example, that the graduate student roles were much more malleable than the parent roles; the former were able to shift into teacher and medical receptionist parts while the parental roles were fixed. During the course seminar discussions, the graduate students drew on a funds of knowledge framework to examine the multi-faceted nature of immigrant parents' experiences (for example, how employment, modes of incorporation, and social networks shaped their relationships to schools); yet during the role-plays, the graduate students treated the parents as uni-dimensional (they assumed, for example, that the parents would be able to schedule daytime appointments without asking them what times of day would work best given other demands such as work).

Previous studies of role-taking and interaction in institutional educational settings have also shown that institutional identities are not fixed but emergent and negotiated as participants monitor each other's expectations and reactions (He, 1995). In Howard & Lipinoga, 2010 study of interactions during parent–teacher conferences, or what they call the "coordinated performance of an institutional genre" (p. 35), institutional and interactional discourses shape interactions between parents and teachers. They, like García Sánchez and Faulstich Orellana (2006), found that teachers often communicated moralizing stances about what it means to be a good parent or student. We found that the graduate students in our study also accessed traditional notions of what counted as good or bad forms of parental involvement. Within the phone call role-play, the graduate students tended to exhibit traditional views of parental involvement in which good parenting was defined as deferential and possibilities for parent action were constrained by preexisting schedules and participation frameworks led by the teachers/receptionists (Doucet, 2011). Notably, as other language socialization studies have shown, educational practices that moralize behavior tend to focus on the socialization of novice participants to local norms about time and scheduling (see Baquedano-López et al.'s 2005 and Wingard's 2007 studies of adult-child socialization). Yet, as these authors argue, we found that these sites of socialization are not deterministic; instead, they hold out the possibility for roles to be redefined as parents carve out opportunities for shaping the interaction and as children chime in as active participants.

This interplay between reproducing traditional parent roles during the role-plays and critiquing those roles in their reflections suggests that grappling with these tensions may lead to new insights that can shift teachers' thinking along a continuum of understanding. Our findings confirm Sleeter's (2008) claim that "learning to teach is a developmental process in which the novice typically progresses from concerns about self, to concerns about students and their learning" (p. 571). We can begin to position the graduate students along a continuum of understanding with John and Laura representing one point

in a trajectory and Abby exemplifying another. Our data suggest, for example, that John and Laura—who had less experience working alongside immigrant families than their peers—began their reflections by confronting their own assumptions. This then led to a process in which they began to identify shifts in their understanding of key concepts related to language and culture. In contrast, we found that Abby's previous teaching experience in a Latino diaspora informed her understanding of the importance of building trusting relationships and honoring the family and community knowledge of the immigrant students and parents in her class. She listened carefully to parents and made insightful connections about parent–institution relationships and the responsibilities that teachers bear.

While all of the graduate students in this course were working to confront their ideologies regarding immigration, identity, and schooling, they did so in different ways and to different degrees of sophistication. Those in more formative stages began by identifying personal beliefs and understandings, while those with more experience were ready to make connections about the structural factors that shape parental involvement and the innovative ways that teachers can work to disrupt institutional inequity. However, all of the graduate students in the study tended toward the reproduction of some traditional roles during the role-play activity, suggesting that they had not yet learned how they might disrupt the inequity during routine institutional events, such as school or doctor phone calls. At the same time, graduate students and parents performed role-plays partly in response to parents' requests to practice traditional relationships, such as the relationship between the medical receptionist and patient or the teacher and parent, which may have influenced the students' reproduction of traditional roles. While more research is needed in this area (see also Lucas & Grinberg, 2008), we believe that this article underscores the need for teacher educators to consider graduate students' development as a process, and to develop firsthand opportunities for their professional development in the context of sustained community engagement that may shift thinking in more powerful ways than traditional classroom instruction.

Conclusion

This article has shown that mainstream frameworks for institutional interactions are powerful and often delimit parent–teacher exchanges, even when educators are consciously working to reconsider those frameworks and move toward more equal footing with the immigrant parents that they serve. Part of the value of the practicum is that it allowed both graduate students and parents to become conscious of their interactional inclinations and to reflect on future opportunities not only for achieving communicative competence, but for shifting their notion about what constitutes competence in the first place, seeking to build *confianza* and to render interactions collaborative. Graduate students and practicum participants thereby both gained in agency, understanding such interactional norms as subject to co-construction and revision. Furthermore, the real time nature of role-playing provided participants with an opportunity to experience the rhythm of an actual interaction while also producing a text that was subject to several useful levels of analysis: parents and graduate students reviewed their performance for practical insight and researchers analyzed the text closely to see where larger assumptions about language, culture, and schooling are embedded in everyday talk.[5] We believe such a practicum can model how graduate education programs can build reciprocity between teachers and families by establishing trust; this trust can serve as the basis for dispensing with deficit models that interpret communicative failures as expressions of parental unconcern or myth-making models that obscure educators' abilities to respond to parents' real needs. We hope this paper indicates how teachers (and future teachers), teacher educators, and researchers can work with parents to develop more flexible and collaborative interactional frameworks in order to open productive channels of communication between home and school settings.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the reviewers and editors for their insightful comments on earlier drafts of this article. This research was supported by a Teaching the World Fellowship from Rutgers University. We are very grateful to colleagues in the Learning and Teaching Department at the Graduate School of Education for their support and, as ever, to the graduate students and immigrant families who participated in the family literacy program described here.

References

Auerbach, E. R. (1989). Toward a social-contextual approach to family literacy. *Harvard Educational Review*, *59*(2), 165–182.
Baquedano-López, P., Alexander, R. A., & Hernandez, S. J. (2013). Equity issues in parental and community involvement in schools: What teacher educators need to know. *Review of Research in Education*, *37*, 161–194.
Baquedano-López, P., Solís, J., & Arredondo, G. (2010). Language socialization among Latinos: Theory, method, and approaches. In E. G. Murillo, S. A. Villenas, R. T. Galvan, J. S. Muñoz, C. Martínez, & M. Machado-Casas (Eds.), *Handbook of Latinos and education* (pp. 825–872). New York: Routledge.
Baquedano-López, P., Solís, J., & Kattan, S. (2005). Adaptation: The language of classroom learning. *Linguistics and Education*, *6*, 1–26.
Bauman, R. (1975/2001). Verbal art as performance. In A. Duranti (Ed.) Linguistic anthropology A reader (pp. 165-188). [Reprinted from Verbal art as performance. American Anthropologist, 77, 290-311.].
Bloome, D., Puro, P., & Theodorou, E. (1989). Procedural display and classroom lessons. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *19*(3), 265–291.

[5] See Betsy Rymes' 2009 book *Classroom discourse analysis A tool for critical self reflection* for more on the possibilities of this method.

Blum, S. D. (2014). *'The Language Gap'—liberal guilt creates another not-so-magic bullet.'*. Retrieved from The Huffington Post, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/susan-d-blum/language-gap-liberal-guilt-creates-ano_b_5233638.html

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (1990). Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria. *Qualitative Sociology*, *13*(1), 13–21.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (2012). Culture, literacy and power in family–community–school-relationships. *Theory to Practice*, *51*(4), 305–311.

Doucet, F. (2011). Parent involvement as a ritual system. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, *42*(4), 404–421.

Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Echevarria, J., Vogt, M., & Short, D. (2013). *Making content comprehensible for English learners: The SIOP® model* (4th ed.). New York: Pearson.

Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Erickson, F. (1984). School literacy, reasoning, and civility: An anthropologist's perspective. *Review of Educational Research*, *54*(4), 525–546.

García Sánchez, I., & Faulstich Orellana, M. (2006). The construction of moral and social identity in immigrant children's narratives-in-translation. *Linguistics and Education*, *17*(3), 209–239.

González, N., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities, and classrooms*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

González, N., Wyman, L., & O'Connor, B. (2011). The past, present and future of "Funds of Knowledge". In M. Pollock, & B. Levinson (Eds.), *A companion to the anthropology of education* (pp. 481–494). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

He, A. W. (1995). Co-constructing institutional identities: The case of student counselees. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *28*(3), 213–231.

Heritage, J. (2005). Conversation analysis and institutional talk. In K. L. Fitch, & R. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of language and social interaction* (pp. 103–147). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Howard, K. M., & Lipinoga, S. (2010). Closing down openings: Pretextuality and misunderstanding in parent–teacher conferences with Mexican immigrant families. *Language & Communication*, *30*(1), 33–47.

Hymes, D. (1964). Toward ethnographies of communication. *American Anthropologist*, *66*(6), 1–34.

Hymes, D. (2009 [1972]). On communicative competence. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader* (pp. 53–74). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Ji, C. S., & Koblinsky, S. (2009). Parent involvement in children's education: An exploratory study of urban, Chinese immigrant families. *Urban Education*, *44*(6), 687–709.

Kao, G., & Thompson, J. (2003). Racial and ethnic stratification in educational achievement and attainment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *29*, 417–442.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2005). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding achievement in US schools. *Educational Researcher*, *35*(7), 3–12.

Lucas, T., & Grinberg, J. (2008). Responding to the linguistic reality of mainstream classrooms: preparing all teachers to teach English language learners. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & D. J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Teacher Education* (pp. 606–636). New York: Routledge.

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into Practice*, *31*, 132–141.

Moll, L. C., & Ruiz, R. (2002). The schooling of Latino children. In M. M. Suárez-Orozco, & M. M. Páez (Eds.), *Latinos remaking America* (pp. 362–374). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ngo, B., & Lee, S. J. (2007). Complicating the image of model minority success: A review of Southeast Asian American education. *Review of Educational Research*, *77*(4), 415–453.

Ochs, E., & Jacoby, S. (1995). Co-construction: An introduction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *28*(3), 171–183.

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher*, *41*(3), 93–97.

Planas, R. (2015). *Teaching hip-hop in Arizona promotes ethnic solidarity, Arizona official says*. Retrieved from The Huffington Post, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/01/05/arizona-hip-hop-illegal_n_6419558.html

Pomerantz, A., & Fehr, B. J. (2011). Conversation analysis: An approach to the analysis of social interaction. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (pp. 165–190). London: Sage Publications.

Portes, A. (1997). America 2050: Immigration and the hourglass. *Cross Current in Culture, Power, and History*, *4*, 1–5.

Porter, R. P. (1998). *The case against bilingual education*. Retrieved from The Atlantic Online, http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/98may/biling.htm

Qin, D. B. (2008). The other side of the model minority story. In G. Li, & W. Lihshing (Eds.), *Model minority myth revisited: An interdisciplinary approach to demystifying Asian American educational experiences* (pp. 133–156). United States: Information Age Publishing Inc.

Ricento, T. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, *30*(3), 401–427.

Rodríguez-Brown, F. V. (2009). Latino families: Culture and schooling in handbook of Latinos and education theory, research, and practice. In E. G. Murillo, S. A. Villenas, R. T. Galvan, J. S. Muñoz, C. Martínez, & M. Machado-Casas (Eds.), *Handbook of Latinos and education* (pp. 350–360). New York: Routledge.

Rymes, B. R. (2009). *Classroom discourse analysis: A tool for critical reflection*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Schechner, R. (1985). *Between theatre and anthropology*. Pennsylvania, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist*, *70*(6), 1075–1095.

Schegloff, E. A. (1986). The routine as achievement. *Human Studies*, *9*(2/3), 111–151.

Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction, Vol. 1. A primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sleeter, C. E. (2008). Preparing white teachers for diverse students. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & D. J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts* (3rd ed., pp. 559–582). New York: Routledge.

Sohn, S., & Wang, X. C. (2006). Immigrant parents' involvement in American schools: Perspectives from Korean mothers. *Early Childhood Education Journal*, *34*(2), 125–132.

Stivers, T. (2002). Participation in decisions about treatment: Overt parent pressure for antibiotic medication in pediatric encounters. *Social Science & Medicine*, *54*, 1111–1130.

Sue, S., & Okazaki, S. (1990). Asian American educational achievement: A phenomenon in search of an explanation. *American Psychologist*, *45*, 913–920.

Valdés, G. (1996). *Con Respeto: Bridging the distances between culturally diverse families and schools: An ethnographic portrait*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Valencia, R. R. (2002). Mexican Americans Don't Value Education! – On the basis of the myth, mythmaking, and debunking. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *1*(2), 81–103.

Wingard, L. (2007). Constructing time and prioritizing activities in parent-child interactions. *Discourse and Society*, *18*, 75–91.

Wong, P., Li, C., Nagasawa, R., & Lin, T. (1998). Asian Americans as a model minority: Self-perceptions and perceptions by other racial groups. *Sociological Perspectives*, *41*(1), 1–13.

Wright, W. E. (2010). *Foundations for teaching English language learners: Research, theory, policy, and practice*. Philadelphia, PA: Caslon Publishing.

Zentella, A. C. (1997). *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican children in New York*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Zentella, A. C. (2005). *Building on strength: Language and literacy in Latino families and communities*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Zhou, M., & Kim, S. (2006). Community forces, social capital, and educational achievement: The case of supplementary education in the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *76*(1), 1–29.