

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: BUILDING BLOCK OF THE WORLD,
BUILDING BLOCK OF YOUR IDENTITY:
MULTILINGUAL LITERACY
SOCIALIZATION OF HERITAGE
LANGUAGE LEARNERS

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This study investigates multilingual literacy socialization of Finnish heritage language learners (HLLs) in homes and a Finnish heritage language (HL) school in the United States. Participants included eighteen parents, fifteen students, and three Finnish HL teachers. Five HLLs aged 5 to 11 were chosen as focal cases. This study used ethnographic and microethnographic methods, with language socialization as the major theoretical lens and new literacies as a complementary theory. The study conceptualizes language and literacy socialization in an HL context as manifesting in three processes: family and classroom language policies, translanguaging practices, and language and literacy practices across languages and media. Additionally, the study considers HLLs' construction of multilingual identities. Field notes and videos of language and literacy

events in the two contexts, literacy-related artifacts, vocabulary and reading assessments in English and Finnish, and background survey and interview data were considered to understand participants' language and literacy practices.

The study demonstrates that parents and teachers engaged in similar socialization strategies: setting strict Finnish-only policies, curbing students' translanguaging, and engaging children in traditional, print-based literacies in Finnish. Contextual factors, such as students' English-medium schoolwork and non-Finnish parents' lack of Finnish proficiency restricted these efforts. HLLs influenced these socialization processes by renegotiating family and HL classroom language policies, translanguaging in their interactions, and engaging in literacy practices, especially digital literacies, that promoted English at the expense of the HL. Such influences often ran counter to the parents' and teachers' efforts. Findings also indicated that learners constructed fluid, multilingual identities within different contexts and situations.

The study contributes to socialization research and HL education research by examining a less commonly taught HL, Finnish in the United States. The study corroborates recent scholarship on language socialization, which has begun to uncover children's strong influence and agency in socialization processes. The study also highlights the importance of digital literacies in young HLLs' lives. The need for teacher education and P-12 educators to recognize HLLs as part of linguistic diversity in schools, and ways for parents and teachers of HLLs to support HL maintenance while recognizing HLLs' multilingual, multinational identities are discussed.

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MULTILINGUAL LITERACY SOCIALIZATION OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE
LEARNERS

by

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my parents, Aila and Heimo, who have always believed that their daughters can achieve whatever they want in life; and to the millions of parents around the world who believe that language and literacy are the greatest gifts you can give to your child.

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This work would not have come to fruition without the invaluable help of my advisor Dr. Melinda Martin-Beltrán, who was instrumental in my transformation from a teacher to a researcher, and whose support and thoughtful feedback helped me develop a fledgling of an idea into the research project described in this dissertation. By asking tough questions, she constantly pushed me to do more, to think more, to write more; and without this my work would not have been the same. I gratefully acknowledge my committee members, Dr. Daisy Fredricks, Dr. Manel Lacorte, and Dr. Jennifer Turner for their expertise and feedback, which helped steer this work in important directions I had not considered before. A special thank you goes to Dr. Megan Madigan Percy, my “surrogate” advisor, whose mentorship throughout my doctoral program was indispensable. I also wish to thank Megan DeStefano and Natalia Guzman for peer support as we navigated through the successes and frustrations of the doctoral program, and Amanda McMichael for so eagerly volunteering to proofread the final version of my dissertation.

I wish to thank the parents and teachers of the Finnish School for opening up their homes, classrooms, and thoughts to me as I sought to answer the questions we had so many times talked about over coffee at teacher meetings or over the hubbub of children’s voices at pickup time. I hope to have answered some of those questions and given you faith as you strive to maintain Finnish as a part of your students’ and children’s lives. To the students of the Finnish School, thank you for your participation - ja nähdään taas suomikoulussa! I am also grateful to the Finlandia Foundation for their financial support of this study.

To my husband - thank you for not hesitating for one second when I asked you whether I should embark on this journey, and for being there when times got tough. Ja lopuksi E ja N - rakastan teitä, olette minulle ainainen ilonlähde.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1. Background to the Study

Understanding literacy learning in multilingual contexts is becoming progressively more pressing, as schools in the United States continue to diversify both linguistically and culturally. The number of immigrants in the United States is on the rise, and schools are increasingly enrolling young heritage language learners (HLLs)¹, or children who speak a language other than English (LOTE) at home (Valdés, 2014). Some of this increase is reflected in statistical data for English language learners (ELLs): for example, in the school year 2012-2013, there were 9.2 percent of ELLs in public schools, an increase from 8.7 percent in 2002-2003. In the District of Columbia and six states, the portion of ELLs exceeds 10 percent of all public school students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015). However, most HLLs are fluent in English and do not get classified as ELLs, which makes them and their needs somewhat invisible in schools. Other statistics reveal perhaps more: in 2010, there were 63 million 5-to-19-year-olds in the United States, of whom 13.8 million, or more than one in five, spoke a LOTE at home (Ryan, 2013). The percentage of the U.S. population speaking a language other than English is projected to continue to increase, with the most growth projected for Spanish, Russian, Hindi, Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, and Arabic (Shin & Ortman, 2011).

A contrary trend to the growing numbers of HLLs is intergenerational language shift, or heritage language (HL) loss. Research shows that families who immigrate to the U.S. typically become dominant English speakers by the third generation (Fishman, 1991;

¹ The definition of HLLs will be further discussed in chapter 2.

Rumbaut, 2008). Moreover, *individual* HL speakers' language use is also characterized by a gradual shift towards English. In a large survey of HLLs by Carreira and Kagan (2011), 70% of respondents reported having used mainly their HL to communicate when they were between the ages of 0 and 5, but this portion dropped to only 1.3% after the age of 18. Many individual and group factors influence the rate of language loss, and generalizations are difficult to make. On the individual level, language loss or maintenance is influenced by a person's gender, age, education, place of birth, age of arrival to the United States if applicable, length of residency in the United States, and parents' socioeconomic status and education. When examining HLLs as a group, factors such as size and distribution of the ethnic group, its status, and the linguistic proximity of the HL to English are important variables (Nesteruk, 2010; Suarez, 2007). What can be said with certainty, though, is that HL loss has implications for all levels of society – from the individuals, who may feel disconnected from their families or lack the ability to capitalize on their HL as a career enhancement, to the nation, which touts the need for multilingual competency, especially in so-called “critical” languages with significance for politics and national defense (Wang, 2014), but fails to recognize and benefit from the multilingualism many of its citizens already possess.

HL loss reflects the fact that HLs are a part of a larger hierarchy of power relations between ethnolinguistic groups, and the tensions within them, which is especially apparent in schools where families' and schools' different values and discourses concerning linguistic minority rights and language maintenance clash (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000). For immigrant families, HL maintenance is an educational, cultural, and human rights issue (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). Therefore, many education policy

groups have recently begun to demand that HLLs have “the same type of access to their language and cultural orientations that is built into the curriculum for mainstream students” (Scott, Straker, & Katz, 2009, pp. xvii-xviii). Drawing from Ruíz’s (1988) theory of language orientations, I argue that languages need to be treated as a resource in the society, and that HLs in the United States should not be devalued, discriminated against, or ignored; but considered a right, and promoted, developed, and celebrated accordingly. I further argue that beyond carrying instrumental value (such as improved communication in international commerce), maintaining multilingualism and multiculturalism also carries intrinsic value by enriching our society with, and increasing our tolerance for, multiple perspectives: “A diversity of languages and literacies is superior to their homogenisation into international or national language hegemonies” (Kosonen 2008, p. 171). Therefore, I approach multilingual literacies from a pluralist perspective, with the belief that different minorities should be able to “live side by side without the less powerful groups having to assimilate into the more powerful ones” (Au, 2006). I consider being able to maintain one’s HL in both oral and literate forms a key part of this pluralism.

While many HLLs experience the abovementioned devaluation of their HL and the ensuing lack of intergenerational language transmission, many are also struggling to reach a level of English proficiency that would propel them to personal and professional success in the United States. Much of previous research on HLLs’ language and literacy development has focused on the persistent and well-documented literacy achievement gap between mainstream and linguistically and culturally diverse students (e.g., National Center for Education Statistics, 2011; 2013). It has been argued that U.S. schools are

failing to meet the needs of diverse students in a way that would begin to close the gap (Au, 2007), while at the same time, literacy standards continue to increase in rigor (e.g., CCSS, 2015). Bringing multilingual literacy practices into the mainstream and allowing HLLs to draw on their full linguistic repertoire for literacy learning could serve as one way to bridge the literacy gap for HLLs and treat their HL as a resource. Literacy not only in English, but also the HL should be supported to become a tool for empowerment for the HLLs (Hornberger & Wang, 2008), because “each additional language of literacy provides another channel for voice” (Wiley, 1996, p. 13) for an individual. Previous research has found that language and literacy skills in an HL can act as an important empowering tool by developing an HLL’s ethnic identity (e.g. Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Lee, 2002; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001), self-esteem (e.g. Gong, 2007; Lorenzo-Hernández & Ouellette, 1998), and overall academic success (e.g. Bankston & Zhou, 1995; García-Vázquez, Vázquez, López, & Ward, 1997; Ramírez, Yuen, & Ramey, 1991). Furthermore, the outcomes of multilingual literacy are not limited to individual HLLs; for an ethnic group, literacy and education in the HL is a key factor in language maintenance (Bradley & Bradley, 2002; Fishman, 1991, 2001), and therefore, crucial to the very existence of the group.

Despite of this growing body of research, there remains much to be done to illuminate the processes that underlie HLLs’ literacy learning. A deeper understanding of multilingual literacy would help formulate theory and practice, thus benefiting HLLs as both individuals and groups. The present study examines the multilingual literacy learning of one particular group: child Finnish HLLs in the United States. Finnish HLLs typically do not struggle with learning English literacy, which can be partially attributed

to the high levels of English proficiency among Finns and the high socio-economic status of this immigrant group in the United States (US Census, n.d.). However, even for this well-resourced group, maintaining its HL is a struggle, and many Finnish HLLs grow up without becoming fully literate in Finnish, which raises questions for further inquiry. This study illuminates language and literacy socialization processes in two contexts, homes and HL schools, which, unlike most mainstream English-medium schools and many public arenas, create opportunities for HL learning and use, and therefore, support HL maintenance both at the individual and at the community levels. Examining the multilingual literacies of Finnish HLLs across these two contexts helps to offer a more nuanced picture of HLLs' multilingual literacy learning in general. Approaching the topic with the lens of language and literacy socialization, and conducting research in homes and an HL school affords a perspective on multilingual literacy development as it takes place during the important early years outside of formal schooling.

The topic of this dissertation is partially motivated by my own experience as an immigrant from Finland, an English for Speakers for Other Languages (ESOL) and HL school teacher, and the parent of two bilingual children. Linguistic rights, HL literacy development, and ethnolinguistic identity are issues that are constantly on my mind. Being an immigrant in the United States, my experiences in the aforementioned roles have perhaps been more poignant than if I were part of the dominant culture. As an ESOL teacher, it was hard for me to comply with the English-only policy of the school system that employed me. As an HL teacher and parent of bilingual children, I am fighting to maintain my students' and my children's HL, while helping them to become proficient in English. I see the power of multilingual literacy, especially in my children's

lives – reading and writing in the HL has improved their vocabulary, introduced them to academic content such as European history and geography not discussed in their mainstream schools, and familiarized them with cultural traditions of their origin. Understanding how multilingual literacy can benefit both my students and my children is of great professional and personal interest to me.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

While the number of HLLs in the United States is increasing, their needs and strengths are not represented or even well known in the arena of education, partially because of high stakes testing and the ensuing narrowing of the curriculum to the four core areas of English literacy, math, science, and social studies, which has led to a marginalization of languages other than English and the students who speak them in mainstream education (Hornberger & Wang 2008). Researchers and educators need to learn more about this unique group of learners to discover the best ways to support their academic and socio-emotional development; “to understand who HLLs are in various contexts and how they see, perceive, interpret, present, and represent themselves in those contexts” (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p. 6). Multilingual literacy is an important part of this development, and research needs to examine the ways and contexts in which such literacy development takes place.

However, the work of examining HL education in general (Brinton, Kagan, & Bauckus, 2008) and HLLs’ literacy learning in particular has just begun. What makes this field of research challenging and rich at the same time is that the development of multilingual literacy is not a straightforward process. Even under the most positive circumstances, HLLs may fail to develop their HL skills, and external societal pressures

impact the actions and attitudes of teachers, parents, and students (Potowski, 2004; Wong Fillmore, 2003). Therefore, it is important to focus on not only the policies and practices that the society imposes on multilingual literacy contexts, but also on the ways local agents, including parents, educators, and students themselves, participate in negotiating, interpreting, implementing, and perhaps resisting, existing ideologies, policies, and practices (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Sociocultural approaches, such as the present inquiry, which uses the framework of language socialization as a lens for examining these processes, can begin to paint a nuanced picture of these processes in multilingual literacy development.

There remains much work to be done to research and develop a theory of HLLs and multilingual literacy, and scholars have identified several areas for research foci in this area. Overall, we know relatively little about “how multilingual literacy processes might function and develop, how they might be similar to and different from monolingual literacy processes, and how learning and using multiple languages might affect one's literacy” (Fitzgerald, 2003, p. 118). Research on HLLs’ multilingual literacies has thus far focused mainly on a few major immigrant languages (e.g. Spanish and Chinese), and mostly formal educational contexts. Therefore, research needs to focus on multiple contexts, including both homes and nontraditional educational settings (Au & Raphael, 2000; Reyes, 2012; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2014) such as HL classrooms (Montrul, 2010); focus on more than language acquisition, including identity construction (Lytra, 2012); and examine languages that are yet to be researched in depth (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2014). Such research directions will help us discover which global, societal, and local factors influence HLLs’ language and literacy development, and what kind of educational

programs and practices best serve HLLs (Hornberger, 2003). The current study responds to these calls for further research by examining an under-researched HL community, Finnish HLLs in the United States; focusing on language and literacy socialization processes at home and in an HL school; and examining students' multilingual identity construction within these processes.

1.3. Purpose of the Study

In this qualitative study, I examined the multilingual literacy development of young Finnish HLLs through language and literacy socialization processes taking place in homes and in a Finnish HL school (henceforth, the Finnish School). I employed ethnographic methods to paint a picture of the Finnish School and its students' homes as contexts for multilingual literacy socialization. I also used microethnographic, discourse analytic methods to closely examine the interaction of students and teachers in three different classrooms at the Finnish School, and the interaction of a focal set of five students and their parents in the home setting. I examined how parents and HL school teachers socialize young Finnish HLLs into the use of multiple languages within language and literacy events, and how the Finnish HLLs themselves shape these socialization efforts and enact multilingual literacies and multilingual discursive identities at the Finnish School and their homes. Specifically, the study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do parents of young Finnish HLLs socialize their children into language and literacy practices?
2. How do Finnish School teachers socialize their students into language and literacy practices?

3. How do the HLLs influence these socialization processes?
4. How are the HLLs' discursive identities constructed in interactions at home and at the Finnish School?

1.4. Definition of Terms

1.4.1. Heritage Language Learner:

As will be further discussed in section 2.1, the term *heritage language learner* (HLL) is difficult to define, so definitions available in the literature vary widely. At its broadest, the term HLL encompasses individuals who have an attachment to their heritage, even if they do not speak the language (Wiley, 2014). However, as multilingual literacy development typically requires some level of initial competence in two or more languages, I conceptualize HLLs as individuals who have at least some degree of multilingual competence, drawing on the work of Valdés (2014, pp. 27-28), who defined HLLs as “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken; who speak or only understand the heritage language, and who have some proficiency in English and the heritage language.” HLLs include ELLs; however, not all HLLs are ELLs, as already noted.

1.4.2. Multilingual Literacies:

Employing a sociocultural lens to conceptualize literacy, my research examines *multilingual literacies* as a primarily social process. In this, I draw on the Vygotskian notion that all higher human cognitive processes, such as literacy learning, can be seen as an activity that takes place within specific cultures and social contexts and is guided by more capable others (Vygotsky, 1978). I chose to use the term *multilingual literacy* instead of the term biliteracy or bilingual literacy due to the fact that the word

multilingual emphasizes the possibility of literacy in more than two languages; however, I do use the terms bilingual and biliteracy if these terms occur in the reference literature. The word *literacies* is often used in the plural form to underscore the fact that the paths to and the uses and varieties of literacy are multiple (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000), but throughout the study, I use the term in both the singular and the plural form. Finally, I define this concept by drawing from the work of so-called “new literacies,” research examining literacy as a multifaceted, inherently social process instead of a set of discrete skills, and including more than just print-based literacies (Gee, 2015; Street, 2000; 2003).

1.4.3. Language and Literacy Socialization:

In this study, I draw on the work of scholars who have defined socialization as the processes of becoming a competent member of a social group (Ochs, 1988; 1993; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986b), succinctly defined by Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) as “the process through which a child or other novice acquires the knowledge, orientations, and practices that enable him or her to participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community” (p. 339). As such, language socialization always stems from the ideologies of the community regarding languages, literacies, and “culturally relevant meaning-making activities” (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002, p. 342). Language socialization research originally examined primarily the influences parents and other adults had on children, but it has since been recognized that children are not merely passive receivers of the language norms and practices of the community, but instead, actively shape language socialization processes and the outcomes of the socialization with their own behavior (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Therefore, in this study I examine socialization processes as

bidirectional. Socialization around literacy is an essential part of language socialization, as children are socialized to become competent, literate individuals who can use, interpret, and produce texts according to the norms of the community. In this study, I conceptualize language and literacy socialization in HL contexts as manifesting in the enactment and negotiation of family and classroom language policies, in participants' translanguaging and its management, and in participants' engagement in and promotion of multilingual, traditional, and digital literacies. Further, I consider identity construction as a central concept in the socialization processes. These concepts will be further elaborated in the theoretical framework.

1.5. Scope/Delimitations

Multilingual literacy is a complex and multidisciplinary area. Therefore, my research draws from a wide spectrum of literature including research on second language acquisition, bilingual education, and literacy. I recognize that multilingualism exists around the world; however, the research I reviewed as a backdrop to my study includes mostly literature focusing on contexts where English is the dominant language. I argue that those contexts are illuminating as an extreme example of language hegemony, with maximal power distance between the *lingua franca* of the world, English, and a minority language, which makes the maintenance of HLs and multilingual literacies difficult. I situate my research against a review of literature published mainly in the last twenty years. This time period saw the simultaneous emergence of three important movements related to my research: a call for the examination of second language acquisition as a social process (Firth & Wagner, 1997), the rise of the multiple, ideological view on literacies (so-called New Literacy Studies, Street, 1995; Gee, 1992), and the appearance

of HL research as a distinct field (Wiley, Peyton, Christian, Moore, & Liu, 2014).

Consequently, while I am in no way implying that literacy development is not also a cognitive process, my theoretical framework is based on a view of multilingual literacy as a sociocultural phenomenon.

My study examined children's language and literacy socialization in two contexts: homes and an HL school. I recognize that this leaves out an important context for children's socialization: their mainstream schools. However, the geographic dispersal of my participants rendered an examination of the students' mainstream schools unfeasible (as will be discussed in section 3.3.2.). Moreover, I wanted to focus on the more informal contexts of homes and the HL school, as they can illuminate socialization processes that might not take place in a formal mainstream school. Other contexts, as well, such as the homes of relatives outside of the United States, and places of extracurricular activities such as libraries and sports leagues, can be important for children's multilingual literacy socialization, but are outside of the scope of this study. I chose these two contexts because of their potential for uncovering socialization processes in which multiple languages and literacies play a central role.

1.6. Organization

This study is divided into five chapters. In this first chapter, I have outlined the importance of the present inquiry, defined the problem and my purpose for conducting the study, defined central terminology in the study, and described its scope. The second chapter is a review of research related to the literacy learning of HLLs, aimed at synthesizing the current state of knowledge of the topic. The review of research consists of three sections. The first section (2.1.) focuses on defining HLLs and describing some

of their characteristics, and describing Finnish HLLs in the United States. The second section (2.2.) examines what researchers have thus far learned about HLLs' multilingual literacy learning. The third section (2.3.) reviews studies specifically related to HLLs' language and literacy socialization processes. In section 2.4., I discuss language and literacy socialization as a theoretical framework, and how sociocultural theory and New Literacy Studies have informed my understanding of this framework. In the final section of chapter 2 (2.5.), I offer some critique of existing literature. The third chapter reiterates my research questions (section 3.1.) and explains the research design (3.2.), data collection process and instruments (3.3.), and data analysis (3.4.). It also considers questions of trustworthiness and rigor in the study (3.5.). The fourth chapter presents the findings, which begin with portraits of the five focal students in the study (section 4.1.). This is followed by three sections that each examine the role of different participants in multilingual literacy socialization: Parents (4.2.), teachers, (4.3.), and HLLs (4.4.). In section 4.5., I discuss how HLLs in my study constructed multilingual identities in interactions with their parents and HL school teachers. The fifth and final chapter summarizes my findings (section 5.1.) and considers the implications of the study for research (5.2.) and practice (5.3.). I end this chapter with some thoughts on limitations of the current study and directions for future research (5.4.).

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1. Heritage Language Learners and Heritage Language Schools

It has only been since the late 1990's that HLLs as a unique group have become a focus of interest in research (Wiley et al., 2014); therefore, HL education research is still in the process of defining this group and its characteristics. The first subsection (2.1.1.) will attempt to illustrate the complexities of defining the term *heritage language learners*, while offering several definitions and their rationales suggested in literature. While a complex group such as this is difficult to define in any fixed way, there is utility in both the narrow and broad definitions of the concept that will be discussed below, as both highlight different aspects of what it is to be an HLL. I will also describe some typical characteristics of HLLs' language and literacy proficiencies (section 2.1.2.), and give a brief overview of the history and unique characteristics of the Finnish HL community in the United States (section 2.1.3.).

2.1.1. Defining HLLs.

The terms *heritage language* and *heritage language learner* originated in Canada and until recently, were in broader use there relative to the United States (Cummins, 2005). In the past twenty years, these terms have gained traction in US-based research with the publication of scholarly works focused on HLLs, and the organization of the first National Heritage Language Conference in 1999 (Wiley, et al., 2014). Various authors have tried to formulate an exhaustive definition of HL and HLLs, but the sheer variety of HL communities in terms of their historical, social, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds complicates these efforts. The concept “remains ill-defined and is sensitive to a variety of interpretations within social, political, regional, and national contexts” (Van Deusen-

Scholl, 2003, p. 212). Even the label *heritage* is problematic, since it may carry connotations of the past, instead of the future (Wiley, 2014), and weakens the notion of HLs as a vital resource in the contemporary society. However, in this study I use the term heritage because it also carries the important notions of *birthright* and *legacy* (Merriam-Webster, 2017).

In the United States, the term heritage language has variously been used to refer to community, immigrant, indigenous, and colonial languages (Fishman, 2014). The Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages at the Center for Applied Linguistics defines HLs as “any language other than English that is spoken by an individual, a family, or a community, [including] immigrant languages, spoken by immigrants arriving in the United States (e.g., Spanish); indigenous languages, spoken by peoples who are native to the Americas (e.g., Navajo); and colonial languages, of the various European groups that first colonized what is now the United States (e.g., French and German)” (CAL, 2015a). HLLs differ from foreign language learners because HLLs are mostly “circumstantial bilinguals/multilinguals” (Valdés, 2005, p. 411), who use two or more languages to communicate for authentic purposes in their lives, as opposed to elite or elective bilinguals/multilinguals, who typically learn an additional language in a classroom setting and have few opportunities to use it for authentic communication. HLLs also often differ from ELLs, as only some HLLs qualify as ELLs, and many grow up with stronger English than HL skills, especially in literacy, as will be further discussed in the following section.

Definitions of HLLs vary from broad to narrow. A broad definition includes individuals who feel they have ties to an HL and identify as belonging to the HLL

community, even those who have very little proficiency in the language (Wiley, 2014); for example, many third or later generation descendants of immigrants to the United States. To these individuals, the HL is of special “family relevance” (Fishman, 2014, p. 36). According to a narrower definition, HLLs possess at least some proficiency in the language, and often speak or hear it in their homes. They are fairly familiar with the customs, values, and beliefs of their ethnolinguistic community, and feel a connection, or belongingness, to it (Valdés, 2014). Authors subscribing to the broader definition of HLLs disagree with the notion that linguistic competence should be a prerequisite for claiming heritage in a linguistic or cultural group. Consequently, some authors include cultural heritage in their definition of HL speakers and/or learners. For example, Carreira (2004) defines HLLs as “students whose identity and/or linguistic needs differ from those of second language learners by virtue of having a family background in the heritage language (HL) *or* culture (HC)” (Carreira, 2004, p. 1; italics added). Aligned with the narrower view, Valdés (2014, pp. 27-28) defines HLLs as individuals “raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speak or only understand the heritage language, and who have some proficiency in English and the heritage language” (e.g., many first, 1.5, and second generation immigrants). Some scholars argue that it is important to define HLLs narrowly, since a more specific definition can better inform HL pedagogy and help make decisions about placement, materials selection, and curriculum design (Kagan, 2005).

Suarez (2007) notes that beyond linguistic or cultural competence, HLLs’ self-identification is also an important factor in defining the concept. However, this aspect has been mostly ignored in discussions of the term. Indeed, the label HLL may be

“constructed largely by researchers, educators, and administrators and assigned to a group of students, rather than by heritage language learners themselves” (Leeman, 2015, p. 104). It is important to consider the term HLL not as a static identity, but something HLLs index in relation to changing contexts and situations (Leeman, 2015).

However the term HLL is defined, one is apt to end up like one of the fabled blind men trying to describe an elephant (Carreira, 2004). The man who touched the elephant’s leg thought that the animal was like a pillar, another one who touched the tail thought it was like a rope, and so on, leading them each to describe only one part of the animal accurately. Similarly, any definition of HLLs is bound to describe the concept only partially. However, this is acceptable as long as the conceptualization of the term reflects the needs and purposes of the research study at hand. In my research, I draw on the narrow definition of HLLs formulated by Valdés (2014), with proficiency in both the HL and dominant language in the center. This narrow definition serves the purposes of the study because multilingual literacy development arguably stems from at least some degree of initial (oral) competence in two or more languages. Likewise, this study focuses on ways HLLs index language and literacy practices to construct their discursive identities in social interactions with their parents and teachers, using their language proficiency as a key resource in the process.

2.1.2. Characteristics of HLLs’ language and literacy.

Even given the constraints of defining HLLs described above, research has been able to illuminate some typical characteristics that separate the literacy skills of this group from both monolinguals, and multilinguals who have spoken, and been educated in, two or more languages all through their lives (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Most HLLs in

the U.S. are not balanced multilinguals, with equivalent skills in English and their other language(s) – if such a theoretical individual even exists. Often, HLLs’ skills in the HL are overshadowed by their proficiency in English, especially in reading and writing (Valdés, 2014). This is understandable due to the fact that most HLLs in the United States receive most or all of their formal education in English, while the HLs may never be utilized in their formal schooling.

HLLs’ oral language proficiency in the HL has typically been found to be stronger than their literacy skills, often due to a lack of exposure to print in the HL (Koda, Zhang, & Yang, 2008). For example, Matsunaga (2003) found that college-level Japanese HLLs’ oral proficiency was stronger than their knowledge of the Japanese written *kanji*. Similarly, Xiao and Wong (2014) found that first-year students in a Chinese HL class in college were most anxious about writing, and much less anxious about speaking in Chinese, which felt easier to them. Further, Koda, Zhang, and Yang (2008) observed that Chinese HLLs’ reading comprehension in Chinese was impaired due to their morphological knowledge remaining at a basic level. This orality-literacy gap may be due to the fact that HLLs’ contact with the HL is typically limited to home or community contexts where the language is encountered mostly in spoken form. The lack of formal literacy education in the HL may restrict HLLs’ proficiency to a limited range of spoken and informal registers of the language. HLLs may also speak a nonstandard or nonprestige variety of the language, for example, a rural or stigmatized variety not associated with academic uses of language, which may further narrow the registers in their repertoire (Valdés, 2014). This may manifest itself even in writing, as HLLs may

write their HL the way they speak, stringing sentences together without connectives or other cohesive devices typical for written discourse (Chevalier, 2005).

HLLs' vocabularies in the HL may be larger than those taught in typical foreign language textbooks (Valdés, 2005), and cognates in particular increase HLLs' vocabulary knowledge, thereby facilitating reading comprehension (Parodi, 2008). However, HLLs may have difficulty accessing lexical items in their HL, partly because certain lexical items are associated with certain registers over which HLLs may not exert full control. For example, HLLs who have not used their HL in academic contexts may struggle to find words in their HL to describe facts they have learned in school. This slower retrieval may in turn lead to a slower speech rate in the HL, compared to HLLs' monolingual counterparts (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). Moreover, HLLs' grammatical proficiency in the HL may also be impeded, which leads them to rely on a simplified grammatical system to construct and comprehend sentences. This has been hypothesized to be caused by the low frequency of input HLLs receive with certain grammatical forms, the complexity of the grammatical forms themselves, or perhaps the order of acquisition of the grammatical forms (Montrul, 2009; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). In the HL classroom, the abovementioned linguistic characteristic may manifest in HLLs' appearing superior to foreign language students in some skills – for example, speaking – while struggling with others, such as literacy or metalinguistic skills (Valdés, 2014).

Despite the general characteristics described above, one must remain cautious when making assumptions concerning HLLs' language and literacy proficiencies. Some scholars have attributed HLLs' linguistic characteristics either to incomplete acquisition (e.g. Polinsky, 2008) or attrition over time (e.g. Montrul, 2005). However, as Valdés

(2005) points out, an HLL's proficiency in the HL, which at first glance may seem somehow incomplete or flawed, may also reflect a type of contact language, which the immigrant community has developed over time, and which may be very different from the language variety spoken in the country of origin.

2.1.3. Finnish HLLs in the United States.

Finnish immigrant communities are among the oldest in the United States - the first Finns settled in Delaware in 1638, in the New Sweden colony (Barnes & Barnes, 1913). The greatest waves of immigration from Finland took place between the 1860's and the Second World War; around 300,000 Finns immigrated to the United States during this period (Korkiasaari, 2003). Most of the Finnish immigrants at that time came from the Ostrobothnia region in Western Finland. Some settled in the harbor cities of New York and Boston where they first arrived, but thousands settled in the Midwest, especially Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin (Niemi, 2003). The Finns who settled in the United States during this period were often workers in mines and factories. Today, the flow of migrants from Finland has decreased to a trickle: some 350 to 400 Finns obtain legal permanent alien status in the United States and around 8,000 others arrive on different types of temporary visas each year (Department of Homeland Security, 2014), with destinations in all 50 states. Modern-day Finnish immigrants are much better educated and more affluent compared to the immigrants who came to the United States in the last two centuries.

According to the 2014 census, there were around 635,000 people residing in the United States who claimed Finnish ancestry (US Census, 2014), but the linguistic backgrounds of these people vary: the group includes monolingual English speakers,

monolingual and multilingual Finnish speakers, and people with ancestry in the Swedish-speaking minority of Finland. Of the 635,000, the majority, or 94%, claims to speak only English (US Census, 2014), and between 2009 and 2013, an average of only 25,800 respondents reported speaking Finnish (US Census, 2015). Census data has some shortcomings, as it is well known that respondents' answers to census surveys can be skewed by several factors, including the way questions are asked, or the census-provided example answers such as "English" or "American" (Wiley, 1996). Indeed, in the supplemental census of 2001, about 822,000 people identified themselves as Finnish by ancestry, some 200,000 more than in the original census of that year (Korkiasaari & Roinila, 2005). This demonstrates the fluid nature of ethnic and linguistic identification.

Due to their long history in the United States, Finns as an ethnolinguistic group have long-standing institutions that help maintain the language and culture of the group. Non-profit cultural organizations such as the Finlandia Foundation National and its local chapters organize Finnish cultural events such as concerts and exhibits, and offer financial support to individuals and groups to promote Finnish arts, culture, and scholarship in the United States (Finlandia Foundation National, n.d.). Finnish-American print media have decreased from the dozens of newspapers published around the U.S. in the late 1800's and early 1900's to just two periodicals: the Finnish-language *Amerikan Uutiset* (America's News) and the English-language *Finnish-American Reporter* (Finlandia University, n.d.-a). However, Finland-related news can be obtained from the Finnish Embassy website (Embassy of Finland, n.d.), as well as from the websites of all major news outlets in Finland, some in three languages: Finnish, Swedish, and English (e.g., from Finland's largest newspaper Helsingin Sanomat, www.hs.fi, and the national

public broadcasting company Yle, www.yle.fi). The Internet provides Finnish HLLs a multitude of ways to learn and use Finnish online, maintain contacts to people from a shared heritage, and connect to other Finnish speakers. For example, dozens of Facebook groups have been formed by Finnish Americans (e.g., *Amerikansuomalaiset*, *American Finnish People*, *Finns in America*, and *USAn suomalaiset*). The existence of all of the above-mentioned institutions points to the desire of Finnish Americans to remain a distinct ethnolinguistic group with strong ties to the HL and heritage culture.

Finnish is linguistically very different from English. Finnish belongs to the Finno-Ugric family of languages, and is agglutinative in nature, using thirteen cases for nominal and adjectival inflection. Finnish has dozens of postpositions and only a few prepositions. Verbs are inflected by number (singular and plural), person (three in both singular and plural), and tense (past and non-past) in four mood paradigms, resulting in hundreds of different verb forms. Like English, Finnish word order typically follows a S (subject) - V (verb) - O (object) pattern, but is fairly free at the clause level: any permutation of SVO can be grammatical, unlike in English. The phonological system includes eight single vowels, eighteen diphthongs, and thirteen consonants. In writing, there is a near one-to-one correspondence between phonemes and graphemes (Karlsson, 1992). The simplicity of the orthography has been linked to ease of development of decoding and encoding skills in beginning readers, which partially explains the rapid literacy development of students learning to read and write in Finnish as compared to those learning in English (Aro, 2004; Seymour, Aro, & Erskine, 2003). It is unclear what the typological distance between Finnish and English means for the maintenance of Finnish as an HL, both from cognitive and sociocultural points of view (Clyne & Kipp, 1999; Ecke, 2004).

Finnish HLLs in English-dominant countries are a subject that has been studied very little. Existing literature has focused on either teenagers or adults, and research on children is scant, while studies specifically focusing on children's literacy are completely absent. Ethnic identity as tied to the level of proficiency in the HL has been one of the researched areas. For example, Jurva and Jaya (2008) studied a group of seven second-generation Finnish youth in Ottawa, Canada. This interview study focused on the participants' perceptions of their ethnic identity, and found that Finnish heritage carried mostly symbolic value to the participants. Participation in ethnic events and cultural organizations was low among their participants, who were all teenagers: they considered participation in such activities as something for either children or older adults. However, HL skills and visiting Finland were seen as important, and participants who did not speak the language well or who had not visited the country expressed regret and embarrassment over the fact. Koivula (2000) studied nine Finnish HL school students in the U.K. and found that ethnic identity was tied to the level of bilingualism: the more Finnish the adolescents spoke, the stronger was their Finnish identification. Most of the participants in the study felt that the Finnish HL school helped them maintain their Finnish ethnic identity and improve their Finnish proficiency.

Finnish HLLs' bilingual language use, especially code-switching, has been the subject of several linguistic studies. For example, Halmari (Halmari, 1992; Halmari, 2005; Halmari & Cooper, 1998) studied the language of two bilingual English and Finnish speaking youth in the United States for over a decade, focusing on the participants' code-switching. She found that the participants frequently embedded English words and phrases into their Finnish sentences and vice versa, especially where a word in one

language would not accurately convey the meaning of a word in the other. English dominated the participants' language use, but the author concluded that the children's codeswitching was not a sign of Finnish attrition, but instead carried interactional functions. Finnish Americans' codeswitching has also been the focus of Lauttamus (1992), Kovács (1998), and Männikkö (2004).

The present study adds to the current understanding of this immigrant group in the United States by examining not only young Finnish HLLs' language use, but also their literacies across two contexts, HL schools and homes. The study also contributes to existing knowledge of Finnish-American HLLs by examining their language and literacy learning through the lens of multilingual literacy socialization.

2.1.4. Heritage language schools in the United States.

Despite the increase of HLLs in the country, national language policy in the United States has moved from support or at least tolerance for multilingualism towards policies supporting the monolingual English hegemony, especially in education (García, 2005). There are few spaces available to children where they can formally, continuously, and systematically develop multilingual literacies. To counterbalance the lack of publicly funded language programs in many immigrant communities, immigrants in the United States have established HL schools to help maintain children's HL proficiency and connections to their heritage culture. HL schools, also known as community language schools or supplementary schools, typically meet over the weekend and are run by volunteer parents (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011). HL schools are "voluntary schools whose primary purpose is to maintain and develop the community language, culture and history among the younger generation" (Lytra, 2012, p. 85). Classes in these schools are

usually meant for school-age children, and instructional goals vary from beginning language skills to the entire national curriculum of the country of origin (Zhou & Kim, 2006). The number of such schools in the U.S. is in the thousands (Fishman, 2014), including over 800 Chinese schools (Wang, 2014) and over 1,000 Korean schools (Lee, 2014). Beyond language instruction, HL schools also “serve as the locus of social support and control, network building, and social capital formation” (Zhou & Kim, 2006, p. 20). HL schools are known to struggle with issues such as lack of materials, trained teachers, and financial support; diversity of students’ language competencies; and shortage of instructional time (Liu & You, 2014). However, when heritage schools are effective, they can have a very positive impact on students’ language and literacy learning. For example, HL schools typically feature small classes, which helps them address issues with differing language competencies among the students.

Finnish can be studied as a foreign or heritage language at ten universities and colleges in the United States (Embassy of Finland, n.d.), including at Finlandia University in Hancock, MI, a university that was founded in 1896 as the Lutheran Suomi (Finland) College by Finnish immigrants, and that also houses the Finnish American Heritage Center and Historical Archive (Finlandia University, n.d.-b). In addition, the Embassy of Finland in D.C. lists 18 Finnish heritage language schools around the United States, mostly in the Midwest and in the coastal states (Embassy of Finland, n.d.). Other informal groups, such as parent-baby music groups, exist likely in the dozens.

2.2. Why Multilingual Literacies?

In this section, I briefly discuss literature that has offered strong support for the idea that multilingual literacies are something to be valued both at the individual and

societal levels - reflecting Ruíz's (1988) notions of language as a right and language as a resource.

Research has often approached multilingual literacies from an outcome or competence orientation. Focusing on multilingual literacy as an outcome addresses questions about how it is achieved, what competence in multilingual literacy means, and how specific pedagogies can support development towards competency (Reyes, 2012). Research has found that the development of second language competence is partially due to the type of competence already developed in the first language by the time exposure to the second language begins (Cummins, 1979), and that this extends to reading and writing competence: for example, HL literacy skills transfer to and support English literacy (August & Shanahan, 2006, 2010; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Swain, Lapkin, Rowen, and Hart (1990) explained that it is often easier for children to develop an understanding of literacy when it is in a language they speak fluently and have used to make sense of their life experiences. However, many HLLs have limited literacy skills in their HL, often due to the lack of opportunities for formal education in the language. Current education policy in the United States is not supportive of multilingual literacy learning, even though HLLs' literacy in both the dominant language and the HL can lead to both academic and socio-emotional advantages, which will be briefly discussed here.

Longitudinal and large-scale studies have found that students who have the opportunity to develop both their HL and English in a formal school setting such as a bilingual school without an early phase-out of the HL, excel academically and are able to close any achievement gaps between themselves and monolingual students by mid- to late elementary grades (Collier & Thomas, 2004; Han, 2012; Ramírez, Yuen, & Ramey,

1991). The benefits of higher HL literacy have been found to translate to higher student scores on standardized academic achievement tests and higher grade point averages (Bankston & Zhou, 1995; García-Vázquez, Vázquez, López, & Ward, 1997). HL literacy can also facilitate English literacy, including higher scores on English reading assessments (Domínguez de Ramírez & Shapiro, 2007; Reese, Garnier, Gallimore, & Goldenberg, 2000) and faster progress towards reading in English compared to monolingual English-speaking children (Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005). However, it is unclear whether the connection between HL and English literacy is as strong in cases where the HL does not have an alphabetic writing system. In Bialystok, Luk and Kwan's (2005) study, Chinese-English bilinguals did not do as well compared to their monolingual peers as Hebrew and Spanish-speaking children, and a study by Shibata (2004) found neither positive, nor negative correlation between students' Japanese and English proficiency or between Japanese proficiency and overall academic success. Though the present study does not focus on the academic outcomes of Finnish HL literacy, these mixed findings are one more indication that research into less commonly taught languages is needed to get a more holistic picture of multilingual literacies.

Apart from increased standardized test results and grade point averages, HL literacy may also be crucial for the overall emotional and social wellbeing of HLLs, leading to stronger family relationships, ethnic identity, and self-esteem. Many of the following studies have examined oral HL proficiency instead of HL literacy, but their findings are indirectly related to literacy: HL literacy may strengthen oral proficiency, leading to increased attachment to the HL speaker community (Lee, 2006). Strong HL skills correlate with positive family relationships, leading to family solidarity and

cohesiveness, lower family hierarchy, closer attachment of children to their parents, and fewer negative feelings between family members (Portes & Hao, 2010; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002). For example, Oh and Fuligni (2010) found a significant positive relationship between children's HL competence and family cohesion in a study of 414 Latin American and Asian background adolescents in the United States. Research has also found a strong positive association between HL proficiency and ethnic identification (He, 2014; Lee, 2002; Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001), and HL proficiency and self-esteem (Gong, 2007; Lorenzo-Hernández & Ouellette, 1998; Portes & Hao, 2010). For example, Bankston and Zhou (1995) found a positive correlation between Vietnamese HLLs' Vietnamese literacy skills and identification with Vietnamese culture. Ethnic identity and HL proficiency also correlated positively in a study of Armenian, Vietnamese, and Mexican HLLs (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001) and in a study of Korean HLLs (Lee, 2002). Portes and Hao (2010) found a significant and positive correlation between children's level of bilingualism and their self-esteem. A limitation of these studies is that it is difficult to establish a causal relationship between variables such as ethnic identification and HL literacy (Bankston Zhou, 1995). Strong ethnic identification can motivate a HLL's efforts at learning to read and write in the HL; and *vice versa*, literacy skills can improve access to resources and experiences within the heritage culture, therefore strengthening ethnic identity. The implications of HL development for identity work are further discussed in section 2.3.4.

2.3. Multilingual Language and Literacy Socialization in Homes and HL Schools

The grain size of language and literacy socialization processes examined in the literature has varied widely. Small-grain studies have focused on specific linguistic forms

and functions, such as how children learn to use forms of politeness and other formulaic language (for review, see Burdelski & Cook, 2012), or to engage in different types of verbal play, such as teasing (e.g. Boxer, & Cortés-Conde, 1997; Eisenberg, 1986). In this study, I wish to illuminate three larger-grained socialization processes that research previously uncovered in multilingual contexts: the negotiation and enactment of language policies, translanguaging and its management, and engagement in multilingual literacy practices. In this study, I also examine HLLs' multilingual identity construction as taking place within these socialization processes. The following sections sum up the current state of knowledge on these processes in HL contexts.

2.3.1. Language policies in homes and HL classrooms.

Parents of HLLs often have a deep investment in the maintenance of their children's HL. This investment can be seen in family language policies (FLPs), or "decision-making about language" (Schiffman, 2006, p. 112) in the family, which are a way for parents to socialize children into using language and literacies in ways that match what they consider appropriate. FLPs are shaped by parents' language ideologies: ideas about which language to use and for what purposes; the interactional strategies parents use with children, such as language mixing or slang use; and parents' beliefs about bilingualism and language acquisition (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). FLPs are also based on the value and utility the family sees in maintaining a language, and are shaped by the parents' goals for their children as well as the parents' own educational and life experiences (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Parents' assessment of their child's language skills can shape FLPs as well (Schwartz & Moin, 2012). Supporting multilingualism in

their children often strengthens the parents' view of themselves as "good" parents (King & Fogle, 2006).

Spolsky (2004) suggested that three components of language policy, including language policy in families, can be distinguished. These components, which will be further elaborated in section 2.4.2., are language ideology, or beliefs about language; language practices, or the day-to-day uses of language; and language management, or the decisions the family makes regarding day-to-day language use in the family as well as decisions such as sending the child to an HL school. Parents may enact an FLP by engaging children in daily conversations and literacy activities in the HL and trying to manage children's language use with direct requests to speak a certain language in the home (Schechter & Bailey, 1997). Other, more indirect language policy strategies include the HL-speaking parent pretending not to understand if the child uses the dominant language (Lanza, 1992; Schechter & Bailey, 1997), or the parent or other caregiver allowing code-switching while also encouraging the child to use as much of the HL as he or she can (Ruby, 2012). Code-switching and other translanguaging practices are discussed further in the following section. Other research has uncovered ways parents' language ideologies translate into FLP, such as when parents choose a school for their child based on HL instruction offered there, which reflects parents' ideologies related to HL maintenance (Leung & Uchikoshi, 2012). These ideologies and policies are shaped by various influences. For example, bilingual Spanish and English speaking parents in a study by King and Fogle (2006) drew on three sources to shape their family language policies: knowledge of popular literature citing the benefits of growing up bi- or multilingual, the often negative experiences of other families that had failed to support

their children's HL, and the parents' own childhood experiences growing up bilingual and bicultural.

FLPs are shaped by all family members, not only the caregiver who speaks the HL. Studying an American mother and her five teenage children using English as the HL in the Hebrew-dominant context of Israel, Kayam and Hirsch (2014) found that although the mother followed the OPOL (one parent, one language) approach in which she only spoke English to the children (Döpke, 1992), and provided her children with extracurricular activities such as an English tutor and summer camps in the United States, the children shaped the FLP by speaking almost exclusively Hebrew back to their mother. The same was observed by Pillai, Soh, and Kajita, (2014), with Portuguese Creole HL speakers in Malaysia. Grandparents may also play a role in shaping a family's FLP, often towards a stronger enforcement of HL use. Studies have found that when a grandparent coaxes a child into using the HL, the child may do so more readily than if the coaxing was done by a parent (Ruby, 2012). A grandparent's visit from the home country may even prompt an increased use of the HL by all family members (Schechter & Bailey, 1997). In other cases, a family member may advocate for increased use of the dominant language in the home by everyone, especially if the dominant language is what that family member speaks with the children (Kayam & Hirsch, 2014).

In HL schools, language and literacy socialization processes are partly manifested as classroom language policies (CLPs), which are often shaped by the teachers' explicit goals of increasing students' proficiency in the HL and developing students' heritage or community identity by teaching them about the heritage culture (Cho, 2014; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006). The expectation of using only the HL is typical for HL

classrooms, and often, the standard variety of the language is privileged in instruction (Lytra, 2012). Teachers also try to instill in students an appreciation for their idea of the central traditions of the HL culture, such as holidays (Wu, Palmer, & Field, 2011). Parents exert influence in shaping CLPs in HL schools, as well. For example, parents may disagree with teachers on the language practices that should be taught in the classroom, perhaps because the latter are often volunteer parents themselves and thus struggle to have complete control over their CLPs. For example, in a study of a Taiwanese HL school in the United States (Wu, Palmer, & Field, 2011), parents wanted their children to learn to write words using the *zhuyin* phonetic notation system, even though the HL teacher preferred *pinyin* and had observed that *zhuyin* was more difficult for her students to learn.

As with FLPs, children and adolescents are also able to shape CLPs. Ideologically, other languages are not welcomed in HL schools and instruction takes place solely in the HL, but because of student influence, teachers may end up allowing students to translanguage, thereby acknowledging that HLLs are multilingual and multicultural students for whom moving fluidly between languages is a natural tool for learning in the HL classroom (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). The following section discusses translanguaging in more detail. Students may also appropriate the HL for their own uses and meanings instead of the traditional uses and meanings promoted by the HL teacher. For example, Li and Zhu (2014) found that Chinese HLLs in Britain used the Mandarin word for “united” in connection with the football team Manchester United rather than in the Maoist sense of united people, which was the example their teacher provided. Often, students are expected to behave in the HL classroom as they would in a classroom in the

country of their heritage. For example, Cho (2014) found that teachers in Korean schools expected students to be reverent towards the teacher by not talking or asking questions; however, students behaved more like American students and were very talkative in class. As a result of students' non-adherence to CLPs, teachers may end up reconstructing their beliefs about their own language and culture (Wu, Palmer, & Field, 2011)

2.3.2. Translanguaging in homes and HL classrooms.

Translanguaging, or multilingual individuals' use of their complete linguistic repertoire as an integrated whole, has been used by scholars as a theoretical lens for examining multilingual literacy processes (Canagarajah, 1997; 2006; 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). In this study, I see translanguaging as strongly related to the management aspect of language policy as defined by Spolsky (2004), since translanguaging and other forms of language mixing by children often prompt acts of language policy management by parents and teachers. In this study, I use the term translanguaging (rather than language mixing or codeswitching) to underline that language use is inherently a social practice.

In multilingual homes, translanguaging is often an everyday practice. Children may translanguage in order to emphasize their identities as multilingual and multicultural individuals, often in opposition to the heritage language and culture of the family. Even single words that cross the boundaries of linguistic codes can be significant in meaning for the family members. For example, Hua (2008) found that in a Chinese family in the U.K., a teenager used the English pronouns 'I' and 'you' while her mother used the Chinese pronoun for 'we' during an argument, which reflected the family members' culturally embedded, varying approaches to the argument: British and individualistic vs.

Chinese and collective. In another study by the same author (Hua, 2010), family members used vocatives and kinship terms such as ‘mum’ in English, or the Chinese word for ‘older brother’ to signal social roles in the family. Children can also use translanguaging in instances where their higher level of competence in the dominant language tips the balance of social power in the socialization processes for them. For example, children may translanguaging as a tool for language brokering while explaining their homework to their parents, which enables children to take on the role of an expert (Alvarez, 2014). On the other hand, translanguaging may help children develop an understanding of their identities as multilingual individuals in relation to the rest of the family, who may be monolingual HL-speakers unable to translanguaging (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Children may also cross into using the dominant language within HL interactions with the HL-speaking parent simply because they do not have a strong enough proficiency in the HL to communicate everything monolingually (Kayam & Hirsch, 2014).

Much of the research at the intersection of language socialization and classroom translanguaging practices has been conducted in dual language or foreign language contexts (e.g. a German classroom in Minnesota, Ennser-Kananen, 2014; an EFL classroom in Russia, Fogle & King, 2014; international high schools in New York, García & Sylvan, 2011; and a dual-language elementary school in Texas, Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). Translanguaging in HL schools has received much less attention in the literature. In HL schools, as mentioned earlier, teachers often promote language separation with a CLP that bans translanguaging. This is a way to preserve the HL classroom as a space, which the dominant language cannot penetrate. However, in practice, HL teachers and HLLs often translanguaging in the classroom,

especially to reach pedagogical goals. For example, Creese and Blackledge (2010) constructed case studies of eight different HL schools around the United Kingdom, and found that HL teachers both encouraged students to translanguage and translanguageed themselves as a pedagogical strategy. For instance, teachers used both Cantonese and English to discuss the meaning of a Cantonese story. In this study, students were found to be active agents in the co-construction of such pedagogy, and translanguaging created a multilingual space not typically possible in an English-dominant mainstream school. Similarly, Li and Zhu (2014) found that in a Cantonese HL classroom, translanguaging among English, Mandarin, and Cantonese was used as a vehicle to teach language. However, translanguaging also complicated the socialization processes in the classroom because of the status differences between the languages. For example, students questioned the teacher's use of phrases from the more dominant language, Mandarin, in written text, which was otherwise in Cantonese.

2.3.3. Multilingual literacy practices in homes and HL classrooms.

Homes are spaces for abundant literacy practices, but as these are typically guided by the family's cultural heritage and its norms, the genres, orientations, and functions of home literacy may differ greatly from those of the dominant school (Dixon & Wu, 2014). The same can be said about HL schools, which often operate under very different cultural orientations, ideologies, and day-to-day practices compared to English-medium mainstream schools in the United States.

The notion that home literacies are something very different from mainstream school literacies is not a novel idea; philosopher John Dewey described the mismatch more than a hundred years ago:

From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school...while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school...When the child gets into the schoolroom he has to put out of his mind a large part of the ideas, interests, and activities that predominate in his home and neighborhood. (Dewey, 1899/1907, p. 89).

Heath's (1982; 1983) groundbreaking study of three ethnically and socioeconomically diverse communities' home literacy socialization practices highlighted the implications of this disparity for students whose backgrounds differed from the middle-class, white norm promoted by schools.

More recently, this disparity has also been well documented in linguistically diverse communities in the United States. Luis Moll and colleagues (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) studied a community of Mexican origin, Spanish-speaking families, and found that students from these families came to school with many types of knowledge and skills, or "funds of knowledge," acquired at home and in their community. These included knowledge related to topics such as agriculture, construction, contemporary and folk medicine, household management, and religion, as well as the literacies associated with these domains. Later, there were similar studies conducted in other linguistically diverse communities. Tse (2001) studied Cantonese, Japanese, and Spanish speaking young adults and found that they encountered many types of multilingual literacies throughout the day in their homes and communities. These included reading newspapers, translating documents from school, reading religious texts at home and in places of worship, and watching TV programs with closed captioning in

the HL. Li (2004) examined the home literacy practices of a Chinese-Canadian first-grader, who read books and magazines in both Chinese and English, learned about world geography from a large map, and took turns with his mother reading pages from an English-language story, discussing its meaning, and looking up unfamiliar words in a bilingual dictionary.

As can be seen from these accounts, HLLs' home literacy practices are not just focused on the HL. Families are well aware of the benefits multilingualism and multilingual literacy carry, which influences their beliefs and ideologies. Curdt-Christiansen (2009) found that while Chinese-Canadian parents recognized the dominance of English in the world, they were also aware of the rising power and utility of Chinese in the world economy, and the importance of French locally in Québec. Moreover, HL literacy provided their children access to the history and culture of their ancestry, including literature, philosophy, and art. Park and Sarkar's (2008) and Joo's (2009) studies with Korean-Canadian and Korean-American families, respectively, echo Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) findings: immigrant parents believe HL proficiency strengthens children's ethnic identity, improves intergenerational communication, and provides an advantage on the job market, leading to upward social mobility. Such beliefs shape the families' language practices, leading parents to support their children's multilingual and multiliterate development. It is rare for mainstream schools in the United States to recognize the utility of multilingual literacy at this scale.

Home literacy experiences can also be very motivating to the child. It is characteristic of home literacy experiences that they are guided by the participants' interests. Parents often link HL literacy directly to the traditions and culture of their home

country (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006), and their positive attitudes towards the HL can strengthen children's intrinsic motivation to learn more (Kagan, 2005). Home literacy experiences also offer immediate gratification in the form of task accomplishment. The child-centeredness and immediate rewards of home literacy experiences are in direct contrast with many school literacy experiences that tend to be teacher-directed and aimed at reaching long-term goals (Pérez, 1998). The interactions between parent and child are deeply meaningful, and the child is seen as a competent meaning-maker (Haag & Williams, 2004). Unlike many classroom interactions surrounding text, at-home reading events such as storybook reading are also often rich with oral language, which is important for literacy development (Haag & Williams, 2004). In a survey study of HLLs by Carreira and Kagan (2011), 71.3% of the respondents said that having been read to in their HL by parents or relatives contributed to their HL competence and maintenance.

However, home literacy experiences are not without tensions, as immigrant parents feel the pressure of the dominant language environment, which in turn affects how they approach HL and literacy maintenance. For example, Li (2006) found that Chinese-American parents had three different attitudes about HL literacy development: some were resigned to the fact that their child would never become biliterate despite their best efforts, whereas some were able to offer rich literacy experiences in both English and the HL, but did not believe that their child would be as competent in HL literacy as a monolingual Chinese speaker would be. Still others hoped that the children would find an interest in the HL on their own. These struggles reflect the fact that home literacies, especially those in the HL, are often undervalued and overlooked in the wider society and

especially in traditional schooling, leading children and parents pressured to adopt similar attitudes towards their HL. Research needs to examine how families socialize children into literacy practices in multiple languages in environments in which the family's values and goals are at odds with the larger societal influences.

Much like homes, HL schools are able to incorporate the students' home culture in literacy experiences more than English-medium mainstream schools. HL schools aid students in attaining high levels of language and literacy skills across languages, acting as a kind of "mesosystem" between the microsystems of homes and macrosystems of mainstream schools (Dixon & Wu, 2014). Some HL schools even prepare their students to pass a language test or obtain credits in the HL at mainstream educational institutions (Zhou & Kim, 2006). HL schools can often act as a space where HLLs' multilingualism and multiculturalism are recognized. For example, students in Doerr and Lee's (2009) study reported feeling supported in Japanese HL schools, where instruction was at their level and designed to reflect their bilingual and bicultural experiences, and where language and literacy was taught through content that was meaningful to them. Pak (2005) found that in Korean-American church schools the biliteracy contexts, development, media, and content were simultaneously different from the English-dominant world outside, but also influenced by it. For example, texts, such as prayers or reading passages about Korean culture, were in Korean and emphasized Korean values, but the teacher and students negotiated what the content meant for them in their Korean-American context. HL schools, which are typically self-funded and therefore independent, are often freer to make such instructional decisions compared to mainstream schools.

Another strength of HL schools is offering students varied and rich literacy experiences. Kim and Pyun (2014) found that Korean HLLs at a Korean HL school engaged in reading Korean books in various genres, looking up information online in Korean, and writing for various purposes. The authors concluded that a wide range of literacy experiences helps HLLs expand their literacy skills beyond the daily, conversational HL use. Jia (2009) observed a teacher conducting literature circles in a Chinese HL school, where students read realistic fiction stories and connected the characters' experiences to their own lives and lives in their community, or adapted and performed self-selected fairy tales that connected to the mores of their Chinese culture. Even though similar literacy practices could be found in a mainstream school, it is rare that the connections to the students' backgrounds and cultures are this explicit.

However, HL schools, just like public schools, do not always succeed in meeting the needs of HLLs. Some research documents the failure of HL schools to capture the interest of their students, leading to low motivation to attend the HL school. This is often attributed to the tendency of some HL schools to focus too much on the mechanics of literacy, and to use rote exercises such as grammar worksheets, dictation, and copying of text as means for literacy instruction (e.g. Tse, 2001; Lee, 2002; Jia, 2009). Such socialization strategies may prevail because many HL teacher are merely available and willing volunteer parents who lack teaching experience and training, and who draw on their own, sometimes old-fashioned, educational experiences and ideologies for teaching (Liu & You, 2014). It is evident that such literacy practices do not correspond to the needs of HLLs, who live in literacy environments that require a complex and wide range of literacy skills. Research needs to continue examining how HL teachers in different

linguistic communities socialize HLLs into literacy practices and how HL teachers' and HLLs' multilingual literacy goals can be better aligned.

2.3.4. Students' identity construction in homes and HL classrooms.

As discussed in section 2.2., a strong identification with one's HL community may lead to increased self-esteem, academic success, and family cohesion. However, identity construction is not a straightforward process. Identity is always shifting, and constructed not only within an individual, but also, and perhaps primarily, in social interactions with the communities to which the individual belongs (Leeman, 2015). For HLLs, constructing identities at the intersection of two or more languages and cultures differs from the process of someone acquiring a foreign language, as HLLs are "socio-historically connected with the target culture and yet experientially displaced from it" (He, 2006).

In all identity construction processes, but especially those taking place in multilingual contexts, language acts as a central tool. Research has examined the role language proficiency plays in identity construction, and found that stronger proficiency correlates with stronger identification with an ethnic group, as was already mentioned in section 2.2. However, beyond one's own identification, language proficiency also influences the way others position an HLL, which in turn influences the HLL's opportunities for enacting certain social identities. For example, Abdi (2011) found that a student who was reluctant to speak Spanish in a Spanish HL class was positioned by others as non-Hispanic despite her strong grammar skills and literacy in the language. Similarly, in Doerr and Lee's (2009) research, HL proficiency in Japanese was a strong factor in students being positioned either as HLLs or as Japanese in an HL school. For

multilingual youth, the use of multiple languages with others like them creates important spaces for multilingual and multinational identity construction, especially in situations where their parents or HL school teachers may adhere to monolingual HL ideologies and the surrounding society is permeated by the dominant language (Li, 2011)

Ducar (2008) has pointed out that student agency is still a missing piece in HL research. In her survey study of undergraduate Spanish HLLs, students were specifically asked about the language varieties they would prefer to learn in the HL classroom. Most students chose the Mexican or Mexican-American variety of the language, whereas what they perceived the teachers actually teaching them was an academic variety of Spanish. In the home setting, children may have more power than in the classroom to influence socialization processes, which by extension, also influence their identities. For example, Tuominen (1999) found that children are often the ones to determine the language used in the family, especially in cases where parents' lower proficiency in the dominant language shifts power towards the bilingual children. Yet HL socialization studies have thus far mainly focused on the goals HL teachers and parents have for their students' and children's HL acquisition. A closer look at students' and children's agency would shed light on how they actively construct their identities in HL contexts, and how identity work affords or constrains opportunities to acquire HLs.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework draws from the work of scholars who have examined language and literacy learning as a primarily sociocultural phenomenon (e.g. Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Gee, 2015; Street, 1995; Vygotsky, 1978). As another scholar approaching research from sociocultural perspectives, I subscribe to a constructionist

epistemology, which asserts that “all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). Further, I believe knowledge to be always culturally and historically specific, dependent on context, and sustained by social processes, which involve issues of culture, language, and power (Burr, 2015; Triplett, 2007).

The centermost theory informing my study is language and literacy socialization (Ochs, 1988; 1993; Schieffelin, 1990; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986b). In this study, I operationalize language and literacy socialization in HL contexts as the emergence of three main processes: the negotiation and enactment of language policy, the enactment or management of translanguaging, and the promotion of and engagement in multilingual literacy practices. My theoretical understanding of these is discussed in depth below. Further, I discuss my understanding of identity construction, which is one of the central concepts in language and literacy socialization.

2.4.1. Definition of language and literacy socialization.

Language and literacy socialization posits that children and other novices are socialized to use language in certain, culture-specific ways in order to become full-fledged members of a community, able to use language in socially appropriate ways in that community (Ochs, 1993; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a, 1986b). Therefore, language is not only the tool used in the socialization process, but also the outcome. Language socialization draws from a sociocultural, Vygotskian research tradition, and is strongly focused on the concepts of community and membership. Its sociocultural (and socio-

historical) lens aims to illuminate the social, political, and cultural contexts that influence local discourses taking place within multilingual communities as they engage in interaction through and around multiple languages and literacies.

In an HL context, language socialization processes may manifest in the ways more experienced members of the heritage community use their language to help the young HLL become a competent member of the heritage culture (Lee, 2002), or in the ways the community communicates to the HLLs the value of maintaining the HL and resisting language shift (Paugh, 2012). There is currently scant research using language socialization as an approach for examining HL contexts, especially research focused on literacy. He (2012) has called for more of such research in homes and communities, particularly to highlight the “co-constructed, interactive nature of HL socialization activities” (He, 2012, p. 594), in which HLLs, parents, peers, teachers, and other agents all play their part. My study responds to this call by examining teachers, parents, and students as agents in the language and literary socialization processes taking place in homes and an HL school.

In the center of language and literacy socialization is community, more specifically, a community of practice, defined as the mutual engagement of a group of people around a joint enterprise, resulting in a shared repertoire of communal resources such as routines, artifacts, and vocabulary particular to that community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1998; Wenger, 1998). The processes taking place as novices learn the shared repertoire of their community or practice are part of the novices’ socialization into the community. Like Lave and Wengers’ original conceptualization of a community of practice, language socialization theory has traditionally focused on the role of the more

experienced members of a community as the agents of socialization processes; however, the theory does not consider the novice members of the community as mere passive receivers of values and practices. Rather, language socialization scholars readily recognize that novices (e.g., children) actively negotiate, comply with, and sometimes resist the socialization efforts of the more experienced members (e.g., parents) (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). Thus, rather than resulting in societal reproduction, language socialization results in societal *reinterpretation* (Hua, 2010). In the case of HLLs, this process is often marked with tensions between the dominant and heritage language and culture, as HLLs learn to “walk in two cultural worlds” (Li, 2006, p. 358).

2.4.2. Language policy as a socialization process.

The study of language policy has traditionally focused on three areas: language ideology, or beliefs about language; language practices, or the day-to-day uses of language; and language management, or the choices a social unit makes when choosing which language to use (Spolsky, 2004). Language ideology consists of beliefs and values connected to language, such as prestige connected to a certain language or language variety. Typically, multiple and even opposing ideologies exist side by side, but one maintains a dominant position. According to Spolsky (2004), language ideology can be characterized as “what people think should be done,” (p. 14), whereas language practices are what actually takes place - the observable manifestations of language ideology. The third aspect, language management, consists of observable and explicit efforts at managing and influencing language practices within a social unit. Language policy involves both overt and covert mechanisms that are used to manipulate and control language use in a social unit in order to translate language ideologies into language

practices (Shohamy, 2006).

While language policy research originally focused on large social units and mechanisms such as national language policies of countries, the theory can also be applied to smaller social groups, such as families and schools. In this study, I examine language policy as one manifestation of language socialization. In the analysis of family language policies (FLPs) and classroom language policies (CLPs), I draw on a categorization proposed by Kasuya (1998), who explained that language policies can be conceptualized as participants' explicit and implicit strategies of language management. Among explicit strategies are directly stated rules about what language to use, as well as correction of a person's utterances in one language by telling him or her how to say the same utterance in another. Among implicit strategies are translating, or giving the same information in both languages, and simply continuing the conversation in one language even when the other person switches to another. These strategies are most closely aligned with Spolsky's (2004) idea of language management, but also connect to the language and literacy practices and ideologies as outlined by Spolsky.

FLPs are always shaped by many different influences. Some are internal to the family, as the FLPs are subject to the "sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture" (Schiffman 2006, p.112). FLPs are always the result of an ongoing negotiation in which different family members' needs, aspirations, and language competencies all influence the outcomes (Kayam & Hirsch, 2014). Therefore, FLPs are always shaped not only by the parents, but also children. Further, the language policies of different domains, such as federal, state, or local

governments, school, or media, influence FLPs by creating pressures external to the family unit (Spolsky, 2009). The enactment of a clear FLP in spite of these pressures is important in families who wish to maintain HLs in a majority language environment, since parents who are consistent with their language policies are probably more successful in socializing their children into language and literacy practices that they hold important (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008).

In classrooms, language socialization can take the form of CLPs. Typically, studies of CLPs have considered them as established from above (e.g., through national or school district policies) and interpreted by teachers (e.g., Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2014). It is clear that especially in contexts where the teachers have much higher proficiency in the language that is the vehicle and goal of the socialization processes (which is often the case in HL contexts), teachers do have a great deal of power in shaping CLPs. However, scholars are beginning to recognize that children can shape CLPs much in the same way that they influence FLPs, as discussed in section 2.3.1. For example, Norén (2015) explains that “both a student and a teacher can be agents, able to break up boundaries and adopt alternative ones” (p. 171) in school practices. In HL contexts, this often takes place as students use their multilingualism and strong proficiency in the dominant language to resist and renegotiate the CLPs (Duff, 2011; Tang, 2010); however, research into students’ influence on HL CLPs remains scant (Ducar, 2008).

2.4.3. Translanguaging as a socialization process.

Although Spolsky’s (2004) theory of language policy includes language management, or the choices a social unit makes regarding language, the theory does not fully account for fluid bilingual language practices common in HL families, such as

translanguaging. Translanguaging is a process whereby multilingual individuals fluidly shift between languages, treating them as an integrated linguistic resource for communication (Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011). More than merely switching between languages, translanguaging in interaction can signal “code-meshed ways of languaging that skillfully articulate identity and power relations” (Alvarez, 2014, p. 329). Translanguaging is a normative practice in multilingual families, and can have many different functions, from the enactment of one’s identity as a competent user of two or more languages, to the expression of humor (Li, 2011), or to its use as a pedagogical tool (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). While most translanguaging research has focused on oral language, translanguaging may be manifested in multilingual literacy socialization, as participants are exposed to or engage with texts that cross linguistic boundaries. For example, Canagarajah (2011) has explained that translanguaging is an important element of written discourse and rhetoric of multilingual individuals. In this study, I conceptualize engagement in and management of translanguaging as a socialization process, closely related to language policy.

In language and literacy socialization studies, translanguaging may be best understood as not only an individual’s multicompetence (Cook, 1991), but multi-performance (He, 2013). By translanguaging, individuals actively open up transnational spaces, construct transnational identities, and display cultural fluency and flexibility (Li & Zhu, 2013). Further, He (2013) has argued that translanguaging is highly random, creative, and extemporaneous, but at the same time, an important aspect of an individual’s multilingual socialization. Spaces where translanguaging is fostered, help multilingual individuals not only learn language (Martin-Beltrán, 2014), but also allow

them a “legitimized means of performing desired identities” (Sayer, 2013, p. 63). It is clear that translanguaging as a language and literacy socialization process facilitates students’ development into competent multilingual and multicultural members of a given community.

2.4.4. (Multilingual) literacy practices as a socialization process.

Literacies are an important part of language socialization, as children are indoctrinated into the ways the community views, uses, and interprets texts. Literacy socialization is not limited to schools, though traditional notions of what counts as literacy often privileges practices enacted in schools. Instead, literacy socialization can take place across different contexts such as homes (e.g., Heath, 1982; 1983; Serpell, Sonnenschein, Baker, & Ganapathy, 2002), online communities (Thorne, Black, & Sykes, 2009), and religious schools (Fader 2001). In each context, learning the literacies inherent in the community grants participants full participation as a “literate individual” in that community. Therefore, my study examines not only oral language practices, but also and especially literacy practices.

In schools, literacy socialization happens through the explicit teaching or implicit legitimization of certain texts, as well as through talk surrounding these texts, as teachers encourage students to enact certain types of discourses (Sterponi, 2012). Scholars in New Literacy Studies (NLS; Au & Raphael, 2000; Cook-Gumperz, 2006; Gee, 1992, 2015; Street, 1995, 2003) have argued that what U. S. schools typically privilege is the so-called autonomous view of literacy (Street, 1995), which considers literacy (singular) a set of cognitive skills, isolated from orality and from the social contexts where the literacy events take place. Limiting the definition of literacy this way ignores the

meaningful literacy practices of the home setting and other informal contexts, which may be “of considerable significance to students and thus, important avenues through which students may acquire multiple literacies” (Au & Raphael, 2000, p. 173). On the contrary, NLSs’ ideological, or sociocultural, view of literacy (Street, 1995, 2003) recognizes that literacies (plural) are complex phenomena, encompassing several different types of literacy (e.g. print, visual, digital), and rooted in specific worldviews or ideologies. Especially the notion of digital literacies has become crucially important in literacy research, as the text and literacy practices people encounter in their daily lives are increasingly accessed through digital platforms such as mobile devices.

Literacies are always political and connected to issues of power between social groups (Au & Raphael, 2000; Gee, 2015). This is especially salient in minority contexts, such as HL communities, which may often exercise less power in society compared to the dominant group. In an HL community, this power difference may influence the types of literacy practices that are valued and enacted in the community, which can lead to the undermining of literacies inherent in the traditions of the HL community. This, in turn, may limit novice HLLs’ participation in the HL literacy practices as the transmission of these practices is interrupted, and their socialization into fully literate members of the HL community may be in jeopardy. Hornberger’s (1989, 2002; Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) concept of the *continua of biliteracy* can further illuminate how these power differences influence literacies in multilingual contexts. According to this view, biliteracy practices occur within three continua of contexts (macro - micro, oral - literate, and monolingual - bilingual) three continua of development (reception – production, oral language – written language, and L1 – L2 transfer); three continua of media

(simultaneous – successive exposure to the languages, similar – dissimilar language structures, and convergent – divergent script); and three continua of content (minority – majority, vernacular – literacy, and whole language – parts of language). Hornberger (2002) stresses that the more fully learners are able to draw from the whole range of each of the continua, the greater are their chances for developing into fully biliterate individuals. However, the way an HL community socializes HLLs into literacy practices may be restricted to only some, or parts of, the continua because of outside influences. For example, as discussed before, HLLs often acquire only oral language instead of written language because they lack access to formal HL education.

2.4.5. Identity construction within multilingual literacy socialization.

Identity is a central concept in language socialization theory. Drawing on sociocultural conceptualizations of identity (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; Lo-Philip, 2010; Norton Peirce, 1995; Tajfel, 1981), I define identity as the dynamic and fluid process of negotiating one’s membership in a social group and moving between different languages and cultures (Asher, 2008) and different Discourses (Gee, 1992; 2015) in the process. Language is a critical part of developing a social identity, as individuals learn to use the particular Discourses (with a capital D) typical for their social group. Gee (2015) defined Discourses as

Distinctive ways of speaking/listening and often, too, writing/reading coupled with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing with other people and with various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to enact specific socially recognizable identities engaged in specific socially recognizable activities (p. 171).

In other words, being socialized into particular Discourses is a crucial part of gaining membership to and acquiring a socially constructed identity within a community. This conceptualization of identity highlights the importance of a social group in shaping one's identity, which is continually being negotiated through interactions with group members.

However, it is important to reiterate here that identity construction within socialization processes is shaped by not only the community, but individuals themselves, through agentic actions within social interaction (Dagenais, Day, & Toohey, 2006; Lo-Philip, 2010). Ahearn (2001) succinctly defines agency as an individual's "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (p. 112). As discussed earlier, research on language socialization today recognizes that children can act as active agents in socialization processes, shaping the interactions in which they participate and socializing adults to meet their "linguistic, interactional and identity needs" (Fogle, 2012, p. 2). However, this does not mean that children always shape the socialization processes in ways that afford language-learning opportunities or promote their construction of a social identity that would grant them membership in a particular community; on the contrary, sometimes the children's intentions and goals lead them to resist the norms surrounding the target language (Duff, 2011). This may be true especially if we consider the HL as the target Discourse to be learned through socialization. The agentic actions young HLLs take, for example by choosing English literacy practices over HL literacy practices, may actually lead to fewer opportunities to use the HL and constrain their possibilities of acting as a fully literate member of the HL community.

2.5. Critique of the Literature

The literature reviewed in this chapter illustrates the many complexities associated with examining HLLs' socialization into multilingual literacies. Merely trying to define the terms *heritage languages* and *heritage language learners*, as discussed in section 2.1., is a challenging task. However, since HLLs as a group differ from both “balanced” bilinguals and foreign language learners, and because these students in U.S. schools are both numerous (and increasing in number) and at the same time often unacknowledged as a distinct group, it is useful to put a label on this unique demography in spite of the blurriness. As the literature review demonstrated, most research on HLLs in the United States has so far focused on a small number of language minorities, including Spanish, Chinese, and Korean; thus, research in other HL communities is badly needed.

Literacy, a crucial skill for an individual's success in contemporary society, is a contested and complex concept as well, especially when literacy development takes place in multilingual contexts. It has become increasingly apparent that simplistic notions of literacy as a collection of static skills to be acquired is not adequate for examining the literacy landscape of today, especially in contexts like the United States, where literacies habitually cross the borders of languages, cultures, and media. Therefore, research on multilingual literacies needs to consider the historical, political, and ideological contexts and influences within which literacy development takes place. Literacy socialization as a theory offers a lens through which these influences can be examined.

We have accumulated a fairly robust body of literature detailing the positive academic and socio-emotional outcomes of HLLs' multilingual literacy, including overall school success especially with English literacy, strong ethnolinguistic identity and self-

esteem, and increased immigrant family cohesiveness. Studies examining the correlations between HL proficiency and academic success have typically employed statistical measures and large sample sizes (e.g. Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005; Domínguez de Ramírez & Shapiro, 2007; García-Vázquez, Vázquez, López, & Ward, 1997; Reese, Garnier, Gallimore, & Goldenberg, 2000). These types of studies, while offering excellent evidence of correlations between variables, lack a more nuanced, qualitative examination of the connections between HL literacy and academic achievement, and can be criticized for treating the complex notion of HL proficiency as a static and simplified independent variable (He, 2010). Furthermore, these types of studies tend to focus on the ways HL literacy can lead to literacy in *English*, or to overall academic success, which also to a great extent hinges on English literacy in the United States (e.g. Domínguez de Ramírez & Shapiro, 2007). There is much less research on multilingual literacy as an integrated process in which the HLLs' whole range of literacies receives the same emphasis. Furthermore, many of the studies focusing on the socio-emotional effects of HL literacy (e.g. Bankston & Zhou, 1995; Oh & Fuligni, 2010; Portes & Hao, 2010; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2010) can be criticized for relying on participants' self-reports of language proficiency and/or use, which may not sufficiently illuminate what actually takes place as individuals are socialized into multilingual literacies. Thus, there is a need for close analysis of observational and ethnographic data, which can begin to shed light on these processes.

However, even with these shortcomings, the existing research underlines the need to provide HLLs with spaces where their multilingual literacies are systematically nurtured as a resource; however, in the United States, K-12 education has mostly ignored

the potential of HLLs' linguistic resources. Therefore, researchers have turned their attention to non-traditional educational contexts such as homes and HL schools, where HLLs' multilingual literacies are supported through approaches that place the HL on par with English, provide varied literacy experiences in the HL, make strong connections between the students' home cultures and their literacy learning, and recognize HLLs as multilingual individuals constructing complex identities in interaction with the communities to which they belong. However, research in these, more supportive contexts has revealed that even under such conditions HLLs may fail to develop their HL skills, especially literacy, under the pressure of the dominant language. Thus, we need to conduct fine-grained analyses of HLL's literacy socialization in these contexts, to be able to tease out the factors that influence it.

The present study contributes to this existing literature in several different ways. First, this study utilizes robust methodology that includes analysis of multiple data sources at both the micro (discourse) and macro (ethnographic) levels. Theoretically, the study is rooted in language and literacy socialization, which is well suited for examining HL contexts where issues of identity, and community membership, and the plurality of languages and literacies are a salient part of HLLs' daily lives. The theoretical framework is further informed by New Literacy Studies, which align with literacy socialization in considering literacies as multiple and rooted in cultures and histories. The study contributes to research on linguistically diverse learners in general and HLLs in particular, as it adds a previously under-researched group, Finnish HLLs in the United States, to the map.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter will first reiterate my research questions and my positionality in this study. Next, I will describe my research design, including the methodology, research settings and participants, and the research instruments I used. The chapter will conclude with some thoughts related to trustworthiness and rigor in my study.

3.1. Research Questions

1. How do parents of young Finnish HLLs socialize their children into language and literacy practices?
2. How do Finnish School teachers socialize their students into language and literacy practices?
3. How do the HLLs influence these socialization processes?
4. How are the HLLs' discursive identities constructed in interactions at home and at the Finnish School?

3.2. Researcher's Positionality

I approached this research as an insider in many ways. As a Finnish immigrant to the United States, I shared many of the lived experiences of my adult participants in the study, and my own children had provided me an intimate picture of the experiences of young Finnish HLLs. The Finnish School was very familiar to me as a research setting, as I had been a teacher at the school for three years, and I had also held a leadership position as the secretary of the school board for a year. During data collection I held a dual role as a teacher and a researcher, as I taught one of the student groups part time. These experiences afforded me both access to and insider knowledge of the school.

Furthermore, I was on friendly terms with many of the parents and students, which also facilitated my gaining access to homes. Anna in particular I had known for many years even before the school had been founded. Finally, a shared language and culture with the participants was an important factor in how I approached and interpreted research data. While these factors were generally beneficial for my research in terms of an increased depth of understanding, as other qualitative researchers have noted (Ganga & Scott, 2006), I also realize that my participants' experiences were not identical to my own, and that especially in the homes, I continued to be more of an outsider than an insider. Moreover, a simplistic bipolar notion of a researcher either as an insider or an outsider has been criticized in literature, as a researcher's identities and positions are bound to be in flux as they intersect with those of the participants (Srivastava, 2006). I approached my research with these realities in mind.

3.3. Research Design

3.3.1. Ethnographic and microethnographic methods.

In this study, I used a blend of ethnographic and microethnographic methods and discourse analysis to uncover both the big themes in the socialization processes and the moment-to-moment discursive moves that continually shape these processes. In this, I draw on Schieffelin and Ochs (1986b), who state that the goal of language socialization research is “the linking of microanalytic analysis of children's discourse to more general ethnographic accounts of cultural beliefs and practices of the families, social groups, or communities into which children are socialized” (p. 168). Therefore, it is necessary to collect and interpret a variety of data in the form of observations, interviews, and transcripts (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b).

Ethnographic data are useful for describing and interpreting cultural behavior (Wolcott, 1987) through the creation of thick description, or theory-based interpretations of observed events (Geertz, 1973). Ethnographic methods are inherently social in that they examine human behavior in sociocultural phenomena, and they are therefore well suited for uncovering literacy events and practices with the sociocultural focus in this study. According to Hornberger (1995), the main tools of sociolinguistically informed ethnographic research are the usage of natural data, a rich and close analysis of situated discourse, and an analysis of the role of that discourse in reproducing or altering the dominant social structures and ideologies underlying the discourse contexts. In keeping with this view, ethnographic methods in literacy research capture the day-to-day uses of reading and writing by specific groups in specific contexts.

Ethnographic methods are also well suited for examining literacy in multilingual contexts such as the research settings I selected, because ethnographic methods can both capture the plurality and depth of individuals' and groups' literacies, and connect the literacy practices taking place today to the history of the individuals and groups. In other words, multilingual contexts "require one to take a broader approach - - which incorporates a historical perspective and draws on qualitative/ethnographic data to illuminate micro-level practices" (Saxena, 2000, p. 297). Ethnographic methods also offer a more longitudinal approach to the data collection process: through multiple observations, the evolution of literacy practices can be documented and assessed (Jia, 2009).

Language socialization studies, while focusing on the larger sociocultural contexts, at the same time build on a "rich understanding of children's discourse at the

microanalytic level” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986b, p. 168), which makes it important to collect and closely examine moment-to-moment discursive data. Microethnography, also known as ethnographic microanalysis of interaction, examines how interaction is “socially and culturally organized in particular situational settings” (Garcez, 1999, p. 187). Microethnography constructs case studies of settings and activities (Streeck & Mehus, 2005) - for example, classrooms and literacy events, and investigates everyday face-to-face interaction within these settings and activities with a particular point of view on language use.

Microethnographic analysis is largely inductive, characterized by flexibility of research questions and focus depending on what emerges during the study itself (Fitch, 2005). As such, microethnography relies on the local micro-context for interpretation, but at the same time examines discourse as “intimately connected to wider societal processes” (Garcez, 1999, p. 194). Thus, microethnography is not just a study of localized interactions, but interactions as reflections of power in society (Streeck & Mehus, 2005), which makes it well aligned with the goals of language socialization research. A combination of ethnographic and microethnographic research offers a more nuanced understanding of data because it combines a close examination of people, events, and discourses with a wider understanding of the macro-contextual factors such as societal values and policies (Kumaravadivelu, 1999). Throughout the study, I examine socialization processes at several levels: the observable, moment-to-moment interactions and events, an interpretation of these events as practices when they occur with frequency and significance, and the values and ideologies underpinning the events and practices.

3.3.2. Research settings.

In order to capture a wide variety of data on this previously under-researched HL community, I conducted my research across multiple settings: the Finnish HL school, and its students' homes. I selected these two contexts due to my desire to examine student discourses around literacies in multiple languages across multiple contexts, and to focus on literacy development in more informal contexts as compared to students' mainstream schools. The absence of data from students' mainstream schools is a limitation in the study, but the geographic dispersal of the participants rendered data collection in mainstream schools unfeasible. The Finnish HL students lived in four different states, and their schools included both private schools and schools in various public school districts in the area. The sheer number of different schools made the English-medium schools as a research context impractical. However, home observations naturally yielded data on many language and literacy practices that were directly influenced by the students' English-medium schools, especially as related to homework. Initially, fourteen families gave at least partial consent to the research, and I conducted three observations at the Finnish School and visited eleven homes before choosing my focal students (more information on participants in Table 1 in section 3.2.3.). One family later dropped out of the study and I was not able to visit two of the HLLs in their homes because of conflicting schedules.

The HL school in question, the Finnish School, is located in the Eastern part of the United States and had fifty-six enrolled students during the academic year 2015-2016, with approximately three-fifths of the students having one English-speaking and one Finnish-speaking parent, one fifth of the students having both Finnish-speaking parents, and one fifth of the students having one Finnish-speaking and one LOTE-speaking parent,

the latter of whom was most typically a Spanish-speaker. The school was in session on sixteen Saturdays between September and May, from 10 am to 1 pm. It occupied several Sunday school classrooms of a Lutheran church located in a suburban setting adjacent to a large metropolitan area.

The Finnish School operates as its own independent, nonprofit organization under the tax umbrella of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church. It is governed by a Board consisting of a President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, and members-at-large. The teachers make all decisions concerning the instruction collectively, and though the teachers have drafted a rough outline for the learning goals at each age and proficiency level, and typically use a designated textbook for each level, there is no prescribed curriculum. The members of the Board are all volunteers, and parents of Finnish School students. The teachers, likewise, mostly include Finnish School parents; however, they are paid for their time. At the time of data collection, there were twelve people on the teaching staff, including myself: I taught one of the groups part time while also conducting my research part time. Implications stemming from my dual role as a teacher and a researcher will be discussed in sections 3.3.3 and 3.5.

All but one of the families in this study owned and lived in single-family homes in suburban neighborhoods, all one hour's drive or less from a major metropolitan area, as well as the Finnish School. All participants lived in middle to high-income areas. More information about the focal students' homes is included in section 4.1.

3.3.3. Research participants.

I recruited the participants for my study by email, and each teacher or parent signed a consent form (see appendices 2, 3, 4, and 5). Student assent was obtained via an

oral script that was read aloud to each student (see appendix 6). My previous involvement with the Finnish School made it fairly easy to gain access to the participants, as most of them knew me either as a teacher or as a fellow Finnish School parent. The participants in this study were 15 Finnish School students, three teachers (two of whom were also Finnish School parents), and sixteen other parents (18 parents in total). All of the students in this study had at least one parent who was born and educated in Finland and had spoken Finnish since birth, in most cases the mother. Most fathers were American-born English speakers. Student and parent information is summarized in Table 1.

In qualitative studies, it is necessary to select cases that provide the necessary information for answering the research questions - Maxwell (2005) termed this “purposeful sampling” (p. 88). During the process of data collection and analysis, I chose a set of five focal participants, drawing on the argument that “through the individual we come to understand the culture, and through the culture we come to understand the individual” (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2007, p. 286). In particular, I focused on students whose varied backgrounds, ages, and experiences could begin to reveal the complex nature of what it means to be an HLL, which is both a source of rich data and an analytical challenge for anyone examining HLLs. As others before me have remarked (e.g. Kagan, 2010; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), HLLs elude strict definitions and categorizations. The length, onset, and type of children’s exposure to different languages vary, as do families’ socioeconomic, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds. Whether the Finnish-speaking parent is mother or father, whether the HLL has any siblings, and whether the family has stayed in one place or moved around a lot

during the HLL's childhood all influence the language and literacy socialization of the children.

Table 1

Consented students and parents

Teacher Pseudonym	Student Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Mother's L1	Father's L1	Consented Parent Pseudonym
Anna	Sami	5	Boy	Finnish	Finnish	Mother: Jonna
Anna	Aaro	5	Boy	Finnish	English	Mother: Mervi
Anna	Viljo	5	Boy	Finnish	English	Mother: Mervi
Anna	Mika	5	Boy	Finnish English	English	Mother: Safa
Anna	Linda	5	Girl	Finnish	English	Neither
Anna	Ellen*	5	Girl	Finnish	English	Mother: Anna Father: Ben
Anna	Luna*	5	Girl	Zulu	Finnish	Mother: Thelma Father: Teemu
Hannele	Eelis	9	Boy	Finnish	Finnish	Mother: Heini Father: Jukka
Hannele	Roni*	9	Boy	Finnish	Spanish: Argentine	Mother: Tuija Father: Domingo
Hannele	Markus	9	Boy	Finnish	English	Father: Walter
Hannele	Zack	9	Boy	Finnish	English: UK	Mother: Minna
Hannele	Iina*	8	Girl	Finnish	Finnish	Mother: Saara Father: Jalmari
Jonna	Elisa	10	Girl	Finnish	English	Mother: Tarja Father: Seth
Jonna	Emma	11	Girl	English	Finnish	Father: Teppo
Jonna	Arttu*	11	Boy	Finnish	Finnish	Mother: Saara Father: Jalmari
TOTAL	15 students		9 boys, 6 girls			18 parents, 13 families

For the purposes of this dissertation, I chose five focal students to illustrate the language and literacy socialization processes of the Finnish HL community. The final selection of the five students was influenced by data collection, which allowed me to discover and include the above-mentioned variety in focal student backgrounds. The selection was further modified due to one student's parents withdrawing their consent. The final five focal students included a brother and sister who provided insights into sibling differences in an all-Finnish family; two trilingual students (one with a small minority language, the other with a major world language as the second HL); and one student who represented the most common family structure of a Finnish School student (Finnish mother and American father). The focal students ranged in age from 5 to 11, and included two boys and three girls. The students are briefly described below, with more detailed descriptions included in the findings, section 4.1.

1) Nine-year old **Roni** was an only child, the son of a Finnish Mother and an Argentinian father. He had been born in Finland and lived in several countries throughout his childhood, and had been formally educated in a dual language school in Spanish and English. In Roni's life, two major world languages (English and Spanish) combined with Finnish, a language with much fewer speakers.

2) **Arttu** was a boy who was the older of two children in his family and also among the oldest students at the Finnish School at age 11. He had been born in the United States and formally educated in English. He was among the minority of Finnish School students who had two Finnish-speaking parents, which in theory would enable the family members to use only Finnish in the home.

3) **Iina** (Arttu's younger sister) was eight, and, like her brother, had been born in the US and attended an English-medium school. Arttu and Iina exemplified a case of two siblings with differing HL proficiencies who were constructing very different discursive identities, even though they were both growing up in a Finnish-only family where Finnish is held as the ideal. I felt that Iina was a good addition to the focal student set because of this sibling dimension.

4) Five-year old girl **Ellen** exemplified the most typical family background among the Finnish School students, since her mother, Anna, was a Finn and her father was an American. She was attending an English-medium kindergarten, had been born in the US, and was the youngest of three in her family. Her mother Anna was one of the Finnish School teachers and a founding member of the school, and therefore very outwardly committed to supporting her child's HL development.

5) Five-year-old girl **Luna**, whose mother was a Zulu-speaker and father a Finn, was the middle child between two sisters, had been born in the United States, and had yet to attend any school other than the Finnish School. Luna was another trilingual child whose situation differed from Roni's in that her home languages (Zulu and Finnish) were both less commonly taught languages in the United States.

The Finnish School students were divided roughly by age and language level into eight classes, but I chose to focus on three classes. The choice of the three was partially based on the criterion of age. I wanted the students to be, at minimum, turning five, which is often when students' formal literacy instruction begins as they enter kindergarten in the United States. This criterion excluded two groups, in which students

had just turned three or four years of age. I also wanted to study students who had a level of oral Finnish proficiency that would allow them to engage in literacy activities in Finnish. This excluded one multiage class in which students had little proficiency in Finnish and whom were taught mainly oral vocabulary in Finnish, with English being the medium of instruction. One class was ruled out because the teacher did not want to participate in the study. Halfway through the year, I also decided to leave out my own class, because it was hard for me to juggle my position as both a researcher and a part-time teacher in that class, and because the focal student whom I had chosen in that class dropped out of the study. This left me to focus on the following three teachers' classes: Anna, Hannele, and Jonna. As can be seen from table 1, the five focal students (marked with an asterisk) were in these three classes.

Anna's class was the youngest group, consisting of nine students aged four to five. Seven of these students, four boys and three girls, consented to participate in the study. Anna was a founding member of the school, the parent of three Finnish School students, and a veteran teacher with a degree in bilingual (Finnish and Swedish) education. Anna's own daughter Ellen was one of my focal students and was also Anna's student. Luna was my other focal student in this class.

Hannele's group consisted of six students aged 8 to 9. Five of the students were consented participants: four boys and a girl. Hannele was a new teacher to the Finnish School in 2015-2016, but had a teaching degree from Finland and taught mathematics in a middle school there prior to moving to the United States. She had no children of her own in the school.

Lastly, Jonna’s class consisted of seven students, three of whom were consented participants. The seven students were between the ages of 10 and 12, and the consented participants included two girls and one boy. Jonna had a teaching degree from Finland. She had a son in Anna’s class and a daughter in one of the 3 to 4-year old classes.

More information about the teachers’ backgrounds is presented in Table 2, and contextual information regarding the classroom settings is described in section 4.3.

Table 2

Teachers

Teacher Pseudonym	Education	Teaching experience	Years at the Finnish School
Anna	MA in bilingual education with teaching credentials from a Swedish university	Had taught Finnish as a foreign language to adults in the US for 15+ years	5
Hannele	MA in mathematics with teaching credentials from a Finnish university	Taught middle and high school in Finland for two years	<1
Jonna	MA in education with teaching credentials from a Finnish university	No teaching experience beyond a teaching internship in college; had designed curricula for adult education	<1

3.4. Data Collection and Instruments

The following is a summary table of the data collection instruments as well as the types and amounts of data I collected over the course of ten months, which will be further elaborated in sections 3.3.1. - 3.3.6. below.

Table 3

Data summary

Instrument	Type of data	Amount of data
Language and literacy measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Letter naming test - English • QRI-5 - English • PPVT - English • Letter naming test - Finnish • QRI-5-type assessment of oral reading fluency and comprehension in Finnish • PPVT - Finnish translation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Letter naming test in both languages for each 5-year-old • QRI-5 (or QRI-5-type assessment) in both languages for each student • PPVT in both languages for each student
Parent survey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paper and pencil survey 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One from each consented parent
Classroom observations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field Notes • Video & audio • Transcripts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed field notes for each observation • 7 observations in both Anna's and Jonna's classes; 6 observations in Hannele's class • A total of 7 hrs 50 minutes of video & audio • Transcripts of selected sections of the videos
Home visits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field Notes • Video & audio • Transcripts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Detailed field notes for each observation • One to three visits to each home • A total of 16 h 20 min minutes of video & audio • Transcripts of selected sections of the videos
Artifact documentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Photos of classroom artifacts • Descriptions in field notes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 34 photos
Participant interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Audio • Transcripts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two interviews with each focal student, their consented parents, and the three teachers • One interview with each of the other participants • An additional 3 hrs 25 mins of audio (some interviews were captured on home observation videos)

3.4.1. Language and literacy measures.

To reveal more information about the students' language and literacy levels in Finnish and in English, I used several different types of language and literacy measures. My aim was not to measure whether the students' language and literacy levels were on par with grade-level standards in American or Finnish schools, especially since most of the participants had not received any formal education in Finland and could therefore not be expected to perform like age-equivalent students in Finland would². Instead, I wanted to gauge the literacy and language levels of the participants within my sample, in order to help in my selection of the five focal students whose different levels of language and literacy proficiency would together offer rich insights into my data and make them "telling cases" (Mitchell, 1984). Measuring the students' levels with a formal tool was also a way to incentivize the parents to let their children participate in the study: I was able provide parents with detailed information of their child's language and literacy proficiencies, which the Finnish School was not able to provide because teachers rarely conduct any assessments other than informal observations.

To measure the students' literacy skills in English, I used two assessments, a letter naming test for the 5-year-olds, and a combined oral reading fluency (ORF) and reading comprehension test for most of the students. These assessments measured three different subskills of reading (letter naming, ORF, and comprehension), which have been shown to be valid measures of current and future literacy skills. The letter naming test featured all of the upper and lower case letters in the English alphabet in random order, and students were asked to name as many of them as they could. This type of test measures the

² In Finland, compulsory education begins in the fall of the year the child turns 6, with half-day kindergarten; the child then begins 1st grade in the fall of the following academic year.

accuracy of letter naming, which has been shown to have predictive validity for later reading achievement (Good & Kaminski, 2002; Kaminski & Good, 1996; Ritchey & Speece, 2006; Stage, Sheppard, Davidson, & Browning, 2001). This measure was well suited especially for those students who were not yet able to read words or continuous text. To measure the students' oral reading fluency and reading comprehension in English, I used the Qualitative Reading Inventory 5 (QRI-5), which is a widely used reading assessment, though not norm-referenced or standardized (Leslie & Caldwell, 2010). Each student read aloud for one minute from text that corresponded to the reading level of their current grade level. I took a running record of the reading, noting the word count per minute, accuracy rate, and any specific errors. In my previous work as an ESOL teacher, I was trained in and used these types of assessments to inform me of my students' reading levels. After the running record, the student would proceed to read the rest of the text silently. I then asked reading comprehension questions and evaluated the student's answers. I repeated the measure at a grade level above or below if a student scored significantly above or below the instructional range for the first assessed reading level. Reading fluency has been found to be a reliable measure of reading capacity (Fuchs, Fuchs, Hosp, & Jenkins, 2001), and the reading comprehension questions confirmed whether or not the student was at an instructional level with the text in question.

I measured the students' receptive vocabulary skills in English with the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test 4 (PPVT-4; Dunn & Dunn, 2012), in which participants are required to point to a picture corresponding to a stimulus word provided to them orally. This test has been found reliable and valid and was standardized on a nationally representative sample of 5,500 individuals aged 2.5 to 90 (Pearson, 2015). It is widely

used by schools in the United States, and I had previously observed a special educator using it with students at the public elementary school in which I used to be a teacher. My rationale for using the PPVT was twofold: receptive vocabulary has been used to measure bilingual students' language development (Bialystok, Luk, Peets, & Yang, 2010; Umbel, Pearson, Fernández, & Oller, 1992), and it has also been found to correlate with reading comprehension (Sénéchal, Ouellette, & Rodney, 2006; Ricketts, Nation, & Bishop, 2007), thus being informative for measuring both language and literacy skills.

In Finnish, I designed the measures to match the English assessments described above, but I also wanted to make sure that similar assessments were being used in Finnish public schools in Finland today, to increase the credibility of the tests. For this purpose, I consulted two colleagues in the fields of language and literacy education in Finland. Marja-Kristiina Lerkkanen, a Professor of Education at the University of Jyväskylä, shared some elementary school assessments with me (M-K. Lerkkanen, personal communication, October 6, 2015), including measures she and her colleagues used in a recent study where students were asked to name letters, recognize phonemes from pictures, read word lists, and answer multiple-choice questions in a reading comprehension test (Soodla, Lerkkanen, Niemi, Kikas, Silinskas, & Nurmi, 2015). She also directed me to a website called LukiMat, sponsored by the Finnish National Board of Education, which includes a battery of reading assessments Lerkkanen had helped to develop (Niilo Mäki Institute, n.d). Among these were texts for running records for 2nd grade (7-8 year-old) students. A practicing elementary school teacher from the school district of Lahti in Southern Finland confirmed that her school uses running records with second graders (E. Hietikko, personal communication, September 15, 2015). Since this

matched the assessment in the English QRI-5, I decided to use 1-minute running records to measure the students' oral reading fluency, together with reading comprehension questions that I will develop to match the types asked by the QRI-5. In the absence of testing materials for grades other than second grade, I copied texts from several elementary school textbooks currently used in Finland, with the rationale that since the textbooks are approved by the National Board of Education and tied to the national curriculum, the text levels would reflect those expected from students in those grades. With each student, I initially used a text that matched the grade level the student would be in Finland, though as mentioned before, I had no expectations of any specific grade level performance. I then moved to a text above or below the student's grade level as necessitated by the student's performance.

I also used a Finnish version of the PPVT-4 that I translated from English. Several researchers have used translations of different versions of the PPVT with students who are either multilingual with English as one of their languages, or do not speak English at all (e.g. Loyola & McBride, 1991; Pakendorf & Alant, 1996; Palmer, El-Ashry, Leclere, & Chang, 2007). While I recognize that translating assessment instruments from one language to another leads to several linguistic, cross-cultural, and psychometric threats to the validity of the translated instrument, which essentially negate its normativity (Loyola & McBride, 1991; Pakendorf & Alant, 1996; Peña, 2007), I maintain that the translated test was valid enough for my purpose. After all, my intention was not to compare the participants' performance to that of a norm group, but to measure the general level of the participant students' receptive vocabulary in Finnish. The PPVT in English and in

Finnish were given to the students on two different occasions, to minimize the testing/practice effects of repeating the test with the same set of pictures.

I piloted all of the language and literacy measures with my own children, who, having previously attended the Finnish School and being the ages of 9 and 10, matched the Finnish School population in my study. I found that the testing process was feasible and its results informative. For the purposes of this dissertation, the data I collected with these measures was extensive, so only a brief summary of the results for each of the focal students is discussed in section 4.1. The results of the language and literacy measures may warrant further research at a later point.

3.4.2. Parent survey.

At least one parent in each participating family completed a paper-and-pencil background survey. In the survey, I collected basic demographic information such as the children's age and length of stay in different countries, parents' level of education and language skills, as well as basic information about the types and frequency of the family's language and literacy activities in different contexts (in the home and outside, engaged in completing homework, reading storybooks, or video-gaming, etc.). I drew on several examples from literature when constructing the survey (e.g. Alarcón, 2010; Godina, 2004; Hasson, 2008). The survey was designed to give me some background information about the family's literacy practices and language use prior to the interviews I conducted with both the parents and their children, in order to help me focus my interview questions. The survey also served as another data point for triangulating my findings by helping me see whether the responses matched the subsequent interview data

or my observations at the Finnish School and in the homes. The parent survey is attached in appendix 7.

3.4.3. Classroom observations.

Classroom observations took place over eight school days between October, 2015, and May, 2016. The typical duration of a direct literacy instruction block at the Finnish School is approximately 30 minutes - somewhat less for younger students and somewhat more for the older students. The duration of each individual observation varied between fifteen and forty minutes. I observed Anna's and Jonna's classes seven times and Hannele's class six times, collecting a total of 7 hours and 50 minutes of audio and video. During the classroom observations, I would set up my video and audio recording equipment in a corner of the classroom and sit beside it with my laptop, usually without participating in the classroom interaction. Some students were initially very interested in my presence and the equipment, but as the observations recurred they lost interest and I was able to observe the lessons without causing too much of a distraction.

In addition to video recording the classroom observations, I wrote detailed field notes, which I captured in a three-column observation protocol. The first column contained time stamps at approximately every five minutes and at any transition points; in the second column, I recorded my observations (in English) of what was happening in the classroom and any quotes from the participants I could capture (in Finnish or English depending on the language the participant used); and in the third column I recorded my thoughts and initial analytical notes. After the lesson, I reviewed the video recordings, adding notes and observations to the field notes, and layering my observations with rich detail. The video recordings also helped me with the later analysis of these observations,

as I transcribed important parts of the interaction and added data typical for microethnography; participants' words, turn-taking, prosody, gestures, facial expressions, and use of artifacts (Bloome et al., 2004). The discourse analysis method is described in further detail in section 3.4.

3.4.4. Home visits.

I visited eleven homes prior to selecting my focal students. After this, I visited the focal students' homes an additional two times, except for Roni, whose family moved overseas after my second visit. The first visits took place between October 2015 and January 2016, the second between February 2016 and June 2016, and the third visits in August 2016. Typically, visits took place on an early weekday afternoon as children and parents got home from school and work, though a few visits took place on a Sunday afternoon. The length of a typical first visit was one hour to one hour and thirty minutes, with subsequent visits lasting between 45 minutes and one hour.

While visiting students' homes, I was typically greeted by the parent and seated at the kitchen table for a cup of tea or a meal and a chat with the parent before giving the parent the background survey to fill out, and before conducting the language and literacy assessments with the child. Once these had been completed, I set up the video and audio equipment and retreated usually to the living room or other central place in the home, where I was at the same time out of the way and able to observe much of what was going on in the home. While parents and children often talked to me while I was visiting, I also encouraged especially the children to go and "do their own thing," and told the parents to do what they needed to get done that day - which was typically homework with the

children or chores. At times, I followed children around the house to see what they were up to, and observed them for example reading or playing video games in their rooms.

During the first few visits, I noticed that my laptop was a distraction to the participants - it made me more conspicuous and put me in the role of a researcher much more strongly than that of the Finnish School teacher they all knew who had popped in for a visit. Therefore, I began taking handwritten notes, often making “jottings” (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011) of participants’ words, actions, or artifacts I saw. Immediately after each home visit I also recorded a detailed voice memo to myself, blending observational and analytical notes. The video recordings helped me convert these jottings and notes into detailed field notes. In these notes, similarly to the classroom field notes, I recorded the times, observations, and my analytical notes in three different columns.

3.4.5. Artifact documentation.

As part of the school and home observations, I documented and examined any literacy-related artifacts - including materials and texts that were available to the participants or that were actively used within the literacy events I observed. Analyzing texts available to children has been used as a way to examine literacy environments both at home and at school, and these have been found to have an effect on the type of literacy activities in which students engage (e.g., Dowhower & Beagle, 1998; Goldenber, Reese, & Gallimore, 1992; Jeong, Gaffney, & Choi, 2010; Neuman & Celano, 2001; Saracho, 2002). Being in multilingual environment, of course, I also focused on the languages in which literacies were made available to the participants both at the Finnish School and at home. I took photographs of significant artifacts such as Finnish School worksheets and the books on participants’ bookshelves at home, and described artifacts in my field notes.

3.4.6. Participant interviews.

The interview questions were partially inspired by parent interview questions used by Bonny Norton and her doctoral advisee Ron Darvin in an ongoing study (Darvin, personal communication, October 26, 2015), which they were kind enough to share with me. I conducted two interviews with each focal student, their consented parents, and teachers in the study - an initial interview after the winter break, and a follow-up interview towards the end of the school year. I interviewed each of the other participants only once. The initial interviews were semi-structured and roughly followed the attached protocols (appendices 8, 9, and 10). The follow-up interview questions were more open-ended and consisted of clarifications to the participants' initial answers as well as any new questions that arose as I collected and analyzed data. The initial teacher interviews focused on the teachers' philosophy of using multiple languages for literacy and the literacy learning activities they provided for the HLLs. The initial parent and student interviews focused on the uses of and preferences for different languages in literacy events, as well as the types of literacy activities in which the participants typically take part. The student interviews were conducted in a conversational manner, often while HLLs showed me the books in their rooms or ate lunch at the Finnish School, to put the young participants at ease. The interviews acted as a way to triangulate my findings from the classroom and home observations with the participants' own thoughts about the emerging themes. The second interview also served as a member check, as I took my interpretations back to the participants - particularly teachers and parents - who could voice their opinion of my interpretations of the data.

3.5. Data Analysis

As I began my data analysis, I had to first address the question of what would serve as the unit of analysis for my study. In sociocultural examinations of literacy learning, the unit of analysis has been often defined alternately as a *literacy event* or a *literacy practice*. For example, Street (2000) explains that a literacy event is the observable literacy activity, whereas a literacy practice is an interpretive conceptualization of the uses and meanings of literacy that are closely tied to the social domains in which they are enacted, and that are deeply associated with identity and social position. Street (2000) stresses that to apply social theory to literacy studies, one must move from observing literacy events to conceptualizing literacy practices. However, other authors contradict this view and stress the importance of literacy events, arguing that “the conception of literacy exists not in some background abstraction or shared cognitively held cultural model but in its *doing*” (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto, & Shuart-Faris, 2004, chapter 1, section 3, para. 2, emphasis added). According to this view, literacy events consist of a series of actions and reactions by people in response to others’ actions and reactions around text (Bloome et al., 2004), or in the words of Heath (1982, p. 50), “occasions in which written language is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes and strategies.”

My study builds on both of these views. I consider observable literacy events important for examining literacies as they take place in interaction within social groups. But also I argue, like Street (2000), that literacy events need to be interpreted against their contextual backdrops, and that literacy events, especially as they occur with some frequency, can be construed as literacy practices typical for a particular social group. In language and literacy socialization literature, the units of analysis that are often used are

activity (e.g., Garrett, & Baquedano-López, 2002), which draws on Vygotskian cultural-historical activity theory; or *speech event* (e.g. Guardado, 2009; Riley, 2011), which draws on Hymes's (1974) ethnography of communication. In some studies, both terms are used (e.g. Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2011), since language socialization is built partially on both of these theories (Duranti, Ochs, & Schieffelin, 2011). In this study, however, I prefer to simply term the unit of analysis an *event* - an observable instance of language and literacy socialization that must also be interpreted based on the social context of the event.

An important aspect of the socialization processes in my study was participant discourses. I analyzed the home and HL classroom discourses via microethnographic discourse analysis, focusing on not just the participants' words, but their turn-taking, prosody, gestures, facial expressions, and use of artifacts, which together offered a nuanced picture of the interaction (Bloome et al., 2004). Video recordings of the data were crucial to capture the non-verbal aspects of participants' interaction. I interpreted the oral and written language in these interactions, seeking to answer questions such as: "[H]ow written language is being used, by whom, when, where, and for what purposes, along with what is being said and written, by whom, and how". (Bloome et al., 2004, chapter 2, section 4, para. 2). In my discourse analysis, several foci emerged based on my research questions. The choice of languages in the discourses was especially important for understanding how the participants made sense of the discourse and their roles in it (Gumperz, 1982). I examined the identities that were displayed by the participants through their verbal acts (Ochs, 1993), including displays of linguistic or cultural knowledge to signal competence (Li, 2014), and the explicit and implicit displays of

values that could be found in the discourses and interviews (Kumaravadivelu, 1999). The texts used in literacy events were also of importance, as texts are understood to be more than just a collection of words - they are “cultural tools for establishing belongingness, identity - - personhood - - and ways of knowing” (Moje, Dillon, & O’Brien, 2000).

Following the principle of “constant comparison” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), my data analysis took place throughout the research process, in an iterative fashion. The recording of field notes and writing of memos during and immediately after the observations helped me identify emerging themes, which then became clarified and refined as I transcribed the audio and video recordings and revisited the data. I used online coding software called Dedoose™ to help me analyze the transcripts. This software helped me code the data, organize my coding, and see specific code co-occurrences that were indicative of connections worthy of further analysis. For example, the software helped me see patterns and differences in the socialization processes across contexts and participants. I began by coding my data based on the participant (teacher, parent, or student) and the context (home or the Finnish School), adding open codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) for events I observed such as “reading aloud,” “grammar instruction,” and “managing language use.” As I collected new data, I was also constantly comparing my initial observations and analyses to the new data, which resulted in new interpretations of all data and the emergence of categories, which I labeled with axial codes (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). For example, I combined codes such as “reading aloud” and “grammar instruction” into a single code “traditional literacy practice.” Further literature review helped me hone these axial codes into the final coding scheme. Table 4 describes the final coding scheme for the language and literacy socialization processes

that emerged from my data and some typical example events I observed as evidence of each, organized by participant and context. Data coded with these codes served as evidence for my findings answering RQs 1, 2, and 3, regarding the socialization processes enacted by parents and teachers and the influence students had on them. The table below also details examples of data I coded as related to students' identity construction in order to answer RQ4.

Table 4

Data Analysis: Coding

Codes	Subcodes	Examples of events			
		Parents @ homes	Students @ homes	Teachers @ Finnish School	Students @ Finnish School
Language Policy	Formulating Language Policy (FLP or CLP) Explicitly	Maintaining a strict OPOL (one parent, one language) principle in the home	Refusing to speak Finnish in the home	Telling student to speak Finnish	Policing other students' language use by stating "speak Finnish"
	Formulating Language Policy (FLP or CLP) Implicitly	Continuing to use Finnish even when child spoke English; reading aloud to child only in one language	Continuing to use English even when parent or sibling spoke Finnish	Continuing to use Finnish even when student spoke English	Continuing to use English even when peers or teacher spoke Finnish

Translanguaging	Trans-languaging: discouraged/ not used	Telling child to speak a certain language; stating “at home we speak _”	Sticking to Finnish when researcher present with only the Finnish-speaking parent	Stating “at the Finnish School we speak Finnish” if students use English in the classroom	Speaking only Finnish during whole group instruction
	Trans-languaging: tolerated/ enacted	Trans-languaging for instructional purposes such as during homework time	Trans-languaging in Finnish to express frustration and to get a point across during a miscommunication; trans-languaging when two different-language parents are in the room	Trans-languaging in English to clarify vocabulary or directions	Trans-languaging in English to joke around
Multilingual literacy practices	Literacy practices: Traditional	Reading books aloud; helping child with homework	Reading books for pleasure	Teaching grammar and having students fill out worksheets	Taking notes on the topic of the day
	Literacy practices: Digital	Indirectly promoting child’s digital literacy practices by providing access to the Internet and other digital sources	Video gaming; watching videos in English	None observed	None observed

Students' displays of discursive identities		-	Choosing a certain code (e.g. Finnish or English) within a certain interaction with certain people	-	Portraying self as the "language police" in the classroom; using multi-lingualism as a source of humor
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3.6. Trustworthiness and Rigor

Pamela Moss (Moss et al., 2009, p. 502) has stated, “a primary aim of social science is to understand what people mean and intend by what they say and do and to locate those understandings within the historical, cultural, institutional, and immediate situational contexts that shape them.” Constructing such complex understandings necessitates that the researcher conducts the study in a manner that lends trustworthiness to the findings. Guba and Lincoln (2005) suggest that to ensure trustworthiness, social inquiry should adhere to two types of rigor: rigor in interpretation, and rigor in methodology. Here, I describe my approach to ensuring that both were realized in my present study.

My approach to research is post-positivist and constructivist in that I believe that no pure truths exist: the findings of all research are always the interpretations of the researcher (Creswell & Miller, 2000), and co-constructed to some degree by the participants. This is true especially for the type of qualitative, ethnographic study I conducted. I have been involved with the school as a parent, teacher, and board member for many years, which also brings a measure of subjectivity to my research. However, the fact that I was familiar with the setting, most of the participants, and the workings of the

school also afforded me an added depth of knowledge and interpretation of the school's operations that an outsider would have spent a long time trying to achieve (Spielmann, & Radnofsky, 2001). My in-depth knowledge of the setting afforded me interpretations that were based on more than just one observation of a particular moment in time.

However, ethnographic research can perhaps never eliminate the effect of researcher presence in the research setting. There is always a danger that participants will behave differently when they know they are being observed, compared to how they would act naturally. However, by conducting the observations in an unobtrusive and nonthreatening manner this effect can be minimized. Moreover, the way people behave in the presence of a researcher may reveal important information of what participants value and want to showcase (Bogdan, & Biklen, 2006). In this study, my long history with the Finnish School helped me "blend into the woodwork" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006, p. 39) and make people feel more comfortable with my presence in their classrooms and homes.

To further ensure the trustworthiness of my findings, I adhered to the following rigorous methodological principles: triangulation, member checks, prolonged engagement in the field, and thick description (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Data from different sources, including participant interviews, document analysis, and observations, helped me triangulate data and strengthen the validity of my interpretations. Taking my interpretations back to the participants during the latter phases of the project helped me evaluate them through an additional lens, and my prolonged engagement in the field offered several points of comparison on which to base my findings. All of this amounted to thick and rich description of the findings, which lends credibility to my study.

4. Findings

This chapter begins with detailed profiles of the five focal students in my study (section 4.1.), both to highlight the variation among these unique cases of HLLs who nevertheless shared the same HL, and simultaneously to give the reader a detailed picture of the backgrounds and family situations of each of the students. I then move on to illustrating findings that answer my four research questions. For research questions 1 through 3, I used parallel analysis of the data, organizing the findings in each section to correspond to three socialization processes in which participants in my study actively and routinely engaged, including formulating family language policies, engaging in and managing translanguaging, and promoting and engaging in certain literacy practices. For research question 4, I examined student discourses and participant interviews that revealed students' identity construction across the contexts.

Section 4.2. addresses RQ1: *How do parents of young Finnish HLLs socialize their children into language and literacy practices?* In this section, my findings were informed by existing research on typical language and literacy socialization processes in multilingual family settings reviewed in chapter 2, including FLPs (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Kayam & Hirsch, 2014; and King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2009), translanguaging (e.g., Hua, 2008; 2010; Kayam & Hirsch, 2014; and Melo-Pfeifer, 2015), and multilingual literacy practices (e.g., Li, 2004; and Tse, 2001), as well as conceptualizations of these three processes detailed in the theoretical framework (section 2.4).

Section 4.3. addresses RQ2: *How do Finnish School teachers socialize their students into language and literacy practices?* This section is organizationally parallel to

the structure of the previous section, as it mirrors the three socialization processes found in homes, but this time in the school setting: I highlight teachers' enactment of classroom language policies, managing students' translanguaging, and promoting certain literacy practices in the HL classroom. These findings were informed by research done previously in HL schools, including studies on CLPs (e.g. Cho, 2014; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; and Wu, Palmer, & Field, 2011), translanguaging (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010; and Li & Zhu, 2014), and HL literacy practices (Doerr & Lee, 2009; Pak, 2005; and Zhou & Kim, 2006). Again, I draw on theoretical conceptualizations of these three processes discussed in chapter 2.

The findings in sections 4.4. and 4.5. are focused on the student participants. Section 4.4. describes the students' role in the three abovementioned socialization processes, illustrating the experiences of young Finnish HLLs through those of the five focal participants. This section addresses RQ3: *How do the HLLs influence these socialization processes?*, and, similarly to sections 4.2. and 4.3., illustrates findings related to the three socialization processes of language policy, translanguaging, and literacy practices. Moreover, in this section I examine students' influence on these processes as they took place in the Finnish School and their homes. Finally, section 4.5. addresses RQ4: *How are the HLLs' discursive identities constructed in interactions at home and at the Finnish School?* and describes the ways HLLs in my study constructed fluid discursive identities within interactions happening in their homes and the Finnish School. My findings reflect the social view of identity construction discussed in chapter 2 (Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006; Lo-Philip, 2010; Norton Peirce, 1995; Tajfel, 1981) and draw on previous literature that has found multilingual children and youth to

be capable of enacting complex, fluid identities that change and adapt depending on the people, settings, and activities present in the discourses (e.g. Li, 2011).

4.1. Profiles of Five Finnish HLLs

4.1.1. Siblings: Arttu and Iina

Arttu turned 11 when I began data collection, and was one of the oldest students at the Finnish School. His younger sister Iina was 8 when I began data collection. They were both born in the United States and had lived there all their lives, but were among the minority of Finnish School students who had two Finnish parents. Their father Jalmari had completed a two-year vocational degree and worked as a maintenance supervisor for a Nordic employer, and their mother Saara was a small business owner with some business college credits. Arttu was strongly bilingual, scoring at the 19-year-old-to-adult level on the PPVT in both languages. He was able to read sixth-grade text at independent fluency and comprehension in English, placing him above his U. S. grade level (5th) in English reading skills. He was able to read 3rd grade text with both comprehension and fluency in Finnish, placing him one grade level below the grade he would be attending in Finland. Iina's language skills were more discrepant; she scored at the 7-year old level on the Finnish PPVT and at the 13-year-old level on the English PPVT, and she was on grade level (2nd grade) with her comprehension and fluency with reading English, while her Finnish reading skills were that of a beginning first-grader in Finland, or approximately a year behind a typical student her age. The family traveled to Finland yearly, spending a few weeks each summer with relatives. At home, the parents spoke mostly Finnish, with a few words of English or occasionally Swedish thrown in for humor or emphasis. Iina and Arttu frequently spoke English together, but with their

parents, Arttu spoke more Finnish than Iina. He also translanguaged less frequently than his sister.

The children were attending the local public elementary school, where the language of instruction was English, though many of the students were multilingual. The family lived in a single-family home in an affluent, multicultural suburb. The family would often get together with other Finnish families in the area, but the parents reported that the children typically spoke English during these visits. The children had a lot of friends and were involved in sports such as karate and soccer. Indeed, the family's social calendar was so full that it was difficult to schedule home visits for a mutually agreeable date and time. At home, both children had their own rooms with bookshelves that were filled with both English and Finnish books. Arttu enjoyed reading, but said he typically reads more in English than Finnish. For example, he was reading *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* (Kinney) and *Minecraft Handbooks* (Milton) in English. Iina was also an avid reader, but only in English: the Finnish books she had lay abandoned on her bookshelves, while several English chapter books such as those from the *Goddess Girls* series by Holub & Williams (2010) were laid on her bedside table and desk, open to pages where she had stopped reading. Saara reported spending approximately two hours a week on literacy activities with the children; for Jalmari, this figure was 30 minutes a day. At the Finnish School, Arttu's teacher was Jonna, while Iina's teacher was Hannele.

4.1.2. Roni

Roni was 9 at the time of data collection. He was the only child of a Finnish mother, Tuija, who worked for a large NGO, and a Spanish-speaking father, Domingo, a physician from Argentina. Both parents had graduate degrees and had moved to the

United States together when Roni was two and a half years old. Due to the parents' international work assignments, Roni had already lived in several countries. He was born in Finland but the family had moved to Spain when he was just a baby. There, he was cared for at home by his mother and Finnish and Spanish-speaking nannies. When Roni was almost two, the family moved to Finland, where they stayed for less than a year. There, Roni attended a Finnish-medium daycare center. At various points during his early childhood, Roni also stayed for a few weeks in Argentina, Indonesia, and Switzerland. From Finland, the family moved to the United States, where Roni went to an English-only daycare first and then to a local bilingual (Spanish and English) charter school in his neighborhood. His school career since kindergarten had thus far all been in the United States. Roni lived in a townhome in a lively, multiethnic neighborhood close to a large city. When Roni traveled to Finland, often for the whole winter or summer break ranging from three weeks to two months, he would spend time with Tuija's family members, who for the most part did not speak English well. At home, the parents spoke Spanish together, while Roni spoke both Finnish and Spanish. Roni had a large vocabulary in both English and Finnish, scoring in the 19-year-old-to-adult range on the PPVT in both languages. He could read sixth-grade text with independent fluency and comprehension in English, placing him above his U. S. grade-level (4th) in English reading skills. He could read 3rd grade text with comprehension and fluency in Finnish, placing him at the grade level (3rd) he would be attending in Finland.

At home, Roni had his own room, which included two large bookcases full of books mostly in Finnish and English, and a video game console with a TV screen. Sometimes, the family would visit local Finnish or Spanish-speaking friends. At school,

Roni said he spoke mostly English, though the Spanish classes in the bilingual school he attended had a Spanish-only rule. Roni's literacy practices usually took place in English, with some, especially parent-initiated practices, in Finnish and Argentinian Spanish.

Tuija reported spending approximately half an hour daily and Domingo reported spending about 2-3 hours a week on literacy activities with Roni. As I was conducting my research, the parents were discussing the possibility of Domingo's work taking them back to his native Argentina for the next couple of years. In the summer of 2016, they completed the move to Buenos Aires. At the Finnish School, Roni's teacher was Hannele.

4.1.3. Ellen

Ellen was five at the time of data collection. She represented the most typical family structure in the Finnish School, in which the mother was a Finnish-speaking Finn and the father an English-speaking American. Ellen was the baby of the family, with a sister who was seven years older than her and a brother who was four years older. Ellen's mother was Anna, one of the Finnish school teachers and the founder of the school. Anna was a Finnish teacher with a college degree in bilingual education, and Anna's husband Ben was a digital designer. Ben spoke some Finnish, by his own report enough to know what is going on. However, the whole family mostly spoke English when Ben was around. Other times, Anna spoke mostly Finnish mixed with some English to the children, and they spoke English back to her. Ellen spoke almost exclusively English with her older siblings. All of the children had been born and raised in the United States, and lived in a multicultural suburb.

Ellen was a kindergartener who attended a public school where the medium of instruction was English. Her English reading level at the end of her kindergarten year was

at the 3rd grade level, and her PPVT in English placed her at the 13-year-old level. In Finnish, she was able to decode some short words much like a typical kindergartener her age would be able to do in Finland, and she scored at the 7-year-old level on the Finnish PPVT. She had her own room where both English and Finnish books lined the shelves, and the family actually had such an abundance of books in the home that they had several boxes full of children's books stored in the attic, as Anna shared with me. Anna said she typically spent about an hour a day on literacy activities with Ellen. The family would typically spend about a month each summer in Finland, and Anna's parents, who did not speak English well, sometimes stayed with the family for a month or two during the winter. Anna said that the children would only speak Finnish to her parents. At the Finnish School, Anna was also Ellen's teacher.

4.1.4. Luna

Luna, who was five when I began my data collection, was being raised trilingual, like Roni. However, both of her heritage languages were less commonly taught minority languages: Zulu and Finnish. Luna's father, Teemu, was a Finn, who worked for a large NGO. Her mother Thelma was a Black South African (or as she preferred it, African). They had moved to the United States from South Africa five years prior, before Luna was born. Both parents had college degrees. Teemu, the father, traveled frequently for work. Luna's mother was a stay-at-home mom, and at the time of data collection Luna had yet to attend any school other than the Finnish School. The family had a strict "one face, one language" policy, as Luna's mother Thelma put it, which meant that each parent spoke only their native language to Luna and her two sisters, even as the children spoke all three languages amongst each other. Luna scored at the 7-year-old level in English and 9-

year-old level in Finnish on the PPVT, making her an exception among the Finnish School students in that her Finnish was actually stronger than her English, undoubtedly because her formal schooling in English had not yet begun. Luna herself could not yet read, but liked to look through books and scribble letters. She could name five letters in Finnish and three in English, but could not decode text at even the lowest level of the QRI.

Luna's older sister Talia was attending an English-medium school, and the parents spoke English to each other. Visiting the library was a favorite pastime, and the girls would often bring home English-language books. The girls sometimes switched to English when playing together, but mostly used Finnish or Zulu. The girls also liked to play the video game *Minecraft*, which was in English. Luna also heard English during her ballet lessons. Luna's older sister was eight and her younger sister was two. Luna shared a room with her sisters, and the main floor of her home bore the evidence of being a big playroom for the three girls, with toys, crayons, and books lying around. Thelma, who filled out the parent survey, reported spending about an hour each day on literacy activities with Luna. The family was in the habit of traveling yearly either to Finland or South Africa to visit family. In the summer 2016, the family spent ten weeks in South Africa with Thelma's family, returning to the United States just before Luna started kindergarten. At the Finnish School, Luna's teacher was Anna.

4.2. Parents' Influence on Language and Literacy Socialization Processes

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, findings that respond to research questions 1 through 3 are organized around three socialization processes, listed below.

These processes acted as a helpful lens to organize and analyze the data and connect findings to previous literature. In the homes, these processes were

- 1) Enactment of language policy both explicitly and implicitly,
- 2) Managing children's translanguaging within different language and literacy events, and
- 3) Promoting certain literacy practices, both traditional and digital.

In the following sections, I will present evidence of how these processes were enacted in the moment-to-moment discourses in the homes or how they emerged from interview data.

4.2.1. Enacting a family language policy.

In this study, I examine the enactment of family language policy (FLP) as manifesting itself in language ideologies, practices, and management (Spolsky, 2004). I organize my findings to reflect a categorization proposed by Kasuya (1998), discussed earlier: explicit and implicit strategies of enacting FLPs. The following two sections explain evidence of these strategies in the homes.

4.2.1.1. Explicit strategies in formulating family language policy.

In some families, the FLP had been negotiated as soon as the first child was born, making the initial FLP a very explicit agreement between the parents. When I interviewed Roni's parents, Tuija and Domingo, they both expressed that their goal from the start had been to have Roni grow up speaking both parents' languages (Finnish and Spanish). To do this, each parent would only speak their own language to their son. Domingo explained:

“The idea from the moment that Roni was born was, do not negotiate the idea [that] Tuija will speak to him in Finnish [and] I will speak in Spanish... The idea will be that the accommodation will be mutual [i.e. both parents support each other in only speaking their home language to the child].”

(Interview, June 1, 2016)

It was clear that Tuija and Domingo’s language policy was specifically made to keep English out of the home. For example, Tuija explained how she would act if Roni used English in a Finnish conversation with her or in a Spanish conversation with his father:

Siihen mä kyllä pyrin, että aina kun tulee joku englannin sana tai mikä tahansa niin aina selvittää mitä se on [suomeksi].... Ja jos [Roni ja Domingo] keskustelee keskenään, ja joku englannin sana pukkaa tuppaa sinne, niin mä yritän [kääntää] niitäkin.

(I do aim for, when an English word pops up or whatever, I try to explain what it is [in Finnish]... And if [Roni and Domingo] are conversing, and some English word butts in there, then I do try [to translate] those too.)

(Interview, January 7, 2016)

Tuija’s language ideology was obviously to maintain the HLs in the home and keep English out. When Tuija and I discussed her language policy, she started wondering aloud whether she was being perhaps a bit too strict in her enforcement. For example, she recounted a story about how the family first arrived in the United States, and in the taxi on the way to their new home from the airport, she was reading to Roni from the children’s book *Koiramäen talossa* (Kunnas, 1980), which describes life in the 1800s Finland and contains a lot of names for archaic agricultural tools. She laughed at the thought of herself reading this book with all its difficult words to then two-and-a-half-year-old Roni in a frantic attempt to ward off the English in the environment they were entering.

However, Roni’s parents were not the only ones in my study who adhered to a strict HL only -policy in the home. Luna’s family, as well, followed what Luna’s mother

Thelma described as their “one face, one language” policy, or what researchers have called the OPOL (one parent, one language) approach (Döpke, 1992). Thelma explained how the policy had come about:

We thought, from when [our oldest daughter] was born, we decided it was going to be one face, one language. So I only speak Zulu to the kids and Teemu only speaks Finnish to the kids. Although they also speak English because we speak English to each other.

(Interview, February 15, 2017)

Luna’s parents’ enactment of the FLP was somewhat different from Tuija and Domingo. While Roni’s parents were able to keep English out of the home because they spoke the father’s home language to each other, Luna’s parents did not speak each other’s languages well enough to communicate, and had to use English, which both of them spoke fluently due to learning it in school. Still, Teemu and Thelma reported that their children were not allowed to speak English to their parents, and if they did, the parents would tell them to speak either Zulu or Finnish, depending on whom they were addressing. These explicit strategies for formulating the FLP were necessary, in Teemu and Thelma’s opinion, because if the FLP was not clearly expressed and enforced, it would lead down an irreversible slippery slope towards the dominance of English in the home. Thelma explained, “Because if [the girls] start mixing [languages] and I allow it, then it’s going to change to just English only and then I can’t go back.” (Interview, February 15, 2016).

These types of explicit strategies for stating the FLP were typical across home observations. For example, every time I visited Iina and Arttu, Iina got reminded at least once to speak only Finnish by one of her parents. It is, of course, possible that parents made these explicit statements more frequently than normal due to my presence, but

based on how routine-like these statements seemed and how nonplussed the children reacted when they were made, these were truly common occurrences in family discourses. This corroborates how parents of multilingual children have previously been found to manage their children's code choice in the home (Schechter & Bailey, 1997).

4.2.1.2. Implicit strategies for formulating family language policy.

In some cases, parents of the Finnish HLLs did not explicitly dictate to their children what language they were to use; rather, they showed implicitly, with their actions, what was acceptable in any given situation. Arttu and Iina's family was an interesting case because the parents, Saara and Jalmari, were both from Finland, and so the main language of the family in the home was Finnish, even though all four family members were fluent in English. Saara explained, facetiously, how her English proficiency would suddenly disappear whenever she spoke to her children:

Normaalikielessä mä en yleensä ymmärrä englantia. Mikä aika paljon varsinkin [meidän] nuorinta ottaa pattiin, se sanoo että 'minä tiedän että sinä ossaat amerikkaa, minä oon kuullu kun sinä juttelet Miss Michellen [opettajan] kanssa' @@@.

(In normal language I don't usually understand English. Which bothers especially [our] youngest one a lot, she says that 'I know you know American, I have heard you speak with Miss Michelle [a teacher]' @@@.)

(Interview, January 14, 2016)

Saara and Jalmari were not the only ones among the Finnish parents who used this strategy. Teemu explained, "I just tell [the kids] I don't understand what you're saying to me unless they say it in Finnish." (Interview, February 15, 2016). Anna, as well, reported that she sometimes pretended not to know what Ellen was saying to her unless she used Finnish. This type of "minimal grasp" strategy by parents has been found in other

multilingual contexts as well (Lanza, 1992). Since all of the parents in my study spoke English fluently, this strategy was clearly aimed to communicate to the children implicitly that they were to use Finnish instead of English.

In families where the parents spoke two different home languages, the momentary FLP was often implicitly determined by who was present in the room. For example, Anna explained why she would switch to English when her American husband, who understood a limited amount of Finnish, was a participant in the conversation:

Haluan puolisoni ymmärtävän mitä sanon lapsille jos hän on tilanteessa läsnä. Siis laitan perhedynamiikan kielen edelle.

(I want my spouse to understand what I say to the kids if he is present in the situation. In other words, I place family dynamics before language.)

(Interview, June 22, 2016)

This comment reflects internal pressures, in this case spouses' limited proficiency in one of the children's languages, which molded some participants' language policies in the home. Some of the participants, particularly the Finnish-speakers married to non-Finnish-speaking Americans, frequently commented to me how "lucky" those families were in which both spouses were Finns, implying that in these families maintaining a HL-only policy would be easier, because both parents were proficient in Finnish. However, in saying this the parents did not account for the fact that children influence FLPs to a great degree, which will be further discussed in section 4.4.1.

4.2.2. Managing translanguaging in the home

One specific way the Finnish School parents attempted to manage their children's language use in the home was by either curbing or tolerating instances where children translanguaged, or moved fluidly between English and the heritage language. Whether

translanguaging was tolerated or not seemed to be to some extent dependent on the language or literacy event that was taking place.

4.2.2.1. Events during which translanguaging is discouraged.

Parents typically reported attempting to curb their children's translanguaging in events that involved informal conversations among family members. For example, as mentioned before Thelma and Teemu reported that even though the parents speak English to each other, Luna and her sisters were not allowed to speak English to them, even if it meant that at the dinner table, three languages were constantly in use (children speaking Finnish with Teemu and Zulu with Thelma, and the parents speaking English to each other). When I asked the parents whether this ever felt cumbersome, Thelma shrugged her shoulders and declared, "[The children] are used to it." This points to a strong language ideology on the part of the parents to maintain the HLs in the home, even perhaps at the expense of easier communication. However, I did witness some code-switching as Luna spoke to her mother. For example, there was a plate of cookies on the table, and Luna asked her mother for one:

Luna: [Zulu utterance] *cookie?*

Thelma: [Zulu utterance.] *This big one.*

((Thelma hands Luna a cookie.))

(Home visit, February 15, 2016)

During the times when I was able to observe Luna speaking to her father Teemu, Luna did not translanguage but used only monolingual Finnish utterances. For example, when Luna involved Teemu in play talk by offering him pretend cake (grapes) she was also feeding to her dolls, she did so in Finnish:

Luna: Syödään kakkuja. Kakkuja. Isä mitä sinä haluat?

(Let's eat cakes. Cakes. Dad what do you want?)

((Teemu walks over and crouches down by Luna, who's sitting on the floor. He takes a grape and pretends to eat it.))

Teemu: Kakun. Mm! Kynttilät! Entäs suklaakakun? Tosi hyvä, kiitos.

(A cake. Mm! Candles! What about chocolate cake? Really good, thanks.)

(Home observation, February 15, 2016)

Since Teemu's expectation was that his children spoke only Finnish with him, this short exchange conformed to his expectation and instead of having to manage Luna's language, he was instead able to engage in the game of pretending to eat cake. However, since Teemu was not present during my second and third visits, my observations of his managing of Luna's translanguaging are limited.

The importance of informal conversations in the HL was discussed by Domingo, who said that conversations taking place in Spanish among Argentinian friends while cooking or enjoying traditional foods were important for making Roni feel like he was part of the Argentinian culture even while living in the United States:

Domingo: This is the one of the most strong points: to expose [Roni] to my Argentinian friends for example. We cook, we share, [Roni] is part of the table. For example, once a month or once every three weeks a group of friends, four five six seven friends go on Thursday night to a small Spanish restaurant nearby. And if Tuija is on travel, Roni came with us, with me. And he's one of the...

JMT: One the guys.

Domingo: One of the guys at the table, absolutely. And he made a really strong connection, a really strong friendship with a couple of my friends.

(Interview, June 1, 2016)

Another event which often involved parents only using their L1 was read-aloud time with their children. The Finnish parents especially reported that they purposefully

chose books that were in Finnish to read aloud to the children, in order to develop the children's Finnish vocabulary. For example, Tuija explained the reasoning behind her reading aloud to Roni even after he had learned to read for himself:

Kyllä se on ollu mulla aika sellanen tavoitteellinen juttu että [Ronin] suomen kieli pysyisi hyvänä. Ja itse olen aina rakastanut kirjoja ja suomen kieltä.

It has indeed been a pretty goal-oriented thing for me, that Roni's Finnish would stay strong. And I myself have always loved books and the Finnish language.

(Interview, January 7, 2016.)

Later, she again reiterated the value of teaching "rich language" through good books. In June, the book she was reading to Roni at bedtime was a Finnish translation of *The Wind in the Willows* (Grahame, 1908). She described how challenging the language could be at times, but how she was willing to persist with it to expose Roni to new words:

Tuija: Eilen mä luin tälläsen lauseen minkä mä luin uudestaanki, se oli kyllä vähän että missä siinä oli verbi, ja niin kuvailevaa [kieltä]. Ja välillä [mietin] että meneeks tää nyt vähän ylikin, mutta kyllä [Roni] sitten, välillä aina kysyykin jonkun sanan jossei [ymmärrä].

(Yesterday I read this sentence that I [then had to] reread, it was a little bit like where's the verb, and such figurative [language]. And every once in a while [I wonder] whether this is going overboard, but [Roni] does every once in a while ask about a word if he doesn't [understand].)

JMT: Kuitenki jaksaa kuunnella, vaikka on vaikeampaa kieltä.

(So he has the stamina to listen, even though the language is more difficult.)

Tuija: Niin. On niissä aika sanoja kyllä, ruuhiko nyt oli viimeks. Niin välillä niinku sitte itekki [ihmettelee ääneen] että, olikohan se ruuhi, jonkunnäkönen vene, mutta sitte joitain [Roni] ite kysyy, että tiäksä mikä se on. Ja sit niitä jotain eläimiä se kysyy, mikä on saukko tai näätä.

(Yes. There are such words yes, was it [the word] punt last time. So sometimes I myself [wonder aloud] like, was the punt some type of a boat, but then some of them [Roni] himself asks do you know what it is. And then those animals he asks about, what's an otter or a weasel.)

JMT: Niin.

(Yes.)

Tuija: ...En tiä sitte mihin ikään asti luen [ääneen], mutta en oo ainakaa minä joka sen tiputtaa kyydistä.

(...I don't know up to what age I will read [aloud to him], but I will not be the one who abandons it.)

(Interview, June 1, 2016)

The importance of reading aloud in the HL was also demonstrated by Thelma's preference for using Zulu and even Finnish over English during read-aloud events.

Thelma explained that she would "read aloud" English books in Zulu to the kids, by translating them as she read aloud. Thelma also reported that because she could decode Finnish text even though she did not understand it, she would sometimes read Finnish books to the girls if they ask her, especially if Teemu was traveling and not available to do it.

It is clear that parents saw conversations with their children and read-aloud time as important opportunities to socialize the children into language and literacy practices in the HL, and therefore they made an effort to ensure that the language used in these events was solely in Finnish. This reflects previous research about the importance of reading aloud in the promotion of oral language skills (Haag & Williams, 2004), and ideologically demonstrates the value parents placed on rich vocabulary as a marker of a competent HL user.

4.2.2.2. Events during which translanguaging is tolerated.

While parents often attempted to curb their children's translanguaging in informal conversations and during read-alouds, there were some language and literary events in the homes, during which parents did not enforce their children's language choices as

strictly. Homework time was a typical example of this. For example, when I observed Anna helping her daughter Ellen with English homework, it was apparent that Anna embraced her role in developing her children's language and literacy across both languages, Finnish and English. They both translanguaged frequently, with most of Ellen's questions and comments being in English. Anna never attempted to correct Ellen, but in some cases modeled the language back in Finnish - a practice that she might have adopted from her education and experience as a language teacher. For example, when I visited the family in January, Ellen was dictating a story, which was based on a picture she had drawn, and in which she was supposed to use sight words learned that day at school. I observed the mother and daughter engaging in the following two-minute interaction, which was part of a longer, eight-minute story dictation event:

Anna: Nyt käytät näitä sanoja joita oot tähän lait-, opettaja on kirjottanu.

(Now you use these words that you have put here-, the teacher has written.)

Ellen: Mm mm, mm, *once-*

Anna: Älä tee semmosta *once upon a time* koska sit se menee niin vaikeeksi.

(Don't do like *once upon a time* because then it gets so difficult.)

Ellen: *There?*

Anna: Joo se on parempi. Tee jotain ihan nyt tota-

(Yeah that's better. Just do something completely-)

Ellen: *Once. Was. Once was.*

Anna: Okei.

(Okay.)

Ellen: *Once.*

Anna: Mh-hm.

Ellen: *A. Geese.*

Anna: Okei, mutta niitä on monta.

(Okay, but there are many.)

Ellen: Mm... *what xxx geese.*

Anna: Okei mutta niitä on monta. *Some geese?* Eiks oo yksi *goose.*

(Okay but there are many. *Some geese?* Isn't it one *goose.*)

Ellen: *Geese. One geese.*

Anna: Okei, selvä. Okei. *There was.*

(Okay, clear. Okay. *There was.*)

Ellen: *Who. Don't they fly?*

Anna: Okei mutta niitä on monta, okei okei, *who flew.*

(Okay but there are many, okay okay, *who flew.*)

Ellen: *South.*

Anna: Okei. "*There was once some geese who flew south.*"

(Okay. "*There was once some geese who flew south.*")

Ellen: *To North America.*

Anna: Mutta nyt tää ei oikein toimi jos sä sanot että ne menee etelään mutta *North America* on-

(But this doesn't really work if you say that they go south but *North America* is-)

Ellen: *Is far.*

Anna: No me ollaan siellä just nyt.

(Well we are there right now.)

Ellen: *What about... Mmm. Mexico?*

Anna: Okei, se toimii. *South to Mexico.* Okei.

(Okay, that works. *South to Mexico.* Okay.)

(Home visit, January 19, 2016)

As can be seen from the excerpt, Anna seized an opportunity during the dictation to teach her daughter language structure in English, for example when she tried to correct Ellen's use of "a geese" to either "some geese" or "a goose." However, as her daughter continued insisting on "one geese" Anna gave up trying to get Ellen to say it correctly; however, she wrote it down as "some geese" and read it as such back to Ellen, thus modeling the

correct structure. Moments later, Anna corrected a different type of error Ellen made - an error with content (“they flew south to North America”). At the same time, she also modeled language in Finnish, such as when she used the word *south* in Finnish with a slight emphasis (“etelään”). This shows the ways Anna crossed borders with languages as she worked with her daughter, drawing on both languages as a shared resource and choosing the language that best fit her in-the-moment goals of the interaction. Since the goal of this interaction was to write down a story in English, she allowed Ellen to translanguage and translanguaged herself more than she might have had the goal been to write a story in Finnish.

Arttu and Iina’s parents also did not enforce Finnish use during homework time. Arttu no longer required homework help from his mother, but I witnessed the mother, Saara, working at length on math homework with Iina, with both of them translanguaging frequently. The following is a one-minute excerpt from their fifteen-minute homework event, during which they were going over a set of multiplication flashcards, with Saara holding the cards up one by one and then flipping them over after Iina got the right answer.

Saara: Kahdeksan kertaa seitsemän.

(Eight times seven.)

Iina: *Can I first think of eight plus eight? Would it help me?*

Saara: Kyllä varmaan vois.

(It probably could.)

Iina: ((Whispers)) *Eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, wait a minute I went past it. Sixteen!*

Saara: Okei. Elikkä se on kaks kertaa. Tää on seitsemän kertaa. Tietsä mä luulen että tää on sellanen juttu, että sun pitäis opetella ulkoa nämä kertotaulut koska sä yrität laskea ne niinku no sormilla niin sä et kerkii tehdä yhtään mittään siinä kokeessa. Ne pitäs opetella vähän.

(Okay. So that's times two. This is times seven. You know I think that this is the thing, you should learn by heart these times tables because you are trying to count them with your fingers then you don't have time to do anything on the test. You should study them a little.)

Iina: *Fifty...*

Saara: M-hm.

Iina: *Six!*

Saara: Aivan oikein, arvasitko vai osasitko?

(Quite right, did you guess or know [it]?)

Iina: Osasin.

(Knew [it].)

Saara: Osasit, pitäiskö uskoa.

(You knew, should I believe you.)

Iina: Tai arvasin.

(Or guessed.)

Saara: Okei, kuus kertaa seittemän.

(Okay, six times seven.)

Iina: *Count backwards.*

Saara: Okei ensinnäkin kuus kertaa kuus.

(Okay, first of all six times six.)

Iina: *Fifty-six, fifty-seven, fifty-five, fifty-four, fifty-two, fifty-one.*

Saara: Okei, muistatsä mikä on se *six times six*?

(Okay, do you remember what is *six times six*?)

Iina: *Thirty-six.*

Saara: Ja siihen lisää kuusi niin sit sä saat *seven times six*.

(And add six to that then you get *seven times six*.)

Iina: *Okay so it would be six times six equals thirty-six, seven would be thirty-six, forty-two?*

(Home visit, January 14, 2016)

In this excerpt, it was evident that Saara was not following her own stated policy of “not understanding English,” which she had earlier stated was her practice in “normal language” - apparently, discourses surrounding homework were not part of “normal language,” or casual conversation. Saara was not only tolerant towards Iina’s use of English throughout the task, but she also translanguaged herself “in a pedagogic context to make meaning [and] transmit information” (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 109). Though Iina used English throughout to mediate her own understanding, Saara began using English only once the two ran into a problem: they were using two different strategies to solve the multiplication problem 6×7 . Saara tried to suggest that Iina first try to solve 6×6 , which was an earlier flash card in the set and which Iina had already successfully solved. Ignoring this, Iina tried, unsuccessfully, to use the strategy of counting backwards from the nearest multiple of seven she knew - in this case, 56. Saara then repeated her directions about using 6×6 as the starting point, and switched to English as she did so to get Iina’s attention and ensure she understood what to do. She continued to translanguage (“seven times six”) until Iina got the right answer. This is further evidence that parents, like Saara in this math homework event and Anna in the earlier homework dictation event, were very willing to translanguage when it served the purposes of the interaction, especially in literacy events with a definite goal such as homework completion. Such uses of translanguaging for learning have previously been observed in multilingual classrooms between teachers and students as well as between

students (e.g. García & Li, 2015; Martin-Beltrán, Tigert, Groff, Peercy, & Silverman, forthcoming).

4.2.3. Promoting literacy practices.

As was discussed in section 3.4., literacies can be observed in events taking place among members of a social group, in this case, the family; and as events demonstrate significance by becoming routine and frequent, they can be understood as practices. In this section, I highlight some of the typical language and literacy events I observed in the homes, and describe the language and literacy resources, such as materials, books, and games parents made available and in some cases actively promoted within these practices. Because parents had such different approaches with traditional literacies as compared to digital literacies, this section is divided into two sections accordingly.

4.2.3.1. Traditional literacies.

Homework completion was already discussed in section 4.2.2.2. as a literacy event, which often involved parents tolerating or actively using translanguaging even when it was against their stated FLP. Homework was a literacy practice in which the parents in my study engaged their children frequently, yet perhaps more out of a sense of duty or necessity than anything else. What speaks to this is the fact that other than for the occasional grumbling on the part of the children, homework was taken as par for the course, something to do every day, even though the Finnish parents often saw it as a negative factor in HL acquisition. When parents mentioned homework, it was often in conjunction with comments about how much time homework took away from the children using Finnish. For example, Saara, Arttu and Iina's mother, described in a sort of

resigned manner how mandatory reading for homework infringed upon time that could have otherwise been spent on reading for pleasure in Finnish:

JMT: Millä kielellä sä luet [lapsille]?

(What language do you read in [to the kids]?)

Saara: Enimmäkseen englanniks koska niillä on koulusta ne kirjat mitkä pitää lukkee, ja sit se [lukeminen] menee niinku niitten kirjojen tiimoilta.

(Mostly in English because they have the books from school that they have to read, and so [the reading] revolves around those books.)

JMT: Onkse joku että kuinka monta minuuttia pitää illassa lukea?

(Is it something like how many minutes a night you have to read?)

Saara: Joo ja sitten niillä on ne tiety kirjat, kun on näitä *read-a-thonia* ja sellasia mistä tulee ne kirjat mitä ne haluaa että luetaan. Niitä sit luetaan.

(Yeah and then they have the specific books, when they have these *read-a-thons* and since the books come from those they want those to be read to them. So then we read those.)

(Interview, January 14, 2016.)

It is not surprising that especially the Finnish-born and -educated parents in my study were quite dissatisfied with the time homework took out of their children's day, given that it limited their time to use the HL with their children, and given that the philosophy on homework in Finland is so different from that in the U.S. In Finland, most of the learning is considered done when the school day ends, with students completing only about 2.8 hours of teacher-assigned homework per week, whereas in the United States the figure is 6.1 hours (OECD, 2013). Finnish parents may have felt that they were being forced into socializing their children to consider homework a more important part of literacy learning than it would have been back in Finland.

I asked some of the Finnish parents whether they taught their children during homework time. Almost no one said they explicitly taught their children, which is

reflective of what research has revealed about Finnish parents' homework helping behaviors previously (Silinskas, Leppänen, Aunola, Parrila, & Nurmi, 2010). Parents from middle to high socio-economic status (SES) families with academically strong children do the least amount of explicit teaching during homework time in Finland, instead trusting that a literate home environment will naturally strengthen students' school achievement. This aligns with what I typically observed with my parent participants, who came from well educated, well-to-do families and whose children were across the board either on or above grade level in their U.S. schools. I also observed that the older the child was, the less likely the parent was to intervene with homework in any way. For example, in contrast to my visits with Roni who completed his homework virtually unassisted, I did see more homework help being offered by Anna and Saara, as their five-year-old and eight-year-old daughters completed homework. In Anna's case, she was obligated by the school to help, since the homework involved a dictation, as described above, and both Anna and Saara indicated that they had to be involved in their children's homework, otherwise it would not get done. Additionally, Saara helped Iina with math homework specifically because she was struggling with the subject to some extent at school. Thus, parents were either willing or unwilling participants in extending the schools' socialization practices in the home contexts.

The homework that I witnessed the children completing was all in English: for example, across five different families I observed children completing a geometry worksheet, reading sight words, completing math homework on the computer, writing a reader's response about a book, and constructing a "robot" out of recyclables by reading directions on a worksheet, all in English. This was only natural in cases where the

children had no other language of instruction; however, Roni, who attended a bilingual school, also only had English homework. When I asked Tuija whether Roni ever had homework in Spanish, she said that the school's policy was in theory to assign half of the homework in Spanish since half of the content was presented in Spanish, but in practice this depended on the teacher. She also said that in Roni's current fourth grade class, especially, they had seen very few homework assignments in Spanish. This speaks of the influence English has even in ostensibly bilingual school contexts. However, two families in my study, including Luna's, reported that reading in Finnish did count towards the quota of the typical "twenty minutes a night" reading assignment given to their children at school. Indeed, I did observe Luna's older sister, who was already in school, reading a Finnish comic book to herself after school as I visited the family in February. But it was atypical to see homework in any other language than English.

The other literacy practice I often observed taking place in homes was reading for pleasure. Reading aloud was common, as was already discussed in section 4.2.2.1. The families I visited had abundant literacy resources for the children. For example, both Roni and Arttu showed me shelves and closets in their rooms that were full of children's chapter books and picture books. The picture books on their shelves were mostly in Finnish, whereas chapter books and other longer books tended to be in English. This aligned with what the other older students and their parents reported: the picture books had been read-aloud material when the children were younger, but now that the children were able to read to themselves, the reading material was mostly in English. This was not a problem with availability or cost, as has been reported with other heritage languages (Tse, 2001), as the families in my study reported buying reading materials while visiting

Finland every year, books and magazines were frequent gifts from friends and relatives in Finland, and some reading materials could also be ordered online to be sent either in electronic or paper-based form to the United States. Instead, the problem was mostly the discrepancy between the typical reading level of a Finnish HLL and the Finnish books that were meant for their age. For example, Saara and Jalmari noted that as Iina matured, she was no longer interested in reading picture books, which would have been closer to her reading level. Even Arttu, whose reading level in Finnish was among the highest for the children in my study, reported reading mostly in English:

JMT: Mitä sä luet englanniksi?

(What do you read in English?)

Arttu: Tätä, *Diary of a Wimpy Kid*³, *Warriors*⁴, ja monta muuta eri kirjaa.

(This, *Diary of a Wimpy Kid*, *Warriors*, and many other books.)

JMT: Kun sä luet niin kummalla kielellä sä luet mieluummin?

(When you read what language do you prefer to read in?)

Arttu: Englanniks.

(In English.)

(Home visit, August 15, 2016)

To address the problem of high-level text, many Finnish parents engaged in reading aloud even with children who otherwise could already read English text fluently. Common read-aloud books were often those that parents used to read as children. These included Finnish translations of Astrid Lindgren's books, which were originally written in Swedish but have become popular in the Nordic countries and even worldwide. Books by this author that participants mentioned were *Peppi Pitkätossu* (1946); *Pikkuveli ja Katto-Kassinen* (1956); *Vaahteramäen Eemeli*, (1970); *Veljeni Leijonamieli* (1974); and

³ Kinney.

⁴ Hunter.

Ronja Ryövärintytär (1981). Other popular read-alouds are the Harry Potter series books, of which the first one, *Harry Potter ja viisasten kivi* (Eng. *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, 1997) was published in Finland in 1998. These books represent a wealth of children's culture in Finland, in the Nordic countries, and in the case of *Harry Potter*, even in the wider (western) world. By buying these titles and engaging children in shared reading of them the parents were socializing the children into reading texts that were part of their culture growing up (in the case of Astrid Lindgren's books) or that the parents recognized as an important part of children's and youth culture today (in the case of *Harry Potter* books).

During read-alouds, parents often demonstrated typical interactive techniques that middle class parents have been found to utilize when reading books to their children (Duursma, Augustyn, & Zuckerman, 2008; Heath, 1982), such as asking children to explain Finnish vocabulary the parent guessed was new to the children, asking recall questions that were based on knowledge parents knew the children had from previous readings of the book, and connecting the book to the children's lived experiences. These strategies resemble those taught and required while reading fiction at school, both in the United States (Ochs & Capps, 2001) and in Finland (Kauppinen, 2010). It may be that parents drew on their own schooling when employing these literacy socialization strategies.

4.2.3.2. Digital literacies.

While parents were fairly involved in traditional literacy practices such as homework and reading aloud with their children, digital literacies such as video games, DVD movies, and Youtube videos did not receive the same level of parental promotion

and involvement. Parents did of course indirectly contribute to their children's engagement with these practices by making available the electronic devices and the media needed for them. However, parents did not seem very knowledgeable about the digital literacies with which their children were engaging, or how those could contribute to their children's HL acquisition. For example, during my second visit in Roni's home, I witnessed the following:

I complete the Finnish vocabulary test and reading test with Roni while his dad is in the back room. Domingo apologizes that Tuija is late and says he will text her I am here. I let Roni go when I'm done with the test and he immediately spots the iPad, grabs it with the air of 'ah-ha, I can get away with this since mom's not home,' and goes to ask his dad for permission to use the iPad: "Papi..." He is soon engrossed in watching a *Minecraft* gaming video in English on Youtube.

(Memo, June 1, 2016)

When Tuija got home that day, she greeted Roni but did not require him to put the iPad down. While Tuija and I were talking, she mentioned the iPad to me and then addressed Roni:

Tuija: Se on semmonen kun se saa ton vehkeen niin se ei muusta maailmasta tiää. Näytä mitä sä teet.

(He is like that when he gets that gadget he doesn't know anything about the world around. Let me see what you're doing.)

JMT: Mitä sä teet?

(What are you doing?)

Roni: Mä katon *Minecraft*-videota.

(I'm watching a *Minecraft* video.)

JMT: Meilläkin lapset aina kattoo noita *Minecraft*-videoita että miten pelataan *Minecraftia*.

(Our kids always watch those *Minecraft* videos as well, how to play *Minecraft*.)

Tuija: Ootsä niitä kattonu millanen- mitä ne siellä juttelee, mä en oo kauheesti.
(Have you looked at what kind- what are they saying there, I haven't much.)

(Home visit, June 1, 2016)

This exchange indicates that Tuija did not intervene with Roni's activities online even to know the content of the videos in detail, much less to require he only watch Finnish videos. This may be because she did not consider video viewing as a literacy or even language event and therefore, does not feel the need to regulate it as strictly as she did other language and literacy events. This is in contrast with research findings that have discovered children's literacy practices to be often deeply infused with popular culture and media, which is why parents should be encouraged to view these activities as engagement with literacy (Martin & Thompson, 2001) and as development of critical discourse skills and part of one's cultural capital (Buckingham, Banaji, Carr, Cranmer, & Willett, 2005).

Parents in my study often did not recognize video gaming as developing or requiring language and literacy skills; they were surprised when I described to them the kind of literacy skills *Minecraft* and other video games actually required. Saara, for example, was surprised when I told her that I sometimes let my own children play video games to develop their Finnish language skills; some games developed in Finland, including *Hay Day* (<http://supercell.com/en/games/hayday/>) allow the user to pick Finnish as the language for on-screen labels and instructions. Another parent, upon hearing that video gaming was rich with literacy skills, commented facetiously, "So, I should just let them play for hours on end?" Video gaming, therefore, did not constitute an intentional literacy socialization process in the homes on the part of the parents, but

was a sort of a byproduct of parents purchasing video game consoles and games for their children's entertainment.

Similarly, while one would think that the Internet would be considered by the parents to be a great source for language and literacy development with its virtually unlimited resources, parents did not seem to consider it as a resource for learning Finnish or even literacy in general. For example, one of the mothers, Minna, stated that there was nothing for her children to watch on the Finnish public TV streaming service, *YLE Areena* (<http://areena.yle.fi/tv>), since her eight and ten-year old children were no longer interested in programming directed at small children. Similarly, other parents reported that while their children had liked to access the interactive companion website to a popular children's TV program, *Pikku Kakkonen*, when they were younger, the children were no longer interested in the preschool-age games and stories offered on that website, and parents reported that they had not found any other websites in Finnish that their children would want to use. It remains unclear how much HLLs of this age use the Internet in their HL on their own at home, and which HL websites they are interested in and for what purpose - a topic for possible future investigation.

4.3. Teachers' Influence on Language and Literacy Socialization Processes

In the Finnish School, the typical schedule for the school day, the physical classroom space, and the activities varied depending on the students' age. Each of the three class contexts are explained here in order to better situate the later discussion about classroom socialization processes against a thick description (Creswell & Miller, 2000) of the physical environment, the participants, and the typical events in classrooms. These descriptions are vital for understanding the particular socialization events described

further in the section, as participants, materials, and even physical layouts influence how language socialization processes play out in practice.

Anna's class, which met in a preschool classroom complete with a long low table with small chairs and a large open rug area, typically began with a circle time on the rug, with Anna leading the nine students in a welcome song, reviewing letters and words from the last class, and telling the students about the day's activities. Next, the class would sit at a long table, typically doing some work from their textbook, a kindergarten book designed for schools in Finland titled *Hauska matka eskariin!* (Jansson & Metsälä-Kotipelto, 2006), which aims to develop students' alphabetic knowledge, numeric and phonemic awareness, and fine motor skills. My focal students in this class, Luna and Ellen, typically sat on one side of the table with a third girl, Linda, while the six boys in the class sat in the remaining seats next to and opposite the girls. Anna would sit at the head of the table, with her aide sitting at the other end. After a short lesson from the textbook, the class would visit the library, after which the music teacher would come in to teach the students some songs and let them try out the *kantele*, a traditional Finnish plucked string instrument similar to the dulcimer, of which the school owned ten. After lunch and recess, the rest of the time in Anna's class was devoted to arts, crafts, and play. For example, the students were encouraged to collaborate on building a rocket ship out of cardboard boxes, and they also listened to a CD called *Laulava kynä* (Singing Pen; Lappalainen, 2012), which had theme-based songs during which the students would draw pictures. These skills reflect the kindergarten curriculum in Finland, which emphasizes play-based learning, arts and self-expression, and exposure to, rather than practice of, literacy skills (Opetushallitus, 2014). Anna often skipped some of the more literacy-based

activities in the book and spent even more time on play-based learning, which may be explained by the fact that the Finnish national kindergarten curriculum is designed for students who are turning six, whereas most of Anna's students had barely turned five, and some had yet to begin kindergarten.

In Hannele's class, the seven students were between eight and nine years of age. My focal students in this class were Roni and Iina. Roni was often grouped with another boy and a girl whose Finnish proficiency was at a high level similar to his. Iina, whose spoken proficiency was at a higher level than her literacy in Finnish, was grouped with the other three boys in the class, who all struggled to some extent with beginning literacy skills such as decoding. Roni's mother Tuija volunteered in the class as an aide, and was present perhaps half of the school days. When she was there, Hannele often asked her to teach one the groups, but Hannele was clearly the lead teacher and directed Tuija's instruction. Hannele's classroom was small, with a large table and chairs in the middle, which left little room for anything but activities taking place sitting down at the table. The class would typically start with a review of the homework as a whole group, after which Hannele would divide the class in half to read a story and complete vocabulary or grammar exercises from *Pikkumetsän lukukirja* (Wäre, Lerkkanen, Suonranta-Hollo, Parkkinen, & Kirkkopelto, 2013), which was a language arts textbook meant for second graders in Finland. The grammar in the book focused especially on morphology, including the use of inflectional suffixes. After working on these literacy skills, the class visited the library, had lunch and recess, and then would have a lesson with the music teacher. Following that, there would typically be arts and crafts or a science experiment.

Jonna's class consisted of seven students (three girls and four boys), who were between nine and twelve years of age. My focal student in this class was Arttu. The class met in a space that also held the school's supplies and library cart, which meant that there was often traffic in and out while Jonna taught her class. The students were seated at tables in a U shape, with the girls sitting along one side and the boys on the opposite side. Jonna would usually sit or stand facing the students, with a whiteboard behind her, on which she would often write vocabulary. Her class had the longest stretch of literacy activities, about an hour and fifteen minutes at the beginning of the day. She did not use any one textbook for her instruction, but often photocopied pages from various textbooks meant for 4th and 5th graders in Finland. These included especially history textbook pages, since the theme of the school year was Finnish history. After the literacy activities, students who wanted to visit the library did so - though often, none of the students wanted to go. Then, the class usually read a recipe and headed downstairs to the church fellowship hall's kitchen, where they prepared the recipe, sometimes returning to the classroom to finish up work from the morning while things cooked or baked. The products were eaten in the classroom, after which the music teacher led her twenty minutes with the class, and at the end, Jonna read aloud to the students or they worked on an art project.

In this section, parallel to section 4.2. in which I described parents' influence in socialization processes, I organize my findings based on the following three processes that emerged from my observation of language and literacy socialization in the Finnish School classrooms:

- 1) Enactment of language policy both explicitly and implicitly,
- 2) Managing children's translanguaging within different language and literacy events, and
- 3) Promoting certain literacy practices, often traditional over digital.

4.3.1. Enacting a classroom language policy.

Studies on heritage language schools have found that schools often try to act as havens for the heritage language by forbidding the use of any other language in the classroom (Creese and Blackledge, 2011). This was true of the Finnish School, as well. When I observed classes at the Finnish School, I often witnessed both outright reminders from teachers for the children to speak only Finnish, as well as more subtle ways to enforce the classroom language policy (CLP), such as interrupting a child who was speaking English, therefore denying the child the floor. However, as Anna mentioned, the CLP was dependent on the situation:

Me yritämme rohkaista lasta puhumaan suomea mutta ei me voida joka tilanteessa olla kielipoliiseja ja pakottaa lasta puhumaan suomea.

We try to encourage the child to speak Finnish but we cannot act as language police in every situation and force the child to speak Finnish.

(Interview, August 22, 2016)

In the next two sections, teachers' explicit and implicit strategies for enforcing the CLP are discussed, following Kasuya's (1998) conceptualization of implicit and explicit strategies for enacting a language policy. This is followed by a discussion of teachers' use of translanguaging as a socialization process in the classroom, and lastly, teachers' promotion of traditional over digital literacy practices in the Finnish School.

4.3.1.1. Explicit strategies for formulating classroom language policy.

It was a common occurrence in the Finnish School classrooms to hear the teacher tell her students to speak Finnish. The Finnish School teachers overall were fairly tolerant of students talking out of turn, joking around, and other such behaviors that disrupted instruction, but when these took place in English, clear statements of CLP were often made to get students back in line. One example of this took place when Anna told her students she would play the CD for the *Laulava kynä* (Singing Pen) assignment, during which her students were supposed to listen to a song and draw pictures to go with it. Instead of quieting down to listen to the CD, however, the students started singing the Happy Birthday song in English. Anna quickly reined them in with the following exchange:

Anna: Mulla on teille uutisia, me ollaan suomikoulussa, niin eihän me silloin lauleta englanniksi mitään paljon onnea vaan.

(I have news for you, we are at the Finnish School, so we don't sing Happy Birthday to You in English.)

((The students sing the song again but this time in Finnish.))

Anna: No niin hyvä osaattehan te sen [suomeksi].

(Well good, you do know it [in Finnish]).

(Classroom observation, November 7, 2015)

Even though the students were still slightly off-task, they were at least singing in Finnish, which Anna accepted, and after this the class moved on to the song on the CD.

Hannele made her language ideology clear to the students as she made explicit statements about the importance of reading in Finnish, which she stressed was important to do not only in the Finnish School but at home, as well. During one lesson, as three of her students were looking through a comic book one student had brought for show-and-

tell but had not read through, as was clear from his presentation of the book, Hannele told the students:

Mitä enempi luette niin sitä helpommaks se lukeminen tulee. Ja nopeemmaks. Että teijän kyllä kannattaa ihan kotona lukee ihan suomekskin niitä kirjoja.

(The more you read the easier reading becomes. And faster. So it pays for you to read books at home in Finnish as well.)

(Classroom observation, April 20, 2016.)

In contrast, I did not observe Jonna making any explicit statements to her students regarding her CLP, perhaps because her students had the highest proficiency in Finnish and therefore rarely tried to disturb the implicitly understood Finnish-only CLP - at least, they did not do so outwardly, as will be further discussed in section 4.4.1.2. Jonna's stance became clear when I interviewed her on June 22, 2016. She said that in her class the students' proficiency in Finnish was sufficiently high, so she felt no other language was needed to aid learning.

Other explicit strategies for enforcing a Finnish-only CLP included requiring students to rephrase any English words or a phrases in Finnish before the teacher took her next turn in the interaction. When I observed her class on April 16, 2016, Hannele was handing her students colored construction paper and asking which color they wanted. One of her students asked for "green" in English, and Hannele responded by not handing her the piece of paper, but holding it in front of her and asking, "Mikä se on suomeks?" (What is it in Finnish?). When the student could not answer right away, Hannele asked two other students until one of them said the word in Finnish, at which point Hannele handed the first student the green piece of paper she had requested in English. This strategy not only reinforced the CLP, but also provided students more opportunities for using Finnish, which teachers saw as facilitating students' Finnish acquisition. The

teachers' belief in the facilitative role of monolingual HL-only instruction for students' HL acquisition, undergirded by a strong HL-only ideology, will be further discussed in section 4.3.2.

4.3.1.2. Implicit strategies for formulating classroom language policy.

Most typically, teachers' implicit strategy for enforcing the CLP was to continue speaking Finnish, even when students switched to English. Roni and another boy in Hannele's class, Eelis, often switched to English when talking to each other in class. Most of the time, Hannele's reaction was just to continue instructing the boys in Finnish, as can be seen from the following excerpt. This exchange took place as the students were correcting the spelling of words that contained double vowels or consonants. Roni and Eelis were working together on correcting the spelling of the word *hämmästy*, "was surprised".

Hannele: Siinä on hämäästy, mikäs siinä pitäis olla?

(It has *hämäästy*, what should it have?)

Roni: *Come to the dark side.*

Hannele: Roni, mikäs siinä pitäis olla, häm-mäs-tyi. Mitäs pitäis olla kaks?

(Roni, what should it have, *häm-mäs-tyi*. What should you have two of?)

Eelis: M.

Hannele: Joo, hämmästy. Mites Roni, "valitse lauseeseen sopiva sana", mikäs sulla on täällä.

(Yes, *hämmästy*. What about Roni, "pick a word that fits the sentence," what do you have here.)

Roni: *I need a pencil.*

Hannele: Hämmästy.

(Classroom observation, November 7, 2015.)

Hannele's unflappability in enforcing the Finnish-only CLP was evident in the way she kept leading the instructional task even when Roni tried to disrupt the pattern by using English to talk off-task about *Star Wars* ("Come to the dark side") and then by addressing her indirectly in English by stating his needs ("I need a pencil"), which he could have done in Finnish.

Another implicit way of enforcing the HL-only CLP in the Finnish School especially with written text was the fact that only Finnish reading materials were used in the lessons. For example, Jonna's class worked on a complicated project on medieval castles in Finland, and students might have had reference materials in English at home or even on their phones that would have added to their understanding of the content of the lesson. However, Jonna and the other teachers only ever brought Finnish-language texts to their lessons, trying to surround their students with as much Finnish print as possible during the short Finnish School days.

4.3.2. Managing translanguaging at school.

In my second interview with the teachers, I asked them why they felt the need to enforce the Finnish-only CLP, especially in light of research that has presented translanguaging as a way to develop bilingual competence in the classroom (e.g. Martínez, 2010; Reyes, 2004; Sayer, 2013). Jonna stated that her students had come to the Finnish School to learn Finnish, which is why she felt a Finnish-only policy in the classroom was justified. Hannele's reply to my question was similar to Jonna's; to her, the Finnish-only classroom policy was a given, which reflected her language ideology. She also thought it was unnecessary to allow translanguaging in the classroom for the

purpose of scaffolding student learning, since for the most part she could explain any unfamiliar words to students by using other words or definitions in Finnish:

Käytän tunnilla pelkästään suomea, koska kyseessä on suomikoulu, jossa opiskellaan suomea. [Oppilaat] käyvät koulussa, koska haluavat, tai heidän vanhempansa haluavat, parantaa suomen kielen osaamista. Näin ollen, mitä enemmän he kuulevat puhuttua suomea, sen paremmin he sitä oppivat... Tietysti joitakin sanoja, joita he eivät ymmärrä voisi suoraan kääntää englannista suomeksi tai toisin päin, mutta toisaalta kun sanat voi selittää muullakin tavalla, joka rikastuttaa heidän suomen kieltä enemmän, niin miksi pitäisi kääntää se englanniksi. Eiväthän he normi koulussakaan saa sanalle suomen kielen käännöstä, vaan sana selitetään muilla sanoilla, jotta he sen ymmärtävät.

(I use only Finnish in class, because the school in question is a Finnish School, where Finnish is studied. [Students] attend school, because they want to, or their parents want to, improve their Finnish proficiency. Therefore, the more they hear Finnish, the better they learn it... Of course some words that they don't understand you could translate directly from English to Finnish or vice versa, but on the other hand because you can explain the words in another way, which enriches their Finnish more, then why translate it into English. They don't get Finnish translations for words in their regular school either, instead the word is explained in other words, so they understand it.)

(Interview, June 22, 2016)

Hannele's response also revealed another influence on her beliefs about the role of different languages in the HL classroom: parents' expectations. For the most part, Finnish School parents expected teachers to use only Finnish while the students were at the Finnish School, which had actually been a source of consternation for the teachers at the Finnish School. Teachers felt it was unfair for parents to expect only Finnish to be spoken at the Finnish School, when parents themselves spoke English to their children at home, thereby limiting their children's opportunity to gain proficiency in Finnish and making it sometimes difficult for them to understand their teachers at the Finnish School. However, except for a few words of English Anna used with her students who had the

lowest proficiency in Finnish, I did not witness teachers translanguaging in the classrooms.

4.3.2.1. Events during which translanguaging is discouraged.

As the above comments from the teachers illustrate, translanguaging was discouraged in the Finnish School. The more formal the learning activity was, the stricter the teachers' enforcement of the Finnish-only policy. For example, when students were working on traditional literacy activities such as reading a text or completing exercises from a book, teachers often made sure that discourses surrounding these events were completely in Finnish. Teachers were especially vigilant if the students' English usage was around something that was not directly related to the learning task at hand. For example, in April students in Hannele's class were working in pairs trying to arrange pictures of Finnish presidents chronologically and paste them down on paper together with the presidents' names. At first the interaction was in Finnish. However, Iina, set off the English use by using the mixed "Finglish" word *sliipouveri*, "sleepover", an English word with a Finnish derivational suffix (i) and pronunciation:

Iina: Tänään mulla aikoo olla *sliipouveri*.
(Today I'm gonna have a *sleepover*.)

Hannele: Sää meet yökylään, niinkö, vai tulleeks joku sun luo?
(You are going to sleep over, is that right, or is somebody coming over?)

Iina: Joo, Sofia, minä en oo nähny häntä pitkään aikaan.
(Yes, Sofia, I haven't seen her in such a long time.)

((Roni starts rhythmically repeating the Finglish word Iina used, apparently finding it amusing))

Roni: *Sliipouveri, sliipouveri*.
(Sleepover, sleepover.)

(Classroom observation, April 16, 2016.)

Here, Hannele used an implicit strategy of managing students' translanguaging as she modeled back to Iina how to say sleepover in Finnish (*meet yökylään*, literally "go for a night visit"). Then she continued giving directions for what to do with the presidents' pictures. However, seconds later it was Markus, another boy in the class, who switched the code and drew Roni into an English interaction when he started talking about the U.S. presidential election, which at the time was one of the main topics in the media:

Hannele: Pistäkää ne aikajärjestykseen.

(Put them in chronological order.)

Markus: *Are you a Democratic or a Republican?*

Roni: *No idea because I'm a kid and I don't vote.*

Markus: *If I was an adult I would vote for the Democratic.*

Roni: *Yeah you're right because I don't like Donald Trump.*

Markus: *If Trump tried to, tried to help, xxx campaign manager xx woman.*

((Hannele intervenes, raising her voice and using a sharp tone.))

Hannele: Markus!

Hannele's admonishment was not enough to get the students back on track. They continued talking about the candidates in English for a couple of more turns until Hannele intervened again, this time by explicitly stating the only acceptable language choice:

Roni: *He's like Reagan.*

Markus: *Yeah if Trump becomes president he's, he's gonna wreck America's-*

((Hannele interrupts Markus.))

Hannele: Puhutaas suomea.

(Let's speak Finnish,)

(Classroom observation, April 16, 2016.)

It is possible that Hannele's curbing of the boys' translanguaging in this episode reflected a twofold purpose beyond simple management of their language choice: to get the boys back on track with the learning task, as well as discourage them from speaking about politics, which is typically not a topic discussed in schools in the Finnish culture.

Teachers' desire to curb students' translanguaging also stemmed from a belief that offering a Finnish-only space would be the best way to develop students' Finnish proficiency. For example, Anna stated that the school was only able to offer very limited opportunities for students to speak and hear Finnish while living in an English-dominant country. She conceded that translanguaging might work in some situations, but that the school should privilege Finnish because time was limited:

[Oppilailla] on täällä asuessaan niin vähän mahdollisuuksia saada kuulla suomea elävissä tilanteissa, joten minusta jokainen tilaisuus [käyttää suomea] pitäisi käyttää hyväksi...Minusta meidän kannattaa Suomikoulussa laittaa suomi etusijalle, koska tunteja on niin vähän.

([Students] have so few opportunities to hear Finnish in real life situations when they're living here, so that I think we should take advantage of every opportunity [to use Finnish]... I think that at the Finnish School we need to prioritize Finnish, because we have so few classes.)

(Interview, June 22, 2016)

4.3.2.2. Events during which translanguaging is tolerated.

In some cases, teachers tolerated students' translanguaging during literacy events as long as the English usage was brief and moved the learning task along. For example, as Anna was sitting with her class reviewing letters and letter sounds during opening circle time, I witnessed the following exchange:

Anna: Entäs S? Kenen nimi alkaa ässällä?

(What about S? Whose name starts with an S?)

Sami: Minä!

(Me!)

((Linda points at the heart on the front of her shirt.))

Linda: *Heart, sydämet!*

(*Heart, hearts!*)

Aaro: Sami!

Viljo: *And Star Wars.*

((Viljo points at the picture of a Star Wars logo on Sami's shirt))

((Anna points at the letter S on Sami's shirt))

Anna: Hei joo ihan oikein, siinä on S, /s/.

(Hey, yeah that's correct, there's an S, /s/)

Aaro: *I saw Star Wars on TV.*

Mika: *Guess what, I got a Star Wars lunchbox today.*

Aaro: *I, I-* ((Gets interrupted by Anna))

Anna: Okei. (1 sec) suomikoulussa me puhutaan suomea eikö niin?

(Okay. [1 sec] at the Finnish School we speak Finnish, right?)

Linda: Joo.

(Yeah.)

(Classroom observation, October 24, 2015)

In this exchange we see that Anna first tolerated Viljo's use of English as he pointed to the Star Wars logo on Sami's shirt. The reason for her tolerance may have been twofold: even though Viljo was speaking English, he was moving the learning task along and being actively engaged by pointing out something that starts with the letter s. On the other hand, it may be that Anna allowed the movie title to be stated in English since it is common in Finland to use the English title *Star Wars* instead of the Finnish translation, *Tähtien Sota*. However, in the next couple of turns Aaro and Mika were no longer focused on the learning task, and their English utterances were also longer than Viljo's "And Star Wars." Therefore, Anna interrupted Aaro, who was trying to continue

speaking English (“I, I-“), and then stated the CLP “at the Finnish School we speak Finnish.”

4.3.3. Teachers promoting literacy practices.

In the Finnish School, as discussed earlier, only one class - the so-called non-speakers - focused solely on oral language. In all the other classes, literacy was a natural part of instruction. When I asked Jonna why teaching literacy skills to her students was important, she said,

On se vaan niinku olenainen osa sitä kielitaitoa, ei se pelkästään se puhuminen riitä. Myös lukeminen ja kirjoittaminen kuuluu siihen kans.

(It really is like an essential part of knowing a language, speaking is not enough. Reading and writing are a part of it too.)

(Interview, January 21, 2016)

Jonna’s comment revealed, however, that she considered literacy mainly in the traditional, print-based sense. Digital literacies did not even come up as I interviewed her about students’ literacy skills and her own philosophy for teaching them. This was typical of the Finnish School teachers; traditional literacies were the goal of socialization in their classrooms, and digital literacies were barely even considered, as will be discussed in the next two sections.

4.3.3.1. Traditional literacies.

At the Finnish School, the literacy practices I witnessed were predominantly print-based and monolingual (Finnish). One of the most consistent print-based literacy events I witnessed in Jonna’s class was students’ reading recipes and then following them to make traditional Finnish dishes. Typically, Jonna combined a joint reading of the recipe with working on parts of the dish in small groups. For example, in October, the class was preparing a fall dessert, apple pie and vanilla sauce. The recipes provided

metric measurements, including deciliter and gram, and required ingredients typical in Finnish cuisine, including liquid margarine, vanilla or vanillin sugar, and potato starch. The class first read the recipe in the classroom, which followed a typical I-R-E pattern, with students taking turns reading aloud from the recipe and Jonna asking confirmation questions and giving feedback on students' answers. For example, Arttu read aloud a line from the ingredients list:

Arttu: Kaksisataa g margariinia.

(Two hundred g of margarine.)

Jonna: Mitä se g voisi olla?

(What could the g mean?)

Elisa: Grammaa.

(Grams.)

Jonna: Joo, kaksisataa grammaa margariinia.

(Yes, two hundred grams of margarine.)

(Classroom observation, October 24, 2015)

After reading the recipe, the class moved downstairs to the parish hall kitchen. There, the interaction broke the I-R-E pattern, as the students engaged in more student-led reading and oral language with an authentic purpose, to collaborate on making the recipe turn out well. The girls in the class worked together on the vanilla sauce, taking turns measuring ingredients and stirring the sauce, while the boys peeled and sliced apples and made the piecrust. Together, the girls worked on reading comprehension as they figured out what step 2 in their recipe meant:

Kuumenna seosta liedellä koko ajan sekoittaen, kunnes seos sakenee. Älä keitä!

(Heat up the mixture on the stove, stirring continuously, until the mixture thickens. Do not boil!)

(Vanilla sauce recipe from <http://www.martat.fi/ruoka/reseptit/vaniljakastike/>)

The girls read the instructions and mixed the first few ingredients; then they took turns stirring the sauce on the stove as they negotiated when it might be ready. Jonna approached the girls and joined their negotiation by offering advice:

Jonna: Onko siellä nyt se vaniljasokeri, siihen pitäis laittaa.

(Do you have the vanilla sugar in there, you should add it.)

Elisa: Paljonko?

(How much?)

Jonna: Sitä voi vaikka ottaa tähän koska se ei ole tarkkaa.

(You can put some in here because it's not exact.)

((Points to the palm of her hand, indicating a dash or a pinch.))

(Classroom observation, October 24, 2015)

In giving advice, Jonna inserted her in the interaction as the expert, and Elisa acted the part of a novice, asking for advice instead of, for example, checking the recipe herself. Jonna then modeled how, in some cases, one does not need to follow the recipe exactly, which is a recipe-reading practice that one would most likely learn in interaction with an expert instead of from just reading a recipe.

Jonna also did a lot of implicit teaching of vocabulary during these cooking lessons. For example, as the following excerpt shows, Jonna implicitly taught Arttu the concept of “dry ingredients,” which is fairly specialized baking jargon:

((Jonna takes out ingredients and a couple of spoons from a bag.))

Jonna: No nii, elikkä te voisitte ottaa tällöisiä lusikoita. Sitte mitä ne kaikki ainekset mitä siihen tulee tarvii?

(Okay, so you can take this kind of spoon. Then what is it that the ingredients that go in there need?)

((Jonna checks the recipe.))

Jonna: Eli “sekoita pehmeä rasva ja kaikki kuivat ainekset keskenään.”

(So “mix the soft fat and all dry ingredients together.”)

(1 min cut)

Arttu: Mä voin ottaa sen yks ruokalusikka kylmää vettä.

(I can get the one tablespoon of cold water.)

((Jonna comes over to check the recipe.))

Jonna: Se kannattaa varmaan laittaa viimeks, eli tässä sanotaan “sekoittakaa pehmeä rasva ja kaikki kuivat aineet.”

(It’s probably best to put that in last, here it says “mix the soft fat and all dry ingredients.”)

((Jonna points at a mixing bowl.))

Jonna: Eli jos te laitatte vaikka tähän kaikki. Niin teillä on nyt vehnäjauhot, ja sitte voisitte- eikun teillä on leivinjauhe niin voisitte mitata vehnäjauhot ja sokerin.

(So you might put everything in here. So you now have the flour, and then you can- no, you have the baking powder, so you could measure the flour and sugar.)

(Classroom observation, October 24, 2015)

In the beginning of this excerpt, Jonna reread aloud the instructions in the recipe, but Arttu apparently did not realize what “dry ingredients” are, since he asked if he could put in the spoonful of water also mentioned in the recipe. Jonna then took several steps to ensure Arttu understood the concept: she modeled again how to check the recipe, read aloud the instructions one more time, stated what Arttu has already put in, and then listed what ingredients he needed to put in next. In doing so, she never explicitly taught the

vocabulary or how to read a recipe, but modeled how an expert would approach this literacy task. Such vocabulary work was typical in all classes, as teachers seized the opportunity to teach new words every chance they got. The importance of vocabulary practices was also reflected in the teachers' interview answers. For example, when I asked Jonna what the best method to teach students to read was, she answered,

Lukemalla. Nehän siis niinku osaa lukea mutta se sujuvuus on niinku että se on niille hankalaa, raskasta että, en mä tiedä auttaako siihen muu kuin se lukeminen että sitä vaan täytyy niinku harjottaa. Ja tietysti niinku sitä sanastoa kasvattaa ja...

(By reading. They do know how to read but the fluency is so that it's difficult for them, hard so, I don't know if anything but reading helps, you just have to kind of practice it. And of course like grow the vocabulary, and...)

(Interview, January 21, 2016)

The above examples of cooking literacy show how the Finnish HLLs are socialized into literacy practices that, although revolving around a print-based text, were holistic rather than focused on one specific skill, and connected to culturally embedded, authentic interaction. The literacy event here matched the sociocultural view of literacy (Street, 1995, 2003), in which multiple modes of literacy come together through the joint negotiation of a socioculturally shaped meaning of the text. Reading and preparing recipes is a deeply cultural activity, combining reading skills with cultural knowledge of ingredients and dishes typical for Finland, and with numeracy not habitually being practiced in the United States by school children (e.g., deciphering measurements in the metric system). In the Finnish School, the oldest students had for many years had the opportunity to learn to cook, which mirrors school practices in Finland. Home-cooked meals are still common in Finland (Mäntylä, 2010), and all students in seventh grade study home economics as a mandatory subject (Manninen, 2009). Cooking literacy can also be seen as connected to larger societal practices of preparing meals, which is often

connected to gendered division of labor (Barton & Hamilton, 2000). By involving both boys and girls (albeit in separate small groups) in all stages of food preparation, Jonna was socializing her students into the egalitarian ideologies of Nordic societies, including ideals concerning the equal division of household chores (Magnusson, 2008) - even if in practice women still spend over twice the amount of time on food preparation compared to men in Finland (Statistics Finland, 2014).

Not all language and literacy practices at the Finnish School were as holistic and culturally embedded as the cooking lessons. In all classrooms, teachers taught very discrete skills such as letters, letter sounds, morphemes, long and short phonemes, and vocabulary. However, the emphasis on phonological and morphological analysis among the classes varied, with Anna, as the teacher of the younger students, focusing more on phonemic awareness, letters, and letter sounds, and the teachers of the older students (Jonna and Hannele) focusing on spelling conventions, minimal pairs, and derivational endings. Often, these skills were also used in conjunction with learning vocabulary. These foci reflected teacher's socialization of students into competent literate individuals with "linguistic literacy" (Ravid & Tolchinsky, 2002, p. 417), who were able not only to use language to read and write, but also to break it into smaller units such as morphemes and syllables.

Anna's class used a preschool textbook, *Hauska matka eskariin!* (Jansson & Metsälä-Kotipelto, 2006), which aims to develop alphabet knowledge and phonemic awareness. The discrete literacy skills taught in her class were partly driven by the curriculum reflected in the book. Each class started with a review of the two letters learned in the previous class, with Anna often asking students to come up with words

beginning with those letters. Then, students would work on two new letters, introduced in each lesson of the book, by identifying items in a large picture beginning with the letters. Students also practiced writing the letters, although the greater emphasis was on phonemic awareness. This makes sense since Anna was more likely to focus on skills the students would not learn from their mainstream schools (like phonemic awareness of Finnish sounds) rather than skills easily learned elsewhere, such as letter formation. The next excerpt is an example of Anna and her students playing letter bingo. The children were seated around a rectangular table with bingo cards and game chips. The cards had two rows of four random letters on them, and Anna's aide was holding up small letter cards while she called out the letters. Anna was seated next to Viljo, one of the boys, who got confused between the Finnish and English letters e and i. In Finnish, the letter e is pronounced /e:/, much like the English "short sound" for letter e, and the sound for the Finnish letter i is pronounced /i:/, resembling The English "long sound" for letter e, making these two letters confusing for students, as is evident from the following exchange:

Anna's aide: Sitten on I.

(Then we have an I.)

((Viljo covers the letter e on his board.))

Luna: Mulla ei ole.

(I don't have it.)

Sami: Mullon I.

(I have an I.)

((Anna notices Viljo's error and picks up his card.))

Anna: Eli ja nyt tehdään siis suomalaisia kirjaimia, tää on hyvä tietää, tää on englanniksi /i:/ mutta mikäs tää on suomeksi?

(So and now we are doing Finnish letters, this is good to know, this is /i:/ in English but what is it in Finnish?)

((She points to an e on the card))

Ellen: E.

Anna: E niin kuin Ellen, /e/ /e/ Ellen. Ja nyt kun me pelataan suomeksi bingoa niin tämä ei ole I tämä on E.

((E as in Ellen, /e/ /e/ Ellen. And now that we're playing bingo in Finnish this is not an I this is an E.))

Onkos kenelläkään I kirjainta, ei ollut.

(Does anyone have the letter I, no they don't.)

Ellen: Minulla on! Minulla on!

(I do! I do!)

(1 min cut)

((Viljo still has the e covered on his board. Anna leans over and talks to him in a low voice.))

Anna: *This is not Finnish /i:/, this is English /i:/ but you need to have an I [ai].*

Okei, sitte.

(Okay, next.)

(School observation, April 2, 2016.)

In this excerpt we can see that Anna tried to help Viljo to distinguish between the Finnish and the English names for the letter e, but it is uncertain whether Viljo in the end got it.

According to my letter-naming test with Viljo, he only knew one or two letters in Finnish and about half of the letters in English, which made his English alphabetic knowledge superior to his Finnish alphabetic knowledge at this point. One focus area in Anna's literacy socialization was clearly trying to get her students to remember the names of Finnish letters and their corresponding sounds. Since Finnish has a near one-to-one

grapheme-to-sound correspondence, teaching these often leads to young Finnish students learning to decode very rapidly, as discussed in section 2.1.3. Anna’s classroom practices reflected a strong belief in the soundness of this method even for Finnish HLLs.

Hannele’s class often engaged in morphological analysis of words. During one particular lesson, her class was working on correcting spelling mistakes in words that they had previously read in a story. Hannele had written the words by hand on a sheet of paper that she had then photocopied for everyone. There were a total of twelve words, containing spelling errors with double consonants and vowels, for example:

<i>Spelling on sheet</i>	<i>Correct spelling</i>	<i>Translation</i>
seuravana	seuraavana	next
silmillän	silmillään	with his/her eyes
tieneet	tieneet	knew (past participle)
maissikakua	maissikakkua	cornbread (lit. corn cake)

She had students work on correcting the spelling mistakes by writing the words correctly on lines beside the misspelled words. I observed the following one-minute interaction when Hannele stopped to talk to Iina:

Iina: Onko tämä oikein?
(Is this correct?)

Hannele: Siinä on tieneet, niin mikä siitä puuttuu?
(It has tieneet, so what is missing there?)

((Hannele raises her voice and addresses the whole class))

Hannele: Te voitte miettiä sitä tavutusta, kaksoiskonsonantti on helppo tunnistaa siitä: tien-neet, siinähan on kaks ännää, tien-neet.
(You can think about the syllabification, the double consonant is easy to recognize from that, tien-neet, it has two n’s, tien-neet.)

Iina: Onko tää oikein?
(Is this right?)

((Iina has written *tiet*, "roads")

Hannele: Tienneet siellä on myös kaksi eetä. Tää oon tienneet, pitäs olla kaks tavua, ei muuteta sitä sanaa vaan korjataan se sana.

(*Tien-neet* there are also two e's. This is *tieneet*, it should have two syllables, let's not change the word but fix the word.)

(Classroom observation, November 7, 2015)

Such work on double vowels and consonants was common across the classrooms, either as a pure phonemic awareness exercise or as a grammar and spelling exercise. It may be that the teachers saw the need to stress this aspect of Finnish because the difference between a long and a short sound in two words always constitutes a minimal pair, and so not knowing whether a sound is short or long can lead to misunderstandings in both speech and writing. By stressing both the correct spelling and correct pronunciation of these long and short sounds the teachers were socializing the children into speaking "proper Finnish." At the same time, they were demonstrating to the children that language was a thing to be broken into parts and analyzed.

4.3.3.2. Digital literacies.

At the Finnish School, teachers were reluctant to include any digital literacy practices in their instruction, and indeed, I did not directly observe nor did the teachers ever report using digital sources such as tablets, phones, or videos in their classes. When I asked Anna about using digital sources in the classroom, she explained:

Meillä on suomikoulussa niin vähän aikaa, ei me voida tuhllata sitä siihen että oppilaat istuu tietokoneella. Suomikoulu ei ole sitä varten.

(We have such limited time at Finnish School, we cannot waste time on students sitting at the computer. That's not what Finnish School is for.)

(Interview, August 22, 2016)

Even when students brought up digital literacy practices or things they had learned by playing video games or watching videos, they did not receive much acknowledgment from the teachers. For example, I witnessed the following exchange in Hannele's class:

Hannele: Mikä on vaihtokauppa? Iina?

(What is trading? Iina?)

Eelis: Se on jotain mitä *Minecraftin villagers*⁵ tekee.

(It's something that *Minecraft villagers* do.)

Hannele: Anna Iina selittää.

(Let Iina explain.)

Iina: Se on kun vaihdetaan jotain.

(It's when you trade something.)

Hannele: Joo, esimerkiksi jos mä annan sulle tämän vihon, ja sä annat mulle sen kirjan.

(Yeah, for example if I give you this notebook and you give me the book.)

((Iina and Hannele demonstrate trading with those two items.))

(Classroom observation, November 7, 2015)

Even though Eelis here made a connection to *Minecraft* with the word trading, Hannele did not let him explain his connection even after she and Iina had demonstrated the meaning of the word in a more traditional way. Had Hannele asked Eelis to explain his example more, many of the students in the classroom who played *Minecraft* would have made a very powerful connection to the word. However, Hannele did not seize this opportunity to make a connection for the students.

⁵ "Villager" characters in the video game *Minecraft*.

It is important to acknowledge that teachers saw the HL school primarily as a space where learning happens through social interaction and the resulting exposure to the HL. However, digital literacies could be adapted and added to instruction to enhance HLLs' learning without reducing the effects of social interaction. Indeed, literature has detailed several ways digital media such as blogs, wikis, video games, and social networking sites can act as canvasses where users can combine social interaction with the development of literacy skills (Duffy & Bruns, 2006; Greenhow, & Robelia, 2009; Lotherington & Jenson, 2011). Future research should look into ways to help HL teachers incorporate these literacies in their instruction in ways that best serve HLLs' unique needs.

4.4. Students' Influence on Language and Literacy Socialization Processes

This section is organized in a parallel manner to the two previous sections on parents' and teachers' influences on language and literacy socialization. In this section I examine how students influenced the three socialization processes by

- 1) Shaping the language policy set by teachers and parents both explicitly and implicitly,
- 2) Resisting or complying with the parents' and teachers' management of their translanguaging within different language and literacy events, and
- 3) Engaging in literacy practices, both traditional and digital.

4.4.1. Shaping the family and classroom language policies.

In scholarship examining both family language policies (FLPs), and classroom language policies (CLPs), it has recently been recognized that students are active agents in shaping the processes through which language policies are negotiated and renegotiated

in daily interactions between parents and children or teachers and children (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008; Norén, 2015). HLLs in my study did this sometimes by using explicit strategies such as telling their peers what language to use, but most often by using implicit strategies such as continuing to use the language the parent or teacher had signaled she or he did not want the child to use.

4.4.1.1. Explicit strategies for shaping language policy.

Some students were eager not only to comply with, but also enforce, the CLPs in the Finnish School. In Hannele's class, Iina in particular was eager to enforce the CLP, telling other students to use Finnish. The following example is one of many instances of Iina explicitly stating the CLP I witnessed as I observed Hannele's classes:

Eelis comes in, asks if they can watch a Youtube *Minecraft* video. Hannele asks what language it is in. When the boys say it is in English she says she can look for one in Finnish and maybe they can watch that some day. As they sit down the boys continue talking about *Minecraft* in English. Iina tries to get her voice heard over the boys' conversation and says, *Puhukaa suomea, puhukaa suomea pojat, puhukaa suomea!* (Speak Finnish, speak Finnish boys, speak Finnish!)

(Field notes, January 9, 2016.)

This is an interesting contrast to Iina's behavior at home, where she spoke mostly English to Arttu and translanguaged frequently with her parents. Iina was the youngest student in her Finnish School class and had only that year skipped a level. She had been placed in a group where her strong oral Finnish skills were better matched compared to her previous class but where she sometimes struggled with the literacy tasks. Her explicit "policing" (Amir & Musk, 2012) of others' language in the classroom might have been partially an indication of her desire to position herself in the eyes of others as a proficient Finnish

user, especially since it was evident to all due to frequent read-aloud activities that she was not as strong with Finnish literacy as some of her classmates.

Though in the Finnish School there were instances of students enforcing the Finnish-only language policy, in the homes, the situation was in some cases reversed. I had many conversations with parents whose children had outright refused to speak Finnish with them. For example, Anna explained that her oldest child would no longer use Finnish with her mother, as a form of "teenage power play," as she put it. Though I did not witness any of these statements being made, it was clear that such instances made parents feel helpless, as the power to set the FLP had shifted, possibly irrevocably, to the children, reflecting previous research that has documented how children in many cases determine what language is used in the home (Tuominen, 1999). Through these actions by children, the larger society had its influence on the HL policies in the homes, as children sought to shape FLPs to directions that would better match the wider language policies outside of the homes.

4.4.1.2. Implicit strategies for shaping language policy.

Even the youngest students in my study had a keen understanding of the language policies of their homes and the Finnish School, and their compliance with these policies was often stronger when they noticed my presence in the room. For example, during home visits Ellen would often whisper something to her mother in English she did not remember how to say in Finnish, and glance furtively at me as she did so. This shows that Ellen was clearly aware that the FLP, especially if only Finnish-speakers were present, was to speak Finnish. Since this meant that I was not able to completely "blend into the woodwork" (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006, p. 39), this could be construed as a limitation in my

study; however, as discussed in section 3.5., a researchers' presence may also bring about behaviors that reveal something about participants' thinking - in this case, evidence of Ellen's clear understanding of her FLP.

In the Finnish School, the students often sought to break the Finnish-only CLP, as has already been discussed especially in the case of Roni. Other students, as well, used English, but tended to do it more surreptitiously. For example, as Jonna's students read recipes in the classroom, they did all the work in Finnish. However, when they moved to the kitchen, students often spoke English in quiet voices as they stood over the workspaces in small groups, negotiating what to do. For example, I witnessed the following exchange as the girls in Jonna's class were preparing the vanilla sauce mentioned previously:

Elisa: Xxxxx? ((Unclear utterance which was still discernible as English.))

Emma: *Because if you do that then xxx.*

Elisa: Saanks minä nyt?

(Can I now?)

((Elisa stirs the sauce.))

Emma: *Almost. Let me test it.* ((Takes the whisk and stirs the sauce.))

Elisa: Nyt se alkaa olla [valmis]. Pitäs varmaan laittaa pois päältä.

(Now it's about [ready]. We should probably turn it off.)

((Elisa turns off the burner.))

Emma: *Okay. So now we'll let it cool.* ((Puts the pot on the counter.))

(Classroom observation, October 24, 2015)

Some of the girls' exchange was hard to hear even with me standing very near, because they spoke in such soft voices, probably because they did not want to be using English so loudly that they would get reprimanded for it. In any case, they managed to use translanguaging in this manner to achieve their communicative needs. This type of

surreptitious shaping of the CLP was very typical for Jonna's class, where the students' proficiency in Finnish, and therefore the expectation to only use Finnish was higher than in Anna and Hannele's classes.

4.4.2. Translanguaging in the home and in the classroom.

In this section, I describe some of the events in which the Finnish HLLs used translanguaging, and in other cases, used only one language, especially as they took other conversants' language proficiencies into account.

4.4.2.1. Events during which students translanguage.

Students' use of translanguaging was especially interesting when the child would typically use almost all one language, but then switch for a very specific purpose. While Ellen mostly translanguaged by listening to her mother in Finnish and responding in English, there was one instance where she broke this pattern. During the homework dictation event described earlier, Anna modeled the word for squirrel (*orava*) for Ellen, since her drawing that was the basis for her story also included a squirrel:

Anna: Sitte mitäs sä sanot siitä oravasta?

(Then what do you say about the squirrel?)

((Ellen is looking at her other homework book.))

(10 sec.)

Ellen: *That's what he said. Chip chip chip chip chip.*

Anna: Okei mitäs sä sanot siitä oravasta Ellen?)

(Okay what do you say about the squirrel Ellen?)

Ellen: *Chip chip. The olava said chip chip.*

(Home visit, January 19, 2016)

Ellen was getting distracted towards the end of the dictation, and she also seemed frustrated that her mother did not immediately understand that what she was saying

(“chip chip chip”) was part of the dictation. This is when Ellen used a slightly annoyed tone as she repeated what she wanted to say (“chip chip”) and as if to emphasize her meaning, used the word for squirrel in Finnish (she was not able to roll her r’s in Finnish, and replaced the r with an l in the word *orava*). In this case, Ellen used translanguaging as a way to alert her mother to a misunderstanding, express her frustration over it and then emphatically restate what she meant. This shows that Ellen was able to draw on Finnish as a mode for communicating a message, even as she mostly spoke English at home.

An interesting observation as I visited Luna’s family for the first time was that when Luna was playing by herself, she mostly spoke Finnish, even when the only other person in the room was Thelma. The only parts of her speech that were not in Finnish were snippets of the Happy Birthday song in English; otherwise her “private speech,” or way to self-regulate her thoughts (Vygotsky, 1962), was solely in Finnish. I was left wondering why the song was in English - perhaps she had been to an English-speaking friend’s birthday recently. She sang and talked to herself as she was alternately putting her dolls to sleep under a small doll blanket and offering them pretend birthday cake (a grape). The following is a small two-minute excerpt from her private play that went on for several more minutes off and on during my visit:

((Laulaa)) paljon onnea-a vaan paljon onnea-a vaan *happy birthday to you @@@ happy birthday to*, ole kiltti ja nukutaan. ((On syöttävinään nukelle viinirypälettä kakkuna.)) Kakkuja, joo. Ja nukutaan, krooh pyyh. ((Laittaa yhden nukeista peiton alle.)) Nam nam nam nam, nam nam nam nam, nam nam nam nam... ((Syöttää toista nukkea.)) Loppu. Pane kynttilä, joo. Keltanen. Ja nukutaan. Ja punanen ja oranssi ja. ((Laittaa toisenkin nuken peiton alle.)) Hyvä nukutaan, hyvä nukutaan. Krooh pyyh. Nukutaan? Nukutaan. Mitä minä xx minuun. Koska sinä niinku sinuun. Miksi minä nukkuu? Nukutaan? Joo. Nukutaan, nukutaan, (lauleskelee) nukutaan nukutaan nukutaan, nukutaan nukutaan nukutaan... Krooh

pyyh. Joo, minä xxxxxx. Nam nam nam nam, nam nam nam nam... ((Syöttää toista nukeista, sitten laittaa sen takaisin peiton alle.)) Tuttututtuttutu. Ota kainaloon, krooh pyyh. ((Käy itsekin makuulle.)) Nukutaan.

((Sings)) Happy birthday to you, happy birthday to you, *happy birthday to you*, @@@, *happy birthday to*, please let's sleep. Cakes, yes. ((Pretends to feed a doll a grape as cake.)) And sleep, ((snoring noises)). ((Puts one of the dolls under a blanket.)) Nom nom nom nom nom, nom nom nom nom, nom nom nom nom... ((Feeds the other doll.)) The end. Put the candle, yeah. Yellow. And sleep. And red and orange and. ((Puts the other doll under the blanket as well.)) Good let's sleep, good let's sleep. ((Snoring noises)). Let's sleep? Let's sleep. What do I xx me. Because you like to you. Why do I sleep? Let's sleep? Yeah. Sleep, sleep ((sings)) sleep sleep sleep, sleep sleep sleep... ((Snoring noises)). Yeah, I xxxxxx. Nom nom nom nom, nom nom nom nom... ((Feeds one of the dolls, then puts it back under the blanket.)) Tadatadatada. Curl up with me. ((Snoring noises.)) ((Lies down herself.)) Let's sleep.)

(Home visit, February 15, 2016)

Luna's use of Finnish and some English during play is especially interesting since Thelma was a stay-at-home mother and therefore, a lot of parent-initiated language use during the children's play time took place in Zulu. For example, during my third home visit in August, Thelma was the only parent at home, and as she interacted with Luna's younger sister Aada while the toddler was playing with a tablet-controlled robot toy, all of both Thelma and her daughter's speech was in Zulu.

Children's translanguaging practices were often influenced by who was in the room. Thelma explained that the two older girls spoke mostly Finnish and English together, while with the youngest, Aada, they spoke Zulu and Finnish. As the middle child, Luna fluidly moved between languages. For example, during my visit in February the girls had built houses out of some pillows and Luna was trying to get her younger sister to come into the house and her older sister to stay out. Her code-switch into English coincided with a switch in the person she was addressing:

Luna: Aada!

Aada: Mitä?

(What?)

Luna: Tule minun taloon! Tule minun taloon!

(Aada, come inside my house! Come inside my house!)

Aada: Minun talo on rikottu.

(My house is broken.)

Luna: Minun ei ole rikottu.

(Mine is not broken.)

Talia: Minä tulen.

(I'll come.)

Luna: *No! You're not coming in my-* Aada, tule kattomaan minun taloa.

(Aada, come look at my house.)

(Home visit, February 15, 2016)

Another example of this awareness of participants' languages took place when I visited Arttu and Iina's family. There, everyone in the room was a Finnish speaker, and Arttu spoke only Finnish, even to his sister, throughout my visits. Iina used more English, but was clearly a bit embarrassed to be using it - for example, at one point she asked her mother in English, "Is she staying for dinner?" and looked away from me as her mother replied, in Finnish, "No kysypä että jääks hää" (Ask if she'll stay) (Home visit, January 14, 2016). As soon as the siblings left the room to go to the backyard, they switched to English, and the parents said that it was typical for the siblings to use English with each other.

Students often also favored the dominant language when it was explicitly allowed. For example, when interviewing students I asked them whether they wanted to converse in Finnish or in English. Some students took up on my offer to use English, including Markus and the twin boys in Anna's class, Aaro and Viljo. In these cases, the choice

seemed to be proficiency-related. Each of these three boys had somewhat lower Finnish proficiency compared to most students at the Finnish School, and felt more comfortable talking to me in English when they were given that choice.

4.4.2.2. Events during which students use only one language.

As mentioned in the previous section, children were keenly aware of how different participants in the interactions in which they took part afforded or constrained opportunities for translanguaging. For example, in families with an American parent who did not speak Finnish, children tended to use only English while the parent was in the room. For example, during my third visit to Ellen's home, I was sitting at the kitchen table chatting with Anna and Ellen, and Ellen was using a lot of Finnish especially when speaking with me. Then her father Ben came home from work and the parents started talking about Ellen's soccer practice that night. Ellen immediately switched to all English, complaining that she could not find her soccer shorts and asking who would be taking her. While the Finnish parents thought it was important to use the HL during informal conversations (see 4.2.2.1.), for parents and children alike even these language events took place solely in English as soon as the English-speaking parent entered the room.

At the Finnish School, especially the older students mostly persevered with speaking only Finnish during instruction, especially in whole group situations and within earshot of the teacher. For example, Jonna's class discussed, read, and wrote about very abstract concepts such as history, yet students never switched to English during these interactions. For example, the next excerpt is from a lesson during which students wrote about different pre-historic time periods in groups.

Elisa: Mä voin laittaa sen tähän. “He asuivat kodassa, mutta myös tiesivät miten matkustaa kodan kanssa.”

(I can put it here. “They lived in a reindeer skin tent, but also knew how to travel with the tent.”)

((Elisa writes *He asuivat kodassa*, “they lived in reindeer skin tent”, then corrects *kodassa* “in a tent” to *kodissa*, “in tents”))

Emma: Jotka oli helppo siirtää.

(Which were easy to move.)

Elisa: Okei.

(Okay.)

((Elisa adds above: *Jotka oli helppo siirtää*, “Which were easy to move.” She also writes *Ne asui meren vieressä*, “They lived next to the sea.”))

(30 sec. cut)

Arttu: Ensinnä tuli pronssi, sitten rauta ja sitten viikinki.

(First came Bronze, then Iron and then Viking.)

Jonna: Teillä oli rautakaudesta se ja viikingeistä eli tytöt teki kivikaudesta ja teette ihan siitä loppumuinaishistorian ajasta.

(You had it on Iron Age and Vikings so the girls did it about the Stone Age and you will do the latter part of the prehistoric period.)

(Classroom observation, October 17, 2016)

The activity included using specialized vocabulary such as *kota*, “reindeer skin tent,” names for tools and armor, and terms for the different time periods. Yet throughout the whole class, neither Jonna nor the students used any English, even for clarifying vocabulary. In contrast to these formal instructional events, students took the more informal discursive events at the school to mean it was acceptable to start using only English. Most lunchtime conversations among students took place in English, with some teachers, like Anna, making vain attempts to interject questions or comments in Finnish that would shift the language back to Finnish. During recess, the interaction between students was also almost completely in English, even among students with the highest proficiency in Finnish.

4.4.3. Engaging in literacy practices.

As has been demonstrated previously, parents and teachers promoted certain types of literacies at home and in the Finnish School. However, the Finnish HLLs demonstrated their agency by making their own choices about literacy practices especially in the homes. In this section, some of students' more typical traditional and digital literacy practices are described.

4.4.3.1. Traditional literacies.

Many forms of traditional literacies in which I saw students engaging in the homes involved comics, whether in Finnish or English. While students mostly read in English, some of the reading for pleasure they did do in Finnish was via comics. When I visited Roni for the first time, he first completed his homework and then started reading *Aku Ankka*, a Donald Duck comic book. I also saw Luna's older sister Talia reading an *Aku Ankka* comic during my first visit with the family, and Arttu, as well, reported that he often reads *Aku Ankka*. *Aku Ankka* comics are popular with Finnish children and adults alike - the weekly periodical has over a million readers in Finland (Sanoma Magazines, 2012). With such a following among Finns, *Aku Ankka* is also an important cultural icon, which gets referenced in other media. I saw *Aku Ankka* comics on most bookshelves I investigated. One reason for the comic's popularity with Finnish readers is its rich language. The comics are skillful, culturally adapted translations typically from Danish, Dutch, or English, and include word play with archaic words, dialectal expressions, and vernacular language (Pesonen, 2007). The language is often completely understandable only after a few years of Finnish-language schooling (Pesonen, 2007), so it is a testimony to the quality of the comic that even Finnish HLLs were sufficiently motivated by it to tackle the challenging text.

Reading for pleasure also involved books with simpler language, especially when it came to novels. With Finnish novels meant for preteens, my participants often reported that the text was too difficult for them to enjoy reading it. Thus, the participants instead enjoyed reading books that had fairly simple storylines and language. For example, Arttu reported reading both comic books and short chapter books:

JMT: Minkälaisia kirjoja sä luet suomeksi?

(What type of books do you read in Finnish?)

Arttu: Niinkun Tintintä. Asterixia. Mä oon lukemassa yhtä- tätä vähän niinku Risto Räppääjää.

(Like Tintin. Asterix. I am reading a- this like Risto Räppääjä.)

JMT: Onks ne kaikki sarjakuvia vai onks niissä ihan paljonki tekstiä?

(Are they all comic books or do they have a lot of text in them?)

Arttu: Yhessä on paljon tekstiä, pari muuta on sarjakuvia.

(One has a lot of text, a couple of others are comic books.)

(Interview, January 14, 2016)

The Belgian comic *Tintin* (by Hergé) and the French comic *Asterix* (by Albert Uderzo and René Goscinny) were first translated into Finnish in the 1950s and 60s and the *Risto Räppääjä* series by authors Sinikka Nopola and Tiina Nopola have become popular among Finnish children since the first book in the series was published in 1997, with several of the books having also been made into movies. By reading books such as these, the Finnish HLLs were re-engaging with texts that are in a dialogic relationship (Bakhtin, 1981) with other texts in Finnish, and connecting them to the wider Finnish culture even while they themselves lived outside of its primary sphere. However, student-chosen literacies were mostly in English, as has been discussed earlier. By choosing these literacies, HLLs renegotiated the socialization processes and shifted the HL literacy practices their parents promoted towards English-language literacies.

4.4.3.2. *Digital literacies.*

All of the student participants in my study reported engaging with digital literacies at least to some extent; most often, they reported playing video games. Indeed, digital literacies in the lives of middle-income children have become almost as ubiquitous as print literacies (for a discussion on technology access and equity, see Warschauer & Matuchniak, 2010). Even though parents are usually the ones who pay for the video games, it is the children who bring video gaming into the family's repertoire of language and literacy socialization processes, whether or not they are recognized as such by the parents. This is another good example of how children are not nearly passive receivers of language and literacy socialization, but active agents in the process (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008).

Minecraft (<https://minecraft.net/en/>) was probably the most popular video game among my participants. In Luna's home, the game was installed on a desktop computer conveniently placed on a low table in a nook between the kitchen and the living room, which also contained children's books and games. The children, including Luna's 2-year-old sister, took turns sitting at the computer and playing. Their disagreements about whose turn it was to play attested to the popularity of the game with the girls. Roni, Arttu, and Iina also played the game. The basic game has no set direction or narrative, which promotes the player's own creativity (Elliott, 2014). While *Minecraft* has been found to promote different aspects of digital literacy such as navigating virtual environments, collaborating online, strategizing, and creativity (Burnett & Bailey, 2014; Marcon, 2016), it also promotes some more traditional literacy skills such as writing and reading to communicate with co-players, identifying objects by their written labels, and reading on-screen tips. Often, playing *Minecraft* also leads to other literacy practices such as reading

the *Minecraft Wiki* (http://minecraft.gamepedia.com/Minecraft_Wiki) or watching *Minecraft* gamers on Youtube to get ideas for gameplay, which I described Roni doing in section 4.2.3.2.

Digital literacies were a way for the children in my study to construct literate identities through practices that were quite separate from anything their parents or their Finnish School teachers promoted. *Minecraft*, especially, also has its very own Discourse, in which non-gamers are not proficient, including, for example, names of characters such as Enderdragon and Creeper. Therefore, the children were also building their identities as gamers through playing the game and engaging with others who played it. However, not all of the technologies students used involved a great deal of language. For example, Ina showed me one of her favorite games on her tablet, which involved simply racing geometric shapes across the screen. As HLLs spend more and more time with technology instead of books, such video games may further limit their exposure to language and print. And since the technologies that do promote digital literacies such as the *Minecraft* video game that children in my study enjoyed, are mostly in English, this means that students' choosing these digital literacies instead of traditional literacies was actually curbing their own opportunities for HL development.

4.5. Students' Identity Construction within Language and Literacy Socialization

As discussed earlier, for HLLs, the process of constructing one's identities is often that of moving among different languages and cultures (Asher, 2008) and different Discourses (Gee, 1992; 2015). For the students in my study, this was certainly the case, even as their parents would have perhaps wished otherwise. When I asked Roni's mother Tuija why she insisted on enforcing a Finnish-only policy in the home, she explained the

importance of language as a form of capital that was part of her identity and could become part of her child's identity:

Kyllä mun mielestä [kieli] on ihan pääoma itnessään. Ja semmonen jotenkin maailman rakennuspalikka kuitenkin. Ja varmasti niinku identiteetin rakennuspalikka... Ikinä ei oo käyny mielessäkään se että jotenki alkais sitä jättää puhumatta vaikka se ei olis hyödyllinen, että kyllä se on niin vaan osa sit kuitenkin omaa itseä.

(I do think that [language] is capital in itself. And like a kind of a building block of the world. And surely like a building block of identity... It never occurred to me that I would somehow stop speaking it even if it wasn't useful, it is such a part of me.)

(Interview, June 1, 2016)

It is interesting that Tuija brought up capital when discussing the importance of the HL. Bourdieu (1986) has theorized that one type of cultural capital, embodied cultural capital, including linguistic capital, is developed over time through socialization, as people acquire it and it becomes an integrated part of their identity (Bourdieu, 1986). Since this process is to a great extent unconscious, HL as cultural capital is not so much a useful good to be knowingly acquired (in a way a foreign language might be), as it is just a naturally developing part of one's self, as Tuija stated.

While the adults in the study often made comments related to their own or students' identity work, it was more difficult to elicit anything similar from the HLLs through direct means such as interview questions. The HLLs in my study, perhaps due to their young age, were rarely even able to label themselves as having any one type of ethnolinguistic identity. For example, I often got answers such as this, even from the oldest students such as 10-year old Zack:

JMT: Ootsä enemmän suomalainen vai englantilainen, vai onko se puolet ja puolet?

(Are you more Finnish or British, or is it half and half?)

Zack: En tiedä.

(I don't know.)

(Interview, March 9, 2016)

However, it was possible to get glimpses of the children's identities as they were displayed in their discourses. The HLLs in my study were often eager to display a strongly Finnish discursive identity when I visited their homes. It is possible that they did so because my presence as a Finnish School teacher and a Finnish speaker increased the formality of the situation (see also Ochs, 1986), which influenced their behavior. For example, when I visited Roni's home, he readily complied with Tuija's language policy, speaking only Finnish to his mother and me, using language to show membership in the Finnish social group to which he perceived his mother and me to belong. It also seems that he wanted to present himself to me as an individual fully literate in Finnish, as evidenced by the following exchange during the first home visit:

JMT: Tykkäätsä lukea suomeksi?

(Do you like to read in Finnish?)

Roni: Joo.

(Yeah.)

JMT: Minkäslaisia kirjoja sulla on?

(What type of books do you have?)

Roni: Mulla on pitkiä kirjoja, mullon tietokirjoja.

(I have long books, I have informational books.)

JMT: Luetsä vielä kuvakirjoja?

(Do you still read picture books?)

Roni: Mulla ei oo mitään niitä mutta mä luen niitä koulussa.

(I don't have any but I read them at school.)

Tuija: Jos mä saan puuttua niin et sä kyllä pitkiä novelleja [romaneja] lue.

(If I can interfere, you don't actually read long novels.)

(10 sec. cut)

Roni: Mä haen mun kirjoja.

(I will go get my books.)

Tuija: ((Whispers as Roni leaves the room))

Anteeksi kun mä puutun mutta ei se lue mitään pitkiä kirjoja.

(I'm sorry to interfere but he doesn't read any long books.)

(Home visit, January 7, 2016)

It was also clear from Tuija's whispered words that she did not yet consider her son a fully literate member of the Finnish community.

Roni's enactment of a Finnish identity at home was in stark contrast with his behavior at the Finnish school, where, as has been discussed with excerpts in previous sections, I frequently observed him switching to English, seemingly to impress his friends by acting as the class clown. This took place even while his mother was present in the role of a parent volunteer. For example, during one class, as Hannele was going through some answers in a worksheet, he was playing with his eraser, pretending it to be a spaceship and trying to engage Zack and Markus:

Roni: *Tschhh, lightning force!*

Hannele: Roni, keskitys!

(Roni, focus!)

Roni: *It destroys anything.*

Hannele: Mikäs sulla siinä seuraavassa on?

(What do you have in that next one?)

(20 sec. cut)

Roni: *A message from the dark side you have.*

Markus: *A message from the dark side you have.*

Roni: *Hello, we come to destroy you.*

(Classroom observation, November 7, 2015)

Roni was often in the center of the boys' off-task behavior and visibly enjoyed the reaction he got from the others with his creative use of language, pop culture references (such as the one about *Star Wars* above), and jokes. Such creative use of translanguaging for identity work has also been observed by other scholars, albeit with older participants (Li, 2011). During this type of exchanges, Roni enacted an identity that was multilingual and multicultural, and that connected him more closely to the peer group than the teacher.

In contrast, Anna's daughter Ellen often spoke mostly Finnish at the Finnish School, both to her mother and other students. Anna had lamented to me how her children rarely wanted to speak Finnish with her; however, in the Finnish school where her role was to be Ellen's teacher, not mother, Ellen did speak Finnish to her. This is indicative of not just participants, but participants in certain roles and in certain contexts influencing socialization processes and the identities that students displayed as a result. For example, on February 20, 2016 I observed a show-and-tell event where Ellen was describing the contents of a little purse she had brought to school. She struggled to find words for such items as lip gloss and mirror, but each time she got stuck, instead of switching to English, she would persist in Finnish and say, "En tiedä suomeksi" (I don't know [it] in Finnish"). Anna would then either supply the word or ask the class if anyone knew the word. As was mentioned earlier, Ellen spoke only English with her older siblings, which undoubtedly affected the way she saw herself and the importance of Finnish as part of her identity. Older siblings' influence on the younger children in the family is not a new theme in language socialization studies (e.g. Kyratzis, 2004), and

would form an interesting additional data point in this study, as well; however, here I focused more on the interactions between the focal students and the adults in their lives.

In the Finnish School, Luna tended to enact a discursive identity as a competent Finnish speaker. Her language proficiency may have contributed to this, since living mostly in an environment that was permeated with her two heritage languages, Zulu and Finnish, she did not yet often switch to English, which was still the weakest of her three languages. However, when I asked her about her languages she seemed to think differently, perhaps anticipating what I wanted to hear:

JMT: Sä osaat suomea ja englantia. Kumpaa sä puhut sun mielestä enemmän?
(You know Finnish and English. Which one do you think you can speak more?)

Luna: Englantia.
(English.)

JMT: No entäs, äitin kanssa sä tietysti puhut zuluja sitten. Vai?
(What about, with mom you of course speak Zulu then. Or?)

Luna: Mä puhun paljon zuluja kanssa.
(I speak a lot of Zulu as well.)

(Interview, February 15, 2016)

Additionally, Luna spoke very little overall at the Finnish School, possibly because this was her first experience with formal schooling, and she was still searching for ways to be in this social situation. However, she would from time to time raise her hand to answer a question in Finnish from Anna. At home, she was much more gregarious, tumbling happily with her sisters and talking constantly in all three languages - in Zulu to her mother, in Finnish to her father, and mostly in Finnish and Zulu though sometimes in English to her sisters. It is this intertwining of different identities - such as “student” or

“sister” - across different languages and settings that makes the identity work of HLLs a complex process.

Arttu and Iina, though being from an all-Finnish family, spoke English with each other and in most social situations with multilingual speakers, such as at recess time in the Finnish School. In situations that the siblings interpreted as calling for the use of Finnish, such as when I was present as a researcher, these two siblings displayed markedly different identities. Arttu typically stuck with Finnish throughout these situations. His parents described him as “meijän hiljanen viikinki” (our silent Viking) (Interview with Saara, August 15, 2016), and as passionately proud about being a Finn - though he did not express this quite as strongly to me, merely saying that he was “sekä amerikkalainen että suomalainen” (both American and Finnish; interview with Arttu, January 14, 2016). According to Saara, it did not matter to Iina what identity she had, as long as she could interact with friends: “[Iina] ei välitä onko se suomalainen vai saksalainen vai nigerialainen, kunhan se saa olla kavereittensa kanssa, se on meijän seurapiiriperhonen.” ([Iina] does not care if she’s Finnish or German or Nigerian, as long as she can be with her friends, she is our social butterfly) (Interview, August 15, 2016). It may be that by positioning her children this way, Saara reinforced both Arttu’s “Finnishness” and Iina’s multiplicity in the home. However, in the Finnish School Iina did obviously want to project a Finnish identity, as was discussed in conjunction with her managing her peers’ language use in the classroom (section 4.4.1.1.). Moreover, Iina stated that as an adult, she wanted to be able to use both languages, as she wanted to become a third-grade teacher, possibly in Finland.

It is indicative of the power of English in these students' environments that this language seemed to be the "unmarked" choice (Myers Scotton, 1983) through which students interacted in most situations. It was only in certain cases with certain conditions and participants in place, that students used Finnish and outwardly displayed identities as Finnish speakers. However, students' ability to move between languages and cultures shows that they had constructed complex and multilingual identities. There was constant fluidity in students' discursive identities as they moved from one linguistic and social context to another, from one language and literacy event to another, and even as they talked to different people within the same social context or vice versa. It points to the ability of even such young children to choose the social group in which they want to show membership, and to use languages as a tool in the process. These findings resonate with previous literature on multilingual and multicultural students' identity construction and serve as further evidence that identities are socially constructed and in constant motion (Abdi, 2011; Doerr & Lee, 2009; Li, 2011).

5. Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the language and literacy socialization processes across Finnish and English in a Finnish HL school in the Eastern part of the United States and in the homes of elementary school-age Finnish HLLs. The study examines the socialization processes from the perspectives of five focal students, and the three Finnish School teachers and parents of the focal students. In this study, I operationalized language and literacy socialization as the processes of formulating family and classroom language policies, translanguaging and managing others' translanguaging, and promoting and engaging in frequently occurring literacy practices across languages. Additionally, this study considered the discursive identities students constructed in interactions with different participants, in different settings, and in different language and literacy events.

The study was guided by language socialization theory, which posits that children are both socialized *through* language (language as a tool of socialization) and socialized *to use* language (language as a goal of socialization) (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986a). As a result of the socialization, children learn the particular Discourses (Gee, 1992; 2015) of the social groups with which they interact, and acquire identities that grant them full membership in the groups. In these social groups, children learn socially acceptable ways of speaking and acting from the more experienced members of the group, which together operates as a community of practice with a shared repertoire of routines, language, and artifacts (Lave & Wenger, 1998; Wenger, 1998). For HLLs in this study, code choice was an important part of what was considered acceptable by the parents and teachers. In this study, the notion of new literacies (Gee, 2015; Street, 2000; 2003) was important for

understanding literacies as multiple, socially negotiated, crossing the borders of languages and media, and rooted in sociocultural meanings.

I drew on a variety of data to understand the socialization processes taking place in the Finnish School and the participants' homes. I conceptualized HLLs' socialization as manifesting through participants' language policy negotiation, engagement in translanguaging, and enactment of language and literacy practices across multiple languages in literacy events. Therefore, I viewed video and audio-recorded observations and detailed field notes of the observations as important data that would reveal these types of language and literacy socialization processes taking place in participants' moment-to-moment interactions. A close, microethnographic analysis of the transcripts and field notes of these interactions revealed that parents and teachers in my study attempted to socialize the HLLs mainly into using only Finnish and engaging with Finnish-language literacies. I collected and interpreted ethnographic data through participant interviews, thick description of the settings, and prolonged observation (from October 2015 to August 2016) and constructed the practices and ideologies underpinning the language and literacy events I observed.

As discussed in the findings, this study revealed that parents and teachers maintained strict Finnish-only policies, discouraged translanguaging, and engaged the HLLs in traditional Finnish language and literacy practices. These efforts were closely tied to parents' language ideologies, in which maintenance of the HL was seen as extremely important. However, HLLs renegotiated these processes as they continually crossed the boundaries of languages, translanguaging frequently, switching completely to English, and voluntarily engaging mostly in digital forms of literacies, which were

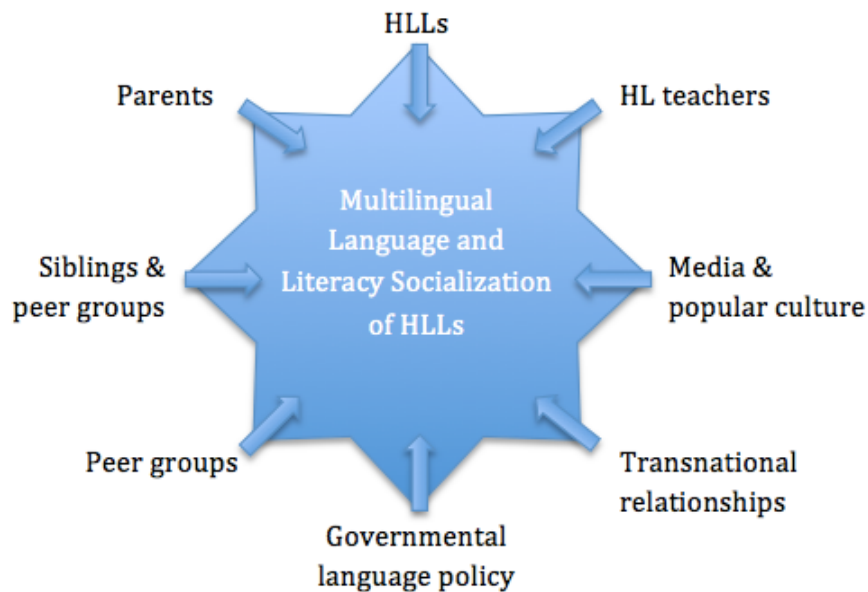
predominantly in English. Students' agency was also revealed in ways they constructed multilingual and multinational identities within the socialization processes, fluidly moving between these in different situations. The wider social influence of a small linguistic minority living in an English-dominant context had a profound effect on families and even the Finnish School. HLLs' non-Finnish speaking parents, their English-medium schoolwork, and their hours spent outside of homes and the Finnish School all created tears in the thin Finnish-only fabric the Finnish parents tried to weave around the HLLs. Indeed, this study gave rise to questions about the very nature of HL maintenance. After all, the word "maintenance" carries the connotation of maintaining something that you already have. However, as heritage language scholars before me have pointed out (Valdés, 2005), HL communities create their own, new language varieties that may differ from the varieties used in the home country. Certainly, the Finnish HLLs in my study did not possess the same language variety their Finnish-speaking parents, having grown up in a majority Finnish-speaking environment, possessed. This was evidenced, for example, by HLLs' frequent use of translanguaging. By exerting their agency, HLLs build HL varieties suitable for their own purposes and closely tied with their multilingual and multicultural identities. Therefore, it might be more accurate to describe HLLs' language and literacy socialization as HL *construction* or *development* rather than maintenance.

Many influences shape HL construction. While the findings of this study pointed to the strong bidirectionality of the socialization processes between the adults and the HLLs, a figure illustrating the socialization should perhaps be drawn more as a multi-pointed star (see Figure 1) than a bidirectional arrow. This is because there are many more influences on the socialization processes than those of HLLs and their parents and

teachers, even though I chose to focus on these sources of influence in this study. Siblings and peer groups, the society and its language policies in the United States, media and popular culture, and transnational relationships with grandparents and other family outside of the United States all have a strong influence on language and literacy socialization processes, the way they are enacted, and the ideologies on which they are mapped. All of these influences were present to some degree in this study.

Figure 1.

Multiple Influences on Language and Literacy Socialization.



The theoretical lenses I chose for the examination of language and literacy socialization processes, including language policy, translanguaging, and multilingual literacy practices, proved to be useful in uncovering these influences. Below, I return to the research questions as I summarize the findings discussed in the previous chapter.

5.1. Addressing the Research Questions

In this section I summarize the findings of this study, which were discussed more extensively in chapter 4. Each subsection answers one of the four research questions.

5.1.1. How do parents of young Finnish HLLs socialize their children into language and literacy practices?

The Finnish parents in my study naturally strove to socialize their children with the use of Finnish as both the tool and the goal of language and literacy socialization. All of the parents spoke at least one other language in addition to Finnish and English, and so multilingualism was a norm in these families. Consequently, children were encouraged by their Finnish parents to maintain their HL and not become monolingual English speakers, which parents saw as a real threat. Strict OPOL-policies in the homes and attempts at curbing children's translanguaging were common socialization practices across the families. Many parents felt keenly the pressure of the English-dominant environment in which they were raising their children, and these practices stemmed from parents' beliefs that without the strict enforcement of a HL-only policy in the home, children would lose their HL. However, both the non-Finnish speaking spouses' presence and the children's resistance complicated the Finnish-speaking parents' efforts at maintaining Finnish-only spaces in the homes. Parents also engaged their children in varied literacy practices in the HL, including reading aloud books from their own childhood or from popular series. However, total time spent on literacy practices was often consumed by tasks mandated by the children's English-medium mainstream schools: homework completion in English was a frequently observed literacy practice that took place in the homes. Parents also engaged their children in digital literacies by providing them access to video games, Youtube videos, and the like. These were

typically in English and further limited children's engagement with HL literacies, which the parents did not always acknowledge.

5.1.2. How do Finnish School teachers socialize their students into language and literacy practices?

In the Finnish School, teachers often employed similar tactics as parents when socializing the HLLs into using Finnish. This is no surprise, as teachers were all parents of HLLs themselves. In the school context, teachers were often more successful with enforcing Finnish-only policies and curbing students' translanguaging than parents were in the homes. The schoolwide expectation of "at the Finnish School we speak Finnish" (Anna, October 24, 2015) was felt in every classroom, and all the teachers adhered to the expectation as much as they could. All of the literacy instruction took place in Finnish, using Finnish-only texts. Texts were also mostly taken directly from textbooks and materials meant for schoolchildren in Finland, which reflected teachers' beliefs that practices such as analyzing language morphologically, which was often a grammar focus in these books, were important for Finnish HLLs' language acquisition and development into competent, literate Finnish users. Even when using texts from other sources besides textbooks, such as when Jonna had her students prepare food from recipes, the instruction surrounding the text was fairly traditional, and included, for example, reviewing vocabulary. Vocabulary overall was a strong instructional focus for all the teachers, and it was especially seen as a bridge to greater reading fluency and comprehension. Digital and other new literacies were not seen in the classrooms, and teachers denied that these were useful or needed. Traditional literacy practices and plentiful oral language were seen as the best ways to create a haven for Finnish acquisition, especially within the time constraints of the Finnish School day.

5.1.3. How do the HLLs influence these socialization processes?

Past research on language socialization has often focused on parents' and other experts' practices as they attempt to socialize children into the language and literacy practices of their community. Only recently have researchers begun to acknowledge the influence of children on socialization processes such as the negotiation of FLPs (e.g. Kayam & Hirsch, 2014; Pillai, Soh, & Kajita, 2014). This study showed that children actively took part in socialization processes by resisting, challenging, negotiating, and often also furthering parents' and teachers' efforts at socializing them into using and acquiring Finnish. Children were very aware of the parents' and teachers' language policies and language management efforts, and in many cases willingly participated in activities that strengthened their HL, such as reading Finnish comics, speaking to their parents in Finnish, and trying to find the words in Finnish even when they did not come easily. At the same time, by virtue of living in the United States, the children's attitudes and behavior were necessarily influenced by the context. The non-Finnish speaking people (such as parents, siblings, and friends) in their lives, the fact that most of them were being formally schooled only in English, and the flood of English-language content they received from books, TV, the Internet, and video games, all led to the pervasion of English in their lives. These influences often led to children to exert their agency in ways that constrained their opportunities for HL acquisition, such as choosing to read for pleasure in English instead of Finnish, or refusing to use Finnish even with their Finnish-speaking parent.

5.1.4. How are the HLLs' discursive identities constructed in interactions at home and at the Finnish School?

The HLLs in this study constructed identities that were constantly shifting depending on the speakers and setting of the discourses. While identity research has typically focused on teenagers and adults, this study showed that even at such a young age, five to eleven year old participants were able to use language creatively for identity work (Li, 2011), to index identities that positioned them variously as competent HL speakers, fully literate members of the HL community, multilinguals able to use languages for humor, or English experts. While the teachers' and Finnish parents' language and literacy socialization efforts with the HLLs often focused on the use of the HL, and attempted to position students as mainly HL speakers, the HLLs themselves often displayed English-dominant and multilingual identities as they translanguage and expressed preference for the English language and English-language literacies. With HLLs, English was the unmarked language that could be used in most interactions, and Finnish or another HL was used mainly in certain situations, such as during a HL lesson, or with certain people, such as the Finnish-speaking parent. As has been discussed in section 2.3.4., this resonates with previous findings about multilingual students' identity construction, which points to the tendency of HLLs to identify with the dominant culture and language while also indexing their HL for constructing multilingual identities among others like them (Li, 2011; Tuominen, 1999).

5.2. Contributions to Research

Early language socialization research focused on L1 socialization in monolingual contexts (e.g. Heath, 1982; 1983; Ochs, 1988), but studies in multilingual contexts began in earnest a decade later (e.g. Kulick, 1992). It has only been since the beginning of the

2000's that socialization research began to focus strongly on immigrant HL communities in the United States, and the first studies were often done in the context of homes, public schools and universities, or religious schools. HL schools, especially, have yet to become frequent sites for language and literacy socialization studies, even though they exist in the thousands in the United States, as stated earlier (Fishman, 2014). One of the reasons for this is that because of an unfavorable opinion and policy climate in the United States that has varied from indifference to outright hostility towards immigrants and their desire to hold on to their HLs, these schools have typically been hiding in plain sight, operating on private funds out of church basements and community centers. It is telling that the National Heritage Language Resource Center at UCLA (NHLRC, 2016) is only now conducting the first large-scale surveys of community-based HL programs in the United States. HL schools as sites for language and literacy socialization is unquestionably a new research direction.

This study also contributes to both HL and language socialization research and expands their scope by examining a previously under-researched group of HLLs. As stated before, HL research as a field in the United States is fairly young and naturally began with studies that focused on large language minorities (e.g. Chinese - He, 2001; Spanish - Roca & Colombi, 2003). The field has only in recent years started to examine literacy socialization with less populous HL communities. This study advances the field of HL research by exploring how one particular HL school, a Finnish School, socialized its students into language and literacy practices in the HL, as well as combining data from an HL school with data from the students' homes in an effort to build a robust, multi-site picture of the Finnish HL community.

While earlier studies on Finnish HLLs in English-dominant contexts have examined topics such as ethnic identity (Jurva & Jaya, 2008; Koivula, 2000) and codeswitching (Halmari, 1992; Halmari, 2005; Halmari & Cooper, 1998; Lauttamus, 1992; Kovács, 1998; Männikkö, 2004), this is the first study to shed light on a wide array of language and literacy practices of this group, and to do so from a socialization perspective. This study corroborated findings from other, larger and more frequently researched HL communities, thus strengthening the HL research base as a whole. Findings that corroborated previous research included parents' and HL teachers' efforts at imposing HL-only policies in HL learning spaces. However, this study goes beyond corroborating previous findings of adults' and other experts' influence on language and literacy socialization processes by providing strong evidence of how even young children can use their agency and influence as a counterweight in these processes. In particular, the present study contributes to translanguaging research by revealing the ways HLLs used translanguaging as an agentive tool to influence socialization, including classroom and family language policies, and as a way to construct and display their identities as creative, independent users of multiple languages. Both researchers and practitioners would benefit from recognizing the power young HLLs wield by using translanguaging in such ways.

Finally, the study contributes to the field of literacy research in two ways. First, the study demonstrates how important it is to consider not only different languages, but also different media when examining the literacy practices of multilingual individuals. Especially in the case of children and adolescents, digital literacies are becoming increasingly important channels for literacy development, and we need to turn our

attention to the complex intersections of technologies, literacies, and languages when examining how multilingual individuals acquire and use literacies.

Second, while literacy research among linguistically diverse students often focuses on ELLs and their struggles with acquiring English, this study revealed how a well-resourced linguistic minority struggled not with helping its youngest members acquire English, but with maintaining its HL in a context where English was the dominant language. Indeed, the HLLs in my study were mostly above grade level in their English literacy skills, which challenges the notion of a “typical good reader” as someone whose strengths stem from a monolingual background matching the language of the school. Consequently, literacy research needs to examine multilingual readers’ literacies by accounting for the richness of the linguistic and cultural resources they bring to their interactions with both traditional text and new literacies. Research also needs to reveal the best ways for teachers to draw on these resources. Such research requires methodological robustness by going beyond reading assessment scores so that the multiple layers of literacies inherent in multilingual contexts can be revealed. In this study, analyzing not only the literacy events that took place across contexts, but also the literacy practices and ideologies from which the events stemmed, revealed important aspects of literacy development in multilingual contexts.

5.3. Implications for Practice

5.3.1. Implications for P-12 teachers and teacher education.

As the number of immigrants in the United States and their children who attend school here keeps increasing, it is becoming critically important that teachers realize not all linguistically diverse students in their classrooms bear a readily apparent label such as

“English language learner,” with the services and regulations that often follow that label. Up to half of the linguistically diverse students in today’s classrooms may in fact be struggling more with learning their HL, not English. While it is obviously to the benefit of the schools, the nation, and immigrants themselves that they learn the dominant language of the society, HLLs should also not be overlooked. I wish to reiterate two points related to this, drawing again on Ruíz’s (1988) notion of language as a resource and language as a right. First, language can be a tremendous resource not only for the individual but for the whole society. At the individual level, strong HL proficiency and especially literacy would form a strong foundation for the learning of the dominant language and a springboard to overall academic success, a fact that has again and again been proven by research. Therefore, it would behoove schools to support HL programs and teachers to let students draw on their HL when learning English. Moreover, the nation is investing a great deal of money into Startalk and other language programs aimed at training people in so-called critical languages - people who often start with no linguistic or cultural background in these languages whatsoever - while at the same time overlooking and stamping out the potential that lies in HLLs, natural language experts growing up in multilingual homes all across the country. It makes sense in many ways, including financially, to invest in HLLs’ HL development and maintenance. Second, language is not just a resource or a commodity. Following the principle of language as a right, language is part of a person’s identity, part of who the person is. Fundamentally, losing one’s HL proficiency can be “more than just a loss of a linguistic system; it is a separation from [one’s] roots, a denial of [one’s] ethnic identity, and a dismissal of [one’s] potential as a bilingual and bicultural member of society” (Lee & Oxelson, 2002, p. 455).

Robbing HLLs of their HL by enforcing English-only policies in education goes against the principles of democracy and equality this nation and its schools should be championing.

Some of the ways teacher education programs, schools, and even individual educators could begin to reverse the current situation are listed below:

- Teacher education programs should urge future teachers to see HL maintenance as a right and to help them understand how HLs can act as a resource for student learning. Teacher educators need to strengthen future teachers' theoretical knowledge of how multilingual students learn, as well as place teacher candidates in teaching internships in which experienced mentor teachers model best practices with multilingual learners and in which the school climate is supportive of HL maintenance.
- Teachers should become knowledgeable about students' backgrounds, their languages and literacies, and the “funds of knowledge” they bring to school, as Moll et al., (1992) twenty-five years ago urged teachers to do, and treat these as the valuable resources they are instead of as hindrances to the learning of English. Learning about the strengths students bring to school will help educators tailor learning experiences that draw on these strengths. This is especially important in the case of language minorities who are fairly invisible, such as Finnish HLLs who come from fairly affluent, educated, and mostly white family backgrounds. This is because teachers who are mostly middle class and white themselves may overlook diversity in students whose backgrounds at first glance are the same as theirs. Starting with pre-service teacher education, teachers should be led to

consider a wide array of diversity in the classroom and not to take any student's cultural or linguistic background for granted.

- Schools should invite HLs and HL literacies into the sphere of the school by having bilingual dictionaries and HL books available; allowing students to use their HLs in classroom discussions; allowing students to complete some assignments such as free reading in their HL; and actively seeking and supporting parents' involvement in the school even when they do not speak English. These strategies will make schools more democratic, communicate to all students that they are valued, and support students' learning by allowing them to connect to background knowledge and make meaning while drawing on their full linguistic repertoire.
- Schools should support HL programs, whether through sharing tangible resources such as classroom space and technology, or through official recognition such as credits granted for the study of HLs, or through teacher training for HL teachers. The latter could also be realized through partnerships with university teacher education programs. These strategies will bring HLs to the center from the margins, maximize the use of facilities and resources, and ease the struggle to train linguists later on.

5.3.2. Implications for HL educators and parents of HLLs.

HL schools have traditionally attempted to act as HL oases in the sea of a dominant language society, and the traditional ways of doing this have been to stick with strict HL only - policies in the classrooms, and teach language and literacy according to the traditions of the homeland. In some cases, by the time these traditions have wound

their way into HL classrooms and are implemented by HL educators, they may not reflect the realities in the schools of the homeland, much less the realities of the multilingual, multicultural HL classrooms. It is understandable that HL educators feel that maximizing HL use in the school is imperative, since most HL schools operate only for a few hours a week. However, for HLLs it may not be the best way to learn. This is the point that I tried to drive home when training a group of HL educators recently. “HLLs are unlike students back home,” I said, “they will always be between languages and cultures. They are not Finnish students.” “But I want them to be!” one participant exclaimed. Yes, HL educators might want them to be. But it is not realistic to expect that HLLs will learn in the same way as students “back home.” Moreover, as technology becomes increasingly important in students’ lives, HL educators will need to start thinking of ways to best incorporate digital literacies into HL instruction. HL educators may want to consider strategies listed below.

- Students should be allowed use translanguaging practices in the HL classroom, to make meaning of their HL learning. While my participating teachers’ notion of providing students maximum exposure to the HL during the limited time they are in the HL classrooms is certainly valid, it is also important for HL teachers to understand that translanguaging practices are commonly used outside of the classroom and could be draw upon by teachers as a resource to explore meaning and push students’ thinking, rather than being prohibited. Translanguaging can lead to improved meaning-making and a validation of HLLs’ identities as multilingual and multicultural individuals, as students feel that they can freely draw on their full linguistic repertoire. For example, HL teachers could be flexible

by allowing HLLs to translanguage while working with their peers on a learning task, as the interlocutors in such interactions share a similar linguistic repertoire.

- Digital and other new literacies that blend sound, text, and visuals can be incorporated into HL instruction in many ways. Doing so taps into literacies that naturally interest young HLLs, as was seen in this study, and can combat disinterest some students may feel towards learning their HL. For example, students could look up information online, access mobile apps for learning, and watch and create videos in the HL. In order to effectively use these new literacies, HL teachers need to stay current on both learning technology and HL learning methods.
- HL teachers should also think about allowing students' interests to drive instruction to a greater degree in order to increase their motivation to use their HL. For example, HLLs can be allowed to choose the texts, topics, and modalities used in HL instruction. As educators in Finland and elsewhere struggle to tap into the motivation of especially boys (Valtioneuvosto, 2015), these measures would be vitally important in addressing the motivational needs of HLLs who, due to various factors such as the dominance of the non-heritage language in their lives do not feel interest towards HL learning.

For parents, I would give this same advice, of course adapted to the home context, and a few more:

- Parents should remember that their child may be growing up in a very different situation compared to them. While the parents may have grown up with a strong ethnolinguistic identity founded on one home language and culture, by raising

their child in a different country parents have created a very different childhood for that child. Parents should not lower their expectations for their child's HL development - just adjust them to match the realities of their family's situation. Parents should also be aware that FLP is very much a negotiation between family members, not a decree from the parents. Acknowledging these facts may ease the tensions caused by the family members' different approaches to language and literacy socialization. For example, instead of a strict enforcement via the principle of OPOL, a more flexible FLP might be to have HLLs use the HL when the HL-speaking parent is the only one in the room, as was Anna's usual practice with her children.

- However, parents should not give up their efforts of socializing their child into their HL and heritage culture. Language and culture are a part of the child's identity and parents are their primary transmitters in childhood. Parents should visit the homeland with their child if they can, or have family from the home country come visit. Talking to the child in the HL and doing things together in situations where both will enjoy interacting in the HL are great ways of ensuring transmission of the heritage language and culture. During these interactions, children should be allowed to translanguage, as this is a natural form of communication for HLLs.
- Reading aloud to the child in the HL is another important way parents can develop HL vocabulary and literacy. Reading aloud in the HL provides the child access to texts at a higher reading level than he or she might be able to read independently, thus providing exposure to rich vocabulary and age-appropriate,

interesting content. A good example of such practices in this study was Tuija's approach to reading aloud to Roni: read-alouds had remained a regular part of their day even after Roni learned to read, and together the parent and child were able to tackle challenging yet interesting texts. It is perhaps not a coincidence that Roni possessed some of the strongest HL skills of the children in my study.

5.4. Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This study draws on a limited data set collected from three classrooms in one HL school and a small number of homes in a particular HL community. My interpretations of the socialization processes in the Finnish School were strengthened by the fact that I had been a teacher in the school and was therefore intimately familiar with its inner workings. However, I feel that I never did come to understand the families I observed as deeply. A greater number of observations in each home may have offered me insights I was not able to gain from visiting the families only three times. However, since the Finnish HL community was a previously unexplored group, I felt justified in gaining a broad-but-shallow instead of a narrow-but-deep understanding of the home contexts. Once research has established such a wide view of a particular HL community and its language and literacy practices, future studies should employ prolonged observation of a smaller number of homes. Additionally, since mainstream schools play such an important role in children's language and literacy socialization, it would be useful to follow participants into these contexts, as well. Data from mainstream schools would also strengthen the implications of such research for P-12 education.

While the study offered some preliminary data on siblings' and peers' influences on the HLLs' socialization, the focus in this dissertation was mainly on the interactions

between teachers or parents and the HLLs. As I only included in this dissertation excerpts from a fraction of all of the interactions I observed, there were many language and literacy events left out in which sibling and peer influence on the socialization processes was at the forefront. Re-examining all of the data by focusing more on the interactions between children would offer a new angle to the socialization processes. As the original focus of socialization theory has been on experts socializing novices (and to some extent, the bidirectionality of the socialization between experts and novices), I believe there is a need for research that looks closely at novices socializing other novices.

Finally, digital literacies were a theme in this study that emerged from the data in an unexpectedly strong way, and I feel that I have only begun to examine the importance of digital and other types of new literacies in HL development. Future research should focus on new literacies as an important avenue of multilingual language and literacy socialization in general, and of HL acquisition in particular. Research should examine, for example, ways that new literacies could be harnessed to better support students' HL maintenance and acquisition of multiple languages throughout their childhood and adolescence.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Transcription Conventions

Normal text	Monolingual utterances
<i>Italics</i>	Code-switch within an otherwise monolingual conversation
()	English translation of a Finnish utterance
(())	Nonverbal communication, gesture, or movement
@	Laughter
[]	Insertions by author to make transcript more intelligible
...	Ellipsis
(n sec. cut)	n seconds cut from the transcript
(n sec.)	n seconds pause
-	Interrupted by self or others
<u>Underlined</u>	Emphasized word
//	Making the sound of a letter
Capital letter (e.g. T)	Saying the name of a letter
.	Falling intonation, pause
,	Continuing intonation
?	Question intonation
!	Rising intonation, excitement
“Double quotes”	Reading from text
‘Single quotes’	Reported speech

Appendix 2: Parent Survey

Parent survey

Parent's name: _____

Child's name: _____

Please answer the questions below as truthfully as possible.

Your responses are greatly appreciated.

BACKGROUND - YOU

1. What nationality/ethnicity do you consider yourself to be?
2. What language(s) did you first learn to speak?
3. What language(s) are you fully literate in (read and write fluently)?
4. What language do you **mostly** speak with your child?
5. What language(s) do you use for literacy activities **with your child**, such as storybook reading, homework, video gaming, etc.?
6. How many hours a day, on average, do you spend on literacy activities **with your child**?
7. What language(s) do you use for **other** literacy activities such as book reading, work-related reading and writing, email, etc.?
8. What is your level of education? Please circle.
 - a. Master's degree or higher
 - b. Four-year college or polytechnical degree
 - c. Two-year college or vocational degree
 - d. High school
 - e. Did not complete high school
 - f. Other, please specify: _____

BACKGROUND - YOUR CHILD

1. Where was your child born?

2. How many months/years has your child lived in an English-speaking country (e.g., the United States)?
3. How many months/years has your child lived in Finland?
4. How many months/years has your child lived in a country where neither English nor Finnish was the dominant language? What language/country?
5. What grade is your child in?
6. What language(s) has/have been the main language(s) of instruction of your child's formal schooling? (If multiple, please indicate language and length of time.)
7. What language(s) did your child first learn to speak?
8. What language does your child **mostly** speak at home?
9. What language does your child **mostly** speak outside of the home?
10. What language(s) does your child use for literacy activities such as homework, reading for pleasure, video gaming, etc.?

Appendix 3: Parent Interview Protocol

FINNISH

Opetatko lastasi lukemaan kotona? Millä kielillä?

Miten opetat lasta lukemaan?

Mitä lukumateriaaleja teillä on kotona lapselle? Millä kielillä?

Millaisia lukemiseen liittyviä aktiviteetteja teet yhdessä lapsen kanssa? Millä kielillä?

Millaista lukutaidon tasoa toivot lapsellesi suomen kielessä? Entäs englannin kielessä?

Onko sinusta tärkeää että lapsesi oppii lukemaan suomeksi? Entäs englanniksi?

Missä lapsesi tarvitsee lukutaitoa suomeksi? Lukutaitoa englanniksi?

Missä lapsesi tulee tulevaisuudessa tarvitsemaan lukutaitoa suomeksi? Lukutaitoa englanniksi?

Luuletko lapsesi tarvitsevan monen kielen lukutaitoa tulevaisuudessa työssä? Harrastuksissa?

Perhe-elämässä? Matkustaessa? Opiskelussa?

ENGLISH:

Do you teach your child to read at home? In what language?

How do you teach your child to read?

What kinds of reading materials do you have for your child at home? In what languages?

What kind of reading related activities do you engage in with your child? In what languages?

What kind of reading level do you desire for your child in Finnish? In English?

Do you think it's important that your child learns to read in Finnish? In English?

Where does your child need reading skills in Finnish? In English?

Where will your child need reading skills in the future in Finnish? In English?

Do you think your child will need reading skills in multiple languages in the future: in their job?

In their hobbies? In their family life? While traveling? For studying?

Appendix 4: Student Interview Protocol

FINNISH

1. Mitä kieliä sinä puhut useimmiten kotona? Kenen kanssa?
2. Mitä kieliä puhut useimmiten koulussa? Kenen kanssa?
3. Millä kielellä luet kotona? Mitä luet niillä kielillä?
4. Osaatko omasta mielestä puhua paremmin suomeksi vai englanniksi?
5. Osaatko omasta mielestä lukea paremmin suomeksi vai englanniksi?
6. Tykkäätkö lukea enemmän suomeksi vai englanniksi?
7. Mitä tykkäät lukea? Millä kielellä luet niitä?
8. Onko sinusta tärkeätä osata lukea englanniksi? Entäs suomeksi?
9. Missä luulet että tarvitset lukutaitoa suomeksi tulevaisuudessa? Entäs englanniksi?

ENGLISH

1. What languages do you usually speak at home? With whom?
2. What languages do you usually speak at school? With whom?
3. What language do you read in at home? What do you read in those languages?
4. Do you think you can speak better in English or in Finnish?
5. Do you think you can read better in English or in Finnish?
6. Do you like to read in Finnish or in English better?
7. What do you like to read? What language do you read that in?
8. Do you think it is important to know how to read in English? What about Finnish?
9. Where do you think you will need reading skills in Finnish in the future? What about English?

Appendix 5: Teacher Interview Protocol

FINNISH

1. Millainen koulutus sinulla on?
2. Millainen opetustausta sinulla on?
3. Miten opetat lukemista Suomikoulun tunneilla?
4. Millaisia lukumateriaaleja käytät?
5. Mitä kieliä käytät apuna opetuksessa?
6. Mistä saat ideoita lukemisen opetukseen?
7. Miten oppilaat mielestäsi oppivat parhaiten lukemaan?
8. Millaista lukutaitoa tahdot oppilaittesi oppivan?
9. Missä luulet oppilaiden tarvitsevan lukutaitoa suomeksi juuri nyt?
10. Missä luulet oppilaiden tarvitsevan lukutaitoa suomeksi tulevaisuudessa?
11. Vaikuttaako opetukseesi se mihin luulet oppilaitten lukutaitoa tarvitsevan? Jos, niin miten?

ENGLISH

1. What kind of education do you have?
2. What kind of teaching background do you have?
3. How do you teach reading in your Finnish School classes?
4. What kind of reading materials do you use?
5. What languages do you use to help you teach?
6. Where do you get ideas for your reading instruction?
7. How do students in your opinion best learn to read?
8. What kind of reading skills do you want your students to learn?
9. Where do you think your students need their reading skills in Finnish right now?
10. Where do you think your students need their reading skills in Finnish in the future?
11. Does your idea of what students need their reading skills for affect your instruction? If yes, then how?

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