

TURKISH-AMERICAN YOUNGSTERS' EXPERIENCES WITH BOUNDARY
CROSSING WITHIN AND ACROSS MULTIPLE DISCURSIVE SPACES



By

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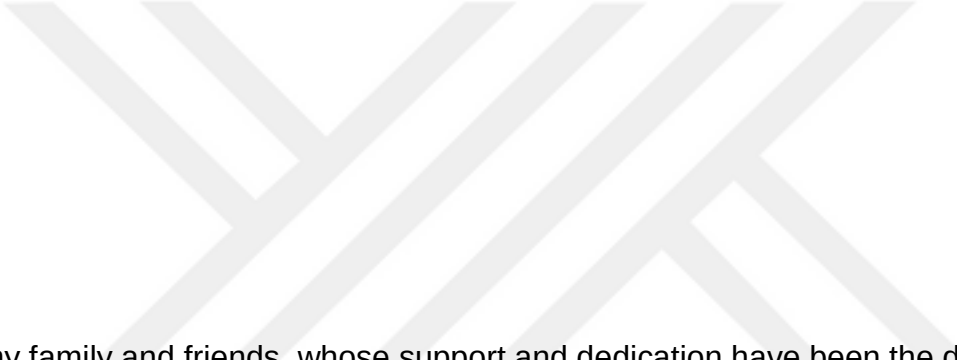
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To my family and friends, whose support and dedication have been the driving force for
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BE	Bilingual Education
CLD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
CTA	Cagdas Turkish Association
CTS	Cagdas Turkish school
ELL	English language learner
HLS	Heritage language school
LE	Linguistic ethnography
MS	Mainstream school

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To leverage culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students' funds of linguistic knowledge, teachers need to understand the students' languaging practices in different discursive spaces that they engage in regularly. Although several studies have analyzed CLD students' languaging practices in distinct discursive spaces, they generally fail to view each discursive space holistically in relationship to one another as part of a child's whole lived world. This study aimed to address this gap by examining CLD students' languaging practices within and across three discursive spaces: a heritage language school (HLS), mainstream schools (MSs) and homes. To analyze students' language practices and understand their full linguistic repertoire, boundary crossing and translanguaging theories were used.

A linguistic ethnographic multi-case study was implemented with three Turkish-American youngsters. Data collection consisted of survey questionnaires (n=6), in-depth interviews with the students (n=3), parents (n=3), HLS teachers (n=2) and MS teachers (n=3), observations within the HLS, MSs and homes and audio-recordings of students' language practices in the HLS. Data analysis used thematic analysis, and open, axial

and selective coding, and followed the five steps of linguistic ethnography data analysis process.

Tasks, topics and language practices of community members in homes, MSs and the HLSs provided students different opportunities to enact their full linguistic repertoire. While MSs afforded students to use their academic language and literacy skills more, homes afforded students to use their social language and verbal language skills more. Moreover, while the HLS afforded students to practice their bilingual resources flexibly, the MSs afforded students to practice only their English resources. Depending on students' bilingual proficiencies and perceived familiarities with tasks and topics in each discursive space, these varying opportunities for using full linguistic repertoires were perceived as soft or strong boundaries by the students. Considering the discontinuities each student experienced in their learning and interactions, while the newcomer ELL perceived the strongest boundaries between homes and MSs, the U.S. born students perceived the strongest boundaries between MSs and the HLS. Translanguaging acted as a boundary object and softened the strong boundaries by creating connections between discursive spaces and affirming students' bilingual resources and hybrid identities.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Background to the Problem: Achievement Gap

The PreK-12 student population in the United States of America is growing more and more linguistically and culturally diverse. The U.S. Census Bureau (2013) reported that more than 20% of the U.S. population—or approximately 60 million people—at the age of five spoke a language other than English at home in 2011. This rate increased to 21.8% among children between the ages of 5 to 14, and 22.3% among adolescents between the ages of 15 to 19 in 2013. This increased diversity requires schools to develop effective ways to meet the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students. To date, academic achievement patterns show that there continues to be an achievement gap between White students and students from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Especially for English language learners (ELLs), one subgroup within the CLD population, this academic achievement gap has been consistently documented. Data show that the achievement gap between ELLs and non-ELLs has remained approximately the same between 2000 and 2017, with the largest gap in fourth grade reading (37%) and eighth grade math (43%) (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017).

Some scholars (e.g. Craighead & Ramanathan, 2007; Harper & de Jong, 2009; García, 2009) argue that one major reason for this underachievement is the lack of appropriate pedagogical approaches that meet the linguistic and cultural needs of CLD students. Studies report a gap between CLD students' realities and teachers' beliefs, which prevent the development of appropriate pedagogical approaches and result in low academic achievement (Haneda & Wells, 2012; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999).

Several researchers note that although connections to home practices to teach content play a significant role in increasing students' learning and school success, teachers still often consider these practices as problems by taking a deficit-oriented approach and preventing these practices from being visible in the classroom (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Moll et al., 1992; Scanlan, 2007; Shim & Shur, 2018). Instead, teachers emphasize the importance of mainstream practices for higher school success and propose that the rapid transition of CLD students to mainstream language and culture is a solution to the achievement gap. As a result of teachers' deficit-oriented pedagogies, studies have found that CLD students stay silent in classes, skip classes, ignore homework, consider dropping out and demonstrate low academic success in schools (Harper & de Jong, 2009; Langman, 2014; Phelan et al., 1991; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015; Valdés, 2001; Valencia, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999).

One way to transform teaching practices in schools is, therefore, to take an asset-oriented approach to students' complex linguistic and cultural home and community practices (de Jong, Naranjo, Li & Ouzia, 2018; Faltis & Valdés, 2016; García, 2009; Harper & de Jong, 2009; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; McCarthy, 1998; Moll et al., 1992; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). When teachers drew on CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge and activated their background knowledge, CLD students were more likely to actively participate in class and maximize their learning (Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Haneda & Wells, 2012; Harper & de Jong, 2009; Moll et al., 1992; Park, 2013).

Statement of the Problem

The consistently documented achievement gap between CLD students and mainstream students indicated that teachers stayed limited to use CLD students'

linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge in order to make their pedagogies more culturally and linguistically responsive and better support their academic achievement. In order for teachers to engage in assets-based teaching practices, they must understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge and how these students construct such knowledge through interactions in different live worlds (García & Hesson, 2015; Giampapa, 2001; Hedegaard, 2005; Jonsson, 2013; Phelan et al., 1991). To better understand how CLD students negotiate and enact their funds of linguistic knowledge, it is important to be inclusive of the discursive spaces that CLD students regularly engage in and analyze the students' linguistic experiences and practices with a holistic approach.

To date, research on this issue has been limited. Although some studies have analyzed students' experiences and practices between two discursive spaces, such as home and school, they excluded other discursive spaces the students' engaged in on a regular basis such as heritage language schools (Coady, 2013; D'warte, 2014; Heath, 1983; Jonsson, 2013; Li Wei, 2011, 2014; Moll et al., 1992; Valdés, 2001). As a result, their ability to understand CLD students' full linguistic repertoires have been limited. To better understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge and develop effective ways to leverage these resources, it is important to analyze CLD students' experiences and practices in multiple discursive spaces using a holistic approach. Thus, this study takes a holistic approach and aims to address this gap in the literature by following three Turkish-American students—a significantly under-researched group in the U.S—across three discursive spaces, i.e. homes, schools and a heritage language school. The study first identifies the differences between sociocultural norms and values in

these spaces and analyzes the students' linguistic responses to these norms and values as they move across these spaces. The purpose of this study is, therefore, to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge by examining their experiences and linguistic practices across homes, mainstream schools, and a heritage language school so that teachers can develop culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies and increase CLD students' academic achievement.

Theoretical Framework

To examine Turkish-American students' experiences and linguistic practices across homes, mainstream schools, and a heritage language school, this study uses boundary crossing and translanguaging theories.

Boundary Crossing

Boundary crossing is used as a theoretical lens to describe the boundaries that CLD students may experience as they move across discursive spaces. Akkerman and Bakker (2011b) defined boundaries as "the sociocultural differences leading to discontinuity in action or interaction" (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b, p. 133). Boundary crossing refers to the transitions between discursive spaces through which students "negotiate and combine ingredients from different contexts to achieve hybrid situations" (Engeström, Engeström & Kärkkäinen, 1995, p.319).

Students' experiences across discursive spaces vary depending on the commonalities between sociocultural norms and values dominating these spaces and students' familiarity with differing sociocultural norms and practices (Engeström, 2001; Wenger, 2000). Depending on the commonalities between the sociocultural norms and values dominating different discursive spaces and the students' perceptions of familiarities within the differing sociocultural norms and practices, i.e. boundaries,

students' boundary crossing experiences vary between smooth, managed, traumatic and insurmountable (Phelan et al., 1991). As the sociocultural norms and values of different discursive spaces move from alike to distinct, students' boundary crossing experiences shift from smooth to insurmountable (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b; Phelan et al., 1991, p. 228).

When students perceive limited commonalities and familiarity between boundaries of different discursive spaces, boundaries may hinder CLD students' learning process. When boundaries act as barriers for their learning, CLD students rely on boundary mechanisms that assist them in negotiating differences in sociocultural norms and practices (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Wenger, 2000). Boundary crossing mechanisms "show various ways in which sociocultural differences and resulting discontinuities in action and interaction can come to function as resources for development of intersecting identities and practices" (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b, p. 132). Examples of boundary crossing mechanisms include: (1) boundary objects which can be artifacts bridging the languages or cultures at different discursive spaces, discourses that are constructed as a common language to communicate and negotiate meaning across boundaries, and processes such as routines and procedures used to coordinate actions across boundaries; (2) boundary brokers, also called boundary people, who have experienced boundary crossing before in a certain space or who move across spaces to scaffold students' learning; (3) and boundary interactions that bring the members of different discursive space communities for specific purposes, such as parent-teacher conferences or heritage language and mainstream teacher meetings (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Bjorgen, 2010).

The boundary framework is helpful in exploring how CLD students negotiate and enact their linguistic and cultural resources across multiple discursive spaces. It takes a holistic approach and analyzes students' linguistic practices within and across discursive spaces.

Translanguaging

In addition to the boundary crossing framework, this study also uses translanguaging as a theoretical lens in order to understand the complex discursive languaging practices of CLD students. The term translanguaging also refers to a pedagogical tool that draws on CLD students' complex practices in their communities (Canagarajah, 2011a, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012).

Translanguaging as a theoretical lens views CLD students' language resources as parts and pieces of a unitary linguistic repertoire. This lens allows researchers to understand how students negotiate and enact their full linguistic resources in different discursive spaces as a response to different sociocultural norms and values in homes, schools and the heritage language school. In this study, translanguaging as fluid linguistic practices is approached as a boundary crossing mechanism, i.e. a boundary object, that facilitates students' negotiation of boundaries and construction of new practices by softening the monolingual norms and values in different discursive spaces.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge, i.e. "the language and literacy practices that students bring with them from their home communities", as they negotiate boundaries within and across three

discursive spaces, --homes, mainstream schools and a heritage language school (Martin-Beltrán, 2014, p.212).

Specifically, this study aimed to answer the following research questions:

1. What boundaries do Turkish-American students encounter as they move across their home, heritage language school and mainstream schools?
2. How do students respond to these boundaries with a specific focus on their interactions with boundary crossing mechanisms and languaging practices?
 - a) What role does translanguaging play in Turkish-American youngsters' boundary crossing?

Significance of the Study

Most studies have analyzed CLD students' linguistic practices in one discursive space separate from other discursive spaces, and this fragmented approach often limited the research findings and implications. This study can make significant contributions by filling a gap in the literature related to Turkish-American students' linguistic experiences, an under-researched minority group, in and across multiple discursive spaces. Moreover, by taking a holistic approach, it can better explain the boundaries of different discursive spaces that Turkish-American students encountered on a regular basis, the boundary crossing mechanisms used to support their learning and their languaging practices in relation to the boundaries of these spaces. Finally, a holistic approach can also explain the similarities and differences in their experiences and practices when they move from one space to another (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Kenner, 2004; Parke, Drury, Kenner & Robertson, 2002).

Additionally, a holistic analysis of CLD students' linguistic experiences and practices across multiple discursive spaces can provide broader implications on how to draw on CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge not only in schools but also in other discursive spaces. The analysis results can reveal a wealth of knowledge on ways

to affirm and leverage CLD students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge in learning (Kenner & Ruby, 2012).

Research Design

A linguistic ethnographic multi-case study was conducted with three Turkish-American youngsters between the ages of 6 and 11. A social constructivist framework, which advocates that meaning or meaningful reality is constructed through interactions with the world, informed the methodology, research design, data collection and data analysis tools of this study (Crotty, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 2000).

Both primary and secondary data tools were collected. The primary data tools of this data set included interviews with the parents (n=3), heritage language school teachers (n=2), mainstream teachers (n=3) and the students (n=3), observations (22 hours in the heritage language school, 5-6 hours in each school and 3-5 hours in each home) and field notes, and audio recordings (360 minutes in total) of young participants' language use in the heritage language school (HLS). The secondary data tool of this data set included a parent questionnaire administered to six parents to select the student participants. Data were collected over a period of 11 weeks and divided into two cycles. Parent questionnaires were administered before the first cycle began since they were used for focal participant selection. The first cycle (first six weeks) focused on two discursive spaces, i.e. homes and the HLS, and included parent interviews, home observations (3-5 hours each), HLS teachers' interviews, HLS audio recordings, HLS observations and field notes. The schools as a third discursive space were added in the second cycle. The second cycle included school observations for one full school day each and field notes, mainstream teacher interviews and the second and third focal participant interviews.

The analysis of the data occurred three times with different focus each time. The first analysis aimed to understand the contexts of each discursive space and situate the focal students in these spaces. The second analysis aimed to identify the boundaries that the students encountered in each space and how students responded to these boundaries. The third analysis aimed to identify boundary crossing mechanisms the students used to cross these boundaries in each space with a specific focus on the focal students' languaging practices in the HLS since this discursive space brought all students together and created potentials for fluid use of linguistic resources. While thematic analysis was used in the first analysis process to analyze the contextual data (Braun & Clarke, 2006), open, axial and selective coding were used (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and the five steps of linguistic ethnography were followed in the second and third analysis processes (Creese, 2008;). The steps included (1) interrogation of context, (2) selection of moments for macro and micro analysis, (3) the line-by-line micro-analysis of selected moments that are transcribed narrowly, and a macro-analysis of data transcribed broadly, (4) weighing emergent interpretations of macro- and micro- analysis results, and (5) generalizing beyond the event (Rampton, 2006).

Limitations of the Study

This study methodology is significant since it took a holistic approach, centered the students within each discursive space and analyzed their linguistic experiences and practices using a comparative approach. Although findings from this study make important contributions to the literature related to CLD students' education, there are limitations to this study that should be addressed. Firstly, the study included three students with only Turkish-American background. People with Turkish-American

backgrounds constitute only a small portion of the U.S. population, and they may have different linguistic experiences compared to several other immigrant groups. Thus, further studies that include students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds might obtain different results.

A second possible limitation to this study may relate to the methodological design of the study. The numbers and durations of the observations varied in each discursive space. Although these numbers and durations were purposefully determined by the researcher to serve the purpose of the study, it is possible that equal numbers of observations in each discursive space may have yielded different findings and provide different implications for drawing in CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge and increasing their academic success. Specifically, one-day observations in schools may have been limited as far as identifying the commonalities and differences between school space and other discursive spaces. Moreover, the varying amount of data collected from each participant within the CTS could be considered a limitation to this study. Since all students could not attend the CTS regularly, the data obtained from some students may be limited in regard to explaining these participants' responses to boundaries and the use of boundary crossing mechanisms.

A third possible limitation could relate to individual differences among participants and participants' parents and teachers. Age (6 – 11), birth place (U.S born – others) and personality (extravert – intravert) differences among participants and the differences between their parents' and teachers' language skills (experienced bilinguals- emergent bilinguals), education levels and cross-cultural competencies varied in this study. These

differences might have influenced students' responses to data collection tools and may have yielded various results.

A fourth limitation could be the researcher's varying roles in school and home observations. While she actively scaffolded students' learning and created opportunities to translanguage in the HLS as she was a participant observer in this space, she stayed as a non-participant observer and did not involve in the students' learning and languaging process in other discursive spaces. A consistent role in three discursive spaces could yield to different results.

Finally, the data collection tools could be considered as a limitation to this study since they were not sensitive and geared toward a wide range of ages and personalities. Because the three participants of this study were at different ages and had different personalities, they responded to data collection tools differently. While data collection tools could make sense to some participants and encourage them to share their personal experiences, they were modified to make sense to other participants and encourage them share their experiences. As a result, these data collection tools could be regarded as a limitation to reflect the whole pictures of all participants' linguistic repertoires.

Organization of the Dissertation Study

This study consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the boundary crossing and translanguage as theoretical lenses used to understand the boundaries between different discursive spaces and the boundary crossing mechanisms that facilitate CLD students' engagement with learning in these spaces. Chapter 3 explains the methodological design of the study. It describes the research epistemology, the research strategy, the participants, the data collection tools and data analysis methods.

Chapter 4 provides a general picture of the participants' lives within homes, schools and the heritage language school. It situates the focal participants and describes their experiences within each discursive space based on their own reports and their parents and teachers' observational reports. Chapter 5 explains the boundaries that participants encountered as they moved across homes, schools and the heritage language school, and their boundary crossing experiences and interpretations. Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the various boundary crossing mechanisms and how these mechanisms facilitated students' learning. Chapter 7 discusses the key findings of this study in the light of the existing scholarship and identifies further areas for research. Chapter 8 provides a summary of findings and implications for teacher preparation and future research.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the context of schooling for CLD students, particularly Turkish-American students. It presents boundary crossing and translanguaging theories and a review of the empirical research to help further our understanding of CLD students' lived linguistic experiences. Based on this review, a theoretical model is proposed that was used to analyze the boundaries the Turkish-American students encounter when they move across homes, schools and heritage language schools, and the boundary crossing mechanisms that facilitated students' learning and interactions.

Culturally and Linguistically Diverse students in the U.S.

The population of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) students who speak a language other than English to varying degrees at home continues to grow in the U.S.A. According to U.S. Census Bureau (2013), the CLD student population increased from approximately 47 million in 2000 to approximately 62 million in 2013. The proportion of CLD children between the ages of 5 to 14 was reported 21.8% in 2011, and the proportion of CLD adolescents between the ages of 15 to 19 was reported to be 22.3% in 2011. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). According to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (2002), the CLD population in the U.S. will grow to comprise 40% of the entire K-12 population by 2030.

Turkish-Americans, also called *Turks in America*, *Americans of Turkish Descent* and *Turkish Immigrants*, are one minority group in the U.S. who speak Turkish as a heritage language in their communities (Micallef, 2004; Otcu, 2010). The Turkish-

American population in the U.S. is estimated to be more than 160,000 and densely populate New York, New Jersey, Washington D.C., California, Florida, Texas and Illinois (Community survey, 2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Historical records about Turkish immigration to the U.S show that it occurred in three waves: at the beginning of the 19th century, after World War I, and in the late 1980s (Ahmed, 1986; Kaya, 2004). The first-wave immigrants did not have strong bounds to Turkish identity since the Turks were under the dominance of Ottoman Empire and identified as Muslims or Ottomans rather than Turks. The second wave of the Turkish immigration occurred between the 1950s and early 1980s and included highly-educated people such as doctors, engineers, academicians, and graduate students. These people were more nationalist as citizens of recently founded country, Turkey, than the previous immigrant group. The third wave started in the mid-1980s and is still in progress. Third-wave Turkish immigrants include a more diverse population in terms of occupations (e.g. students, professionals, businessmen, workers) and political ideologies (secular, religious, nationalistic, and liberal Turks). Turkish-American population is one of the most under-researched minoritized groups although it is a growing population with a long history of immigration (Kaya, 2004).

To date, multiple studies documented a significant achievement gap, also more appropriately called the *opportunity gap* (Gorski, 2013), between English language learners, one subgroup within the CLD population, and non-ELL students' and their performance on standardized tests (National Assessment of Educational Progress, 2017; Reynolds, 2008). English language learners, or ELLs, are "students who are unable to communicate fluently or learn effectively in English, who often come from non-

English-speaking homes and backgrounds, and who typically require specialized or modified instruction in both the English language and in their academic courses” (Edglossary, 2013). The National Assessment of Educational Progress (2017) reports a gap of 37 points at the fourth-grade level and 43 points at the eighth-grade level (in reading), and 26 points at fourth-grade level and 39 points at the eight-grade level (in math) between non-ELLs and ELLs (NAEP, 2017). In Florida, the difference in reading scores was documented 40 points at fourth-grade and 41 points at eight-grade; and the difference in math scores was 25 points at fourth-grade and 34 points at eight-grade (NAEP, 2017). These data indicate that schools are not meeting the needs of CLD students.

Deficit-Oriented Approaches vs Resource-Oriented Approaches

While multiple factors contribute to the achievement gap between non-ELLs and ELLs, enduring deficit-oriented attitudes and approaches to the teaching of CLD students is one key variable (Fishman, 1972; Harrison, 2007; Ruiz, 1984). Teachers who adopt deficit-oriented views regarded CLD students’ diverse resources as deficits or deficiencies and the reason for their low academic achievement (Valencia, 1997). When applied to language, a deficit perspective views the fact that CLD students use and speak languages other than English (the dominant societal language) as the reason why they do not do well in school. According to deficit-oriented view, “differences in language, culture, race, and nation of origin are often conceived of as educational obstacles, rather than resources” (Shapiro, 2014, p.387).

To address this perceived linguistic problem, policy makers and educators with deficit-oriented approaches often resort to monolingual (English-only) language practices. (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Scanlan, 2007). For example, Shim and Shur

(2018) investigated five middle and high school teachers' perspectives on teaching ELLs. The teachers stated that use of first language in mainstream classrooms might delay the learning of English which was essential for ELLs to succeed in their education and lives. Thus, they avoided using the students' first language in their instructions and exposed students to English-only practices with the goal of accelerating their second language learning process. These deficit-oriented approaches and monolingual practices stayed insufficient to meet CLD students' needs, provide them a high-quality instruction and hindered their academic achievement (Harper & de Jong, 2009; Martínez, 2014; McCarthy, 1998; Palmer, 2008; Rhedding-Jones, 2002).

For teachers to provide high-quality instruction to CLD students and increase their chances of success in school and academic engagement, they should approach students' home practices as resources rather than deficits (Faltis & Valdés, 2016; Harper & Platt, 1998; Ruiz, 1984). This approach is called resource-oriented or asset-based approach. Assets-based approach viewed CLD students' cultural, linguistic and racial diversity as resources that could be built on to support students' learning. This view values what students have rather than what they lack, and aims to achieve equity for CLD students. According to assets-based approach, when CLD students were given opportunities to demonstrate their resources, they maximize their learning (Green & Haines, 2008)

One well-known assets-based approach is the 'funds of knowledge' framework. Moll and colleagues (1992) defined funds of knowledge as "the historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (p. 133). In other words, funds of knowledge refers

to social, cultural and linguistic background knowledge and resources that students gained at home or in their communities through interactions with their family or community members. This study focused on CLD students' linguistic funds of knowledge. This can be defined as "the language and literacy practices that students bring with them from their home communities (including their [socio]linguistic knowledge and understanding of language use outside of school)" (Martin-Beltrán, 2014, p.212).

There is a significant scholarship on how CLD students' learning and their academic achievement increased when teachers drew on students' funds of linguistic knowledge (Corcoll, 2013; García & Leiva, 2014; Haneda & Wells, 2012; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; Palmer, Martínez, Marteus & Henderson, 2014; Park, 2013; Pontier & Gort, 2016; Sayer, 2013; Velasco & García, 2014). For example, in Chow and Cummins' (2003) study, a first-grade teacher collaborated with parents on a multilingual reading project and encouraged them to read bilingual books to their children at homes. She, then, asked students to reflect on these readings in class and used these readings to engage students in discussions and writing activities to support students' content learning and bilingual and biliteracy practices. Similarly, Palmer and colleagues (2014) explored two teachers' practices in a two-way immersion program in Texas and observed that after teachers modelled dynamic bilingual practices through codeswitching, translating and the use of vernacular forms of Spanish, they required students to translate to each other to ensure comprehension. Finally, in Martin-Beltrán's (2014) study, high school teachers and researchers engaged 24 CLD students in a project named "language detective work" in which students thought aloud and negotiated second language learning and linguistic features of Spanish and English.

The language detective work project opened a third space for students in which they could use their full linguistic repertoire dynamically to make sense of the language forms and share their experiences as bilinguals. These studies revealed that teachers built the curriculum on CLD' students' funds of knowledge by approaching their home practices as resources, creating connections with home practices and mirroring their dynamic linguistic practices at home to construct academic knowledge at school (Corcoll, 2013; Haneda & Wells, 2012; Park, 2013; Ruiz, 1984; de Jong, Zafar, Zhuo & Wu, 2016; Sayer, 2013; Velasco & García, 2014).

Considering the positive impact of building on funds of linguistic knowledge on CLD students' learning and school success, it is important for teachers to understand how to engage in this practice. This, in turn, requires them to understand how CLD students develop funds of linguistic knowledge in multiple discursive spaces (García & Hesson, 2015; Giampapa, 2001; Hedegaard, 2005; Jonsson, 2013; Phelan et al., 1991).

Language Use in Discursive Spaces

The purpose of this study is to better understand how CLD students engage with their linguistic repertoires within and across different discursive spaces. This section first defines discursive space and then synthesizes our understanding of languaging practices across different discursive spaces.

Discursive Spaces

A discursive space is used to refer to any interactional space that includes complex language practices regardless of the number of interactants or whether it is an institutional or social space (Macalik, Fraser & McKinley, 2015; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; Sayer, 2013). The concept was proposed in contrast to an earlier sociolinguistic concept of *domain*, originally proposed by Fishman (1972).

Fishman (1972) defined domain as “a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationship between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institution, of a society and the area of activity of speech community in such a way that individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other” (p.20). In other words, domains are the contexts of interactions in which the language practices may vary based on specific domain-specific factors (i.e. participants, setting, and topic). Some domains listed in the literature were family, friendship, religion, education, and employment. Holmes (2008) noted that a particular named language is thought appropriate for use in every domain. The concept of domain has been critiqued since determining appropriateness might prioritize certain language practices over others in bilingual societies. It can also support deficit-oriented approaches. Thus, this study used discursive space instead of domain.

While domain describes contexts with major clusters of monolingual practices of interactants from similar linguistic and cultural backgrounds, discursive space describes contexts with flexible linguistic boundaries and complex and dynamic natures of bilingual practices of interactants from diverse backgrounds (Hall, 2018; Tenbrink, 2011). Thus, researchers who considered interactional spaces as discursive spaces rather than domains recognized the differences in individuals’ languaging practices and consider them as reflections of identity, ethnicity, and power. Moreover, they affirm the individuals’ roles and agencies in the construction of linguistic practices in a discursive space and considered individuals’ languaging practices as unique practices through which they demonstrated own way of being and bilingual identity (Creese & Blackledge,

2015; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; Sayer, 2013). This study used the concept of discursive space rather than domain to refer to the contexts such as peer worlds, schools, homes, community-based youth programs in which CLD students interact with people from different professions, disciplines and cultures, and enact their languaging practices to communicate with these people effectively and show them their own ways of being through their unique language practices.

CLD Students' Language Practices

Several studies have examined students' languaging practices, i.e. how students engage in unique language practices to demonstrate their own ways of being, in different discursive spaces including mainstream classrooms (Hornberger & Link, 2012; Makalela, 2015; Pacheco & Miller, 2016), heritage language classrooms (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Byeon, 2015; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Lo, 2009; Showstack, 2012, 2015; Tatar, 2015), and homes (Coady, 2013; Giampapa, 2001; Haneda, 2006; Jonsson, 2013; Parke et al., 2002), that CLD students engaged in on a regular basis. From these studies, it becomes clear that both external (dominant sociocultural norms and values) and internal factors (agency) influenced CLD students' language practices and CLD students use their linguistic resources differently in different discursive spaces.

External factors

The studies that analyzed CLD students' languaging practices in different discursive spaces showed that dominant linguistic norms and values acted as external factors that influenced the students' languaging practices since they varied across different discursive spaces. Dominant linguistic norms and values in each discursive space prioritized certain language practices and required students to use similar language practices. For example, Shim and Shur (2018) found that teachers prioritized

monolingual English practices and avoided the use of minoritized languages to accelerate the students' acculturation process. These teachers also expected students to use only English and ignored their contributions in their heritage languages. Similarly, Lo (2009), Otcu (2010) and Lytra and Baraç (2008) found that heritage language teachers prioritized the use of standard heritage language practices in their classroom and often reminded students to use standard heritage language rather than vernacular heritage language or dominant culture language. On the other hand, Jonsson (2013) revealed that parents and external family members valued dynamic language practices and used and accepted flexible use of bilingual resources in homes and communities to interact. In conclusion, while mainstream teachers and heritage language teachers in the classrooms valued monolingual language practices more (Lo, 2009; Shim & Shur, 2018; Showstack, 2015; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999), parents valued dynamic use of bilingual resources more (Coady, 2013; Haneda, 2006; Jonsson, 2013).

Internal factors

Further studies showed that CLD students used their agencies and responded the dominant linguistic norms and values in homes, schools and heritage language schools differently. For example, the studies that explored CLD students' linguistic practices in mainstream classrooms and heritage language classrooms revealed that due to the teachers' tendencies to value monolingual practices, students often enacted their linguistic resources monolingually in these discursive spaces (Lo, 2009; Shim & Shur, 2018; Showstack, 2012, 2015; Valdés, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). However, when teachers took an asset-based approach and opened navigational spaces, also called *third spaces*, where students actively cross discursive boundaries, the CLD students used their full linguistic repertoires to engage in learning and make meaning

(Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Byeon, 2015; García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Makalela, 2015; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; Pacheco & Miller, 2016; Showstack, 2015). In homes, CLD students often used their linguistic resources flexibly to interact with their parents' and extended family members (Giampapa, 2001; Jonsson, 2013; Kenner, & Ruby, 2012; Parke et al., 2002). These findings showed that although monolingual norms and values dominated some discursive spaces and CLD students enacted their language practices mostly monolingually in these spaces to adjust these dominant norms and values, when CLD students were given an opportunity to use their agencies, they used their linguistic resources flexibly (Agolli, 2015; Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Lo, 2009; Valenzuela, 1999; Zentella, 1997).

While these studies provided important insights about CLD students' funds of linguistic resources in different discursive spaces, they are limited in explaining CLD students' full linguistic repertoire across different discursive spaces. These studies mostly analyzed CLD students' language practices in one or two discursive spaces and viewed these spaces as fragmented spaces, rather than as pieces of a simultaneous world (Kenner & Ruby, 2012). Thus, they evaluated CLD students' languaging practices in a discursive space independent from the same students' languaging practices in other spaces. To better understand CLD students' linguistic funds of knowledge, it is important to take a holistic approach and analyze the same students' languaging practices across multiple discursive spaces with a holistic approach.

Theoretical Framework

Considering the positive impact of assets-based teaching, teachers need to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge. To do so, educators and

researchers need to analyze CLD students' languaging practices in multiple discursive spaces holistically. A holistic approach can provide the variances in these practices across multiple discursive spaces and explain students' full linguistic repertoire better.

To examine CLD students' experiences and linguistic practices across homes, mainstream schools, and a heritage language school, this study uses boundary crossing and translanguaging theories. Boundary crossing theory has been mainly proposed and used to understand monolingual students' learning experiences between schools and workplaces (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b). Translanguaging has been proposed and used to understand specifically CLD students' linguistic practices within a discursive space (García, 2009).

This section defines and explains related terminology to understand these theories, namely boundary, boundary crossing, boundary crossing mechanisms and translanguaging. The sections that follow will further explain how these concepts can help us understand CLD students' full linguistic repertoires.

Boundaries

Akkerman & Bakker (2011b) defined *boundaries* as “sociocultural differences leading to discontinuity in action or interaction” (p.133) (See Figure 2-1). English (2013) further elaborated and defined discontinuities as the “physical, emotional, or existential moments in which an individual encounters something new or unfamiliar” (p.114). Although studies often discussed the explicit boundaries, boundaries can also be tacit. However, limited research suggested ways to identify tacit boundaries.

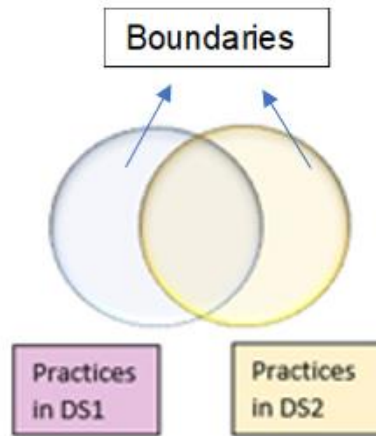


Figure 2-1. Boundaries

Boundary crossing theory posits that (a) boundaries are symbolic and (b) boundaries are variable. Moreover, boundaries can play either enabling or constraining roles depending on how individuals perceive the boundary. Finally, there are different types of boundaries. These four aspects will be discussed in more detail below.

Boundaries are symbolic

Boundaries are symbolic because they are not always visible. Lamont and Molnár (2002) defined symbolic boundaries as “conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space.” In other words, boundaries are conceptions that are socially constructed and appear based on differences between objects, people, practices, time or space. Some boundaries revealed in the literature of social sciences were epistemic culture (i.e. a specific attitude towards knowledge construction), identity positions, (i.e. roles and expectations), teacher pedagogies, and so on (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012; Knorr-Cetina, 1999)

Through symbolic boundaries, people can create categories between groups, acquire status within groups and “generate feelings of similarity and group membership”

(Epstein, 1992a, p. 232). By examining symbolic boundaries between two discursive spaces, researchers can capture the dynamic relationships between community members within these discursive spaces and their norms, values and practices. Specifically, they can identify the differences and similarities between the linguistic norms and values dominating different discursive spaces and analyze how community members respond to these differences.

Boundaries are variable

In addition to being symbolic, boundaries are also variable in that each individual may perceive different objects, people or practices as boundaries (Phelan et al., 1991). Researchers analyzing the boundaries between two pairs of similar discursive spaces may also identify different variables as boundaries. For example, Akkerman and Bakker (2012) and Mesker and colleagues (2018) analyzed the boundaries between two different schools and workplaces and identified different practices as boundaries. While Akkerman and Bakker (2012) called boundaries between the school and workplace as epistemic culture and identity positions, Mesker and colleagues (2018) identified four boundaries between the school and workplace. These were (1) existing pedagogical approaches, (2) personal aspects, (3) a specific school type or culture, and (4) the world outside the classroom. In conclusion, the boundaries varied in terms of number and label although they analyzed two similar pairs of discursive spaces.

Boundaries can be enabling and constraining

Simply because boundaries refer to the sociocultural differences between two or more discursive spaces, this does not imply that boundaries always act as barriers. Recent studies highlighted that boundaries can also act as resources in two ways: 1) when an external analysis of sociocultural norms and values demonstrated

commonalities and 2) when individuals perceive familiarity within sociocultural differences based on their personal background (Aikenhead, 2001; Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Bernstein, 2000; Costa, 1995; Engeström et al., 1995; Hernes, 2003).

Although some sociocultural norms and values may indicate differences, others may show commonalities. Studies showed that as these commonalities increased, the boundaries acted as resources by creating connections between norms, values and practices of different discursive spaces and potentials to further students' learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a). For example, Kenner and Ruby (2012) revealed that after mainstream teachers and heritage language teachers created a syncretic curriculum that involved shared topics and tasks, students demonstrated smoother boundary crossing and active participation to learning activities.

When students identified limited commonalities, they drew on their familiarities to negotiate the sociocultural differences and soften the impacts of boundaries (Wenger, 2000). As they perceived familiarities, boundaries can take an enabling role and create potentials for learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012; Dillon, 2008; Engeström et al., 1995; Wenger, 2000). For example, in Mesker and colleagues' (2018) study, a comparison of observed school and workplace practices revealed pedagogical approaches as a boundary. However, since students' familiarity with these different pedagogical approaches varied, the role of pedagogical approaches as a boundary varied and had different impacts on students' learning. While pedagogical approaches created potentials for learning for the students who could identify familiarity with some practices, they acted as barriers and had a constraining effect on learning for students who struggle to make connections between these pedagogical approaches and their familiar

practices. Phelan and colleagues (1991) concluded that sociocultural differences between discursive spaces should, therefore, be analyzed in relation with students' perceptions of familiarity within these differences to better identify boundaries.

Types of Boundaries

Phelan and colleagues (1991) analyzed students' experiences in three different discursive spaces, i.e. homes, schools and peer worlds, with different dominant sociocultural norms and values. After analyzing dominant linguistic policy and practices within each discursive space through observations and field notes and interviewing students to understand their familiarity with these policy and practices, they identified four different types of boundaries: (1) impenetrable, (2) hazardous different, (3) manageable different and (4) congruent (See Figure 2-2) (Phelan et al., 1991).

Phelan and colleagues (1991) revealed that when the differing sociocultural norms and practices in a discursive space were totally new to the students and students found no connections between these norms and practices and their funds of knowledge or prior knowledge, boundaries were regarded as impenetrable. When students identified some connections, but they were enough to make sense of the differing sociocultural norms or practices only partially, boundaries were considered as hazardous. When these connections were enough to grasp the differing sociocultural norm or practice to a large degree, boundaries were considered manageable. Finally, when the new knowledge or practice was slightly new to the students and the students could make sense of the differing sociocultural norm or practice easily, boundaries were viewed soft or congruent.

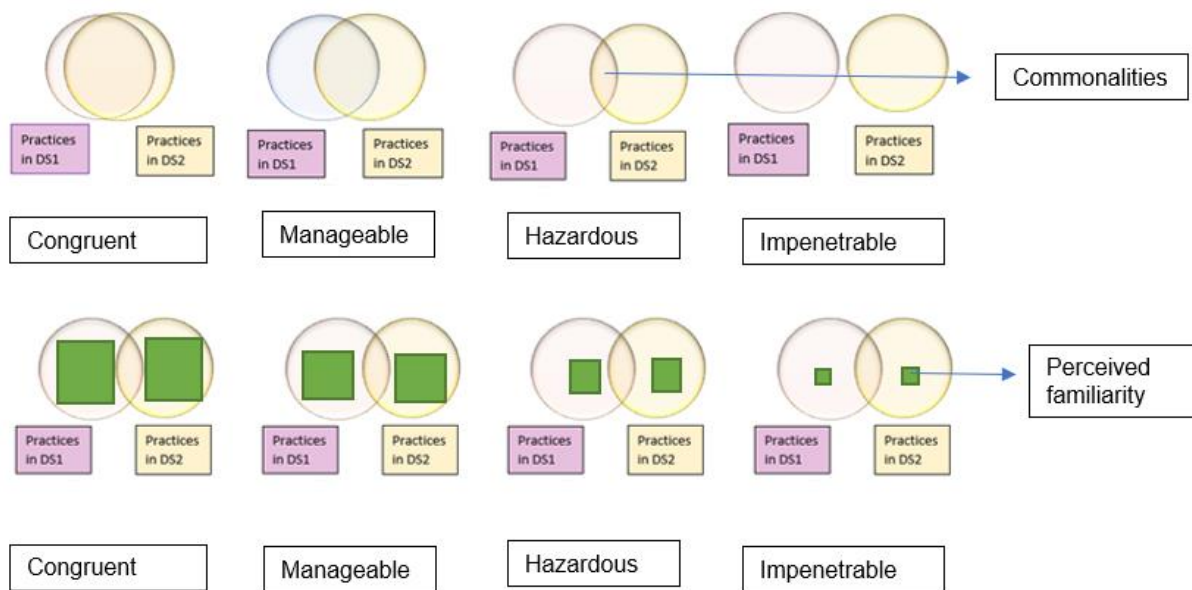


Figure 2-2. Types of Boundaries

Boundary Crossing

Boundary crossing is said to occur when individuals have to negotiate the sociocultural differences between two or more discursive spaces. In the boundary crossing process, people first identify the sociocultural norms, values and practices within these spaces. Then, they negotiate these norms, values and practices by comparing and contrasting them across discursive spaces and identifying the similarities and differences. These negotiations create potentials for learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012). Through boundary crossing, people may also generate new situations or realities by transforming their familiar practices or prior knowledge. Some new situations or realities constructed through boundary crossing in the literature include singularities (unique language practices) or hybrid identities to maximize learning and construct belonging to the community (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Engeström et al., 1995; García & Sylvan, 2011; Hinnenkamp, 2003; Makalela, 2015; Sayer, 2013; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015; Wenger, 2000).

Depending on the commonalities between sociocultural norms and values of different discursive spaces and the students' perceptions of familiarity with the differing norms and values, students' perceptions of boundaries varied from congruent to impenetrable. Phelan and colleagues (1991) categorized students' experiences with crossing these boundaries in four ways: (1) insurmountable, (2) traumatic, (3) managed and (4) smooth (See Figure 2-3). When students struggle to make connections between their familiar practices and the unfamiliar practices in a discursive space, and thus perceive boundaries as impenetrable, their boundary crossing experiences are positioned as insurmountable, and the boundaries often act as barriers that have a constraining effect on learning. As students start to perceive familiarities within the boundaries of different discursive spaces, the impact of boundaries on students' learning gets softened, and the boundary crossing experience moves from an insurmountable experience to a smooth experience (Wenger, 2000).

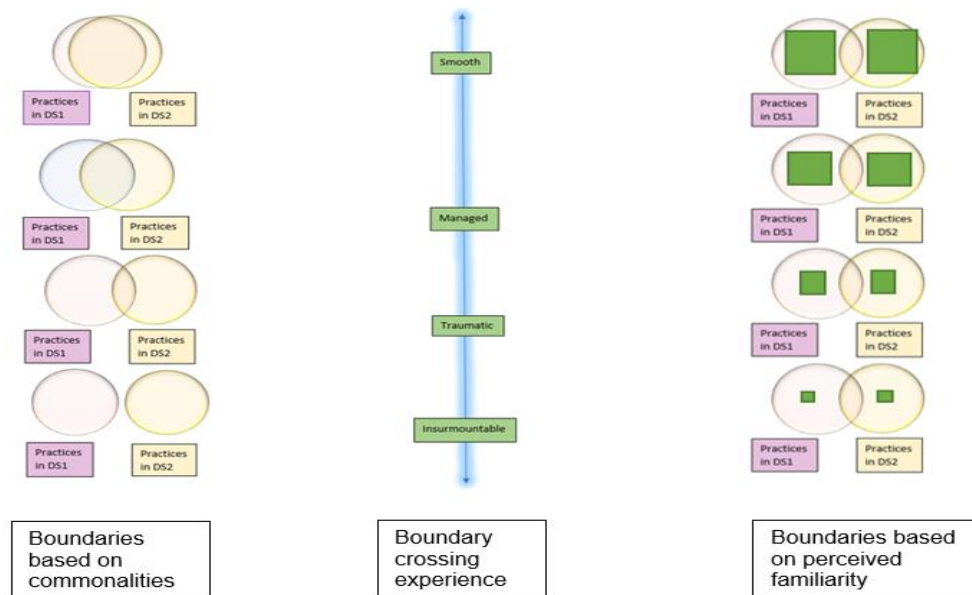


Figure 2-3. Students' boundary crossing experiences depending on commonalities and the degree of perceived familiarity between two different discursive spaces

Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Boundaries are flexible in that they can be softened through scaffolding tools called *boundary crossing mechanisms* (see Figure 2-4) (Mesker et al., 2018; Wenger, 2000). Boundary crossing mechanisms refer to people, objects and interactions that facilitate the negotiation of sociocultural differences and engagement to learning (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a).

These mechanisms soften the boundaries by increasing the commonalities between two or more spaces and/or increasing the students' perceptions of familiarity within differences by making references to their funds of knowledge (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b).



Figure 2-4. Softening boundaries through boundary crossing mechanisms

Wenger (2000) suggests three mechanisms that can soften the restraining impacts of boundaries and turn boundaries into resources for learning by creating bridges between different sociocultural practices of different discursive spaces and re-establishing continuities between discursive spaces: boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012) (see Figure 2-5).

Boundary interactions

Boundary interactions, also called *boundary encounters*, are described as events and practices that bring the members of different discursive space communities

together to collaborate for specific purposes and mutual engagement (Kerosuo, 2001; Wenger, 2000). Boundary interactions refer to events, meetings, projects and communications that facilitate students' boundary crossing experiences through collaborations (Wenger, 2000). Unlike other boundary crossing mechanisms, boundary interactions occur only within discursive spaces and do not always require the presence of CLD students. In these events, meetings, projects or communications, members of different discursive space communities collaborate to identify the commonalities between sociocultural differences and find ways to create bridges between their familiar practices and new practices. For example, in Akkerman and Bakker's (2012) study, release days—days in which the vocational education students presented and discussed their apprenticeship experiences with other students and their teachers—reflected on boundaries and shared implications of their experiences to school practices so that they could overcome boundaries as barriers next time they transitioned between schools and workspaces.

Boundary people

Boundary people, also called *brokers* or *boundary crossers*, are people who are familiar to both discursive spaces and are divided into two groups: 1) boundary spanners, who scaffold students' engagement with learning within one specific discursive space (e.g. peers and teachers), and 2) boundary roamers, who scaffold students' engagement with learning by moving across discursive spaces with the students (e.g. parents, grandparents, tutors, etc.) (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Wenger, 2000). Boundary brokers aim to create connections between both familiar and new practices or prior knowledge and the new knowledge for students. Boundary people are often the people who share a similar linguistic and cultural background with the students

(Alvarez, 2014; Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Orellana, 2009). The community members that are involved in boundary interactions can be also considered boundary people as they collaborate to find ways that connect students' familiar knowledge and practices with the discursive space practices. Student buddies, tutors, caregivers, ESOL specialists and heritage language teachers were some boundary brokers that were revealed in the CLD literature (Alvarez, 2014; Haynes & Zacarian, 2010; Isik-Ercan, 2012; Reynolds & Orellana, 2014).

Boundary objects

Boundary objects refer to the artefacts, processes (e.g. tasks & topics) and discourses that bridge prior and new knowledge, and/or familiar and unfamiliar practices (Akkerman & Baker, 2011b; Wenger, 2000). Students can support their learning through these symbolic or real objects as these objects represent a shared meaning across discursive spaces for the students, although they may represent different meanings for other community members (Akkerman & Baker, 2011b; Star & Griesemer, 1989; Wenger, 2000). For example, Star and Griesemer (1989) defined patients' portfolios as boundary objects since they were used by different groups of health experts in hospitals to facilitate completion of specific tasks. Through these portfolios, similarities and commonalities are formed across different discursive spaces and community members' engagement with learning was scaffolded. Patient records, machine parts, social networking sites, such as Facebook or Twitter, and message boxes about medical technology can be listed as some boundary objects revealed in the literature that members of different discursive spaces used to learn (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012; Kerosuo, 2006; Bjorgen, 2010; Cummins, 2009; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez

& Chiu, 1999; Jonsson, 2013; Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Lantz-Andersson, Vigmo & Bowen, 2013; Pacheco & Miller, 2016).

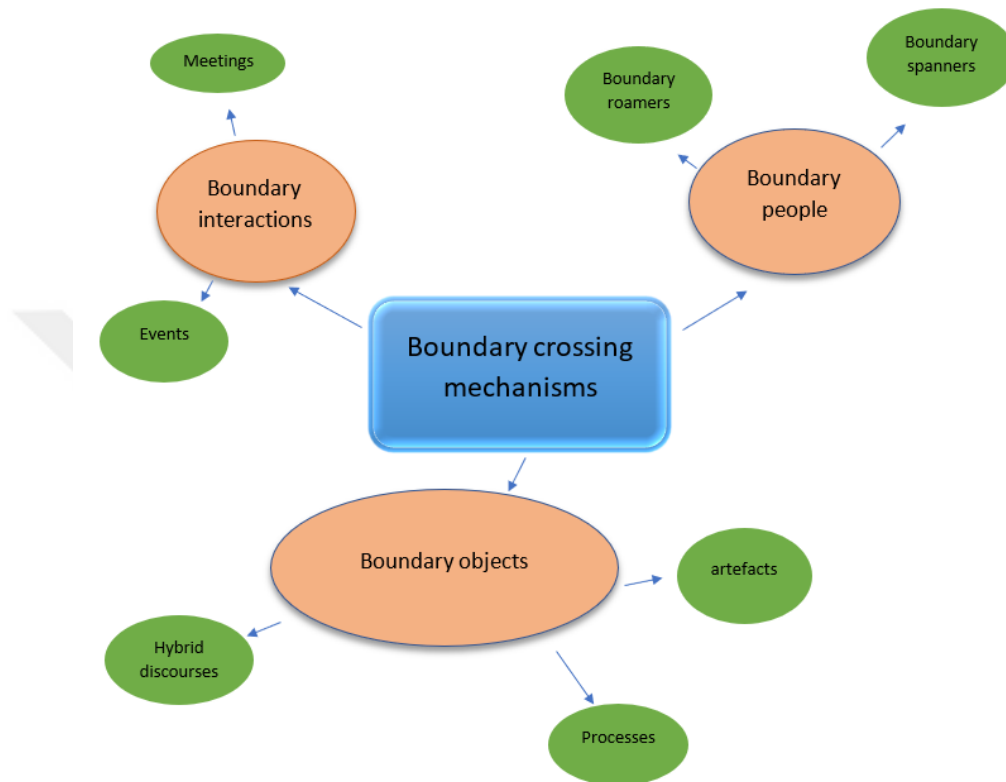


Figure 2-5. Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Translanguaging

In addition to boundary crossing theory, this study uses translanguaging theoretical lens that view the CLD students' language resources as parts and pieces of a full linguistic repertoire (García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012). Translanguaging as a complex discursive practice can also be considered as a boundary object since it is a hybrid discourse strategy and Wenger (2000) listed hybrid discourse strategies as a boundary object since it requires fluid use of linguistic resources that are often used dominantly in separate discursive spaces. The term *translanguaging* refers to the complex discursive practices of CLD students utilized to

negotiate identities and support content and language learning. Translanguaging as a complex discursive practice meant strategically selecting codes from students' full linguistic repertoire to demonstrate knowledge, negotiate meaning and construct knowledge (Canagarajah, 2011b; García, 2009). I positioned translanguaging as a complex discursive practice as a boundary object rather than a boundary interaction because while boundary interaction focuses on the act of collaboration, boundary object focuses on individualized practice.

Literature Review of CLD Students' Linguistic Experiences

Boundary crossing theory provides a theoretical lens for understanding the CLD students' lived linguistic experiences within and across multiple discursive spaces. It offers a holistic framework to examine the differences between linguistic norms and values between discursive spaces and the students' linguistic responses to these differences. The purpose of this literature review is to explain the nature of language-related boundaries, the students' experiences with these boundaries and the mechanisms that facilitated students' boundary crossing.

This section synthesizes the literature on CLD students' experiences with boundaries and boundary crossing experiences. It should be noted that each discursive space valued different languaging practices based on the flexible use of linguistic resources. The section begins with a discussion of the nature of boundaries that CLD students often encounter as they move between two or more discursive spaces and how their languaging practices might change. Next, it discusses studies that have examined how differences in sociocultural norms and values influence students' boundary crossing experiences. Finally, it examines how boundary crossing mechanisms facilitate CLD students' boundary crossing experiences.

The Nature of Boundaries

To understand the boundaries between discursive spaces and how CLD students interacted with these boundaries, some researchers have followed the same CLD students as they moved between two discursive spaces and noted the dominating norms and practices within each discursive space to identify commonalities and differences. Moreover, they recorded the variances in CLD students' linguistic practices to identify how students perceived and responded to these norms and practices as they moved from one space to another (Byeon, 2015; Hinnenkamp, 2003; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Jonsson, 2013; Makalela, 2015; Reynolds & Orellana, 2014; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015). To address these two areas, this section discusses the linguistic norms and values and CLD students' engagement with these norms and values as they move between (1) homes and schools, (2) homes and heritage language schools and (3) heritage language schools and mainstream schools.

Homes and mainstream schools

Several studies have analyzed the boundaries between homes and schools to explain language related issues that result in students' lack of school success. These studies revealed that linguistic expectations at schools differed from linguistic expectations at homes in terms of flexible use of full linguistic resources, and due to these differences, some CLD students experienced discontinuities in their learning at schools. Thus, linguistic expectations appeared as a boundary between homes and schools.

For example, Reynolds and Orellana (2014) analyzed the languaging practices of three youths (10-14 years olds) between homes and schools by asking them to note their daily language practices in their communities and perform a typical dialogue at

school. They noticed that while the students used their full linguistic resources fluidly to mediate conversations and achieve a broker role between their parents and the mainstream world in their communities, they were expected to language monolingually at schools since English-only practices were more valued by the school community. Similarly, Makalela (2015) analyzed 35 undergraduate students' language uses in and out of the classroom contexts and noticed that while the students had a tendency to use only English in the classrooms, they used their full linguistic resources in several different named languages flexibly in their out-of-school life to communicate with different people and to complete different tasks. Finally, Hornberger and Link (2012) analyzed a Mexican-heritage first grader's languaging practices as she moved between her community and school. They found that the student moved between her linguistic resources in Spanish and English over the course of her day with dominant use of Spanish at home and dominant use of English at school. All these study findings implied that students performed poorly in school as teachers' instructional strategies expected students to practice monolingually in English rather than mirroring the students' authentic language practices in their communities. In conclusion, linguistic expectations appeared as a boundary between homes and schools since these expectations varied between homes and schools.

Homes and heritage language schools

Some researchers have also analyzed CLD students' experiences across homes and heritage language schools and how they interact with sociocultural norms of these spaces. These studies revealed that although language practices in the heritage language were shared between homes and the heritage language schools, linguistic expectations still differed in both discursive spaces in terms of flexible use of linguistic

resources and appeared as a boundary since they influenced students' engagement with learning in the heritage language schools.

For example, Byeon (2015) analyzed language policies and ideologies in a Korean heritage language school and revealed that although teachers had a tendency to practice monolingually in Korean so that students could practice their Korean language skills, they sometimes purposefully moved between English and Korean to affirm the students' bilingual identities. Otcu (2010) analyzed linguistic and cultural ideologies and policies in a Turkish heritage language school in New York City. She found a tendency to value Turkish-only linguistic and cultural practices in the heritage language school. However, when some students experienced struggles in adjusting the monolingual norms in some instructional activities, the teachers enacted their language resources fluidly to clarify and support sense making. Finally, Creese and colleagues (2008) analyzed the sociocultural norms and students' language uses to adjust these norms in four different heritage language schools. They observed both separate and flexible bilingualism in the classrooms. In other words, teachers required students to move between a monolingual-plurilingual continuum in order to increase their active participation and engagement.

As a result, although some heritage language schools expected students to practice monolingually in the heritage language, others engaged students in activities that allowed for flexible language use. It is implied that when the linguistic affordances in the heritage language schools differed from homes, these linguistic affordances can appear as a boundary between heritage language schools and homes.

Heritage language schools and mainstream schools

Few studies analyzed the boundaries between heritage language schools and mainstream schools and how CLD students interacted with them. These studies revealed that linguistic expectations at schools and heritage language schools differed distinctively in terms of flexible use of full linguistic resources, and due to these differences, CLD students experienced discontinuities in their learning in the discursive spaces that they perceived less familiarity. Thus, linguistic expectations appeared as a boundary between heritage language schools and schools.

For example, Tereshchenko and Archer (2015) analyzed 8 Bulgarian and 12 Albanian students' views on heritage language and mainstream schools. They found that while Bulgarian HLS teachers valued monolingual Bulgarian practices and aimed to improve the students' test taking skills and Bulgarian literacy skills, Albanian HLS teachers valued bilingual practices and aimed to promote bilingual identity construction. Bulgarian students expressed more familiarity and engagement with mainstream school practices, evaluated HLS practices as boring and difficult, and practiced monolingualism. On the other hand, Albanian students expressed more familiarity and engagement with the HLS practices and practiced bilingualism. Rose (2013) analyzed differences between supplementary schools and mainstream schools in England. She suggested that these schools differ from each other in terms of curriculum and dominant linguistic and cultural practices. As a result, both the instructional strategies that required students to practice their linguistic resources monolingually and curriculum appeared as boundaries between heritage language schools and mainstream schools.

Although the studies that focused on two discursive spaces revealed important findings regarding boundaries, they were limited as far as explaining the nature of

boundaries across more than two discursive spaces that CLD students engaged in regularly. To address this gap, Giampapa (2001) observed eight Italian-Canadian college level CLD students' practices across discussions in Italy and schools and workplaces within Canada. She found that while students tended to practice their linguistic resources more monolingually in schools and workplaces, they moved across English, Standard Italian and dialect Italian in their discussions with interactants in Italy. Similarly, Phelan, Davidson and Cao (1991) explored the interactions of 54 high schoolers with the sociocultural norms, beliefs, expectations and practices as they moved between school, homes and peer worlds. They found that students tended to practice language resources monolingually in schools and more flexibly in peer and home worlds. Monolingual (English-only) language expectations in the school appeared as boundaries for students who had limited English proficiency. These two studies suggested that the sociocultural norms in all three discursive spaces varied, and monolingual norms appeared as boundaries for some students when these norms were not familiar to the students.

Although these studies provided important implications to explain the nature of boundaries as CLD students moved from one discursive space to another, it is also important to understand how CLD students experienced these boundaries. The next section positions CLD students' boundary crossing experiences on the smooth-to-insurmountable continuum to better explain how CLD students respond to these boundaries.

Boundary Crossing Experiences: Smooth to Insurmountable

As noted, students' perceptions of familiarity between or across linguistic norms and values within the discursive spaces influences their boundary crossing experience

between smooth and insurmountable (Phelan et al., 1991). Although most researchers did not explicitly position CLD students' boundary crossing experiences as smooth, managed, traumatic or insurmountable, the researchers' findings regarding CLD students' learning and interactional experiences made some implications about how transitions between different discursive spaces were perceived by CLD students. This section describes CLD students' boundary crossing experiences and positions these experiences in the smooth-insurmountable continuum.

Traumatic or insurmountable boundary crossing experiences

Phelan and colleagues (1991) positioned CLD students' boundary crossing experiences as traumatic or insurmountable when CLD students perceived a distinct or considerable amount of sociocultural differences between two or more discursive spaces. Several studies have explored how CLD students' learning and linguistic experiences were influenced when they moved between homes and schools (Phelan et al., 1991; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). These studies showed that CLD students often experienced traumatic or insurmountable boundary crossing experiences as they moved between schools and homes because they experienced frequent discontinuities in their interactions and learning due the different linguistic expectations in these discursive spaces.

For example, Valenzuela (1999) and Valdés (2001) investigated the valued linguistic norms in schools and homes and CLD students' experiences between these norms. They revealed while schools valued English-only practices, some homes valued heritage-language-only practices. Due to the conflicts between dominant norms in these two discursive spaces, students experienced frequent discontinuities in their learning and interactions in schools. Thus, boundaries between homes and schools can be

categorized as hazardous or impenetrable, and the students' experiences could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable on the boundary crossing continuum. Similarly, Phelan and colleagues (1991) examined CLD students' experiences in school compared to their peer worlds and homes. They found that the students whose language practices in peer worlds and homes differed from school practices perceived the boundaries as hazardous and impenetrable. For these students, boundary crossing experiences could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable on the boundary crossing continuum. In conclusion, most CLD students experienced traumatic or insurmountable boundary crossing between homes and schools due to the distinct differences between linguistic norms and values in these discursive spaces (See Figure 2-6).

Only a few studies have explored CLD students' boundary crossing experiences between heritage language schools and schools. These studies showed that while some CLD students perceived curriculum and language practices in the heritage language schools more familiar, others perceived curriculum and language practices in schools more familiar. This implied that curriculum and language use differed between heritage language schools and schools distinctively, and thus, CLD students experienced traumatic or insurmountable boundaries as they moved between these discursive spaces.

For example, Tereschenko and Archer (2015) compared Bulgarian and Albanian students' experiences in heritage language schools and schools. They revealed that Bulgarian background students perceived curriculum-related differences between mainstream schools and homes as hazardous or impenetrable boundaries. Thus, their

boundary crossing experiences could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

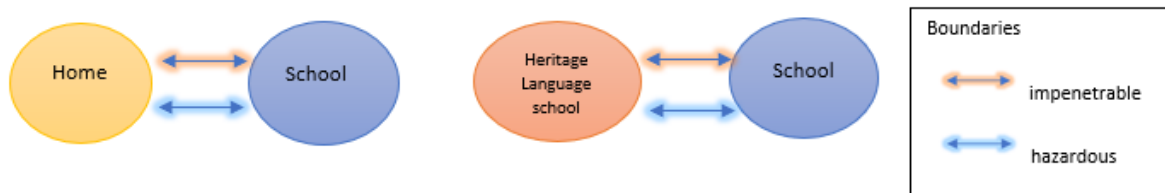


Figure 2-6. Traumatic or insurmountable boundary crossing experience

Managed or traumatic boundary crossing experiences

Phelan and colleagues (1991) positioned CLD students' boundary crossing experiences as managed or traumatic when CLD students perceive either a manageable or unfeasible amount of sociocultural differences between two or more discursive spaces. Some students experienced managed or traumatic boundary crossing as they moved between homes and heritage language schools or homes and schools when linguistic expectations in two discursive spaces differed to a large extent.

For example, Otcu (2010) analyzed CLD students' experiences in a Turkish heritage language school in New York. She found that students often struggled understanding teachers' Turkish-only practices. To ensure students' comprehension, teachers sometimes used English. These students' boundary crossing experiences could be positioned between managed and traumatic since some students managed making sense of monolingual Turkish practices while others needed teachers' linguistic scaffolding to make sense (See Figure 2-6). Similarly, Phelan and colleagues (1991) revealed that some students experienced managed boundary crossing while others experienced traumatic boundary crossing between homes, peer worlds and schools (See Figure 2-7). While students who could identify manageable amount of familiarities

between linguistic practices in school and other worlds experienced managed boundary crossing, students who could identify small number of similarities experienced traumatic boundary crossing. While students with managed boundary crossing experiences could demonstrate understanding during instructional practices, students with traumatic experiences struggled in making sense of school content and demonstrated low school success.

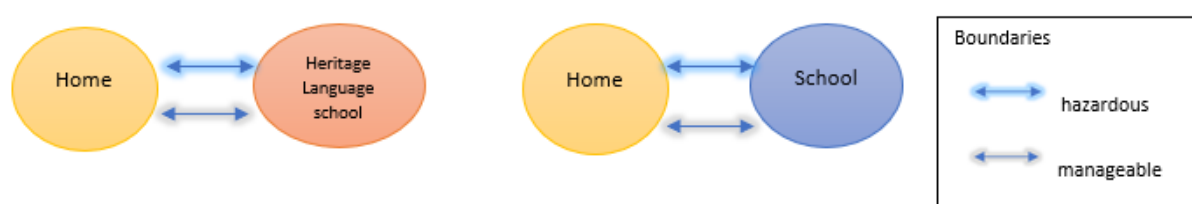


Figure 2-7. Managed or Traumatic Boundary Crossing Experiences

Smooth or managed boundary crossing experiences

Phelan and colleagues (1991) positioned CLD students' boundary crossing experiences as smooth or managed when CLD students perceived either a congruent or considerable amount of sociocultural similarities between two or more discursive spaces. The studies that analyzed CLD students' experiences between homes and heritage language schools or homes and schools experienced few discontinuities in their learning and interactions when linguistic expectations in these two spaces overlapped to a large extent (Byeon, 2015; Otcu, 2010; Phelan et al., 1991; Sayer, 2013). Thus, CLD students often experienced smooth or managed transitions between homes and heritage language schools or homes and schools.

For example, Byeon (2015) interviewed with teachers and analyzed linguistic practices in a Korean heritage language school to understand how teachers used their

linguistic resources. She found that teachers used their linguistic resources flexibly to ensure students' comprehension and increase their academic engagement. Through doing this, CLD students with varying levels of Korean and English proficiencies could identify some level of familiarity in dominant linguistic practices. These CLD students' boundary crossing experiences in this study could be positioned between smooth and managed on the boundary crossing continuum. Sayer (2013) analyzed language practices in a second-grade classroom in a transitional bilingual program. He found that the teacher used vernacular and standard Spanish flexibly to ensure commonalities between language practices in students' homes and school. Considering students' high-level of engagement in the instructional practices, CLD students' boundary crossing experiences could be positioned between smooth and managed (see Figure 2-8).

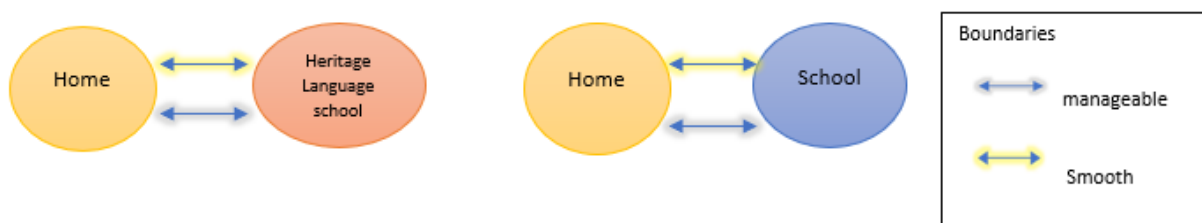


Figure 2-8. Smooth or Managed Boundary Crossing Experiences

In conclusion, the current literature implied that CLD students' boundary crossing experiences between homes, schools and heritage language schools ranged from smooth to insurmountable depending on the commonalities and differences between language practices between these spaces. Although these studies provided important insights about CLD students' boundary crossing experiences between two discursive spaces, they stayed limited to analyze CLD students' perceptions of boundaries and

boundary crossing experiences across homes, schools and heritage language schools holistically.

The Functions of Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

The literature suggests that when students perceive traumatic or impenetrable boundaries and these boundaries influence CLD students' learning and interactions, teachers or students use boundary crossing mechanisms to soften the impact of boundaries. Boundary crossing mechanisms may be present within a discursive space or move across discursive spaces with students. Boundary crossing mechanisms are listed as boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects (See Figure 2-9). This section discusses the studies that exemplify how three boundary crossing mechanisms mollified the impacts of boundaries and scaffold their learning and interactions.

Boundary interactions

Studies examined the interactions of teachers and parents to identify the boundary interactions that supported CLD students' learning. These studies revealed that through boundary interactions, parents and teachers collaborated to support CLD student' learning mostly in school spaces that was interrupted or stopped by language or curriculum related boundaries. Some boundary interactions exemplified in the CLD student literature are a series of parent-teacher meetings at schools that required parents and community members to work together to support CLD students' learning (García et al., 2012) and a meeting between mainstream and heritage language teachers that required a collaboration to create a syncretic curriculum to scaffold students' learning (Kenner & Ruby, 2012).

Parent-teacher meetings can be considered a boundary interaction since they require collaboration from parents and teachers to support CLD students' learning. For example, García, Woodley, Flores and Chu (2012) revealed that school community interacted with several other discursive space members, such as college professors, community members and teachers, within the school to create a culturally responsive curriculum for CLD students. This curriculum included a flexible use of language by teachers to support students' learning and build on CLD students' funds of knowledge. Similarly, in Kenner and Ruby's study (2012), heritage language teachers and mainstream teachers collaborated to prepare a syncretic curriculum to open third spaces in their lessons in which students could negotiate learning in schools and heritage language schools by using their full linguistic and cultural resources. These third spaces subsequently supported students' learning of both contents and languages and gave them opportunities to demonstrate their bilingual identities.

In conclusion, the members of different discursive spaces (and students in some case) came together to find ways to link knowledge and practices that CLD students engaged in different discursive spaces. Although these studies provided important insights about the roles of boundary interactions between two discursive spaces in students' learning, they stayed insufficient to explain the roles of these interactions across three discursive spaces.

Boundary people (brokers)

Studies have identified various roles of boundary people. One role is to facilitate students' academic development by drawing on students' familiar knowledge, negotiating the differences between students' familiar versus new knowledge and increasing students' awareness. By creating connections between CLD students'

familiar knowledge and new knowledge, brokers increased CLD students' perceptions of familiarity and facilitated students' learning and interactions. While some boundary people scaffold students' learning within one discursive space and acted as boundary spanners, others do so by moving across discursive spaces with students and acted as boundary roamers.

Some studies identified parents as boundary spanners since they supported their children's learning at home. For example, in Isik-Ercan's (2012) study, Turkish-American parents supported their children's adjustments to English dominant worlds, especially schools, by working with some role models (tutors) who were experienced boundary brokers. The tutors engaged adolescents in several social and academic events and supported their critical thinking skills and problem-solving abilities for navigating multiple challenges as a Turkish, American, and Muslim teenager. The researcher observed that adolescents' positive sense of self, moral reasoning, conflict management and autonomy were fostered as a consequence of their interactions with experienced brokers, and they demonstrated higher engagement and school success in mainstream schools. Similarly, parents acted as boundary spanners in Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera and Cummins' (2014) study with third grade students. To complete a school project, parents told their own stories to their children and made connections to children's stories. Teachers also acted as boundary people by creating connections between the content and students' home lives to support students' learning. In these studies, parents, teachers and tutors acted as boundary spanners.

Some studies identified parents and teachers as boundary roamers since they supported CLD students' learning by moving to a different discursive space. For

example, in Alvarez's (2014) study, mentors who were bilingual Spanish and English speakers acted as boundary brokers by using Spanish and English to scaffold students' English literacy development. Parents, on the other hand, acted as boundary roamers in this study by 1) attending the after-school program with CLD students, and 2) working with students to complete literacy tasks by scaffolding the process through references to their literacy skills in their home languages. Similar to parents in Alvarez' (2014) study, heritage language teachers in Kenner and Ruby's (2012) study moved between schools and heritage language schools after designing a syncretic curriculum in collaboration with mainstream teachers. During their visits to schools, heritage language teachers positioned the focal students as language and culture experts and scaffolded their learning by making references to the students' funds of resources in their homes or communities. In these studies, while heritage language teachers and parents moved from the discursive spaces they belong to another discursive space, mainstream teachers facilitated students' learning within one specific discursive space by creating bridges between students' familiar knowledge and new knowledge. While heritage language teachers and parents acted as boundary roamers, mainstream teachers acted as boundary spanners.

In conclusion, boundary people, as boundary spanners or roamers, supported students' learning within homes or classrooms by drawing on their familiar knowledge or practices, including cultural or linguistic resources. Although these studies provided important implications about the roles of boundary people, they stayed insufficient to explain their roles across homes, schools and heritage language schools holistically.

Boundary objects

The literature reveals multiple boundary objects that can be found in different forms in different discursive spaces (Bjorgen, 2010; Cummins, 2009; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez & Chiu, 1999; Jonsson, 2013; Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Lantz-Andersson et al., 2013; Pacheco & Miller, 2016). An analysis of these boundary objects showed that any bilingual instructional material or discourse can act as a boundary object since they create connections between students' home norms, values and practices and the school norms, values and practices language. Bilingual games, literacy activities, culture projects and videos and songs were some boundary objects revealed in the literature.

In schools, a boundary object can appear in the form of a game that promotes CLD students' acculturation process and school achievement. For example, Martin-Beltrán (2014) found in his study that teachers engaged English dominant and Spanish dominant students in a game named "language detectives" in which students were asked to reflect on language samples through thinking aloud. This game served as a boundary object in which students could negotiate their linguistic competencies, expand knowledge and demonstrate their identities. "The language detectives" game could connect students' familiar language practices with new practices and acted as a boundary object.

A boundary object can also be a literacy activity that requires students to use multimodal ways to demonstrate their knowledge or identity. For example, Ntelioglou and colleagues' (2014) engaged students in a project that required students to create multiple texts using creative writing, digital technologies and drama pedagogy. In these texts, also called *identity texts*, students related their identities and community lives with

school practices. While constructing these texts, CLD students thought critically and creatively to reflect their bilingual identities. The identity texts acted as boundary objects and connected students' familiar practices with new practices or prior knowledge with new knowledge. Thanks to boundary objects, students could increase their level of knowledge and language proficiency, share their funds of knowledge and identities with others and construct new knowledge.

A boundary object can also appear in the form of a culture project. For example, in Pacheco and Miller's (2016) study, third grade CLD students were asked to prepare posters that represented their home lives. Students and their parents worked together to complete the posters by using students' home languages and English fluidly to describe the pictures of their family members, home countries or cultural practices on the posters. This culture project linked students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge with class content, created potentials for students' learning and identity demonstration and facilitated students' boundary crossing experiences by creating bridges between homes and schools.

Moreover, a boundary object can be a video or song that creates a bridge between CLD students' home cultures and the mainstream culture. García and Leiva (2014) examined a teacher's instructional practices in a newcomer program in Queens, NYC. They found that the teacher engaged immigrant newcomers with bilingual songs and videos about hip-hop culture as boundary objects to facilitate their transitions from a Spanish-speaking world to an English-speaking world and to create third spaces in which they can share linguistic and cultural expertise and funds of knowledge, and

negotiate with the content. They also revealed that the videos and songs increased the students' engagement and learning.

Furthermore, a boundary object can be an artifact or material that students carry across discursive spaces and use to share their funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012; Wenger, 2000). For example, in Pacheco and Miller's (2015) study, multilingual young learners in a mainstream school brought photos from their homes to introduce their family and culture to their peers. Through these artifacts, students created a connection between their home spaces and school spaces and created opportunities for negotiations of their cultures.

Finally, translanguaging as a complex discursive practice can serve as a boundary object. The flexible use of linguistic resources can create a connection between CLD students' languaging practices across different discursive spaces (Palmer et al., 2014). Several studies have examined CLD students' languaging practices in different discursive spaces, such as general education schools (i.e. mainstream schools and bilingual education programs), heritage language schools, newcomer programs, and homes. Collectively, these studies found that bilinguals shuttled between languages, "treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system" to support language learning and maximize content learning (Canagarajah, 2011b, p. 401; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Thus, translanguaging acted as a boundary object since it established continuities in students' interactions when they were interrupted or stopped by boundaries and facilitated students' access to knowledge.

For example, Gort and Pontier (2013) analyzed student interactions in four Spanish/English dual language (DL) classrooms. They found that students enhanced

communication skills in both languages by using translanguaging practices such as translating cross-language paraphrasing, cross-language elaborations and bilingual clarifications of instructions. Similarly, Daniel and Pacheco (2015) examined four multilingual middle and high schoolers' language practices in mainstream schools and found that multilingual students translanguaged while taking notes, researching the content, studying for tests, draft-writing assignments, and making sense of schoolwork. Moreover, Li Wei (2011) examined languaging practices of British-Chinese students in a complementary school in London. He found that the British-Chinese students used both Chinese and English in creative ways to access knowledge, negotiate meaning and clarify misunderstandings. Finally, Creese, Barac and colleagues (2008) investigated multilingual practices of CLD students in Bengali, Cantonese, Gujarati, Mandarin and Turkish complementary schools in the UK. They found that the students used their linguistic repertoires flexibly often to clarify the academic task, to make bilingual quests (reception in one language and production in another), and to increase their comprehension.

In conclusion, boundary objects refer to artifacts such as books, processes such as activities and contents, and discourses such as translanguaging practices. These objects scaffolded students' learning and languaging experiences by creating connections and drawing on students' background knowledge. Although these studies showed the roles of boundary objects, specifically translanguaging, between two discursive spaces, they stayed limited to understand its role across multiple discursive spaces so that teachers can utilize these discourse strategies effectively.

Conceptual Framework

Culturally and linguistically diverse student populations, including Turkish-American students, are growing rapidly in the U.S. The recent achievement reports, which document a consistent gap between CLD students and mainstream students, imply that teachers' pedagogies still stay limited to meet the needs of this diverse student population. One way to increase the effectiveness of teaching practices in schools is to take an asset-oriented approach to students' complex discursive practices and leverage students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge to facilitate their learning (Harper & de Jong, 2009; García, 2009; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; McCarthy, 1998; Moll et al., 1992; Lucas & Villegas, 2011). To do so, teachers need to know more about CLD students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge.

Scholars suggest that funds of knowledge are constructed through interactions with various sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge in daily life (Flores & García, 2013; Haneda & Wells, 2012; Pontier & Gort, 2016). CLD students encounter different sociocultural practices on a regular basis as they move across different discursive spaces. When they meet new sociocultural practices, they might experience a discontinuity in their actions and interactions. These new sociocultural practices are called *boundaries*, and they create potentials for learning since they involve both unfamiliar and familiar knowledge for students (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012). As students move across different discursive spaces, they constantly encounter boundaries and reflect on them to engage in learning. The perception of a boundary varies between soft to impenetrable depending on the commonalities between sociocultural norms and values and how much familiarity a student finds in a boundary (Phelan et al., 1991; Wenger, 2000). As the perception of boundary moves from alike to different, the

impacts of boundaries move from soft to impenetrable. When a boundary is perceived impenetrable, it has a restraining effect on students' learning. To overcome the restraining impact of a boundary and achieve learning, students need to negotiate them and even transform their own practices to adjust. This process of negotiation of the boundaries is called *boundary crossing* (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b).

To soften boundaries, Wenger (2000) suggested three scaffolding tools, which he called *boundary crossing mechanisms*. Boundary crossing mechanisms include boundary interactions, boundary objects and boundary people. While boundary interactions require members of different discursive space communities to collaborate to facilitate the negotiations of boundaries and learning, boundary people scaffold students' learning by creating opportunities to identify commonalities (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b; Mesker et al., 2018; Wenger, 2000). Lastly, boundary objects refer to activities, contents and practices that open third spaces and link students' funds of knowledge with new knowledge or students' familiar practices with the new practices (Wenger, 2000). Through these mechanisms, the impacts of boundaries on students' learning can be softened (Mesker et al., 2018). While impenetrable boundaries can be turned into hazardous or managed boundaries, hazardous or managed boundaries can be turned into soft boundaries (Phelan et al., 1991) (See Figure 2-10). In other words, through boundary crossing mechanisms, while totally new knowledge and practices start to make sense, somehow new knowledge and practices become familiar (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b).

Translanguaging refers to both complex discursive practices of CLD students and teacher practices that open third spaces for complex discursive practices of the

CLD students (Canagarajah, 2011a, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012). Translanguaging as a bilingual discourse practice can be considered as a boundary object since it scaffolds students' learning by facilitating students' access to knowledge (García, 2009). Translanguaging as a discursive practice exists in several homes, heritage language schools and mainstream classrooms as a scaffolding tool; however, only few studies have adopted a boundary crossing framework and analyzed the role of translanguaging as a boundary crossing mechanism. This study aimed to understand the role of translanguaging as a complex discursive practice in CLD students' boundary crossing process.

Several researchers analyzed the sociocultural norms, values, perspectives, expectations and practices in discursive spaces that CLD students engaged in on a regular base, such as mainstream schools, heritage language schools and homes (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Byeon, 2015; Harper & de Jong, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Keim, 2007; Makalela, 2015; Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2014; Parke et al., 2002; Tatar, 2015). Although these studies gave descriptions of sociocultural components of schools, heritage language schools and homes, they failed to explain the variances between sociocultural components of these discursive spaces since they did not analyze sociocultural components in relation to one another.

To better make sense of the boundaries between two discursive spaces and reveal the challenges that CLD students experience while moving between these spaces, some researchers followed CLD students in two different spaces and noted the variances in sociocultural practices and students' responses to these practices (Byeon, 2015; Hinnenkamp, 2003; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Jonsson, 2013; Makalela, 2015;

Reynolds & Orellana, 2014; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015). These studies showed that although CLD students' full linguistic repertoire was always active in all discursive spaces, their language practices moved across the monolingual-plurilingual continuum. Moreover, studies showed that while boundaries between schools and homes ranged between manageable to impenetrable, the boundaries between heritage language schools and mainstream schools ranged between impenetrable and hazardous, and the boundaries between heritage language schools and homes ranged between soft and hazardous depending on the commonalities between norms, values and practices and students' perceptions of familiarity in differing norms, values and practices (See figure 2-9).

Few studies examined CLD students' languaging practices in more than two discursive spaces using a holistic perspective to better understand CLD students' experiences with boundaries within and across different discursive spaces to better understand their full linguistic repertoire (Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Phelan et al., 1991). Although these studies provided important insights about the nature of boundaries and CLD students' languaging practices, they are limited as far as providing the full picture of CLD students' boundary crossing experiences, especially across heritage language schools, homes and mainstream schools due to the limited number of research studies that involved three discursive spaces at the same time. To better understand how CLD students experience boundary crossing across multiple discursive spaces and enact their full linguistic repertoire, it is important to involve as many discursive spaces as possible and analyze sociocultural differences and students' varying languaging practices using a holistic approach.

Thus, the present study aims to explore the boundaries of three discursive spaces—namely a Turkish heritage language school, mainstream school and home—that Turkish-American students (as one group of CLD students) engage in on a regular basis, and the students' responses to these boundaries through practices by utilizing a holistic approach. Moreover, it aims to identify the boundary crossing mechanisms that soften the boundaries of these three spaces and explain Turkish-American students' languaging practices in and across these spaces. By achieving this goal, it aims to provide educators insights about only understanding how to leverage CLD students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge to support their learning, but also facilitating their boundary crossing experiences. It focuses on Turkish-American students because this CLD student population is one of the least studied CLD group in ESOL field in the U.S.

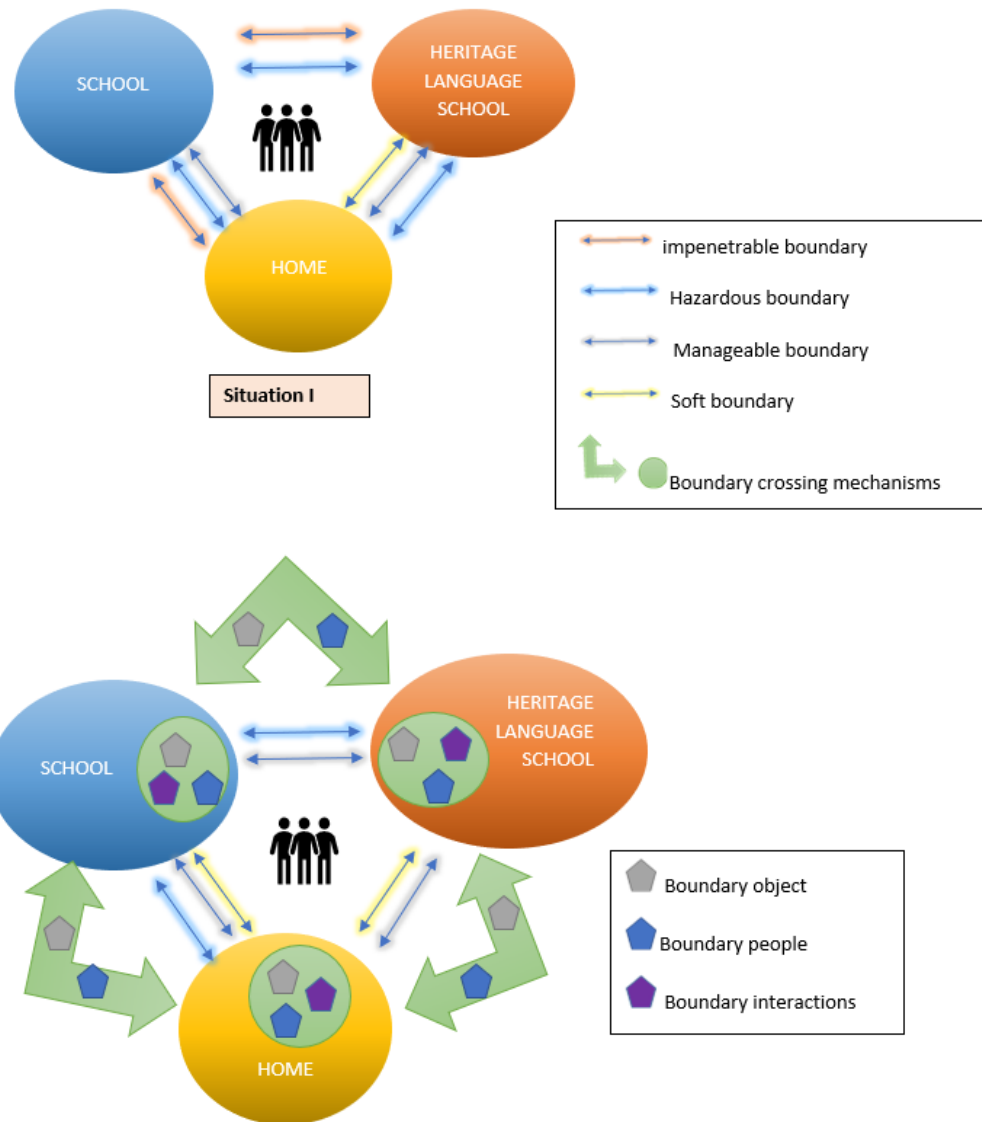


Figure 2-9. Boundary Crossing Framework

Summary

A consistent achievement gap, also called opportunity gap, has been documented between CLD students, especially ELLs, and mainstream students. Studies showed that teachers' pedagogies framed by deficit-oriented approaches were one reason for this gap since these pedagogies stayed limited to meet CLD students needs. One way to meet their needs and increase CLD students' achievement is to take

an assets-based approach and draw on CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge. Several researchers analyzed CLD students' linguistic practices in and between homes, schools or heritage language schools to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge. These studies revealed that since linguistic expectations varied across homes, schools and heritage language schools, CLD students' language practices varied across monolingualism—plurilingualism continuum. However, these studies stayed insufficient to explain CLD students' full linguistic repertoire since they often analyzed CLD students' languaging practices with a fragmented approach rather than a holistic approach. To address this gap, this study uses boundary crossing and translanguaging theories and analyze CLD students' experiences and language practices within and across homes, schools and heritage language schools holistically.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to understand CLD students' linguistic experiences and practices as they move across homes, schools and heritage language schools. This broad purpose was operationalized through the following specific research questions:

1. What boundaries do Turkish-American students encounter as they move across their home, heritage language school and mainstream schools?
2. How do students respond to these boundaries with a specific focus on their interactions with boundary crossing mechanisms and languaging practices?
 - a) What role does translinguaging play in Turkish American youngsters' boundary crossing?

Epistemology: Social Constructivism

This linguistic ethnographic multi-case study was grounded in social constructivism, which supports the belief that individuals create their own reality through interactions with others and their social environment (Bednar et al., 1991; Ertmer & Newby, 1993; Kukla, 2000). As a social constructivist researcher, I view knowledge and meaning as a complex entity that can vary from person to person (Creswell, 2007). I consider learning an ongoing dynamic process that occurs through interactions with others, often more knowledgeable ones (Kukla, 2000; McMahon, 1997; Raskin, 2002) and the context that involves resources, culture, ideologies and policies. The participants are placed at the center of the meaning making process, and their practices were analyzed in relation to social context and culture of the participants (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Derry, 1999; McMahon, 1997; Thomas et al., 2014) because "human action and experience are context dependent and can only be understood within their

contexts” (Mishler, 1979, p.2). Thus, I relied on a variety of strategies to understand the participants’ realities, boundaries, and languaging strategies.

According to social constructivism, reality can only be interpreted when a researcher views it from the standpoint of participants (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 19). To understand the participants’ viewpoints, a researcher needs to investigate not only the interaction among participants but also the historical and cultural contexts which participants abide by (Creswell, 2009). Thus, researchers need to interview and observe participants in their natural settings as well as analyze the settings and identify the cultural, ideological and political artifacts that can contribute to the participants’ meaning construction (Hatch, 2002). In this research study, I, firstly, delivered a survey questionnaire to select my participants, and then conducted semi-structured interviews with teachers, parents and students, made observations and took field notes to better understand the norms and values, in various contexts (i.e., homes, schools and heritage classrooms) that Turkish-American students regularly engaged in, and took audio-recordings of students’ discourses in the HLS.

Research Strategy: Linguistic Ethnographic Multi-Case Study

To achieve the purpose of this study, I took a linguistic ethnographic approach to studying three cases. of Turkish-American youth. I describe the study as linguistic ethnography because it provides in-depth knowledge and understanding of the language practices of a particular culture-sharing group, Turkish-American youngsters (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). It is a case study because it analyzed each Turkish-American youngster’s experiences individually within and across multiple discursive spaces (Creswell, 2012; Merriam, 2009).

Dubec (2017) describes a good case study as a research strategy with a teaching purpose that represents an issue beyond the case with no obvious right answer by telling it in the form of an engaging story. It requires the readers to establish empathy and analyze the problem with a critical and analytical view. This study requires readers to think of the achievement gap between CLD students and White students critically and explores the role of boundaries and boundary crossing mechanisms on CLD students' learning by telling the stories of three Turkish-American youngsters with different personal backgrounds.

This study used linguistic ethnography (LE) to guide the selection of data sources and data analysis method to explain the unique languaging practices of Turkish-American students who have varying language proficiencies and practices as they moved from one discursive space to another. Linguistic ethnography emerged in the UK-based tradition of applied linguistics and holds the belief that "language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity" (Creese, 2008; Pérez-Milans, 2016; Rampton et al., 2004, p. 2). Moreover, LE considers each linguistic repertoire unique in that people acquire, construct and mobilize while positioning themselves and others in ways that have consequences for linguistic adaptation to different discursive spaces, symbolic resources and materialities throughout the course of their life trajectories (Copland & Creese, 2014; Preece, 2016).

LE aims to investigate how language resources are deployed and what this can tell us about wider social constraints, structures, and ideologies to extend our

understanding of the role language plays in social life (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Heller, 2008). Linguistic ethnography favors multiple kinds of data collection and analysis methods (Shaw, Copland & Snell, 2011). The most widely used data collection tools are audio recordings of interactions, field notes and interviews (Rampton et al., 2008, in Snell et al., 2015). These tools can provide in-depth information about students' experiences and languaging strategies and enable the researcher to analyze data from multiple aspects. This research study used multiple data sources to better understand Turkish-American students' experiences within and across homes, schools and the heritage language school by situating them in these spaces which have specific socio-cultural values and practices. Data sources included parent surveys, participant/non-participant observations and field notes, audio-recordings and semi-structured student, teacher and parent interviews.

Research Design

The following sections include: (1) Access and Entry to the Research Sites, (2) A Brief Description of the Participants, (3) Ethics, (4) Researcher's Positionality, (5) Data Collection Tools and Procedures, (6) Data Analysis Methods and Procedures, and (7) Trustworthiness. The overview of the research taxonomy in this study is outlined in Table 3-1. A detailed description of the context of the study and the participants can be found in Chapter 4.

Table 3-1. Research Taxonomy

Epistemology	Social Constructivism Learning is an ongoing dynamic process that occurs through interactions with others, often more knowledgeable ones and the context that involves resources, culture, ideologies and policy and practices.
Theoretical framework	Boundary crossing CLD students engage in different discursive spaces on a regular basis and boundaries of these spaces influence their school success (Phelan et al., 1991) Translanguaging CLD students enact their languages differently as they transition from one space to another (García, 2009)
Research strategy	Linguistic ethnographic Multiple-Case study It aims to identify: Boundaries of homes, schools and a heritage language school and boundary crossing mechanisms in and across these spaces that create potentials for learning Fluid languaging practices to transcend the boundaries.
Number of participants	Focal students (n=3) Mothers (n=3) Mainstream teachers (n=3) Heritage language teachers (n=2)
Data Collection	a. Primary (observations & field notes, teacher, parent and student interviews audio-recordings in the heritage language school) b. Secondary (survey questionnaire)
Data Analysis	Thematic analysis (1 st focus) Open, Axial and Selective coding (2 nd & 3 rd focuses) Linguistic Ethnography (Rampton, 2006): Five steps of Linguistic ethnography data analysis process

Access and Entry to the Research Sites

Access to the research site occurred via the internet. I first identified the closest Turkish heritage language schools in the U.S. through the Center for Applied Linguistics website (<http://webapp.cal.org/heritage/>), Turkish community pages on social media and my personal connections. I contacted four schools in Florida through e-mails, social media messages and phone calls. Fortunately, I received a positive reply from Cagdas

Turkish school (CTS; pseudonym) which operates under Cagdas Turkish Association (CTA). The president of the CTA was my first contact person to access the CTS. I informed her about my research study and sent her my curriculum vitae and a brief introduction of my study to build rapport and obtain permission. Next, I had a 30-minute interview with the CTS teachers on the phone to inform them about my research study, answer their questions and ask my questions about the demographics of the students. Finally, I visited the school a few times in Spring 2017 to see the classroom atmosphere, meet with the youngsters, learn about their language proficiencies and home language practices and build rapport with them and their parents before I started collecting data. Moreover, I was involved in a WhatsApp text message group in which the parents, the CTA board members and the heritage language teachers discuss the school's weekly activities, exchange information regarding the student attendance and share photos and videos from the classroom during activities. The resources shared in this media tool provided a general picture about the students' experiences in the CTS before I started collecting data. Thanks to this group, I could also access all the parents to introduce my research and answer their questions in the participant recruitment process.

After I received confirmation of my research proposal from my dissertation committee members, I first applied and obtained permission from the UF's Institutional Review Board (IRB) (see Appendix A for IRB Approval letter). Next, I recruited the CTS teachers and the focal participants who met the predetermined criteria (see below). The focal participants were selected based on the information that parents provided in the online survey questionnaires, the link which was delivered to the parents through

WhatsApp and e-mails. Then, I contacted mainstream schools and the counties the schools were located in to learn about the procedures I had to follow to receive permission for one-day visits. For each mainstream school, I had to follow different procedures since one school was a private school and the other two schools were public schools located in different counties. The timeline to obtain county and school permissions varied. As soon as I obtained permission, I contacted school principals and the participants' mainstream school teachers and scheduled the dates for the school observations and mainstream teacher interviews and completed my observations.

The Participants

This ethnographic case study included three focal participants, their mothers (n=3), mainstream teachers (n=3), and heritage language teachers (n=2). The focal participants of this study were selected based on criterion sampling (LeCompte & Preissle, 2003). The criteria used to recruit the focal participants were:

1. Turkish-American youngsters older than six years old. I recruited youngsters older than six years old because they had experience in all three discursive spaces, and they could reflect on their experiences better than younger participants in individual interviews (Clark, 2011).
2. Turkish-American youngsters regularly visiting/planning to visit Cagdas Turkish School. I chose the focal participants whose parents donated to the CTS for a year-long registration.
3. Turkish-American youngsters with similar SES backgrounds (identified through surveys). I recruited the Turkish-American youngsters with similar SES backgrounds so that their access to resources at home would be similar and differences would not influence the study findings.
4. Participants varied in terms of exposure to Turkish and English at home. The purpose of this criterion was to understand how the boundary crossing experiences of the participants varied when the languaging practices in homes differed or overlapped with the languaging practices in the mainstream schools or the CTS.

To identify the youngsters who met the criteria listed above, I first delivered an online survey to the parents who volunteered to participate in the study (see Appendix A for the survey questionnaire). Six parents took the survey. From these six families, I recruited three focal participants because the other three parents did not give consent for the mainstream school observations (see Appendix B for the informed consent letter). These three participants (called focal participants to differentiate them from secondary participants like their mothers or teachers) met three of the criteria above; however, two of the focal participants failed to attend the CTS regularly due to health issues or negative attitudes towards the CTS practices.

Each of the three focal participants lived in South Florida and attended the same Turkish heritage language school. The focal participants ranged between the ages of 6 to 11. Elif (pseudonym) was a female first grader in a public school with an ESOL program, and she was a fluent Turkish speaker and beginner-level English speaker. Ozan (pseudonym) was a male fourth grader in a public school with no ESOL program and was a fluent English speaker and a beginner-level Turkish speaker. Finally, Umut (pseudonym) was a male fifth grader in a private Christian school and was a fluent English speaker and an intermediate-level Turkish speaker. Some brief background information of the three focal participants is provided in Table 3-2 below. These data were obtained from parent and student interviews. For detailed information, please see Chapter 4.

Table 3-2. Background Information of the Focal Students

PARTICIPANT	Elif	Ozan	Umut
Age	6	9	11
Gender:	F	M	M
Dominant Language	Turkish	English	English
Born in:	Hong Kong	USA	USA
Self-identification	Turkish	American with Turkish parents	American with Turkish parents
Siblings:	None	1 brother	Twins (1 brother and 1 sister)
Grade	1	4	5
School type	Public school with ESOL program	Public school without ESOL program	Private Christian school without ESOL program

Mainstream teachers, heritage language teachers and the mothers of focal students were also involved in this study to gain more knowledge about contextual features (resources, setting) and the language-focused sociocultural components of different discursive spaces (language policies, language ideologies, values, expectations and languaging practices) and to better understand the boundaries of homes, schools and the heritage language school and the boundary crossing mechanisms they engaged.

I involved only the mothers of the focal participants because two participants' fathers lived apart, and the other father was not involved in the parent interview although he was present in the setting. The focal students' mothers ranged between the ages of 40 to 48. All mothers had master's degrees and could speak Turkish and English at varying degrees. Some brief background information about the focal participants' mothers and fathers (obtained through the parent interviews and the survey questionnaires) is provided in Table 3-3 below.

Table 3-3. Background Information of the Focal Students' Parents

	Elif's mother	Ozan's mother	Umut's mother
Her age	48	42	40
Her spouse's age	48	-	45
Birthplace	Turkey	Turkey	Italy
Her spouse's birthplace	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey
Her job	Finance manager	Process improvement	Sales
Her spouse's job	Company owner	-	Sales
Her highest educational degree	Master's	Doctorate	Master's
Her spouse's highest educational degree	High school	-	Master's
Self-rated Turkish Proficiency level	5/5	5/5	3/5
Self-rated English proficiency level	2/5	5/5	5/5
Her spouse's Turkish Proficiency level	5/5	5/5	5/5
Her spouse's English Proficiency level	4/5	5/5	4/5
Frequency of Turkey visits	Once a year	Once in two years	Once in more than two years

The mainstream and heritage language school teachers ranged between the ages of 30 to 50. The focal students were the first Turkish-background students that the mainstream teachers had in their classrooms. Only one mainstream teacher had ESOL certification, and another mainstream teacher had been attending trainings to obtain ESOL certification. The CTS teachers had been teaching Turkish-American students for two years in the CTS and knew all three students for more than six months. The CTS teachers had not had experience in teaching a second/foreign language before. Some brief background information about the focal students' mainstream and CTS teachers is given in Table 3-4 below. These data were obtained from mainstream and the CTS teacher interviews.

Table 3-4. Background information of the focal students' teachers

Participant	Elif's teacher Ms. Daniels	Ozan's teacher Ms. Parham	Umut's teacher Ms. Angels	Teacher Ayla (CTS)	Teacher Sibel (CTS)
Program of study	Master's in elementary education	Master's in Specific learning disabilities	Bachelors in elementary education	History	Tourism and business administration
Teaching experience	12 years	24 years	9 years of teaching and 3 years of tutoring	Retired High school teacher	A guidance counsellor for 2 years.
Language proficiency	English & some Spanish	English	English & some Spanish	Turkish and some English	Turkish and some English
ESOL Endorsement	Ongoing	No	Yes	N/A	N/A
Communication with the participants' parents	E-mail parent- teacher conferences	"Notify me" app	E-mail parent- teacher conferences texting	What's App	WhatsApp

Ethics

In this study, children's voices, worldviews and decisions were situated in the center of the research. To fulfill an ethical stance towards children, I followed Shier's (2001) five levels: (1) children were listened to, (2) children were supported in expressing their views, (3) children's views were taken into account, (4) children were involved in decision-making processes, and (5) children shared power and responsibility for decision making. Moreover, to remove the researcher's authority in the research site and balance the power relations, I used Corsaro's (2003) strategy, that is, I forged trusted friendships with my child informants by playing with them, buying them small presents and providing them support in the CTS and became part of their network and a friend who shared a similar history and culture with the children. Student observations in

homes, schools and the CTS also changed the power dynamics between the focal students and myself by providing me time and opportunity to empower them, build rapport and develop trust (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). Lastly, good ethical practice was maintained throughout the research process by obtaining permission from the IRB to protect children's physical and psychological well-being, by receiving the participants' confirmation through informed consents and by protecting all participants' identities through pseudonyms. The young participants were also informed about the research study, and their verbal consent for their participation was obtained.

Researcher's Positionality

I am a Turkish-English bilingual who has taught English as a foreign language in public schools and universities and Turkish as a second language in a private institution in Turkey. I started learning English as a foreign language in Turkey, and after getting admitted as an MA and PhD student to the ESOL/Bilingual program, I continued learning English as a second language and had an opportunity to understand second language learners' experiences. As a non-native English speaker and an international student, during my U.S. journey, I engaged in several worlds that involved peers or professors who differed based on their language and cultural practices, professions and nationalities. While moving between these worlds, I encountered several boundaries that influenced my learning, achievement, identity construction and acculturation process. My personal experiences with these boundaries increased my interest in CLD students' experiences in and across different contexts where dominant cultural and language practices varied.

My personal experiences with English language learning, acculturation and construction of bilingual identity shaped my researcher biases. As an immigrant student

who moved to the U.S. in the early 20s, my cultural and linguistic knowledge related to my home culture and language had been already constructed, and my Turkish identity was reflected in my actions and interactions. I sometimes used some Turkish expressions around my non-Turkish peers, shared my knowledge about my heritage language and culture, and negotiated the socio-cultural differences between my home culture and the mainstream culture. Thus, I expected my Turkish-American participants to practice similarly. Secondly, I assumed that the children who intensely practice Turkish language and culture at home might experience challenges like I have in transitions between homes and schools due to the sociocultural differences between these spaces. Moreover, I believed that the parents' immigration experiences and ideologies about Turkish and English languages and cultures could influence their children's attitudes and practices in different spaces. On the other hand, I acknowledged that the participants of this study are much younger than I am, and some participants had been learning Turkish as a second language, so their acculturation experiences might be different from my experiences. I was also well-aware that some other factors, such as proficiency levels, personalities, language ideologies and so on, might influence their experiences and practices and result in different boundary crossing experiences and languaging practices.

To broaden my perspectives on CLD students' varying languaging practices, have a general idea about my participants' cultural and linguistic practices in the CTS and overcome my biases, I made a few visits to the CTS before the official data collection process started and observed and noted not only community practices but also the young Turkish-American students' responses to these community practices.

Then, I reflected on these practices and matched these practices with my personal biases so that I could confront my biases and overcome them before the official data collection process started to ensure that they did not influence my interpretation of data.

To avoid overgeneralizations and projecting my biases on my data collection methods and interpretation of data, I kept a researcher journal during my data collection process in which I recorded my personal feelings related to aspects or practices that surprised or upset me and recorded my initial interpretations of data. Then, I compared my feelings with my initial interpretation of the data so that I could recognize my biases, recognize how my feelings influenced my interpretations and ensure that my final interpretation of data was not influenced by them and let the data speak for itself with minimal influence of researcher biases. In my researcher reflections, I also reflected on the appropriateness of my methods and language and noted participants' responses to my methodological decisions and language, the predicted or reflected reasons for their responses. Based on my reflections, if I needed to modify my research methods, either my participants or research methodology literature guided me regarding how to modify my data collection methods so that I could adjust my participants' preferences, guarantee their comfort and maximize gains from the study. The only change I had to make was to integrate second and third interviews for Ozan and Umut because Ozan dropped the HLS in the third week of the data collection process and Umut experienced some health issues for a few weeks in the middle of the data collection process.

My Turkish-immigrant identity afforded me the status of an 'insider' on the grounds of the shared ethnolinguistic background of the participants. My fluent language skills in English and Turkish built trust between my participants and myself. In

the CTS, I had familiar roles to the young participants. First, I was a fluent English speaker with a Turkish accent and a native Turkish speaker, which made me an expert of Turkish language and culture like their parents, CTS teachers and several other adults in the CTA. I was also a student like them who talked about her professors and assignments, and a teacher like their CTS teachers who scaffolded their learning and engagement by assisting their teachers during the instructions. Moreover, I was an older sister for them to whom they could express their opinions, needs and concerns comfortably, and a researcher who kept their interviews confidential and whose aim was to help their mothers, teachers and future CTS students by suggesting effective ways to address and meet similar students' needs while they were moving across homes, schools and the CTS.

Data Collection

In this study, I used several data collection tools to document the learning and language experiences of the three participants within and across their homes, the CTS, and their mainstream schools. The data set were categorized as primary and secondary data tools:

- a. Primary: observations & field notes and semi-structured teacher and parent interviews, audio-recordings and student interviews
- b. Secondary: survey questionnaire

Primary Data: Interviews, Observations & Audio-recordings

The primary data aimed to describe the socio-cultural characteristics of the discursive spaces, namely mainstream schools, heritage language schools and homes, and the focal students' experiences within and across these discursive spaces. This section details the primary data tools used in this study, which included (1) semi-structured interviews with the parents and teachers; (2) semi-structured student

interviews; (3) observations and field notes; and (4) audio-recordings. Next, the secondary data source, the survey questionnaires, is discussed.

Semi-structured interviews with parents and teachers

Through semi-structured parent (n=3) and teacher interviews (n=5), I aimed to understand the contextual and socio-cultural components of homes, mainstream schools and heritage language schools. As contextual components, I intended to gain background knowledge about the parents and teachers as community members/leaders of homes, schools and the CTS and identify the physical characteristics of the settings. As sociocultural characteristics, I intended to understand languaging practices of the community members that focal participants regularly interacted (parents and siblings at home and teachers and peers at schools), parents' and teachers' attitudes towards English and Turkish languages and their children's Turkish and American identity construction. Moreover, I aimed to understand parents' and teachers' expectations of the focal students in these spaces, the topics and activities the focal participants engaged in in these spaces and languaging practices the focal participants enacted while talking about these topics or participating into these activities.

The parent and teacher interviews, which were conducted at various times during the 11 weeks of data collection process (see Table 3-6), included 5 to 10 open-ended questions (see Appendix D) and were drawn from Otcu's (2010), Lu's (2001), and Anderson and colleagues' (2016) interview questions. The interviews took between 20 to 66 minutes. Each interview took place in a setting that each participant chose. The CTS teachers' interviews were conducted in Turkish while the mainstream teacher interviews were conducted in English. Elif's parent interview was conducted only in Turkish since she was a dominant Turkish speaker, while both English and Turkish

were used fluidly in Ozan's and Umut's parent interviews as they were fluent in both languages. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All data were saved in my personal computer in password-protected files, and all identifiers in the data were replaced with pseudonyms

Semi-structured student interviews

The purpose of the semi-structured student interviews was to understand how Turkish-American students perceived boundaries while moving across different discursive spaces, what kind of boundary crossing mechanisms facilitated crossing these boundaries, and how they report their languaging practices within and across the spaces. To conduct the interviews, I followed Seidman's (2006) three-step, in-depth interviewing protocol: (1) focused history, (2) the details of the experience, and (3) reflection on meaning. I chose Seidman's protocol because the focus of each interview overlapped with my research goals, and the duration between two interviews provided me the time to process data from the former interview and ground these data in the following interview. Moreover, I clarified ambiguous points with the students and validated my initial interpretations of the previous interview data by asking them confirmation questions in the subsequent interview. In other words, three-step in-depth interviewing provided internal consistency (Seidman, 2006).

According to Seidman's protocol, the first interview aims to understand the 'focused history' of the participants and asks several open-ended questions (Seidman, 2006) (See Appendix D). My goal with the first interviews which were conducted on the days of home observations was to explore participants' demographics, personal stories (their weekly routines, the important people in their lives, etc.), their attitudes toward their languages, their perceptions of the differences and similarities between the

discursive spaces, i.e. mainstream classrooms, homes and heritage language classrooms schools and home, their general experiences and feelings in different discursive spaces, and the challenges and benefits of engaging in different discursive spaces on a regular basis so that I could situate focal participants in these spaces and identify boundaries.

The second interviews aimed to explore 'the details of the experience' (Seidman, 2006) (see Appendix D). Through the second interviews which were conducted towards the end of first cycle (see Table 3-6), I explored how the focal participants self-reported their languaging practices and learning experiences in different spaces and why they used their languages in those specific ways, and what or who influenced these practices and their learning. Moreover, second interviews enabled me to negotiate the changes that occurred in focal participants' languaging practices across spaces. To facilitate these negotiations, I used transcribed language samples I collected from different spaces with a specific focus on differences in languaging practices. In turn, I could compare what they said they did and what I observed, which yielded more credible findings. I chose and reported the aligned findings and highlighted the parts that did not align in chapters 5 and 6.

The final interviews focused on the question of "what sense does it make to you?" (Seidman, 2006, p.18) (see Appendix D). In the final interviews which were conducted towards the end of the second cycle (see Table 3-6), I aimed to understand the reflections of the participants on the boundary crossing experience and what kind of mechanisms they used to cross the boundaries. Moreover, through this interview, I

aimed to gain insights about how boundaries of discursive spaces influenced the participants' learning in each space and their identity construction.

The interviews were conducted at homes or coffee shops in the languages that the participants preferred, and each interview took 30 to 45 minutes. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed later, and I wrote reflection notes after each interview to highlight the important points and my initial interpretations. These notes grounded the procedure and questions of the next interview until the process was complete.

Observations

I followed the participants in mainstream schools, heritage language classrooms and homes, and conducted participant and non-participant observations. With this data collection tool, I aimed to identify the contextual and sociocultural features that were taken for granted and referenced by the participants which would be less likely mentioned using only interviews or other data collection techniques (Hatch, 2002). The data obtained through observations included the nature of topics and tasks, physical characteristics of the classrooms and student engagement with learning and language use. With the information regarding the linguistic and socio-cultural atmospheres of these discursive spaces, I could gain an insider perspective and determine the moments that require further investigation in the interviews to better understand the boundary crossing experiences of the participants.

The numbers and durations of observations varied in each discursive space (see Table 3-5). The CTS was a privileged space over others because (1) more time was needed to understand complex language practices of young informants in this space since it hosted all participants whose languaging practices varied, (2) I took a participant

role in the observations of this space, and participant observations restricted my ability to take field notes, and (3) this space provided me an opportunity to build rapport and develop trust with both informants. Thus, eleven participant observations (two hours in each observation—twenty-two hours in total) took place in the CTS. During the observations, if the students were divided into two groups, I often engaged in the older students' group because I had two focal participants (Umut and Ozan) in this group who were not regular attendees of the CTS space. Moreover, Umut and Ozan had lower Turkish proficiencies compared to Elif, and my bilingualism could be a good resource for these students' learning in the CTS. However, when students were instructed as one group, I placed myself somewhere closer to all three participants. As a participant observer, since I had limited time to take notes of the practices, I used audio-recordings to obtain information about the languaging practices of the focal participants. I also wrote researcher reflections after each observation to record the activities and students' responses to these activities as well as my reflections about the data collection process. I constantly member-checked my interpretations of their responses to the socio-cultural practices in the CTS and ensured that my observation notes reflected not only my interpretations but also their self-perceptions.

I conducted participant observations in the CTS because the CTS was my main research site, and a participant role could enable me to build positive rapport and develop trust with the participants, balance power relations and comfort them during the observations in other spaces. Moreover, I, as a bilingual Turkish immigrant, was an insider in this space since I shared a similar linguistic and cultural background with the community members of this space. Thus, my presence in this space was more

welcomed than other spaces by the participants. In the CTS, I was involved in students' learning process by taking an active role during instructions.

The parents were very kind to invite me to their homes overnight for home observations. Thus, the home observations started around dinner times on Saturdays and ended after breakfast times on Sundays. The duration of home observations ranged from three to five hours depending on what time the participants went to bed and woke up. The number of interactants in homes ranged from three to five, including the focal participants. Since the number of actors with whom the participants interacted in this space was small, three-to-five-hour observations provided me with a wealth of data in understanding the typical language practices of young participants with their parents and/or siblings at home. My role ranged between participant observer to non-participant observer at homes since the focal participants and their parents were willing to involve me in their interactions.

Finally, non-participant observations in the mainstream classrooms took one full school-day (six hours) where I followed the focal students throughout the day. One school day was sufficient since my goal with this observation was to understand how young participants behaved linguistically and engaged with learning in the mainstream school context before they described their languaging practices in the interviews. I took a non-participant observation role in the general education classrooms and avoided interactions with the participants as much as possible in order not to interfere with the natural flow of interactions. My non-participant role shifted to a participant role only for 5 to 10 minutes in Elif's school since she was lost with the content during the ESOL reading class and needed scaffolding to complete the task that all students worked on

individually. Although taking a participant role in this case could have interrupted possible interactions between Elif and her peers or the ESOL teacher, it ensured Elif's comprehension of the content and task and facilitated her task completion process.

Field notes

In order to record contextual and linguistic data that I gained from school, the CTS and home observations and log my initial interpretations, I took field notes and wrote researcher reflections before, during and/or after the observations (within 24 hours) (Gray, 2004; Hatch, 2002; Marwick, 2014). The field notes included information about the physical characteristics of the settings, the resources available to the focal students, brief descriptions of the interactants and the topics or activities they engaged in, the focal participants' non-verbal behaviors, and languaging practices (Hatch, 2002). The language samples were noted in the language they were practiced in, and the language samples in Turkish were translated to English later if necessary. All data were transferred to an electronic format and saved in password-protected files.

Audio recordings

The purpose of the audio recordings was to record the languaging practices of participants in the CTS to be used to prompt second student interviews and support the study findings. The audio-recordings were taken only in the CTS because I took a participant observer role in this space and did not have time to record all three participants' languaging practices simultaneously. When the data collection process was complete, the language practices that differed across spaces and exemplified translanguaging as a discursive practice were selected and transcribed to serve as a basis for the second student interviews. These language samples were analyzed later

to identify the forms and functions of translanguageing in the CTS and to better understand the role of translanguageing as a boundary object in boundary crossing.

Secondary data: Survey Questionnaire

The secondary data, the survey, provided background information to facilitate recruitment. The purpose of the survey was to reveal demographics, family history and cultural and language practices of the Turkish American adolescents' families at home so that I could recruit the focal participants of this study. The survey questions, drawn from Otcu's (2010) survey questionnaire, involved detailed questions regarding the participants' home language practices (see Appendix C).

Table 3-5. Data sets

Focal Student	Focal students at home	Focal students at school	Focal students in the CTS	
Elif 3 interviews (110 min in total)	Interview with Elif's parents (1 hour) Home observation (3 hours) Field notes Researcher reflections Survey	Interview with Ms. Daniels (25 min) Full-day school observation (6 hours) Field notes Research reflections Artifacts (Drawings, school documents such as end semester report card)	Interview with Teacher Sibel (53 min) Interview with Teacher Ayla (50 min) Field notes Researcher reflections Photos Instructional resources (worksheets, cards, poems)	9 weeks of audio-recordings
Ozan 3 interviews (90 min in total)	Interview with Ozan's mother (66 min) Home observation (3 hours) Field notes Researcher reflections Survey	Interview with Ms. Parham (20 min) Full-day school observation (6 hours) Field notes Research reflections Artefacts (Drawings, writing samples, school work)	Interview with Teacher Sibel (53 min) Interview with Teacher Ayla (50 min) Field notes Researcher reflections Photos Instructional resources (worksheets, cards, Poems)	3 weeks of audio-recordings
Umut 3 interviews (160 min)	Interview with Umut's mother (46 min) Home observation (3 hours) Field notes Researcher reflections Survey	Interview with Ms. Angels (20 min) Full-day school observation (6 hours) Field notes Research reflections Artefacts (writing samples)		5 weeks of audio-recordings

The 55-item Qualtrics survey included dichotomous (yes/no) questions, questions on a Likert scale (rated 1 to 5), short answer questions (e.g., how old are you?), and filter questions (if you answered ‘yes’ to the previous question, ...). The survey link was distributed to all parents who were planning to send their children to the CTS in the 2017-2018 school year through WhatsApp and e-mails before the CTS opened. The survey took between 20 to 30 minutes, and was available both in Turkish or in English to the parents. Six parents took the survey, and based on the information provided in the survey questionnaires, three focal participants that met the identified participant selection criteria were recruited.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection process took eleven weeks. The process was divided into two cycles (See Table 3-3). In the first cycle (the first six weeks), I aimed to create background knowledge about the participants’ home and heritage school communities and situate Turkish-American youngsters’ in these spaces. Moreover, the goal of the first cycle was to identify the differences and similarities between not only the youngsters’ languaging practices between homes and the CTS, but also the socio-cultural norms and practices (beliefs, activities, resources and interactions) of these spaces. Thus, I started the data collection process with the CTS teacher and parent interviews, the first focal participant interviews which aimed to answer primarily the question “who are you?”. I also conducted the CTS and home observations in the first cycle so that I could gain insights about both contextual characteristics of the spaces and participants’ language practices before I talked to them in the following interviews. Simultaneously, I recorded all three participants’ full discourses in the CTS for 11 weeks to identify and select translanguaging samples among them and use them to ground

second focal participant interviews and support my languaging-focused findings in this report.

The goal of the second cycle was to gain background knowledge about the participants' school communities to situate Turkish-American youngsters' in this space and identify the differences and similarities between their languaging practices across homes, the CTS and schools, but also the socio-cultural practices (norms, values, beliefs, activities, resources and interactions) across these spaces. In the second cycle, while I continued to conduct participant observations in the heritage language classrooms and take field notes, I involved schools as the third discursive space and conducted school observations, mainstream teacher interviews and took field notes not only about the socio-cultural practices in the schools but also the focal participants' languaging strategies in this context. Moreover, I conducted the second and third semi-structured interviews with the focal students to understand their perceptions of boundaries across three discursive spaces and their linguistic decision-making process as they moved from one space to another.

Table 3-6. Data Collection Timeline

WEEK	Elif's audio recs	Umut's audio recs	Ozan Audio recs	Parent Interviews and home observation	Teacher interview and School Observation	Field notes and researcher reflections	Student interviews
I (Oct 22)	+	+	+			+	
II (Oct 29)	+	+	+	Elif's parent interview and home observation	CTS teacher interview	+	Elif's first interview
III (Nov 5)	+	+	+		CTS teacher interview	+	
IV (Nov 12)		+		Ozan's parent interview and home observation		+	Ozan's first interview

Table 3-6. Contunied

WEEK	Elif's audio recs	Umut's audio recs	Ozan Audio recs	Parent Interviews and home observation	Teacher interview and School Observation	Field notes and researcher reflections	Student interviews
V (Nov 19)	+			Umut's parent interview and home observation		+	Umut's first interview
VI (Dec 11)	+					+	Elif's second interview
VII (Dec 17)	+				Ozan's MS teacher interview and school observation	+	
VII (Dec 17)	+				Ozan's MS teacher interview and school observation	+	
VIII (Jan 14)	+					+	Ozan's second and third interview
IX (Jan 21)	+					+	Umut's second and interview Elif's third interview
X (Jan 28)	+	+			Umut's MS teacher interview and school observation	+	
XI (May 13)	+				Elif's MS teacher interview and school observation	+	

Data Analysis

Upon all volunteer parents (n=6) filling out the survey questionnaires, the survey data were analyzed. Based on the analysis results, the students who met the participant selection criteria (n=3) were identified and recruited. Next, the interviews and audio recordings were transcribed, and the field notes and researcher reflections were transferred to electronic files and read repeatedly to “know” the data (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 162). During the data collection, the data were organized chronologically. When the data collection process was complete, all data were transferred to Nvivo software. Data were clustered in two ways (projects) in Nvivo: (1) data set clustered based on the focal students/cases (see Figure 3-1), and (2) data set clustered based on the informant (see Figure 3-2).

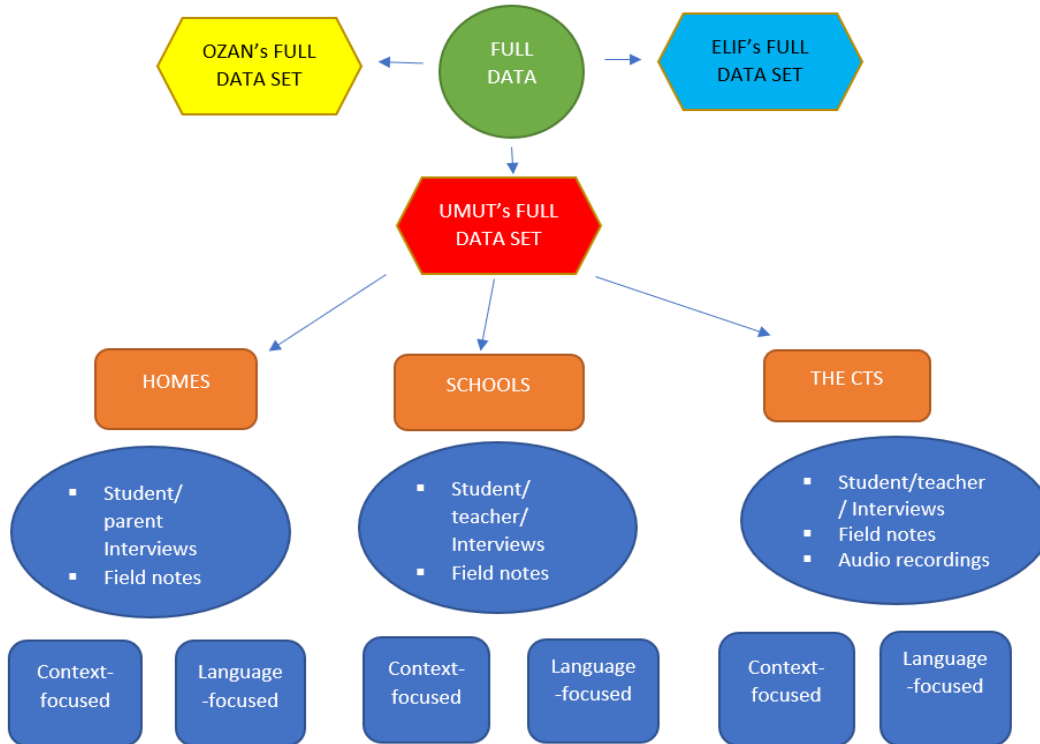


Figure 3-1. Data Set Clustered based on the Focal Student

I clustered the data sets differently to achieve different goals. The data set that was clustered based on the cases aimed to identify the sociocultural components (attitudes to Turkish and English languages, cultures and identities and the expectations to practice languages and cultures in specific ways) of each discursive space that each focal participant engaged in so that the students could be situated in these spaces individually. On the other hand, the data set that was clustered based on the informants aimed to distinguish the perceived and observed boundaries and boundary crossing mechanisms so that these two data sets could be cross analyzed to obtain trustworthiness.

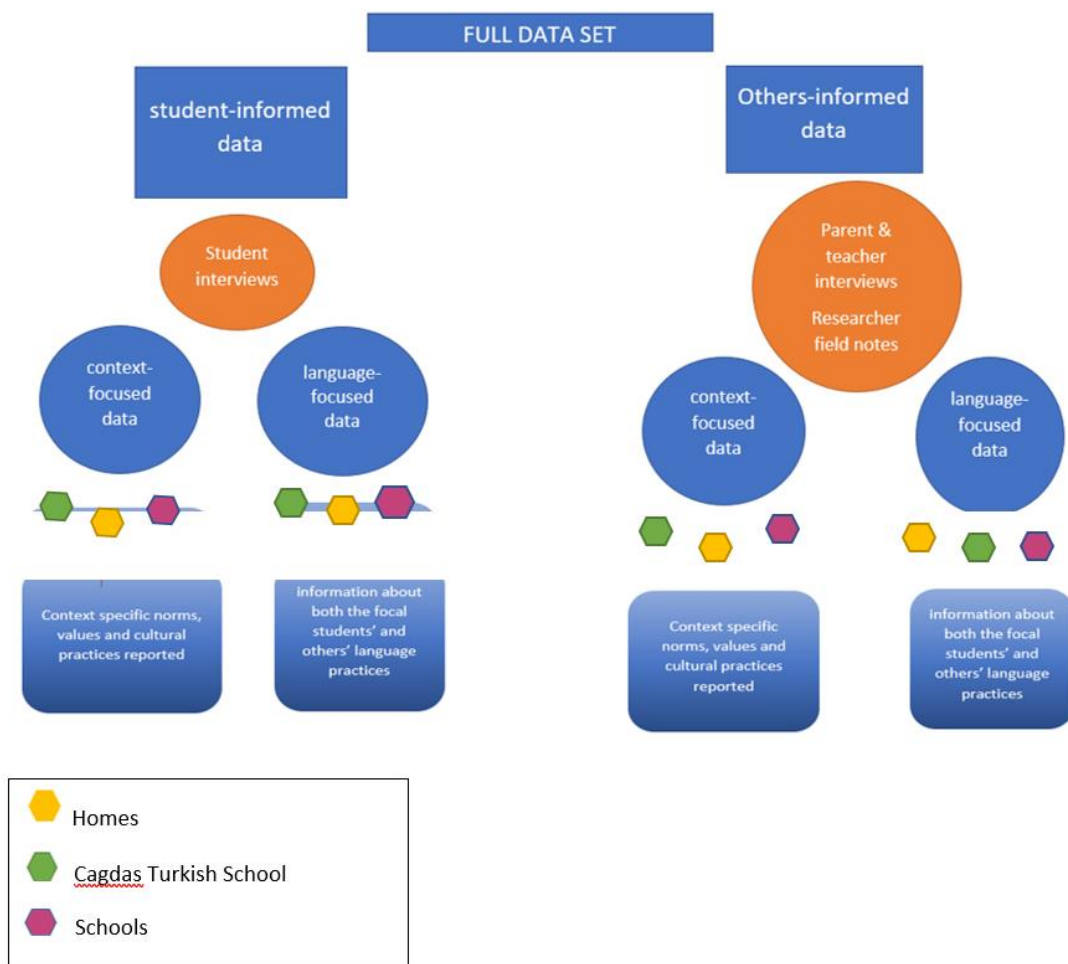


Figure 3-2. Data set clustered based on the Informants

To analyze the data after categorizing them for analysis for specific purposes, the data were analyzed three times, with a different focus each time, using NVIVO as a data analysis tool, and open, axial and selective coding as coding strategies (Boeije, 2010; Corbin & Strauss, 2008) and following the five steps of linguistic ethnography as a data analysis procedure (Boeije, 2010; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rampton et al., 2004; Rampton, 2006). Below, I explain the steps followed in each data analysis process using the data samples coded with open, axial and selective coding.

Data Analysis: Focus on Context

This data analysis aimed to identify the sociocultural components (attitudes to Turkish and English languages, cultures and identities and the expectations to practice languages and cultures in specific ways) of each discursive space that each focal participant engaged in. To achieve this aim, the data set clustered based on the focal students was used and the data were analyzed with thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, the researcher got familiarized with the data after reading the data repeatedly. Second, codes and sub-codes (in English) were generated while working through the data. In this step, all nodes in Nvivo were reviewed repeatedly to identify potential categories or themes. Third, the codes were categorized under potential themes. Fourth, the relationships between codes and themes were checked, and I selected only the themes related to (1) the backgrounds of the students, parents and teachers (age, nationality, languages spoken, language proficiency levels, schooling experience, etc.), (2) the sociocultural norms and values (language ideologies, attitudes to culture and identities, etc.) and (3) linguistic and cultural practices. By this way, the number of themes were reduced. Fifth, themes were defined, and new names were generated to align with the purpose of the data analysis. Finally, each discursive space

was described based on sociocultural norms, values and practices and each participant was situated within their home, school and the CTS (see chapter 4).

Table 3-7. Example of Thematic Coding

Text	Source	Description of data	Codes	Themes
She was skipping word problems. Her mom warned her to make mistakes if she doesn't read. She used eleven in English then continued in Turkish. Numbers are English. she was saying 100 in Turkish, and 11 in English. When her mother warned her not to use 100 in Turkish, she started to use "a hundred".	Elif's Home observation	Skipping questions not to read English. Counting some numbers in English others in Turkish	Language use while doing math homework at home	Hybrid language use
Tuba: Did you hear her speaking any Turkish word or writing any Turkish in the class? Teacher: No never, because she knows that no one here understands Turkish. Tuba: I'm just trying to understand that if she doesn't remember a word, would she use Turkish? Teacher: In her head. If somebody did maybe but Turkish is not very popular language here in our school, like I said. She is one of the only ones. She is the first time in four years that I have been here that has ever been Turkish. So it's not like she can find somebody.	Mainstream teacher interview	Elif doesn't speak or write Turkish at school Use of Turkish in head, not aloud or in writing	No observed production of Turkish Turkish use in School at the cognitive level	Monolingual English practices Hidden translanguaging
Teacher: She is able to communicate them enough. It is very broken, but she can generally find the limited words and sentences, not complete sentences they are generally very broken sentences. But she's able to play. She has friends. Kids love her. She's adorable so she's social she has enough communication skills to have fun and play but when she needs to communicate to me her thoughts and ideas it's a really big struggle but on the child's level she can get away with it.	Mainstream teacher interview	Elif uses broken English. Limited words, incomplete sentences. Communication is achieved with peers. Struggles in communicating with teacher.	Elif's English language proficiency (teacher evaluations) Interactions with the teacher & peers	Ideology about language proficiency Academic vs social language use

Data Analysis: Focus on Boundaries

This focus aimed to identify the boundaries that the students encountered while moving across homes, schools and the CTS and how students responded to them by using the data set that was clustered based on the informant, following the five steps of linguistic ethnography and using open, axial and selective coding (see Table 3-8).

In the first step of the analysis, the researcher got familiarized with the data after reading the data repeatedly. In the second step of this phase, for the macro analysis which requires the analysis of data with a broader perspective to understand the phenomena at the societal level, the data that related to sociocultural norms and values in each context were chosen from both others-informed data and student-informed data sets for further analysis (Copland & Creese, 2015). For the micro analysis which requires the analysis of data with a narrower perspective to understand the phenomena in the personal level, the moments that informed about students' learning and language experiences in each context were selected for further analysis.

Table 3-8. Data Analysis Focus on Boundaries

1. Step interrogation of context	• The researcher's familiarizing with the data	
2. Step selection of moments for macro and micro analysis	OTHERS-INFORMED DATA • Selection of observed data (by teachers, parents or the researcher) related to sociocultural norms and values within homes, schools and the CTS. • Selection of data related to learning and language practices within homes, schools and the CTS.	STUDENT-INFORMED DATA • Selection of student-reported data related to sociocultural norms and values within homes, schools and the CTS. • Selection of data related to learning and language practices homes, schools and the CTS.

Table 3-8. Continued

3. Step the line-by-line micro-analysis of selected moments that are transcribed narrowly, and a macro-analysis of data transcribed broadly	BOUNDARIES IN OTHERS INFORMED DATA (COMMONALITIES)	BOUNDARIES IN STUDENT-INFORMED DATA (PERCEPTIONS)
4. Step weighing emergent interpretations of macro- and micro-analysis results	• Line-by-line analysis of data about sociocultural norms and values with open coding • Line-by-line analysis of data about learning and language practices with open coding • Axial coding to identify the relationships among open codes of sociocultural norms and values an learning and language practices within each discursive space • Axial coding to identify the relationships among open codes of sociocultural norms and values across homes, school and the CTS • Analysis of axial codes across discursive spaces to label the differences between sociocultural norms, values and practices with selective coding • Identifying the boundaries based on a comparison of axial codes across data about sociocultural norms and values in homes, schools and the CTS and constructing selective codes using literature framed terminology (epistemic culture & language use) • Cross analysis of boundaries revealed from others-informed and student-informed data. Removing outliers and focusing on the overlapping boundaries.	• Line-by-line analysis of data about sociocultural norms and values with open coding • Line-by-line analysis of data about learning and language practices with open coding • Axial coding to identify the relationships among open codes of sociocultural norms and values an learning and language practices within each discursive space • Axial coding to identify the relationships among open codes of sociocultural norms and values across homes, school and the CTS • Analysis of axial codes across discursive spaces to label the differences between sociocultural norms, values and practices with selective coding
5. Step generalizing beyond the event	Reporting the findings (see Chapter 5).	

In the third step, the selected data from the others-informed and student-informed data sets were analyzed separately in order to compare the observed commonalities and differences (from an external point of view) between norms, values and language practices in different discursive spaces and perceived (by students)

commonalities and differences (from an internal point of view). In this step, the selected data were, firstly, analyzed line-by-line using open coding (See Table 3-9).

Table 3-9. Formation of Open Coding

	Data source	Examples from raw data	Description of data	Properties	Open coding
OBSERVED SOCIOCULTURAL NORMS AND VALUES	Teacher Sibel interview	Eğer bir çocuk yaptığı işten keyif almıyorsa, çocuk gülmüyorsa bulunduğu ortamda eğlenmiyorsa kesinlikle o eğitime bulunduğu ortama tepkili oluyor.	Children should have fun to learn	Create fun activities to engage them in learning	Learning through fun
	Teacher Ayla interview	Yok hayır hayır çocukların böyle kulakları dolsun diye çünkü hep İngilizce dinliyorlar televizyon her yer öyle.	Limited exposure to Turkish in outside world	Intense Turkish exposure in the CTS	Language learning through exposure
	Teacher Ayla interview	Molalar veriyoruz ya onlar birbirleriyle hızlı iletişime geçmek için İngilizce konuşuyorlar. Ona zaten biz karışmıyoruz çok.	They don't intervene to language use during snacktime.	Use of English and Turkish during snacktime.	Snacktime as a third space for Flexible language policy
	Field notes	Elif's mom didn't want her to write the letters on her notebook not to confuse her since she is also learning to read/write in English.	Elif's mom believes biliteracy could confuse Elif	Objection to biliteracy	biliteracy as a barrier to learning literacy in English
	Mainstream teacher interview	Once in a while in the beginning of the year, they found someone who speaks their language as they are limited. They talk to each other, or I will use them to translate for me.	She uses other students as resources to communicate ELLS	peer scaffolding to ensure communication	Teaching philosophy: differentiation through peer scaffolding
	Teacher Sibel interview	Aynen daha çok geçen İngilizcesi daha iyi değilken X'e yaklaşırdı. Bence şimdi X dahi olsa sınıfta İngilizce iletişim kurabildiği için diğer çocuklara da yaklaşmaya başladı. Kesinlikle gelişti.	Elif approached bilingual students so that they mediate communication between her English proficient peers and her.	Peer's translations for Elif	Peers scaffolding for peer discussions

Table 3-9. Continued

	Data source	Examples from raw data	Description of data	Properties	Open coding
OBSERVED LANGUAGE PRACTICES	Field notes	Elif answered teacher S' questions in English (No/Yes).	Use of yes/no to teachers	Use of bilingualism in the CTS	Elif's demonstration of proficiency
	Mainstream teacher interview	when she needs to communicate to me her thoughts and ideas it's a really big struggle but on the child's level she can get away with it.	Struggles in communication with teacher	Language use with teachers and peers	Challenge in academic language
	Elif Interview	T: Türkevinde biri sana İngilizce bir şey söylediği zaman anlıyor musun? A: Azıcık.	Better communication with peers She can understand English a little	Struggles in comprehending English	Communication in social language Limited proficiency to adopt English-only policy
	Elif Interview	T: Peki eren gelse E'le türkçemi konuşuyorsun İngilizce mi? A: E istiyorsa İngilizce istiyorsa Türkçe.	She speaks with her peers in the language they want.	Adjusting her language practices in the CTS	Enactment of full linguistic repertoire
STUDENT-REPORTED LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN THE CTS	Elif Interview	T: Peki onlar İngilizce konuşurken nasıl hissediyorsun? A: İyi. T: Hiç zorluk çekiyor musun böyle anlatmaya çalışırken? A: Azıcık	She struggles speaking English a little	Struggles in English communication with peers	Limited social language proficiency
	Elif Interview	A: Hatırlayamıyorum yeni geldiğim için buraya bazılarını bilmiyorum bazılarını öğreniyorum böyle.	She forgets words or she does not know some words.	Limited vocabulary	English as barrier in communication
	Elif Interview	A: İstedğim zaman Türkçe konuşabiliyorum (Okulda). Sayılarda 12345 öyle.	She uses Turkish to label numbers	Use of Turkish in solving math problems in school	Practicing bilingualism at cognitive level

Next, open codes were divided into three groups based on discursive spaces and the relationships between open codes were labelled with axial coding (See Table 3-10).

Then, the related axial codes were grouped and labelled with selective coding to generate broader categories.

Table 3-10. Formation of Axial codes

Data	Properties	Open coding	Axial coding	Space
SOCIOCULTURAL NORMS	Teachers' use of only Turkish	Monolingual language policy	Language policy	CTS
	Use of English and Turkish during snacktime	Snacktime as a third space for Flexible language policy	language learning ideologies	
	Teaching through repetition	Repetition for language learning		
	Questions the effectiveness of the GTM and lecturing for young learners	ineffective GTM or lecturing		
	Intense Turkish exposure in the CTS	Language learning through exposure	Attitudes to bilingualism	
	Teaching through repetition	Use of Community language teaching		
	Positioning students as world citizens	Bilingualism as an authentic world citizen practice		
	Creating fun activities to engage them in learning	Learning through fun		
	English to Ensure comprehension	Differentiation through English use	language learning ideologies	Home
	Objection to biliteracy	biliteracy as a barrier to learning literacy in English		
STUDENT-REPORTED DATA	peer scaffolding to ensure communication	Differentiation through peer scaffolding	Content learning ideologies	School
	Struggles in comprehending English	Limited proficiency to adopt English-only policy	English-only policy as a barrier	School
	Adjusting her language practices in the CTS	Enactment of full linguistic repertoire	Flexible language policy	CTS
	Use of Turkish in solving math problems in school	Practicing bilingualism		Home
	Struggles in English communication with peers	Limited social language proficiency	English as a barrier	CTS
	Limited vocabulary knowledge	English as barrier in communication		School

Table 3-10. Continued

	Properties	open coding	Axial coding
Observed language and learning practices of	Peer's translations for Elif	Communicates through peers scaffolding in peer discussions	Peers as language brokers
	Use of short phrases in English in the CTS	Use of bilingualism in the CTS	Flexible language policy
	Challenge in academic language	English Language use with teachers and peers	English as a hard barrier for academic purposes
	Communication in social language		English as a managed barrier for social purposes

Finally, the selective codes in the others-informed data and student-informed data were compared, and the overlapping codes were selected. The selected codes were redefined and labelled using the boundary crossing terminology (See Table 3-11).

Table 3-11. Formation of Selective Coding

Space	Axial Coding	Selective Coding
School	Peers as language brokers English as a hard barrier for academic purposes English as a managed barrier for social purposes English-only policy as a barrier English as a barrier Content learning ideologies	Boundary: Language use Boundary: Epistemic Culture Boundary: Language use
CTS	Flexible language policy English as a barrier Flexible language policy Language policy	
Home	Attitudes to bilingualism content learning ideologies language learning ideologies Flexible language policy language learning ideologies	Boundary: Epistemic Culture Boundary: Language use Boundary: Epistemic Culture

-  Observed language and learning practices of students
-  Student-reported data
-  Observed sociocultural norms and values

To identify and select these texts and label the codes, I used the definition in the table below (Table 3-12).

Table 3-12. Coding Framework for the Boundaries

Conception	Definition	Interpretation of the definition for coding
Boundary	“a sociocultural difference leading to discontinuity in action or interaction” (Akkerman and Bakker 2011b, p. 133). Ex: (1) existing pedagogical approaches, (2) personal aspects, (3) a specific school type or culture, and (4) the world outside the classroom. (Mesker et al., 2018)	Any difference between -norms and values -instructional activities -cultural activities -language use of others -language use of students, that: 1) results in discontinuities (interruptions or stops) in focal participants’ actions (such as instructional performance, participations to discussions, etc.) and interactions (communication); and 2) results in low academic performance and breakdowns in communication

Data Analysis Focus on Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

This phase aimed to identify the boundary objects, people or interactions scaffolding students’ learning and interactions (boundary crossing mechanisms) and understand the role of participants’ translanguaging practices within the CTS as a boundary crossing mechanism. To achieve this purpose, the researcher used the data set that was clustered based on the informant, followed the five steps of linguistic ethnography and used open, axial and selective coding (see Table 3-13). In the first step of this phase, the researcher was familiarized with the data by reading the data repeatedly. In the second step, the specific texts that informed about objects, people and interactions that scaffolded the participants’ learning and interactions and exemplified the translanguaging practices in the CTS were identified and selected for macro analysis. The specific texts that informed about the impacts of these objects, people and interactions were selected for micro analysis.

Table 3-13. Data Analysis Focus on Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

1. Step interrogation of context	• The researcher's familiarizing with the data	
2. Step selection of moments for macro and micro analysis	OTHERS-INFORMED DATA • Selection of observed data related to boundary crossing mechanisms • categorization of these mechanisms as objects, people or interactions • selection of moments identified as translanguage within the CTS	STUDENT-INFORMED DATA • Selection of student-reported data related to boundary crossing mechanisms • categorization of these mechanisms as objects, people or interactions • selection of data that students' mention about their own translanguage practices
3. Step the line-by- line micro- analysis of selected moments that are transcribed narrowly, and a macro-analysis of data transcribed broadly	OTHERS-INFORMED DATA • Line-by-line analysis of observed data related to boundary crossing mechanisms with open coding to understand roles of each mechanism • Line-by-line analysis of recorded translanguage practices within the CTS to identify forms and functions. • Categorization of the others-informed roles of boundary crossing mechanisms and coding with axial coding. • Categorization of the others-informed forms and functions of translanguage practices and coding with axial coding • Selective coding to name the mechanisms using the coding framework • Selective coding to categorize recorded translanguage practices • Cross analysis of selective codes about boundary crossing mechanisms revealed from others-informed and student-informed data. Removing outliers and focusing on the overlapping selective codes. (Re)defining overlapping codes with boundary crossing terminology (See Table 3-14). • Cross analysis of selective codes about translanguage practices revealed from others-informed and student-informed data. Removing outliers and focusing on the overlapping selective codes. (Re)defining overlapping codes with translanguage terminology (See Table 3-14).	STUDENT-INFORMED DATA • Line-by-line analysis of student-informed data related to boundary crossing mechanisms with open coding to understand roles of each mechanism • Line-by-line analysis of student-reported translanguage practices within the CTS to identify forms and functions. • Categorization of the student-informed roles of boundary crossing mechanisms and coding with axial coding. • Categorization of the student-informed forms and functions of translanguage practices and coding with axial coding • Selective coding to name the mechanisms using the coding framework • Selective coding to categorize student-informed translanguage practices
4. Step weighing emergent interpretations of macro- and micro- analysis results	• Interpreting the roles of each boundary crossing mechanisms in boundary crossing experience. • Interpreting the roles of translanguage practices in boundary crossing and positioning translanguage as a boundary crossing mechanism	
5. step generalizing beyond the event	• Report the findings (see Chapter 6)	

In the third step, the selected data were analyzed line-by-line to identify the functions of boundary crossing mechanisms, forms and functions of translanguaging practices and students' engagement with these mechanisms, and coded with open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Next, the relationships between open codes were identified, grouped and labelled with axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Then, the relationships between axial codes were coded with selective coding. Finally, the selective codes were compared across others-informed and student-informed data sets, and the overlapping codes were selected and grouped together. The selected codes were redefined and labelled using the boundary crossing and translanguaging terminologies (See Table 3-14).

Table 3-14. Coding Framework for Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Conception	Definition	Interpretation of the definition for coding
Boundary Crossing Mechanisms	Mechanisms that facilitate boundary crossing, that is ““negotiating and combining ingredients from different contexts to achieve hybrid situations” (Engeström et al., 1995, p. 319).	Mechanisms that create bridges between: • practices of different discursive spaces • practices of discursive spaces and students' funds of knowledge
Boundary objects	boundary objects refer to: • Artifacts, such as tools, documents, or models. For instance, medical records • Discourses. A common language that allows people to communicate and negotiate meanings across boundaries. • Processes. Shared processes, including explicit routines and procedures, allow people to coordinate their actions across boundaries. E.g. Business processes. (Wegner, 2000)	Artifacts, activities and practices that fulfil a bridging function between: -students' prior knowledge and the new knowledge -students' familiar practices and new practices -students' Turkish and American identities through -cultural activities -language activities

Table 3-14. Continued

Boundary people	Boundary people refer to: • boundary spanners: taking care of one specific boundary over time; • roamers: going from place to place, creating connections, moving knowledge;	Boundary people: -Scaffolders in each space (peers or teachers) -Roamers moving between spaces such as parents moving between the CTS and home
Boundary interactions	Boundary encounters such as visits, discussions, sabbaticals provide direct exposure to a practice.	-Visits (e.g. parents or teachers) -Discussions -Events that bring two worlds together
Translanguaging	any practice that reflects and mirrors people's languaging practices in other spaces	Discourses that involved the use of full linguistic resources.

In the fourth step, the impacts of boundary objects, people and interactions, and translanguaging practices on students' learning and interactions across homes, schools and the CTS were identified, and the functions of these mechanisms were interpreted. Moreover, translanguaging was positioned as a boundary crossing mechanism. In the final step, the results and interpretations of data were reported (see Chapter 6).

Trustworthiness

Research emphasizes four aspects to ensure trustworthiness in a qualitative research study:

Credibility

Credibility is concerned with the trustworthiness of the findings, which depends largely on richness of data. A common threat to validity is regarded as researcher bias in the interpretation of qualitative data (Maxwell, 2005). A strategy to ensure credibility is member checking, also called respondent validation (Doyle, 2007). Member checking requires the researcher to consult participants to receive confirmation if the interpretation accurately reflects their realities (Mayall, 1999). To obtain credibility in this

study, I reported my interpretations regarding boundaries, boundary crossing mechanisms and their complex languaging practices back to the young participants during the participant observations and interviews, and checked if they overlapped with their reflections. To obtain trustworthy results, it is important to compare these interpretations, and report the interpretations that overlap.

Transferability

Transferability is concerned with the applicability of the findings to other contexts, populations, and situations. As a social constructivist qualitative researcher, I did not intend to generalize my study findings to a broader population because I acknowledged that my participants' realities and experiences could differ from other CLD students' experiences attending heritage language schools, general education schools and homes. Instead, I aimed to explore the unique experiences of the Turkish-American youngsters in and across specific discursive sites. However, this study provided some basic insights to future researchers who plan to replicate this study with another ethnic minority group in similar contexts and made important implications to the ESOL field.

Dependability

Dependability refers to stability of data and consistency of findings over time and over conditions. Social constructivism recognize that individuals' realities are socially constructed and ever-changing. Dependability requires accuracy of interpretations and consistency of data collection and analysis methods. To avoid unexpected occurrences, data collection tools were tested with different participants (a Korean-American student aged nine, her mother, a mainstream teacher and a heritage school teacher) in a different context before the actual data collection process began. Based on pilot participants' feedback on clarity and intelligibility of the survey and interview questions,

the data tools were modified. Lastly, I made a few initial visits to the CTS to see the context and participants, make research plans accordingly and get ready for the unexpected occurrences.

Confirmability

Social constructivist researchers acknowledge that neutral interpretations of participants' realities cannot be achieved. Therefore, researchers often acknowledge their biases, which Labov (1972) calls observer paradox, before they enter the research site to minimize the negative influence of researcher subjectivity on data collection and analysis. A report of biases, dispositions and assumptions related to the phenomenon and research participants, also called reflexivity, can increase the validity of the research study (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Maxwell, 2005). To confront my researcher biases, I noted my reflections on my biases, the data collection process and initial interpretations. Then, I reflected on my notes and minimized the influence of my biases on my interpretations of the data.

Table 3-15. Data Planning Matrix

<i>What do I need to know?</i>	<i>Why do I need to know this?</i>	<i>What kind of data will answer this question?</i>	<i>How will I analyze this data?</i>
1- What boundaries do Turkish-American students encounter as they move across their home, heritage language school and mainstream schools?	To identify the socio-cultural differences between different discursive spaces.	<i>Student Interviews (3)</i> Audio-taped, semi-structured <i>Participant observations and field notes at home, in HLS and MS</i> <i>Teachers & parent interviews (1)</i> Audio-taped, semi-structured	Open, Axial and selective coding
2. How do students respond to these boundaries with a specific focus on their interactions with boundary crossing mechanisms and languaging practices?	To identify the boundary objects, people and interactions that facilitate boundary crossing.	<i>Student Interviews (3)</i> Audio-taped, semi-structured <i>Participant observations and field notes at home, in HLS and MS</i> <i>Teachers & parent interviews (1)</i> Audio-taped, semi-structured	Open, Axial and selective coding
2a. What role does translanguaging play in Turkish American youngsters' boundary crossing?	To identify specific languaging practices of the students in the CTS.	<i>Audio recordings of the participants' language practices</i> (selection of moments for micro-analysis)	Open, Axial and selective coding

CHAPTER 4 THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY AND THE PARTICIPANTS

The Context of the Study

This study aimed to explore three Turkish-American youngsters' full linguistic repertoires with a focus on boundaries they encountered as they moved across the Turkish heritage language school, mainstream schools and homes and the boundary crossing mechanisms that facilitated their boundary crossing experiences and scaffolded their learning. The study was conducted in a multiethnic, multicultural, and multilingual city in Florida state. According to the American Community Survey (2015), more than 15,000 people reported Turkish as their sole ancestry or one of their multiple ancestries in Florida (9% of the total Turkish population in the USA). A majority of this Turkish population densely inhabits in South Florida. According to U.S. Census Bureau (2006), among people five years old and above inhabiting Florida, 48% spoke language(s) other than English at home (U.S. Census, 2006). Of those speaking other languages at home, 78% speak Spanish and 22% speak some other languages (mainly Haitian Creole, but also French, Hebrew, German, Italian, Russian, Portuguese, Yiddish and Turkish).

Florida hosts people from several linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In the area that the participants of this study inhabit, there were several other immigrant communities that Turkish-American community engaged regularly. Some other minority ethnic and religious communities were Greeks, Haitians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Philippines, Brazilians and Russians. Turkish-American people often attended some cultural events such as Greek nights or Jewish religious celebrations that these minority groups organized in order to connect them (parent interviews). The schools in the area

also recognized and accepted the diversity of the population and organized their practices to meet their students' diverse needs. For example, some schools sent notes to the homes in various languages (See Figure 4-1). Finally, county officials welcomed and supported the diverse groups' practices in various ways. For instance, some schools canceled the classes on some special Jewish religious days. They also attended Children's day celebration event of the Turkish-American community and announced April 23rd the Children's day for the county officially to affirm and honor the historical values of the Turkish community.

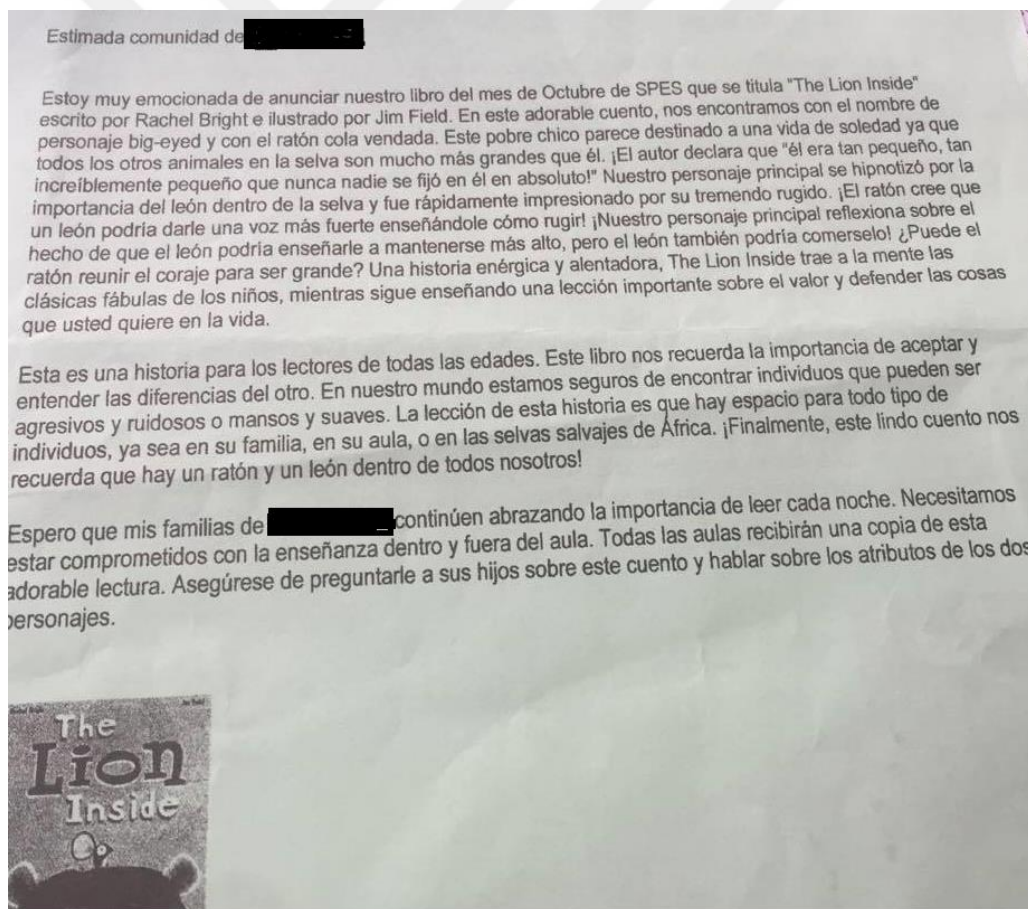


Figure 4-1. School Note for Parents in Spanish

The Cagdas Turkish Association (CTA, pseudonym) is the largest Turkish-American association in Florida, which gather all Turkish-background people including

the children under the same roof. The CTA was formed by an immigrant Turkish family in 1967 who immigrated from Turkey in the second immigration wave, and it currently has more than 300 members from different parts of the state. The members of the association are often middle-class or upper middle-class families. The members' occupations include architects, dentists, doctors, professors, engineers, business people and retired people. These members come mainly from three different backgrounds: 1) people who immigrated to the U.S. from Turkey years ago (second immigration wave) as first-generation immigrants and obtained American citizenship in years; 2) people who were born in the U.S. as second/third generation immigrants; 3) people who have immigrated to the U.S. recently (third wave) and do not have American citizenship. While most CTA members are fluent speakers of Turkish and English, some members are fluent only in English or only in Turkish, and they speak the other language at varying degrees. The CTA organizes special events to gather the members of the community to celebrate shared ethnic, cultural and professional values. Some of these events are Academicians day, Mother's Day, Valentine's day, Physicians day, Thanksgiving, Ataturk Remembrance Day, fundraising events, Classical Music Chorus concerts and national such as Victory day, Republican day and Children's day and religious holidays such as Kurban Bayrami (Eid). Some of these events include demonstrations such as puppet shows, Turkish folk-dance shows or special competitions for children so that the young Turkish-Americans can also connect with each other and feel honored for embracing their Turkish identity. Turkish consulate officials also attend these events to support the community practices. Considering the language skills of the community, the demonstrations in most events are designed

bilingually and the community members use their linguistic resources fluidly to engage in the activities in these events.

The CTA offers Turkish lessons to the young members of the community, mainly to the children who were born in the U.S. and speak dominantly English in their daily lives in Cagdas Turkish School (CTS, pseudonym). The CTS is a community-based Turkish heritage language school founded nearly a decade ago, and funded and supervised by the CTA. The CTS takes an active role in specifically national day celebrations of the CTA. The CTS teachers often assign roles to not only its students from previous years but also the current students so that students who attended the CTS for the same goal (to learn Turkish language and culture) at various times can connect and share their experiences with each other (CTS teacher interviews).

The CTA operates its practices in a setting consisting of two rooms, and calls this setting Turkish Cultural Center. The CTS uses one of these rooms to teach Turkish language and culture to the young students while the other room is used by adult CTA members who practice Turkish folk music Chorus in the same time frame. The CTS classroom is a large rectangle shaped room with a glass outside door and two inside doors that open to the larger room (see Figures 4-2, 4-3 and 4-4). There are four long tables and several adult-sized chairs in the room which are used not only by the teachers and students on Sundays but also other community members in the rest of the week. There are several posters (an English newspaper article about Ataturk from NY Times, a documentation that indicate the school county provide funding as a financial support for a project the club conducts and some certifications), a board used to display student work and culture-related pictures such as a Turkey map, student-colored

Hacivat and Karagoz pictures, poems/marches that they read in the national celebrations, Ataturk pictures and a few drawings and a white board which teachers and students use for instructional purposes. It has a large library that includes many Turkish novels (fictional, non-fictional and historical), dictionaries, documentaries, encyclopedias, flyers, and children books (coloring or storybooks). The CTS teachers use only the children books in this library for instructional purposes. Next to the library, there is a large flat screen TV with two large additional speakers underneath it. One side of the room is designed as a kitchen, but the kitchen cupboards are used for stocking the CTA souvenirs and the CTS instructional materials. On the kitchen counter, there is a microwave, a printer, some plastic plates and cups that teachers/parents use to give food to the students in the snack times and some fake flowers to be used for special events. Finally, a desk and a chair are also placed right next to one of the doors, and a home phone, an American flag, a vase with fake flowers, a large Ataturk poster and a few documents are placed on the desk.



Figure 4-2. The CTS classroom



Figure 4-3. The CTS classroom 2

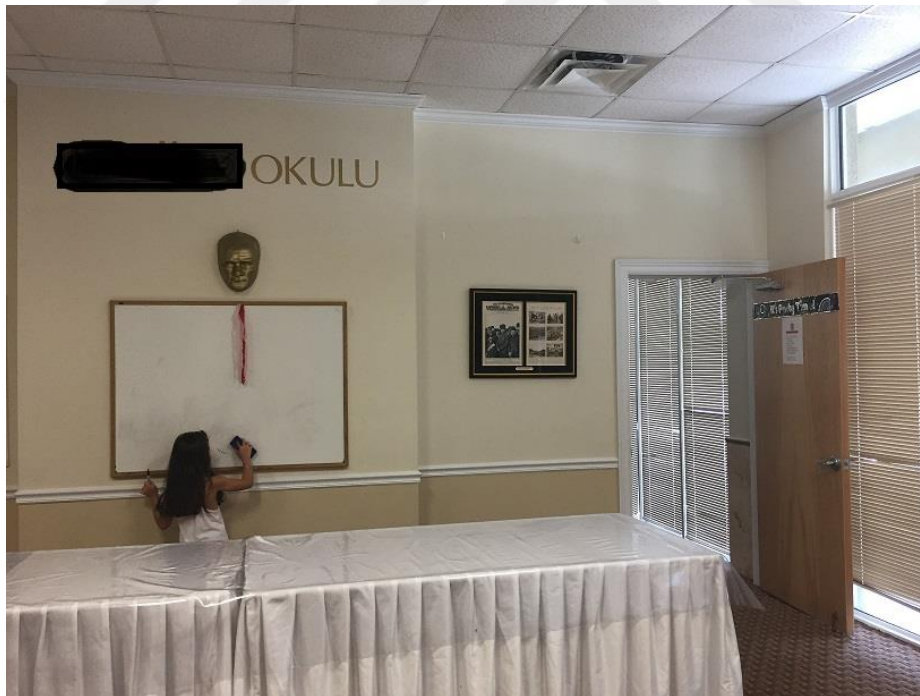


Figure 4-4. The CTS classroom 3

The CTS serves the children of the Turkish community from the beginning of October to the end of May every year. The goal of the Cagdas Turkish school, also called 'Turkish house' or 'Turkish club' among parents and youngsters, is "to promote

children's proficiency in Turkish, and to introduce them Turkey and Ataturk (the founder of the country)" (School Website, 2017). Cagdas Turkish School serves 12 to 20 students (aged 4-14) for two hours in the Sunday afternoons every school year. In 2017-2018 education year, the weekly participation to the CTS varied between 2 to 10 students and the students' ages ranged between 4 and 11. Two female teachers, teacher Sibel and teacher Ayla (pseudonyms), work in the school to expand the Turkish-American youngsters' knowledge of Turkish history, language, geography, music, folk dances and culture.

Teacher Sibel was 42 years old, married and has two sons. She graduated from the tourism and business administration program in one of the universities in Turkey, and worked in various job sectors including tourism, health, sports and education as a guidance counsellor before she moved the U.S. She had been living in the U.S. for two years and started working in the CTS voluntarily. She read several books about child development because she loved "teaching children and spending time with them" and attended UNICEF trainings to learn pedagogy for teaching young kids (Teacher Sibel's interview). She defined working in the CTS as "a hobby, not as a work" (Teacher Sibel's interview).

According to teacher Sibel, the purpose of the CTS was to teach Ataturk, some national marches, songs and Turkish games to the children. They also aimed to teach the social language so that the children could meet their personal needs such as ordering food when they went to Turkey and create connections with their families in Turkey. However, she notes that parents should support the children's learnings at home and pay special attention to use Turkish at home so that the children can practice

what they learn in the CTS. She believes the CTS provides the children a common purpose which is to learn Turkish language and culture and build a community. She believes the CTS and schools are alike as both institutions offer education and contribute to the children's professional development. However, they are different because while the CTS teaches culture-oriented contents and heritage language, schools teach more academic contents and skills.

Teacher Ayla is a retired history teacher. She had worked in various school types such as Anatolian High schools and regular high schools for years in Turkey and moved to the U.S. in 2014. In the U.S., she initially worked as a substitute teacher in an elementary school for 3-4 months, and then she started to work in the CTS voluntarily. She received drama training when she was in Turkey and took an active role and used her drama skills in the organizations of the national celebrations in the Turkish Club. She likened the CTS to a preschool and showed this as a reason for youngsters over 11 dropping out the CTS (Teacher Ayla interview). She found teaching in the CTS as a challenge since students were diverse in terms of age, proficiency, personality and cognitive and literacy levels. In addition to teacher Sibel's descriptions about the purpose of the CTS, she noted that the school aimed to teach them to use humor. She built family relationships with all focal students' families and attended some mainstream social events together. She even made a visit to Umut and his siblings' school as a family member since their mother was busy and observed that students acted more "mature" at school than they were in the CTS (Teacher Ayla's interview). She believed there was often a positive change in all the students' attitudes to the CTS compared to their attitudes at the beginning of the semesters because their speaking and

comprehension skills improved in time and the students felt more confident in using Turkish.

The CTS teachers often divided the students into two groups based on age and conduct age-appropriate activities to teach them Turkish. Teacher Sibel taught younger students the contents like colors, numbers, vocabulary, organs, animals and basic phrases such as greetings or sentence frames such as “there is/are” when they were playing with their toys or coloring pictures. On the other hand, teacher Ayla taught older students the Turkish literacy skills by asking them to copy and read the alphabet, poems or short texts, marches, the pledge and the national song, vocabulary through games such as human/animal/plant or worksheets with matching exercises, and the speaking skills through dialogue cards. Teacher Ayla also opened personal discussions about the students’ home and school lives and asked them several questions so that they could share their funds of knowledge with their peers. The teachers often combined two groups when they prepared the children for a national day celebration or when children wanted to play games as a whole group such as the shopping game (each student/pair had a store and they visited each other’s stores to do shopping using the handmade money), hot/cold, roll the ball, hide & seek, heads up seven up and so on (CTS observations and field notes).

CTS teachers defined the language policy in the CTS as such: 1) use Turkish dominantly (when they ask a question in English, teach them how to say it in Turkish so that they get used to hear it and use Turkish after a few times) although it was often a great challenge to maintain Turkish-only policy because they could understand English and had to resist replying them in English automatically; 2) use English when the

students were lost, or Turkish did not make sense to them anymore. This policy aimed to avoid the loss of attention and ensure comprehension. 3) Allow them to use their full linguistic repertoire during the snack time since it is time for them to build relationships and socialize (CTS teacher interviews). However, although the students used their full linguistic repertoires fluidly during the snack times, the teachers kept speaking only in Turkish with them so that the youngsters could get exposed to Turkish as much as possible since some students could hear Turkish only in the CTS.

Teacher Sibel used more English words during the instruction than teacher Ayla because her group consisted more of English dominant students with beginner level Turkish proficiency and her English proficiency level was higher than teacher Ayla's English proficiency level. The teachers revised the curriculum when they started working in the CTS because the curriculum that previous teachers designed was very grammar focused (CTS teacher interviews). The curriculum they revised included games, poems, role plays, songs, marches, stories, the pledge and the national song and activities that required physical movements because they believed that children learn the best through fun and since they were young, it was very difficult to engage them in passive activities for two hours. At the end of each school day, they made a circle, hug and cheer the school's name loudly altogether (see Figure 4-5).



Figure 4-5. Students' Cheering the CTS' Name

The CTS teachers reported a lack of interaction and collaboration with the students' mainstream teachers and said that they were often informed about the students' school experiences by the parents. The CTS teachers noted that they did not know if mainstream teachers knew the students attended the CTS or not or if the students talked about their experiences in the CTS in their mainstream classrooms or not (CTS teacher interviews). However, the CTS teachers created a third space (snack time) for the students in the CTS to talk about the students' school and home experiences so that the students could connect and build a community. The CTS teachers were open for a collaboration with the mainstream teachers to support the students' school success and Turkish/English language learning, but they could not remember any collaboration proposal initiated by the CTA board members or the mainstream teachers. They stated in the interviews that they did not expect positive

responses from the schools to their collaboration invitations due to the large number of diverse student groups at schools. They also believed that it was a challenge to support students' learning through integration of school curriculum as the CTS student population was diverse, and the students who were overwhelmed with school work might demonstrate a negative reaction to these supporting activities.

Participants

The participants of this study involved three focal students, their mothers (n=3), mainstream teachers (n=3) and the CTS teachers (n=2). This section firstly described the focal participants, their schooling and language learning process, their attitudes to Turkish and English languages, cultures and identities. Then, each participant was situated in homes, the CTS and schools. Before describing the focal participants' practices in each space, the parents' and teachers' personal and professional backgrounds and the sociocultural components of the spaces (their attitudes to Turkish and English languages and cultures and their language ideologies) were described.

Focal Student 1: Elif

Elif was a six-year-old girl who was born in Hong Kong. She was the only child of her family, and both her mother and father were Turkish. She lived in Hong Kong for four years, in Turkey for one and a half year and moved to the U.S. six months ago. She had experienced schooling in all three countries. Her schooling experience started in Hong Kong where she attended compulsory pre-K in an international school for a year. In this school, the medium of instruction was Cantonese since Hong Kong educational laws required all students to learn Cantonese in their first school year. Next, due to her parents' business, they had to move to Turkey. Elif stated that her transition from a Cantonese dominant discursive space to a Turkish dominant discursive space was

smooth since she grew up speaking Turkish with her parents at home (Elif's first interviews). She attended pre-K for another year and kindergarten for one semester in Turkey. In the spring semester of the kindergarten, they moved to the U.S., and she completed her kindergarten education in the U.S. She also attended the CTS in the semester they moved to the U.S. She liked art, math, watching videos and playing video games on her tablet.

Elif considered herself a fluent Turkish speaker and an English language learner, who knew "little" English (Elif's first Interview). She also knew "two words" in Cantonese (Elif's first interview). Turkish is the language that in which she felt the most comfortable. She had positive attitudes to the languages she engaged in in her life, and she considered these languages significant for active involvement into the different language communities. She believed that it was important to know English as she learned the academic contents and communicated with her peers in English at school. Turkish was also important for her because not everyone, especially her family in Turkey, knew English or Cantonese, and she needed to know Turkish to stay connected with them (Elif's second interview).

Elif did not identify herself bi/multicultural but "Turkish-only" regardless that she had Hong Kong citizenship, or she currently lived in the U.S. She was very familiar with the Turkish cultural values such as the religious practices, national holidays, the Turkish pledge, the Turkish national song and Ataturk. She believed "a Turkish person should speak Turkish fluently and know Ataturk very well" (Elif's third Interview). Her family valued and celebrated religious holidays, national holidays and other special days such as mother's or father's days at home, and that was why she was familiar with many

Turkish cultural practices such as kissing hands of the older people, calling older people with titles such as “abla”(older sister), “agabey” (older brother), “teyze” (auntie) and “amca” (uncle). Finally, she knew some important quotes and poems about Atatürk by heart (Elif’s home observations and field notes).

Elif at home

Elif’s daily and weekly routine was quite structured. She went to school at 8:00 a.m. and left school at 3:00 p.m. After school, she did her homework, played on her tablet (watched videos both in English and Turkish or played games such as princess clothing), watched some Turkish TV shows with her father, played with her toys or helped her mother in the kitchen. Before bed, her mother read her books or told her stories in Turkish. At the weekends, they sometimes visited some fun places such as national parks or made home visits to other Turkish families in the neighborhood. She attended the CTS regularly on Sundays.

A strict Turkish-only language policy was dominant in Elif’s home so that “Elif could practice Turkish constantly and maintain it” (Elif’s mother interview). Some Turkish families in the community suggested Elif’s parents to use English at home so that Elif could learn English faster; however, her mother stated that:

Biz hiç evde İngilizce konuşmuyoruz. Hep Türkçe konuşuyoruz ve mümkün olduğunca Türk arkadaşlarıyla bir araya getiriyoruz. Türk evine pazar günleri özellikle götürmeye gayret ediyoruz.

We never speak English at home. We speak only Turkish and bring her together with Turkish speaking children. We also try our best to take her to the CTS on Sundays regularly.

Some Turkish resources available to Elif at home were TV channels, books and other Turkish families in the neighborhood. On the other hand, the use of English was very limited in Elif’s home. Elif practiced English at home only when she watched

English videos on her tablet, did her homework or talked to herself when playing with her toys. Also, during the family visits, she sometimes spoke English with the children of other Turkish background families. Her mother often helped her with her homework, but she believed her mother's scaffolding was inadequate since she did not know English very well (Elif's third interview). She wished to receive more scaffolding at home so that she could overcome linguistic barriers at school by increasing her English proficiency and becoming successful academically.

Elif's mother was a fluent Turkish speaker and considered herself as a beginner level English speaker. Her father was a fluent Turkish speaker and advanced English and German speaker (Survey Questionnaires). Her father run a company and her mother worked as the finance manager of the company. They moved to the U.S. so that Elif could receive good education in the U.S. schools, and chose to live in their current neighborhood since the school success rates in the neighborhood were the highest in the district (Elif's parent interview). However, their expectations from the American education system were not met due to the limited linguistic and cultural accommodations they received from Elif's school. Elif's mother highlighted that they needed extra support from Elif's school to make sense of the U.S. schooling system, school notes and cultural events. She expressed that if she had not requested extra information from Elif's teacher about the school events or reports, Elif would have been excluded in several school events. The parents communicated with Elif's school via notes, e-mails and phone calls only in the cases of emergency.

Elif's parents valued Elif's multilingualism in Turkish, English and Cantonese for several reasons. They believed English played a significant role for Elif's school

success and could give her a voice at school (Elif's parent interview). They noted that it was the school's job to teach her English since the school had an ESOL program. However, they were disappointed when the school informed that Elif's mainstream teacher was not ESOL certified. They valued Turkish as it was their "mother tongue" and "a wealth to preserve" (Elif's parent interview). Lastly, they valued Elif's Cantonese proficiency as she was born in Hong Kong and had Hong Kong citizenship. However, they expressed that they had preferred not to send her to a Chinese heritage language school yet in order not to confuse her with three languages. They wanted to give her some time to overcome the conflicts between Turkish and English languages and cultures first. Similarly, her parents had preferred not to teach her how to read or write in Turkish yet so that Elif did not feel confused when learning the literacy skills in English. Elif's English literacy skills were limited to writing her name and a few other words and reading the short words that she was familiar with.

Elif mostly used Turkish to engage in home activities and communicate with her parents during my home visit. I observed Elif during the dinner and breakfast, when she was doing her homework, playing videos on her tablet and playing with her toys. In all these activities, the interaction between Elif and her parents was only in Turkish. She could comprehend the Turkish conversations during the meals and involved in them comfortably. In the picture game that one person drew a picture and others tried to label it, she used only Turkish to give tips or make predictions. She watched both English and Turkish videos on her tablet when her mother was preparing breakfast in the morning. She expressed that she could understand only "some" of the English videos she watched on YouTube (Elif's second interview). Finally, while doing homework, I

observed her skipping the word problems in the math workbook and working only with the numbers. While she was counting with her fingers to solve the problems in the workbook, I heard her using some numbers in Turkish and others in English.

In conclusion, Elif's parents valued Elif's both Turkish maintenance and English learning, but they preferred to speak only Turkish with her at home because both parents were fluent Turkish speakers and they valued Elif's Turkish maintenance more considering the English hegemony in the mainstream society (Elif's parent interview). Thus, Elif spoke dominantly in Turkish to engage in activities and interact with her parents at home.

Elif in the Cagdas Turkish school

In the CTS, Elif was the most fluent Turkish speaking student as she had moved from Turkey the most recently and spoke mostly Turkish at home. She attended the CTS to socialize, play games and practice Turkish culture with other Turkish background students. She considered her CTS peers as "Americans" since they were not fluent Turkish speakers and explained the purpose of the CTS as to teach Turkish and Ataturk to the "Americans" (Elif's first interview). Although Elif was a fluent Turkish speaker and communicated well with the CTS teachers, she experienced challenges communicating with her peers as they used dominantly English in their interactions. These limited interactions in Turkish created a barrier for her to build rapport and connections with her peers. Thus, although Elif initially stated that she preferred to speak only Turkish in the CTS as it was a "Turkish school", there was an increase in her use of English with her CTS peers as the time progressed (Elif's first interview & CTS field notes).

Elif's attitudes to the CTS were influenced by her relationships with her peers, the curriculum and the teachers' pedagogies. Although she enjoyed attending the CTS very much at the beginning of the study, her motivation decreased towards the end of the school year. She explained this decrease with the ongoing negative attitudes of her peers towards her English language skills and the boring and unchallenging activities that made the CTS seem like "a baby house" for her (Elif's third interview). According to Elif, the CTS teachers prioritized the linguistic needs of the dominantly English-speaking students and paid more attention to their discourses during the instructions (Elif's third interview). These teacher practices limited her voice and prevented her to demonstrate her full potential. Moreover, the curriculum stayed either very simple for Elif when she was in the young students' group as they mostly did "labelling" activities or very difficult when she was in the older students' group as she did not have the literacy skills in Turkish. In conclusion, teacher pedagogies and curriculum influenced Elif's attitudes to the CTS negatively throughout the year.

The CTS teachers described Elif as a smart, sweet, stubborn and goal-oriented child. They noted that Elif could express what she liked and disliked clearly (Teacher Sibel's interview). They believed that Elif liked most of the activities they designed since she participated them actively throughout the year. According to the CTS teachers, Elif was proficient in Turkish to engage in any conversation in Turkish. Thus, Elif's purpose of attending the CTS was to play games with her age group, do painting and socialize with other children. They allowed all students to use their full linguistic repertoire during the snack times so that not only children could connect each other but also could Elif practice her English-speaking skills with her English dominant peers and increase her

English proficiency. They observed that although Elif kept quiet during English dominant conversations and avoided interacting with dominantly English-speaking students at the beginning of the school year, she approached and interacted with these students more as the semester progressed.

Elif in the mainstream school

The school Elif was enrolled at the time of the study was her second school in the U.S. In the second semester of kindergarten, she was enrolled to a school without an ESOL program. Since she experienced challenges and could not make much academic progress, her first school transferred her to a new school with an ESOL program. Elif's second school hosted a diverse student population and had higher success rates in the standardized tests. In her classroom, there were 21 students of whom one was black, two were Latino/a, one was Arab, one was Haitian, and one was a special education student. The languages spoken by this diverse student population were Spanish, Portuguese, Haitian, Arabic and Turkish (only Elif) (Elif's mainstream teacher interview). Including Elif, five students were pulled out for one-hour ESOL class every day.

Elif's mainstream teacher, Ms. Daniels (pseudonym), had a master's degree in education and been teaching at elementary level for twelve years, one of which was in a private school in Puerto Rico. She was a fluent English speaker and could "speak some Spanish" (Elif's mainstream teacher interview). Elif was the first Turkish background student she had worked with, and she had very limited knowledge about Turkish language and culture. She did not know that Elif attended the CTS on Sundays. She said she had learned about it when I e-mailed her my interview questions to request her consent for an interview. Ms. Daniels did not have ESOL endorsement, but she said she

had been working on it. She described the accommodations she used for ESOL students in her class as such:

I have found it from my experience to be very animated, to speak a little slower which is a little bit difficult because it is fast paced curriculum, so it is difficult, using a lot of visuals, we try to use visuals. I pull out my phone and ask Siri to pull off a picture if kids don't know something else, to show them what it looks like using images on my phone. Because they don't have always a picture in their heads of what I am saying in English. They might not even have it in their language, so the kids don't know what it is in English. I try to use multimedia ways, props, pictures using the internet and computer, books that kind of things... (Elif's mainstream teacher interview)

Ms. Daniels believed Elif's English proficiency had not increased as much as the proficiency levels of the other ESOL students who started the school year at the same English proficiency level, and one reason for this situation could be that she was multilingual and "the more languages you speak, the longer it takes you to learn another language" (Elif's mainstream teacher interview). She expressed that Elif needed more exposure to English at home because her English was "broken" and sometimes incomprehensible due to her use of limited words and incomplete sentences, and she suffered comprehending the academic language. Ms. Daniels also noted that Elif was one year behind her peers academically and it might be "a learning issue mixed with her language development" (Elif's mainstream teacher interview). She thought Elif should be tested next year to understand if she had a learning disability or not and "take an extra 30 minutes of intensive reading instruction because she is very below where she needs to be" (Elif's mainstream teacher interview).

Elif's mother stated that Elif had rejected to talk about her school experiences at home for almost a year probably because she experienced struggles in adjusting the American school culture. She noted that Elif had started to talk about the school

practices with her just recently. Elif stated that she had good relationships with most of her peers in her classroom, but her limited English skills sometimes created a barrier for her to fully socialize or collaborate with her peers. She had one or two good friends in the classroom that she played together, but she could not build rapport with the others and she did not know why. She sometimes hanged out with Spanish speaking students and taught them Turkish while they taught her Spanish in response (Elif's first interview). She participated a few cultural events at school such as Halloween for which she wore a fairy dress (her family made a donation to school to gain permission for free dressing on special days), and she enjoyed the event. Her favorite game at school was the love game that they counted till a hundred one by one, and said "love" at 5s and 10s.

Elif's favorite subject was math and least favorite subject was physical education because it was too warm for her to spend time outside. Elif expressed that her teachers (ESOL, PE and mainstream teachers) never asked her questions about Turkey or Turkish language, but she would love to share her knowledge if they asked. She also highlighted that she would like to speak with her teacher in her dominant language like Spanish speaking students did if Ms. Daniels knew Turkish. Elif believed that she received little scaffolding from her teacher to complete the academic tasks, but she did not complain about it because she perceived her teacher as the authority figure and accepted her practices as right and appropriate. However, she blamed herself for failing in some tasks (Elif's second interview).

In my visit to Elif's school, I observed that Elif could answer Ms. Daniels' questions right when she could comprehend them, and when they required short

answers. She seemed to have good relationships with most of her peers as she mentioned, but I heard a student calling her “dumb” when she could not give the right answer to one of Ms. Daniel’s questions (Elif’s school observation). She was also bullied by another student since she sat on the student’s seat without asking her permission during the snack time. In the whole group discussions, she was mostly quiet and could follow her teacher’s instructions very well. In Math centers, she was very active and even helped her peers to complete the tasks. However, in reading centers, she had hard time finding a partner and decided to work with the special education student who also had low reading skills. She expressed that she could not comprehend anything about the content in the ESOL classroom. She never raised her hand to participate into the classroom discussions and when the ESOL teacher addressed her questions about the content, she pretended sleeping in order to avoid the questions. The ESOL teacher’s accommodations such as student friendly definitions written on the power point slides or sentence frames seemed insufficient to ensure Elif’s comprehension as her literacy skills were weak. During lunch and in physical education class, she was very active, and communicated well with her peers.

Focal Student 2: Ozan

Ozan was a nine-years-old boy who was born and raised in the U.S. His schooling experience started when he attended daycare at 18 months old. Before the daycare, the language he was dominantly exposed to and speaking was Turkish. His mother informed that he had heard English only in a cartoon he watched on TV until he started daycare. The transition from a Turkish dominant world to an English-only world was not easy for him. His daycare teacher informed his parents that it took him six months to say a word in English in the daycare although his mom noted that he kept

speaking Turkish developmentally normal at home. His mom observed a shift from Turkish to English in his speech as he grew older although she continued speaking dominantly Turkish with him at home. Ozan liked art, writing, soccer, Turkish dumpling (manti) and playing games. He also liked to watch science related you tube videos, write stories and draw cartoons about the political and cultural issues such as recent policies concerning immigrants in the U.S.

Ozan described his Turkish proficiency very limited “all I know is merhaba” and English proficiency fluent and he identified himself American since he could not speak “native-like Turkish” (Ozan’s first Interview). When I showed him the transcripts that indicated his use of one or two Turkish words in the CTS, he denied it because he “did not know these words” (Ozan’s second interview). His Turkish literacy skills were weak, but he was a good reader and writer in English. He stated that he did not understand Turkish except his mother and found learning Turkish “useless” in the U.S. because he could communicate well with his parents and peers using only English. For Ozan, learning Turkish could only be beneficial for him in the job interviews, but “it would not give him a high prestige” (Ozan’s first interview). He was not very concerned about his communication with his family members in Turkey who did not know English since he did not see them very often. He questioned the arbitrariness of languages and likened the evolvement of Turkish as “a baby writing random words on the keyboard and making up a language” (Ozan’s third interview). His mother linked his negative attitudes towards Turkish to his childhood experiences in Turkey where he was humiliated by his peers for his American accent:

Bir kere şöyle başladı bu Türkçe konuşmama olayı. Birazcık aksanlı konuşuyor türkçe’yi doğal olarak. Ozan üç yaşındaydı herhalde çocuk

belki de. Türkiye gittik. Bir doğum günü partisine gittik beraber. Oradaki çocuklarla oynamaya çalıştı ve onlara Türkçe bir şeyler söylemeye çalışıyor anlatmaya çalışıyor. Bununla dalga geçtiler çok. O günden sonra ne ananesiyle yani o Türkiye gittiğimizde ananesiyle bile türkçe konuşmadı. ... orada ona a demek yani türkçe konuşunca böyle cezalanıyorum gibi bir şey oldu yani.

This is how the rejection of Turkish started. He speaks Turkish with an American accent as you may predict. He was three years old or younger, and we went to Turkey. We attended a birthday party together. He tried to play with the other kids in the party, and tried to explain something to them, but they made fun of him a lot. After that day, he did not speak Turkish again, even with his grandmother. ... he probably felt punished for speaking Turkish then.

She added that Ozan could understand Turkish better than his perceived comprehension.

Ozan had experienced communication problems last few years not due to his language skills but his social skills. His mother stated that he experienced challenges in initiating and maintaining dialogues since he did not like to socialize with people. He used to reply people's questions with short answers and did not address any questions back (Ozan's parent interview). Since his limited social skills influenced his relationships with his peers at school, his mother took him to a speech therapist. His mother had observed an improvement in his social skills since he started to visit the speech therapist, but she still perceived a tendency in his verbal behaviors to keep the dialogues short. According to his mother, "If Ozan doesn't get challenged, he doesn't like it", and similarly he got bored and kept his conversations short when the topic did not engage him (Ozan's parent interview). Finally, Ozan also experienced hard time getting along with younger people, and he often talked to himself when he was working on a task.

Ozan at home

Ozan had a younger brother who was a six-year-old fluent English speaker and a first grader. His mother and father, who were both fluent Turkish speakers, were divorced, but they both lived in the same county. He spent most of his time at his mother's house and visited his father at some weekends. His mother came to the U.S. for graduate school 17 years ago, and she started to work in the process improvement sector upon graduation. She met her ex-husband in the U.S., and both her sons were born in the U.S. and were American citizens. Presently, she worked for a company and tried to write her doctoral dissertation. She could speak English fluently, and thus, when she moved to the U.S., she did not experience much linguistic challenges since she gained her high school and college degrees from institutions where the mediums of instruction were English. However, she experienced "cultural shock" when she started to work because she was excluded by her colleagues who were dominantly Black in the company (Ozan's parent interview). She felt more comfortable linguistically and culturally in Florida. She wanted Ozan to learn Turkish because it is a "connection between him and his family in Turkey" and valued his bilingualism due to the cognitive benefits of bilingualism such as high level of critical thinking and problem-solving skills (Ozan's parent interview).

Ozan's mom spoke with her children in both Turkish and English at home and defined Turkish as their "secret language" that they used among fluent English speakers (Ozan's mother interview). She explained her use of English with her sons as an unconscious and automatic action. She was concerned about Ozan's negative attitudes to Turkish and found the CTS practices insufficient to change his attitudes. She sent her children to the CTS because she wanted them to socialize with other Turkish

background children whose grandparents and extended family members lived in Turkey so that some family practices such as home country visits could seem normal practices for them and they did not feel “alienated” in the dominant culture (Ozan’s parent interview). Moreover, she believed that the CTS was a supervised environment to teach her children the language skills to initiate and maintain a conversation with their Turkish speaking family members. She thought the age-gap among the CTS students and limited instructional accommodations for English dominant students were some factors that influenced Ozan’s learning in the CTS. She described the difference between the CTS and schools as such:

Normal okullarda çok sistematik bir şekilde bir curriculum var onu takip ediyorlar. Türk okulunda öyle değil biraz daha relaxed bir ortam. O an ne olursa onu devam ettiriyorlar

There is a curriculum that teachers follow systematically in schools. It is not the same in the CTS, but it is a more relaxed environment. They act more spontaneously. (Ozan’s parent interview).

She communicated with the CTS teachers through WhatsApp.

Ozan’s mother took her sons to a variety of Turkish & American cultural activities so that they could learn and practice the ones they liked more or feel connected with both cultures. Some cultural events they celebrated at home were Halloween, Christmas, Ramadan and thanksgiving. However, she highlighted that they did not practice these events strictly like conservative Christians or Muslims. They also attended some national day celebrations in the CTA. She often gave her sons a brief background knowledge about these Turkish national celebrations at home so that they could feel more connected to their Turkish identities and be more motivated to participate these events. She cooked mostly Turkish food at home, but Ozan bought

lunch from school cafeteria since he had received negative evaluations from his peers for eating “degisik (weird)” food before (Ozan’s parent interview).

Ozan’s use of Turkish was very limited at home. He used certain words such as “anne” (mother), “baba” (father) or “anneanne” (grandma) and some phrases such as “Gunaydin” (good morning) or “iyi geceler” (good night) only in Turkish at home. Except these specific words and expressions, he used only English to communicate his family members and do his homework. His mother stated that internet and books were some resources available in Turkish at home, but he never used these resources to practice his Turkish since he did not know how to read in Turkish. She said:

Ama yani ben de böyle push etmek istemiyorum. Türkçeye karşı şey gelsin istemiyorum . İngilizce daha kolay geldiği için İngilizcesini istiyorlar ve okumak istemiyorlar. .. Okumuyorlar ben okuyunca da İngilizcesini istiyorlar.

I don’t want to push them to read Turkish books because I don’t want them to be against Turkish. Since English is easier, they prefer to read in English. They don’t want to read in Turkish..When I read them in Turkish, they ask for English translation (Ozan’s parent interview).

They often made home visits to other Turkish background families in the neighborhood so that the children could socialize and practice Turkish language and culture. However, his mother observed that children used only English to interact. She sometimes observed linguistic transfer from Turkish to English in Ozan’s language such as the use of “close the light” instead of “turn off the light” or “close the telephone” instead of “hang up the phone” which reflected a word by word translation from Turkish; however, these kinds of language use were very rarely observed. Ozan got exposed to Turkish the most when his grandparents from Turkey visited them for a couple of months every year because his grandparents did not know English.

During my visit to Ozan's home, I observed that he could comprehend Turkish very well but responded only in English. When I entered their home, Ozan was playing with his brother while his mother was cooking dinner for them. He used only English to communicate with his brother, but he could follow his mother's directions in Turkish about not to hurt himself with sharp tools or share his toys with his brother. Similarly, he could comprehend his mother's Turkish questions about the party they attended earlier but responded her only in English. After the dinner, the children went to Ozan's brother's room to play with their toys, and I joined them to conduct my first interview. Before I started the interview, I watched them playing and noted their language practices. They used their toys as puppets and created English dialogues among puppets as if they were buying things from different stores. During the interview, he could comprehend the questions I asked in Turkish on purpose, but he replied me only in English. In the morning, I heard him greeting his uncle in Turkish through Skype, but he left the conversation afterwards. His mother noted that he kept the conversation short because he did not like to talk on the phone. In my second visit to Ozan's home to conduct the third interview, his grandparents had been staying with them for two months. I realized that he was using more Turkish words in his English sentences. However, both his grandmother and his mother stated that he still had negative attitudes to Turkish and kept rejecting to speak Turkish with them.

Ozan in the Cagdas Turkish school

Although Ozan attended the CTS regularly in the previous year, he rejected to attend the CTS after the third week in the school year this study was conducted since the instructional activities were not engaging or challenging for him anymore and he lost his motivation. He considered the CTS as "a waste of time" and he preferred to do

another activity instead (Ozan's third interview). He highlighted that he did not learn anything in the CTS because the Turkish-only policy hindered his comprehension. He believed that exposing the students to only Turkish language was not sufficient to teach them the language and expected the CTS teachers to use more English to make the content comprehensible for him (Ozan's third interview). He also noted that he did not feel connected to his CTS peers and described the CTS practices as "boring and torturing" (Ozan's first interview).

Ozan likened the CTS to an after-school program and he believed that the primary purpose of the CTS should be to offer students the opportunities to have fun like a fun house, and the secondary purpose should be to teach them Turkish. When I asked him why he decided to stop attending the CTS, he said that: "It's just a waste of time. Even when I talk to anne, she's actually going to give me information. In that stupid Turkish house, they are not going to teach me a thing" (Ozan's second interview). He noted that the activities that did not focus on Ataturk such as poems and marches were more engaging, but not enough to engage him for a long time. For him, an engaging activity would include video games. He also found the Turkish cultural activities meaningless and stated that he did not want to attend these activities because he did not live in Turkey (Ozan's third interview).

When he attended the CTS, he mostly spent his time out of the classroom space (in the room that adults used for chorus practice) because he did not "understand the teachers and got bored" (Ozan's first interview). His interaction with his peers except his brother was also limited. He often requested translation from his mother when he had hard time in comprehending a task, a text or a person's discourse. He frequently

expressed to his mother that he could not understand the CTS teachers and his peers, and he did not enjoy the CTS activities (Ozan's third interview).

The CTS teachers described him an intelligent and emotional child who preferred not to speak Turkish but understood it well. The CTS teachers expressed that they had noticed Ozan's limited motivation to attend the CTS and tried to engage him in several ways in the previous year. For example, they requested Ozan to compose an English song to honor his writing skills and assigned him the classroom leader to prevent his disruptive behaviors and provide him an opportunity to be accountable. He composed the song and felt proud when he received positive feedback from his peers. However, assigning him as the classroom leader did not engage him as predicted. In contrast, Ozan suggested his peers to leave the CTS altogether to do outdoor activities. The teachers noted that Ozan liked the CTS activities that involved physical movements more, and he was more engaged when teachers worked with him one-on-one. They observed that he preferred not to take an active role in national day celebrations. Thus, they never assigned him a single performance, but they requested him to join the group demonstrations such as singing a march. The teachers liked that he asked for English translations of the poems, marches or songs before he learned them (CTS teacher interviews).

Ozan at school

Ozan was a 4th grader in a dominantly White school. He was the only Turkish background student in the school. There were two Vietnamese and one Hindu speaking students in his classroom, but all students were fluent English speakers, and his school did not offer ESOL program. He liked writing the most and science the least, and had been chosen to writer's café for 4-5 times since he wrote quality stories (all stories were

in English and none was about Turkey or Turkish). He attended the art club once a week, and joined the schoolwide and statewide art competitions. His favorite moments at school were the field trips. He liked his mainstream teacher and found school tasks challenging and engaging. He never experienced a communication problem with his teacher or peers since he was a fluent English speaker. He described himself at school as an “OK student” who followed the rules and actively participated to school activities (Ozan’s first interview). He rejected to talk about his Turkish background at school because he felt “embarrassed” of his Turkish identity (Ozan’s third interview).

His teacher, Ms. Parham, had masters in SLD (Specific Learning Disabilities) and been teaching for 24 years. She worked as a mainstream teacher for the last 10-12 years. She was monolingual English speaker. She did not have ESOL endorsement and had not taught any ESOL student before. Ozan was the first Turkish background student she had taught in 24 years. Some differentiation strategies she used for struggling students were giving extra time and assigning a peer body for peer scaffolding. She did not know that Ozan attended the CTS on Sundays and learned Turkish. She expressed that she did not address personal questions to her students about their heritage cultures, but she would welcome their contributions if they wanted to share. She communicated with Ozan’s mother through a program called “notify me” only when there was an issue like an incomplete assignment, a field trip, a test or a security issue. She informed Ozan’s mother about his academic progress in the parent-teacher conferences.

Ms. Parham stated that Ozan was a very social student and had good relationships with his peers. She noted that he was sometimes too social that she had

to stop him. He was an average student in terms of school success, but he was a very imaginative child who wrote creative stories. She thought his work in reading class was sometimes messy because he did not put much effort to demonstrate his full potential. When his work was messy, she asked him to go back and revise his work. Ms. Parham never heard him using Turkish or talking about the CTS (Ozan's mainstream teacher interview).

During my visit to Ozan's school, I noticed that Ozan was very engaged in instruction at school. He was mostly on task and completed the tasks as required. He frequently interacted with his peers not only to discuss the tasks or the contents but also make jokes or express his thoughts. He frequently raised hand to respond Ms. Parham's questions and followed the instructions very well. He was comfortably moving between his seat and the carpet during the reading class and asked questions to his teacher or peers whenever he was confused. He seemed to have good relationships with all his peers in the classroom and talked to anyone who sat next to him on the carpet or the lunch table. He seemed to have a leader role in groups, and even volunteered to attend a leadership training to promote equity in his school to inform other students about the critical social issues such as racism.

Focal Student 3: Umut

Umut was an 11-year-old student who was born in Virginia, the U.S. After he was born, they moved to Bahamas due to his father's business and stayed there for seven years. They moved back to the U.S. two years ago. When Umut first started the school in Bahamas, he experienced some speech problems that included pronunciation differences and difficulties in comprehension. Umut could not "speak English clearly" and write well until the third grade (Umut's mother interview). However, although he did

not receive special instruction or treatment, his speaking and writing skills improved at the end of the second grade. He liked fishing, animals, playing video games, doing sports such as basketball, kitesurfing and sailing and watching TV shows, action movies and videos about fishing.

He grew up hearing and speaking Bahamian English, American English and Turkish together. He used to speak Bahamian English at school, Turkish to communicate with mainly his grandparents and father and American English with his parents, especially his mother. He described his current Turkish proficiency level as low-intermediate, and he considered himself a fluent American and Bahamian English speaker. He was also taking Spanish classes at school, and he was a beginner level Spanish speaker. His English literacy skills were advanced, but his Turkish literacy skills were at the beginner level. He believed that his Turkish proficiency had improved since he attended the CTS and interacted with other fluent Turkish speakers like the CTS teachers. Umut identified himself “an American who can speak Turkish and has Turkish parents” (Umut’s first interview). He did not identify himself Turkish due to his American accent: “I don’t even sound Turkish and I do not know a lot of stuff in Turkish” (Umut’s first interview). He felt proud to speak Turkish since it was a not well-known language and the Bahamian accent since “it was rare for pale skin people to speak it” (Umut’s first interview).

Umut had mostly positive attitudes to the languages he engaged regularly, and he felt motivated to learn them for different reasons. He thought learning Turkish was important because it enhanced the social network he could socialize, and it was his heritage and family tradition that should be maintained. Moreover, he thought bilinguals

were smarter as they knew more words. He valued English because he lived in the U.S. and it was the world language. He had negative attitudes to Spanish because his teacher was very strict, and it was difficult for him to understand how Spanish worked. However, he wanted to learn Spanish because it could help him in his father's business as his father worked with several Spanish speaking countries.

Umut at home

Umut was the oldest child in his family. He had twin siblings who were six years old. His mother was born in Italy and moved to the U.S. when she was 9 months old for her parents' education. She studied anthropology and law in college. Currently, she runs her own business in the real estate sector. She grew up learning Turkish from her parents and grandparents, and attended several international and Turkish cultural events including White House events, international radio programs and international nights to perform Turkish folk dance when she was young. She also represented Turkey in international Olympics several times. She was an advanced Turkish speaker, intermediate level French speaker and fluent English speaker. Umut's father came to the U.S. for graduate school and they met and married in the U.S. He currently lived in Bahamas for his own business; thus, Umut and his siblings rarely saw him, but they frequently talked to him on the phone and visited him as whole family during the holidays. His father could speak Chinese, Turkish and English fluently.

Umut's parents valued their children's acquisition of Turkish because "it is the only way to stay connected with their family members who do not know English" (Umut's parent interview). His mother also wanted them to learn Turkish due to the instrumental benefits of bi/multilingualism in the job market. Umut's mother sometimes socialized with other Turkish speaking families so that her children could practice

Turkish with other Turkish background children, but she thought the best way to improve the children's Turkish proficiency skills was to visit Turkey or to host their grandmother for a few months, who was a monolingual Turkish speaker.

Umut's mother took her children to all Turkish cultural events because Umut's grandmother and great-grandmother wanted them to maintain their Turkish identity due to their family history with Ataturk, the Turkish leader. As a Turkish cultural practice, Umut mentioned that his siblings used to call him "agabey" (older brother), but they gave up and started to call him by name in last few months. They did not celebrate any Turkish special days at home, but they celebrated special days like Mother's Day, Father's Day and birthdays. The biggest cultural event that they celebrated at home was Christmas. They ate fish, opened their presents and talked about Santa on Christmas. They also celebrated thanksgiving but preferred to eat Turkish food rather than turkey.

Umut's mother cooked both Turkish and American food at home, but she did not pack Turkish food for Umut's school lunch so that he did not feel different from his peers. On the other hand, whenever there was a cultural event at school that involved food, Umut took Turkish food such as Baklava to school to demonstrate his Turkish identity to his peers. Umut's mother sent all her children to the CTS so that they could learn Turkish in a guided environment. She believed that the CTS practices kept "the children's brain channels open to Turkish", but she thought that the CTS alone was not enough to make them fluent Turkish speakers as it was two hours once a week. She thought her children enjoy attending the CTS since the teachers were very welcoming and created an environment that offered the children a sense of family and community. She thought some activities such as marches, poems or songs were advanced for her

children's proficiency levels. She would prefer that the CTS teachers taught the national song earlier than other marches or poems, but she also acknowledged that the national song might be challenging to comprehend and memorize for some children in the CTS (Umut's parent interview).

Books and internet were the only resources that were available for Umut to practice Turkish at home, but his mother stated that he did not use these resources much as he did not know reading in Turkish (Survey questionnaire). He watched a Turkish movie with his grandmother once, but "the characters spoke too fast to follow and comprehend", so he did not enjoy it (Umut's first interview). Umut remembered visiting a museum at a school field trip, translating a Turkish person's conversation to English for his peers and feeling proud to know Turkish. According to Umut's mother, Umut spoke Turkish at home only 10 percent of the day, and he used Turkish to answer simple questions and/or make requests. She used Turkish with him mostly to give directions (Umut's parent interview).

Umut's home observation showed that when his mother initiated a Turkish conversation, Umut deployed his full linguistic repertoire to involve into the conversation. When I visited their home, Umut, his siblings and his great grandmother, who was a monolingual Turkish speaker, were eating their dinner and watching an English movie while his grandmother was cooking in the kitchen. There was no interaction except his grandmother's English questions about the food because the children were very focused on the movie. After the dinner, he told me what the movie was about using both English and Turkish. He, then, showed me his aquarium, lizard and fishing tools, and described his home life using Turkish and English fluidly. On the

other hand, he responded to his siblings' contributions to our conversation only in English. When his mother arrived, he used only English with her; however, when his mother and I spoke in Turkish, he contributed in Turkish, but with short sentences. In the breakfast, his mother and I used mostly Turkish on purpose to understand Umut's linguistic decision-making process and check his comprehension. Umut could comprehend most of our conversation and responded to us using both languages flexibly while his siblings kept requesting their mother to translate what she said in Turkish to English since they could not understand. Unlike Ozan, he did not call on his family members in Turkish, but he consistently named some food only in Turkish

Umut in the Cagdas Turkish school

Umut started to attend the CTS last year, but due to his health problems (asthma), he could not attend it regularly. He thought that the purpose of the CTS was to practice Turkish with other Turkish background people and get comfortable in speaking Turkish. He believed his Turkish skills had improved and social network that included Turkish background people had been enlarged since he joined the CTS. His favorite moment in the CTS was the time when he played videogames with his peers at the same age or older. He liked the Cold & Hot and Deve & Cuce games the most as they were played individually. He did not like the games that required team work because he did not have good relationships with his younger peers. He found some students "annoying" in the CTS since they favored each other and excluded the others (Umut's first interview).

Although Umut had mostly positive attitudes to the CTS, he listed a few challenges he experienced in the CTS. Firstly, he did not like to be the oldest student in the CTS, and he sometimes found meeting the CTS teachers' expectations difficult as

the oldest student. He believed that the CTS teachers expected him to take leadership, keep learning Turkish and teach Turkish to his siblings. He also did not like that he had to stay indoor to learn Turkish. He would rather play in an open space. He did not enjoy attending the national day celebrations because there were a lot of young kids attending these events. Finally, he noted that the CTS teachers taught “more like kindergartenish stuff” that he would learn in a mainstream school; however, he believed that he would experience learning difficulties due to his limited Turkish proficiency if the teachers assigned them cognitively challenging tasks in Turkish (Umut’s third interview).

The CTS teachers described Umut as a calm, smart and wise child. They observed that Umut did not like the activities that required him to stay physically passive for a long time, but he enjoyed the activities that required physical movements more. They believed that Umut’s Turkish proficiency was higher than his siblings and several other students in the class. He often acted like a mediator and translator between English dominant students and the CTS teachers, and teachers thought that he felt proud to use his linguistic resources like an expert. The CTS teachers agreed that it was a challenge for him to adjust the CTS as he was the oldest student and believed that he could enjoy the CTS more if there were another student at the same age that he could spend time together and share his experiences. However, they affirmed that he participated to all the activities actively even if he did not like or enjoy them.

Umut at school

Umut was a 5th grader in a private Christian school which hosted dominantly White students. There were 20 students in his classroom of which “14 are males at different maturity levels” (Umut’s mainstream teacher interview). He was an easygoing and friendly student who had good relationships with all his peers in the classroom. He

had started to talk back to his teachers recently, but his teacher considered it as a developmental behavior that she observed in most students. Umut explained his occasional negative responses to his teacher's practices with exhaustion, intense school work and his active role in the school basketball games. His favorite subjects were physical education and science, and he liked reading and Spanish the least. His favorite activities at school were the cultural events and field trips, and he disliked memorizing bible words.

Umut's teacher, Ms. Angels, studied in elementary education program in college and gained ESOL certification. She had nine years of teaching experience in mainstream schools and she tutored an English language learner from Pakistani background for three years. She had taught at different grade levels, and she had been teaching 5th graders in the last three years. She had Puerto Rican background and knew some Spanish. She had one Spanish speaking ESOL student in her classroom and the other students were all English dominant students. Some differentiation methods she used for ESL and struggling students were the use of bilingual books, giving extra time, use of Spanish during the instruction to ensure the ESOL student's comprehension and student-friendly definitions of the key vocabulary words. As a cultural event that gave students an opportunity to learn about diverse cultures, they celebrated "Christmas around the world" for which Umut presented Christmas customs in Turkey. Ms. Angels formally met with Umut's mother in the parent conferences, and informally talked to her in the school basketball games. In case of emergency, she often texted her.

Ms. Angels had not worked with a Turkish background student before, but she had some friends from Turkey and thus, felt familiar with some Turkish cultural practices. She evaluated Umut's school performance as average, and she mentioned that the recent school tests had also revealed that his academic performance was at the 5th grade level. She highlighted that he was one of the high-performing students in Math, but he needed improvement in reading. To encourage him to read more and improve his reading skills, the teacher asked him to keep a reading log for which he had to read 20 pages a day, and she noted that he could read in Turkish as part of his log assignment if he wanted. His performance was at the average level in Science, but he liked Science projects very much. His performance was a little below average in Spanish. His Spanish teacher informed that while he scored on average in the vocabulary and writing tests, he scored below average in grammar and listening. Ms. Angels observed him speaking mostly in English at school, but she remembered moments when he saw an English word that sounded the same or looked similar to a Turkish word, he raised his hand to share it with his peers to demonstrate his Turkish competence. He also taught his peers some basic phrases such as "hello" or "how are you?"

During my visit to Umut's school, I observed him using only English to communicate with his teacher and peers. He was mostly engaged to academic tasks and raised his questions when he was confused and answered the teachers' questions related to the contents comfortably. He frequently talked to his peers and provided peer scaffolding when they requested help. During the church time in which some teachers told bible stories and some students read quotes from the bible, he was mostly quiet,

and had limited interactions with his peers. However, in the science class in which some students introduced their science inventions, he raised several questions and expressed his comments comfortably. In the reading class, the students who scored below B in the first test took the test once more, and he was one of the students who took the test again. In the post-test classroom discussions, he could not answer some of his teacher's questions about the book they had been reading. Finally, in the math class, he could solve the question that his teacher assigned him on the board correctly.

Summary

All focal students grew up learning Turkish at home. However, while Elif could maintain her Turkish proficiency, Ozan and Umut shifted their dominant language practices from Turkish to English after they started schooling. All three students experienced some speech or communication problems at varying degrees when they first entered the English-only school contexts. Presently, while Elif had strong Turkish skills and was an English language learner, Ozan and Umut had strong English skills and were both Turkish language learners.

The students' attitudes to Turkish and English also varied. Elif valued Turkish since it was a tool to access her family and friends in Turkey. English was also important for her since it was the school language and a tool to access knowledge and socialize with her school peers. Umut also valued Turkish since it was their family language, and English since he lived in the U.S. Finally, Ozan valued English since it was important to speak English in the U.S. However, he had negative attitudes to Turkish because it was not necessary as he could communicate his social network and parents in English.

All three focal students had different schooling experiences. Elif attended four different schools in three different countries where the mediums of instruction varied. Ozan attended only mainstream schools in the U.S. context and familiar with the mainstream school practices. Umut first attended a mainstream school in Bahamas where the medium of instruction was Bahamian English. Then, he moved to the U.S. and attended a mainstream school in the U.S. where the medium of instruction was English. The focal students' experiences in the mainstream school varied. Due to Elif's limited English proficiency, she experienced a great difficulty in accomplishing academic tasks and socializing with her peers at school. Ozan and Umut, on the other hand, performed at their grade level, had good relationships with their school peers.

Finally, CTS was a heritage language school that a Turkish community organization offered to teach Turkish to U.S. born children with Turkish background. The language of instruction in the CTS was Turkish and the language of peer discussions was dominantly English. The focal students attended the CTS for different purposes. While Elif attended the CTS for socialization purposes, Ozan and Umut's primary purposes were learning and improving their Turkish skills.

All three students experienced different challenges in the CTS. While the dominant use of English among Elif's peers in the CTS became a challenge for Elif, Turkish-only policy in the CTS instructions was a strong challenge for Ozan. Since Umut had higher Turkish proficiency than Ozan, it did not appear as a strong challenge for Umut. However, the age gap between him and his peers was a strong barrier that influenced Umut's engagement to some CTS activities.

CHAPTER 5

BOUNDARY CROSSING

This research study aimed to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge in relation to boundaries they encountered as they moved across three different discursive spaces. The discursive spaces in this study were a Turkish heritage school (the CTS) that focal students attended every Sunday for two hours, three different mainstream schools that students attended during the week; and the homes of the three focal participants. A thorough analysis of differences between sociocultural norms and values within three discursive spaces highlighted two boundaries for participants: epistemic culture and language use.

This chapter firstly discusses the epistemic culture boundary by explaining the differences between topics and tasks which reflect the dominant sociocultural norms and values and influence students' language practices within each discursive space. Moreover, it explains how each student responded to these boundaries as they moved across homes, schools and the CTS by analyzing the students' observed and self-reported learning experiences and language practices and positioning each student's boundary crossing experiences on the smooth- insurmountable boundary crossing continuum. Secondly, it discusses the language use boundary by explaining the differences between teachers' and peers' language uses within each discursive space. Then, it explains how each student responded to language use boundary as they moved across homes, schools and the CTS by analyzing the students' observed and self-reported interactional experiences and positioning each student's boundary crossing experiences on the smooth- insurmountable boundary crossing continuum.

Epistemic Culture as a Boundary

Epistemic culture is defined as a specific attitude towards knowledge and knowledge construction (Knorr-Cetina, 1999 cited in Akkerman & Bakker, 2012, p.156). In this study, epistemic culture was operationalized through tasks and topics that engage students into academic, social and cultural learning which requires specific type of language use in homes, schools and the CTS. This part focused on only the differences between tasks and topics that reflected epistemic culture in homes, schools and the CTS and resulted in discontinuities in students' learning and interactions, and excluded the similar practices. It, firstly, described the differences and commonalities between epistemic cultures of homes, schools and the CTS, that were revealed through an external analysis. It, then, describes students' linguistic responses to these boundaries and positions each focal student's boundary crossing experience on the smooth, managed, traumatic or insurmountable continuum. The students' linguistic responses and boundary crossing experiences were revealed considering the students' perceptions of familiarity with common and differing topics and tasks across discursive spaces.

Differences Between Epistemic Cultures of Discursive Spaces

An analysis of interviews and field notes revealed differences between topics and tasks across homes, schools and the CTS. Upon identifications of all topics and tasks within each discursive space through a detailed analysis of observation notes (one full day in schools, 3-6 hours in homes and 11 weeks in the CTS), and teacher, parent and student interviews, topics and tasks were categorized into groups based on their functions for students' academic, social or personal growth. Then, a cross analysis of these functions was performed, and commonalities and differences were revealed.

Since boundaries were regarded as differences, only differences were selected for further analysis. An analysis of the differences between topics and tasks indicated that the topics and tasks varied depending on epistemic culture in each discursive space. The differences between (1) topics and nature of topics and (2) tasks and the nature of tasks were discussed in detail below.

Topics

Topics referred to the subjects that adults (teachers or parents) engaged students into to enhance their learning within each discursive space. The analysis results showed that topics varied across homes, schools and the CTS due to the differences between epistemic cultures within these spaces. Figure 5-1 shows a list of topics differing across discursive spaces. This part describes these topics and defines the natures of the topics.

One day school observations in three mainstream schools and teacher and student interviews indicated that the mainstream teachers engaged students into discussions of academic topics such as factorials (in Ozan's school), scientific inventions (in Umut's school), and subtractions (in Elif's school), and dominant culture topics such as Christmas and Jesus (in Ozan's school), bible scripts (in Umut's school) and frontier explorers (in Elif's school). The nature of topics covered in schools showed that mainstream teachers mainly valued the development of students' academic knowledge and knowledge about the dominant culture, and required the use of academic and mainstream culture specific language.

Eleven weeks of observations in the CTS, and interviews with CTS teachers and students indicated that the CTS teachers focused on teaching mainly the topics about Turkish culture such as Turkish Republican Day, Ataturk's Memorial Day or children's

day, and the pledge and the national song and Turkish social language with a specific focus on vocabulary and speaking skills. The nature of topics covered in the CTS showed that CTS teachers mainly valued the development of students' knowledge about heritage culture which requires the use of heritage language and social language.

Finally, 3-6 hours of observations in homes, parent and student interviews indicated that parents and students discussed topics related to their extended family members and personal interests such as video games (in Ozan's home), YouTube channels (In Elif's home) movies and fishing (in Umut's home). The nature of topics covered in homes showed that parents mainly valued the development of students' social knowledge and social language.

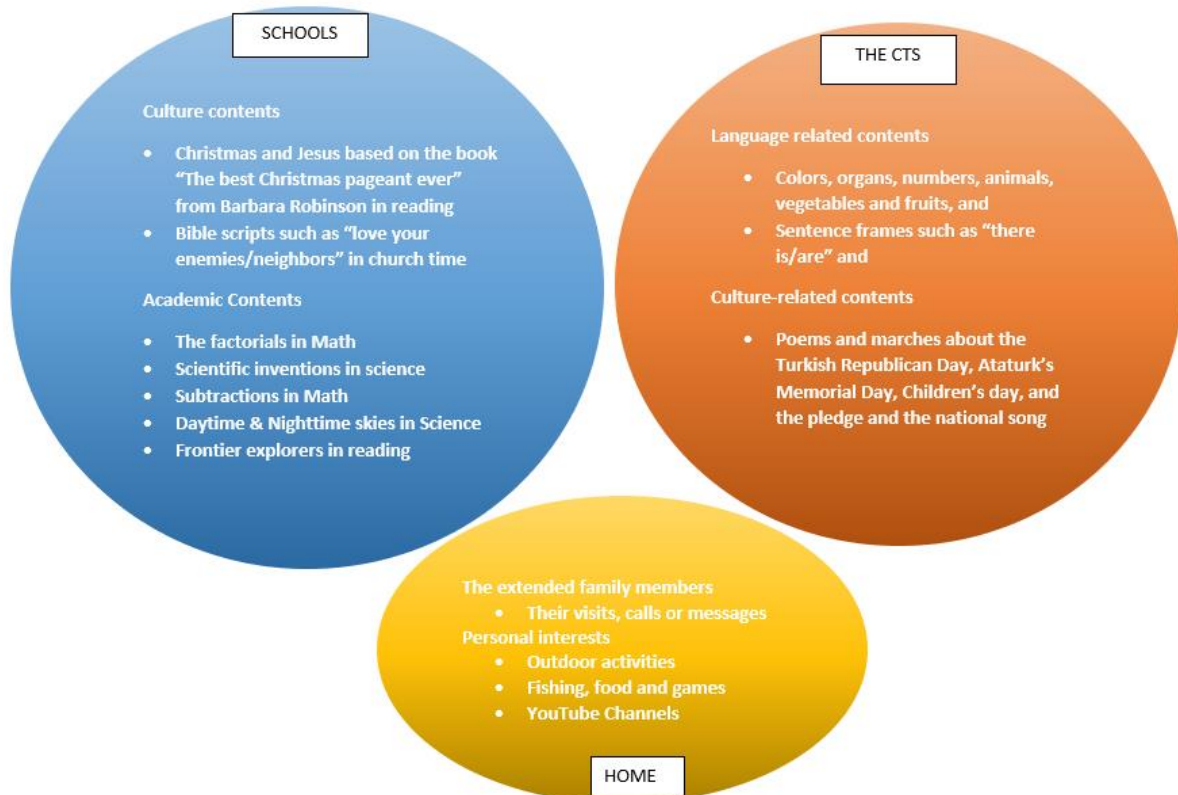


Figure 5-1. Topics discussed in Homes, the CTS and Schools

Tasks

A task refers to specific work that the students were required to complete within or outside of the classroom as part of the teaching process. The analysis results showed that tasks varied across homes, schools and the CTS due to the differences between epistemic cultures of these spaces. Figure 5-2 shows a list of differing tasks students engaged within each discursive space. This part describes the tasks that differed across discursive spaces and defines the natures of tasks.

School observations indicated that the mainstream teachers engaged students into tasks that prioritized the development of students' academic skills such as literacy skills, math problem-solving skills and higher order thinking skills and mainstream culture practices such as Church practices, Christmas practices and educational games. The nature of tasks in mainstream schools indicated that the tasks were designed to develop students' academic skills and the mainstream culture practices which required the use of academic language and mainstream culture-specific language.

The CTS observations indicated that the CTS teachers engaged students into tasks that prioritized the development of the students' communication skills such as speaking, listening and literacy skills in Turkish and the Turkish cultural practices such as national celebrations, religious celebrations and Turkish children games. The nature of the CTS tasks showed that the tasks were designed to develop students' Turkish verbal communication skills and Turkish culture practices which required the use of social and Turkish culture-specific language such as Turkish currency, the names of Turkish national days or Turkish celebrities.

Finally, home observations indicated that parents engaged students into tasks that prioritized the development of students' personal skills such as games (video or table-top), YouTube videos, coloring activities and Turkish and/or American cultural practices such as Halloween, Christmas and/or Ramadan celebrations. The nature of the home tasks showed that the tasks aimed to develop students' social skills which required the use of social language in both Turkish and English.

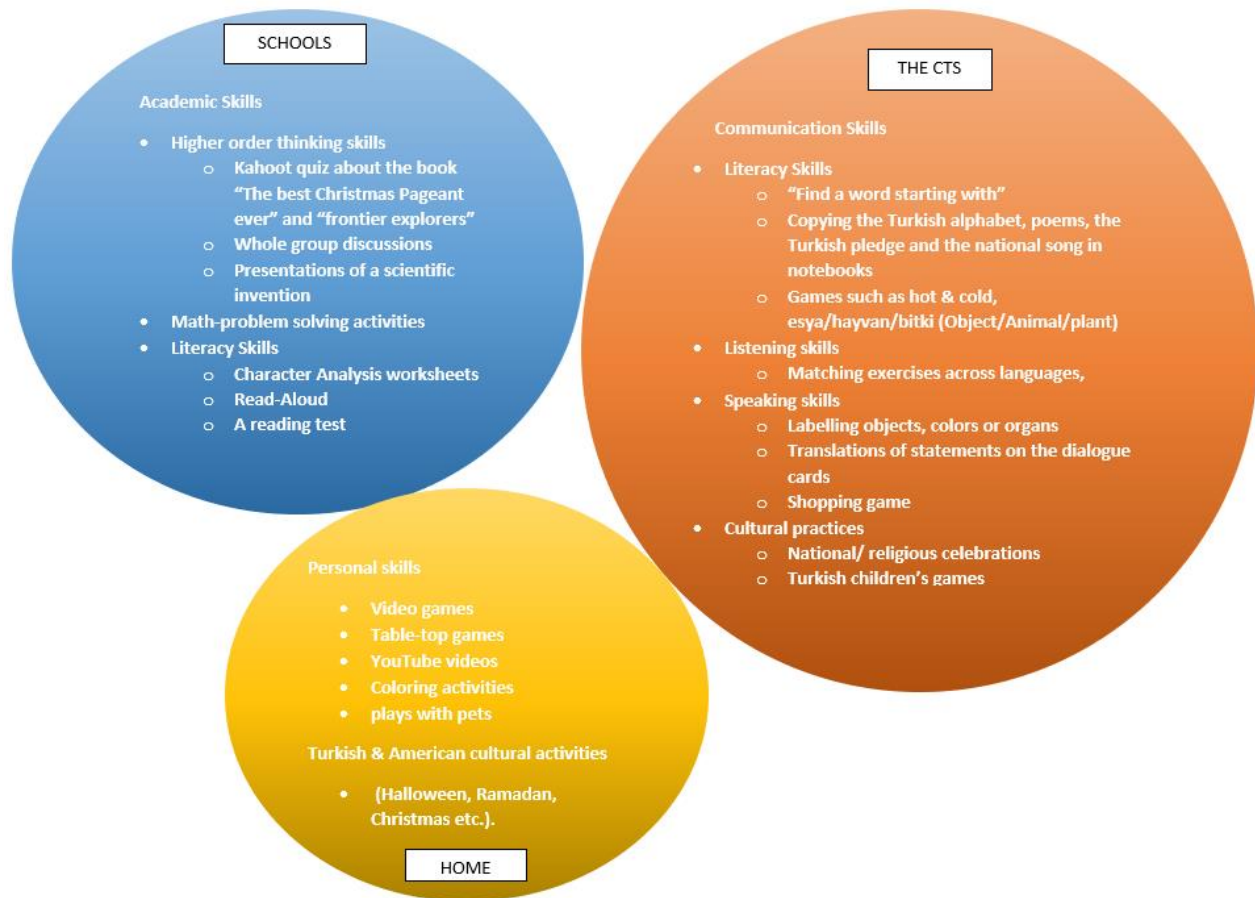


Figure 5-2. Tasks engaged in Homes, the CTS and Schools

Participants' Experiences with Crossing Epistemic Culture Boundaries

An external comparison of the topics and tasks across homes, schools and the CTS showed that the differences between adults' epistemic cultures appeared as boundaries. However, the impacts of these boundaries varied for each student

depending on their perceptions of familiarity with the epistemic culture boundaries. In order to understand students' perceptions of familiarity within epistemic culture boundaries, students' self-reports (student interviews) and observed learning experiences (teacher and parent interviews, and field notes) were analyzed. This section discusses students' self-reported or observed responses to epistemic cultures boundaries as they transitioned between (1) homes and mainstream schools, (2) homes and the CTS, and (3) the CTS and mainstream schools.

Transitions between homes and mainstream schools

Each student differed in their perceptions of the familiarity within the differing topics and tasks as s/he moved between home and school (see Figure 5-3).

Elif

Elif and her family practiced dominantly Turkish culture at home. For example, Elif and her parents discussed about Elif's kindergarten school experiences in Turkey and what they did each time they visited Turkey. Moreover, they mostly ate Turkish food, watched Turkish TV channels and attended Turkish community events for national and religious celebrations. Unlike home, the topics and tasks in Elif's school were mainstream culture-oriented. For example, they discussed about frontier explorers, famous American scientists and American maps. A comparison of the epistemic cultures in homes and schools showed that schools and homes differed considerably for Elif. Since she had moved to the U.S. recently and mainstream American culture was new to her and her family, she could perceive limited amount of familiarity within the epistemic culture of schools.

Due to the distinct differences between epistemic cultures of Elif's home and school and Elif's limited perception of familiarity with the American culture and activities,

Elif often struggled in making sense of school topics and tasks and her learning and interactions were hindered. For example, Elif attended a wax museum activity prepared by 4th graders at school. In this activity, the students were expected to visit different booths, listened to famous scientists' stories, ask them questions and share what they learned with her classmates in the post-activity discussion. Elif walked around the "museum" and visited booths that informed about different famous scholars in American history. When the activity was complete, I asked Elif to describe what she did in this activity. She stated that "I approach them, they explain **things**, and I say 'thank you' and move a different booth" (Elif's mainstream school observation notes). Elif's answer implied that her limited familiarity with the famous scientists and their stories hindered her comprehension. Since she did not make sense of the stories, she also failed to engage in dialogues with them (Elif's school observation). Moreover, in the post-activity discussion, the teacher asked the students to list the familiar scholars they saw in the wax museum. Elif did not raise hand to share and stayed silent (Elif's school observation). The teacher did not address the question directly to her to check her comprehension, either.

Similarly, in the math center time, when she was assigned to the computer station, she experienced difficulties in understanding the exercises for which she was supposed to find the missing numbers based on a pattern the numbers were ordered. She could not identify any missing numbers correctly (Elif's school observations). When I asked her if she knew what the task required, she said she was just playing with random numbers. Considering Elif's engagement with learning in school topics and tasks, it can be deduced that the epistemic culture in schools resulted in discontinuities

in her learning since she perceived limited familiarity. Thus, Elif's transition between home and school could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Ozan

The topics and tasks that Ozan engaged in at home reflected many elements from mainstream U.S. culture. For example, the games he played alone (e.g. videogames) or with his brother (Hide & Seek) all reflected American culture (Ozan's first interview). Moreover, Ozan was watching science-related YouTube videos which connected home activities to school topics (Home observation). Lastly, Ozan was writing stories for fun and school competitions following American literacy rules. In schools, he was engaged in similar topics and tasks. For example, he completed a task that required the analysis of characters in an American story which he was familiar from his own stories. Moreover, he watched the movie of the book they were reading which was similar to watching YouTube videos to learn. Lastly, he took a Kahoot quiz in the form of game which could be linked to the online video games he played at home (Ozan's school observation). Thus, the topics and tasks in Ozan's home and school shared some commonalities which were familiar to Ozan and, thus, supported his learning in these discursive spaces.

Since Ozan had been in the mainstream school system for four years, he was familiar with most school topics and tasks, even with the ones which were not observed at his home (Ozan's interviews and school observation notes). For example, the math content, the factorials, leadership training or vocabulary quiz were not topics or tasks discussed or performed at home. However, Ozan was familiar with these topics and tasks because when the teacher assigned them a task, he could comprehend it very

quickly, follow the instructions and performed within the expectations. He explained his familiarity with the school topics and tasks as such “I don’t have any hard time understanding the teacher because I know exactly what she is saying” (Ozan’s third interview). Considering the commonalities shared by homes and schools and Ozan’s familiarity with the differences and commonalities in epistemic cultures of his home and school, Ozan’s boundary crossing experience could be positioned between smooth and managed (Figure 5-3).

Umut

Since Umut’s mother grew up in the U.S. and his siblings were born in the U.S., the topics and tasks that Umut engaged in at home also involved the reflections from the mainstream culture. For example, Umut involved in a conversation about fishing spots in Florida and Bahamas and Umut’s performance in the school basketball team. He engaged in American children’s games with his siblings, ate both Turkish and American food, and watched a movie in English about a high school student’s story who lived in the U.S. At school, he attended Church activities, ate American food, and engaged in discussions about school events. He could comprehend his peers’ presentations about their scientific inventions and shared his opinions and questions by making references to cultural activities he attended such as diving in the Bahamas or American cartoons. A comparison of topics and tasks between homes and schools showed several commonalities such as eating American food and discussing his experiences in Bahamas.

In addition to commonalities which facilitated his engagement to school topics and tasks, Umut demonstrated familiarity with most topics and tasks since he was

engaged in the mainstream school since he had been in the U.S. school system for 2-3 years. However, some school topics and tasks were new for Umut and influenced his engagement with learning. When I asked him the challenges he experienced at school, he said:

Sometimes like if she (the teacher) wants me to do something hard, study something that I am really bad at, that's kind of a struggle for me. For example, I have to memorize something, like Bible Words, because my school is Christian so it's kind of annoying because not everybody is Christian (Umut's third interview).

Thus, religious practices were perceived as new and challenging practices for Umut since he did not practice them at home and have background knowledge about these practices. School observations also showed that Umut was less active in the Church activities compared to his performance in the classroom. In math, reading and science lessons, Umut was focused and engaged. As a result, considering the negative influence of church practices (every morning) on Umut's actions and positive influence of commonalities and Umut's familiarity with other school topics and tasks, Umut's transitions between home and school could be positioned between closer to managed on the boundary crossing continuum.

Transitions between homes and the CTS

Analysis results showed that each student's experience in crossing the epistemic culture boundaries between homes and the CTS also varied due to the students' perceptions of familiarity with the common and differing topics and tasks (see Figure 5-3). The students' perceptions of familiarity were mainly influenced by their background knowledge about Turkish cultural practices.

Elif

Elif's home hosted conversations about Turkish food, Turkish cultural practices such as Ramadan, Eid or national holidays, and Turkey and Turkish news. Similarly, the CTS hosted conversations about Turkey's geography and history, national holidays, Turkish food and language, and Turkish games. Thus, Elif's home and the CTS shared several commonalities in topics and tasks that Elif was familiar with, and these commonalities facilitated her boundary crossing experience.

Regardless of the commonalities, Elif was also familiar with the differing topics and tasks in the CTS since she was schooled in Turkey for three semesters. The education in the CTS had several similarities with the kindergarten education in Turkey and thus she perceived several topics and tasks in the CTS familiar from her background experiences in Turkey. Her background knowledge supported her engagement with learning in the CTS. For example, the CTS teachers engaged students into a discussion about the Turkish leader 'Ataturk' when they were preparing for the republican day celebration. Elif was the most active student in this discussion and shared her knowledge about Ataturk with her peers. She even read a poem that she memorized when she was in Turkey and told that she visited Ataturk's monumental tomb with her grandparents (Field notes in the CTS). In conclusion, Elif's transition between home and the CTS could be positioned between smooth and managed (closer to managed end) since the epistemic culture boundaries between her home and the CTS were manageable and she had background knowledge to make sense of the differences although she perceived the CTS practices "babyish" towards the end of the school year.

Ozan

The topics and tasks that Ozan engaged in at home involved limited reflections of the Turkish culture. Ozan had had limited interaction with Turkish culture since he was born. He rarely visited Turkey and practiced Turkish culture at home in the way that it was practiced in the CTS. Moreover, Ozan did not involve in conversations about Turkey very much (parent interviews). Food, family members in Turkey and some Turkish national days were the only topics discussed in Ozan's home (parent interviews). His limited exposure to Turkish culture at home influenced his transition to the CTS, in which the topics and tasks were very Turkish-culture oriented. Since parents brought Turkish food to the CTS, food was the only commonality between home and the CTS for Ozan.

The CTS engaged students into culture-specific conversations and taught them games, poems, songs and marches from Turkish culture. Since Ozan was not familiar with these topics and tasks from his home and had limited background knowledge to make sense of them, he experienced great challenges in making sense of the epistemic culture of the CTS. Ozan described his learning experiences in the CTS as such:

Tuba: Is there one thing that you like in the Turkish club?

Ozan: Not a thing.

Tuba: Ok, tell me one thing that you learned in the club.

Ozan: Nothing.

Tuba: Where did you learn how to say hello?

Ozan: I learned that from my parents. (Ozan's first interview)

As a response to the limited learning opportunities and engagement in the CTS, he avoided participation to the tasks and discussions by often hiding under the tables or running around the classroom, and eventually dropped out attending the CTS. When I asked him how he felt about the CTS practices, he expressed that:

Ozan: I just get out of the classroom and run around the whole area.

Tuba: Why are you doing that?

Ozan: Because I'm not learning a thing and being bored at the same time.

Tuba: So if you asked the teachers what they were teaching, don't you think they would tell you?

Ozan: Probably not. That's why I think it's fun. Like whenever something is boring, I tried to get out of it and there's action because there's always going to be people who are trying to stop you. It's fun. Like in the aftercare, aftercare is super boring but then when I get out of the aftercare class the teacher is going to fall on hunting and I am like ... (Ozan's third interview)

Thus, considering Ozan's limited perception of familiarity with the epistemic culture between home and school and his learning experiences and drop-out, his transition between the CTS and home could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable, and thus, he dropped out.

Umut

Turkish culture was practiced and discussed in Umut's home more than in Ozan's home but less than in Elif's home. Since Umut's mother did not grow up in Turkey and Umut's father lived in Bahamas, Umut's mother stayed limited to engage her children to Turkish cultural practices. However, Umut's grandmother and his great-grandmother were very insistent on teaching their grandchildren the Turkish culture because they called themselves as liberal Turks who practiced Turkish culture and language proudly for years due to their family's noble background in Turkish history

(Umut's mother interview). Umut engaged in conversations about Turkish food, Turkey and Turkish culture at home. For example, his great grandmother often told Umut some stories about Turkish history, and his grandmother took him to some Turkish cultural events in the community. Thus, Umut's home and the CTS shared some commonalities in topics and tasks.

Moreover, since Umut had been in Turkey a few times before, he had some background knowledge about Turkish culture. For example, he remembered bazaars he visited and seafood he ate in Turkey. Thanks to his background knowledge, he could make sense of some topics and tasks in the CTS. He frequently shared what he knew about Turkish culture with his peers in the CTS. Thus, considering the commonalities and Umut's perceptions of familiarity with the epistemic culture in the CTS, Umut's transition between the CTS and home could be positioned between managed and traumatic.

Transitions between the CTS and mainstream school

The participants' perceptions of familiarity within the epistemic culture boundary between the CTS and schools also varied depending on commonalities in tasks and topics shared by both spaces and students' background experiences in both discursive spaces (see Figure 5-3).

Elif

Elif attended reading, science, math, ESOL and PE lessons in the day I observed her at school. The common practices between the CTS and school were whole group discussions, small group discussions, instructional games, drawing and physical activities. Although these practices shared similarities in nature, their focuses and functions varied between the CTS and school. For example, while Elif was involved into

a discussion about famous American scholars in the school, she was involved into discussions about Ataturk in the CTS. Moreover, while she collaborated with her peers to solve a math problem in school, she collaborated with her peers to identify the colors of toys in the CTS. Lastly, she engaged in a coloring activity to answer an essential question at school, she colored for fun in the CTS. While Elif demonstrated active engagement with the CTS tasks and topics, she demonstrated limited engagement with school tasks and topics and experienced frequent discontinuities in her learning and interactions at school because she did not perceive familiarity with the common practices in school. Thus, commonalities did not facilitate Elif's transitions between the CTS and schools since she had limited perceptions of familiarity with these common practices at school. In conclusion, considering the limited perceptions of familiarity with both common and different tasks and topics in school and CTS, and Elif's negative learning experiences (mentioned before), Elif's transition between the CTS and school could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Ozan

In school, Ozan engaged in reading, math, music and PE lessons (school observation notes). Common practices between the CTS and his school were learning songs in music lesson, playing games that required physical movements, drawing/painting in calendar work (a project that students prepared as a Christmas gift for their parents) and whole group discussions in reading. Although these tasks seemed similar in form, the goals behind their implementations were totally different. For example, while Ozan learned a Christmas song at school, he learned a national march in the CTS. Moreover, while he was engaged in Turkish children games in the CTS, he

played American football at school. Finally, while he was engaged in whole group discussions about a book at school and discussed the characters' Christmas practices, he was engaged in discussions about cities in Turkey in the CTS (Ozan's school observation & The CTS observations). Considering Ozan's limited engagement with these common topics and tasks in the CTS (mentioned before), it is revealed that the commonalities did not facilitate Ozan's learning and interactions in the CTS since he did not perceive familiarity with these common tasks. In conclusion, neither commonalities nor boundaries facilitated Ozan's transitions between the CTS and school due to his limited perceptions of familiarity with both. Thus, Ozan's transition between school and the CTS could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Umut

Umut engaged in morning bible practice, reading, math and science in the day I observed him at school. Common practices between the CTS and his school were dancing, whole group discussions, writing and read-aloud. Like Ozan's case, although these tasks shared commonalities in forms, the goals behind their implementations were different. For example, while Umut danced Hip Hop style in the morning practice at school, he practiced Turkish folk dance in the CTS. Moreover, while the whole group discussion at school was on a story happened in America and evaluated students' comprehension skills, the readings (poems, marches and children stories) in the CTS was about Turkish culture and aimed to enhance students' cultural competence and increase vocabulary knowledge. Finally, he read aloud a few paragraphs from the book at school, he read Turkish alphabet and the pledge in the CTS (Umut's school observation & The CTS observations).

Unlike other participants, the commonalities between tasks and topics of the CTS and schools facilitated Umut's transitions between the CTS and schools since he had varying degrees of background knowledge with these commonalities. However, the differences between tasks and topics still influenced Umut's engagement with learning and interactions in the CTS. Thus, Umut's transition between the CTS and school could be positioned between managed and traumatic.

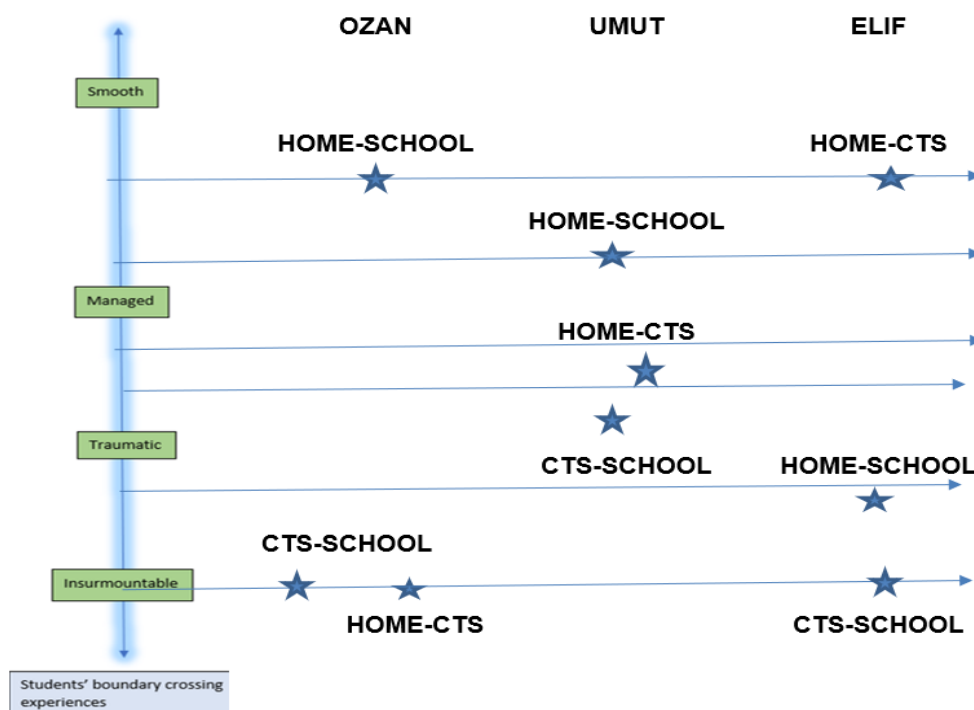


Figure 5-3. Focal Students' Experiences with Crossing Epistemic Culture Boundaries

Language Use as a Boundary

For the purpose of this study, language use referred to the language practices, i.e. enactments of linguistic resources coded in Turkish and English, of adults and peers in their interactions with the participants. This part focused on only the differences between 1) adults' language use; and 2) peers' language use across homes, schools and the CTS, that resulted in discontinuities in students' learning or interactions, and

excluded the similar practices. This section, firstly, described the differences in adults and peers' language use across schools, homes and the CTS. It then, positions each focal student's boundary crossing experience on the smooth, managed, traumatic or insurmountable continuum. The students' linguistic responses and boundary crossing experiences were revealed considering the students' perceptions of familiarity (language proficiencies) in common and different language practices.

Differences between Language Use of Discursive Spaces

An analysis of interviews and field notes revealed differences between adults' and peer's language uses across homes, schools and the CTS. Upon identifying the language practices between adults and the participants, and peers and the participants within each discursive space through a detailed analysis of observation notes (one full day in schools, 3-6 hours in homes and 11 weeks in the CTS), teacher, parent and student interviews, and audio recordings, language practices were categorized into groups based on their natures (monolingual or plurilingual). Then, a cross analysis of the natures of language practices was performed, and commonalities and differences were revealed. Since boundaries were regarded as differences, only differences were selected for further analysis. An analysis of the differences between language practices indicated that the language use (language policy) appeared as a boundary across homes, schools and the CTS. The differences between (1) adults' language use and (2) peers' language use were discussed in detail below.

Adults' language use

Adults referred to parents and grandparents at home, mainstream teachers in schools and the CTS teachers in the CTS. A comparison of language use across

homes, schools and the CTS revealed that adults' language use varied from monolingualism to flexible bilingualism across discursive spaces (see Figure 5-4).

Homes

Home observations and the parent and student interviews showed that both Turkish and English were present in all homes, but the degree of the adults' deployment of Turkish and/or English resources varied in each student's home depending on students' proficiency levels in Turkish and English. Ozan's mother used both English and Turkish to interact with him although "she often switches to English unconsciously as it is easier" while his father often spoke only English with him "to practice and improve his own English proficiency" (Ozan's parent interview). Similarly, Umut's mother informed that she spoke both Turkish and English with him while she tended to speak English more since she was more fluent in English. Umut father used both Turkish and English to communicate with Umut, but their communication was limited since his father lived out of country. However, when Ozan's grandparents or Umut's grandmother (father's mom) and great-grandmother visited the students' homes to stay for a month or more, they spoke only Turkish with them because adults were monolingual Turkish speakers. On the other hand, Elif's mother and father spoke only Turkish with her because (1) they were less fluent in other languages, and (2) they wanted Elif to maintain Turkish (Elif's parent interview and home observations). They kept speaking only Turkish when external family members visited them. In conclusion, while Umut's and Ozan's homes hosted both languages with a dominance of English, Elif's home hosted dominantly Turkish.

School observations, mainstream teacher and student interviews showed that English was the dominant language and the medium of interaction in all school spaces. Ozan's teacher was a monolingual English speaker, and she expressed that she used only English in the classroom. On the other hand, both Elif and Umut's mainstream teachers could speak "little Spanish", and they both expressed that they sometimes spoke Spanish to ensure Spanish-speaking students' comprehensions (mainstream teacher interviews). However, none of the teachers mentioned about using Turkish to support the participants' learning. In conclusion, the mainstream teachers in this study used only English to deliver the instruction and communicate with the participants.

Finally, the CTS observations and teacher and student interviews showed that both teachers paid attention to speak only Turkish in the CTS because "some students get exposed to Turkish only in this two-hour period" and the teachers' English proficiencies were limited (Teacher Sibel's interview). However, both teachers expressed that they used English when the students seemed lost and not making sense of the content anymore. Based on observations and interview reports, the CTS teachers occasionally used English to speak all participants. While they used English with Ozan and Umut to ensure their comprehension, they used English with Elif to teach her English. In conclusion, the adults in the CTS used both Turkish and English fluidly; however, they showed a tendency to speak predominantly Turkish to provide ample amount of comprehensible input to the students.

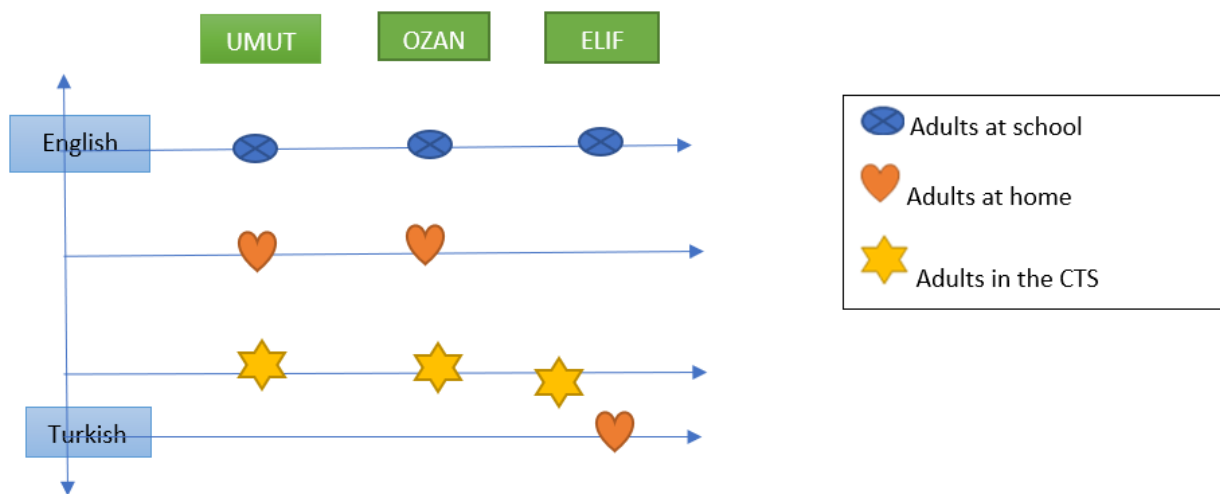


Figure 5-4. Adults' language use in schools, homes and the CTS

Peers' language use

Peers referred to siblings at home, and classmates in schools and the CTS. Observation notes and interviews showed that peers' language use varied across homes, schools and the CTS depending on peers' language proficiencies and dominant language policies in each discursive space (Figure 5-5).

Participants' siblings were all younger than the participants and since they were born and grew up in the U.S., they were all fluent English speakers, and their Turkish proficiencies were lower than the focal participants. Thus, both Ozan and Umut spoke only in English to communicate with their siblings at home (home observations and student interviews). On the other hand, since Elif did not have a sibling, the only language used in her home was Turkish. However, her mother informed that when she come together with the children of their family friends, she would speak both in Turkish and English depending on the language her peers preferred.

The participants' classmates at school were dominantly fluent in English. A few students in all classrooms could also speak languages other than English such as Vietnamese (in Ozan's classroom), Arabic (in Elif's classroom) and Spanish (in Elif and Umut's classrooms), but none of the classrooms hosted a second Turkish-background student. The teacher interviews and school observations showed that participants' classmates spoke dominantly English to interact with the participants. Only Elif stated that she taught Turkish to one of her Spanish speaking students and her peer taught her Spanish in response.

The language uses of participants' peers in the CTS were more flexible in the CTS compared to schools and homes. The CTS teachers welcomed students' bilingual practices because (1) the students' language proficiencies varied in English and Turkish and (2) a flexible language use could facilitate building relationships and creating communities among students. While younger students dominantly spoke English during the instructions since they were mostly beginner level Turkish speakers, older students used both Turkish and English fluidly since their language proficiencies varied from beginner level Turkish speakers to fluent Turkish speakers. However, when students were interacting each other, English was primarily used by all students.

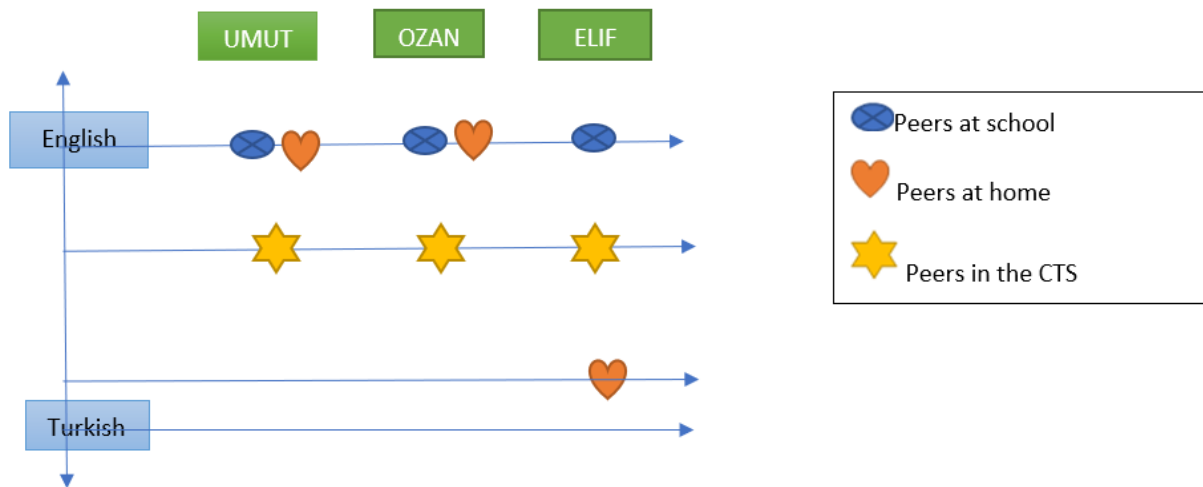


Figure 5-5. Peers' language use in homes, schools and the CTS

Participants' Experiences with Crossing Language Use Boundaries

A comparison of the adults' and peers' language practices across homes, schools and the CTS showed that the differences between language uses appeared as boundaries. Although language use boundaries influenced all students' interactions and learning experiences, their impacts varied for each student depending on their perceptions of familiarity within language use boundaries, that is, proficiency levels in both named languages. In order to the impacts of language use boundaries on students' interactions and learning, students' self-reports and teachers' and parents' observations about students' linguistic responses to others' language use were analyzed. This section describes students' self-reported or observed responses to language use boundaries as they transitioned between (1) homes and mainstream schools, (2) homes and the CTS, and (3) the CTS and mainstream schools.

Transitions between homes and mainstream schools

Each student's perceptions of the familiarity within the common and differing language practices differed as s/he moved between home and school (see Figure 5-6).

Findings showed that students' perceptions of familiarity were directly related to their language proficiencies.

Elif

The language practices of adults in Elif's home and school shared limited commonalities. Similarly, the language practices of Elif's peers at school differed from language practices at home. Elif's parents used only Turkish to communicate with Elif while her teacher and peers used only English at school. The differing monolingual practices between home and school appeared as a language use boundary for Elif. In order to respond these varying language practices of others, Elif accommodated her language resources, and she used dominantly Turkish at home and dominantly English at school.

Although Elif could interact in Turkish since she was fluent in Turkish, she experienced struggles in speaking English due to her limited English proficiency. Elif's mainstream teacher described Elif's English language practices in school as such:

She is able to communicate with them enough. It is very broken, but she can generally find the limited words and sentences, not complete sentences. They are generally very broken sentences. But she's able to play. She has friends, kids love her. She's adorable, so she's social she has enough communication skills to have fun and play but when she needs to communicate to me her thoughts and ideas, it's a really big struggle, but on the child's level, she can get away with it.

Elif described her experiences in speaking English with her teacher at school as such:

Tuba: Hiç zorluk çekiyor musun böyle ingilizce anlatmaya çalışırken?

Elif: Azıcık

Tuba: Nasıl bir sıkıntı o? bir şeyleri mi hatırlamıyorsun?

Elif: Hatırlayamıyorum yeni geldiğim için buraya bazılarını bilmiyorum bazılarını öğreniyorum böyle. Zaten merdiven bilmiyorum asansör bilmiyorum vida nasıl denildiğini bilmiyorum garajda.

Tuba: Do you struggle in explaining things in English?

Elif: A little bit.
Tuba: How do you feel? Do you forget things?
Elif: I do not remember. Since I just moved here, I do not know some words. I am learning them. I do not know what “stairs, elevator, screw” means in English. I also don’t know how to say “garage”.
(Elif’s second interview)

Finally, Elif described her communication with her peers as such:

Tuba: Peki hiç seni anlamadıkları zaman oluyor mu böyle?
Elif: Bazen.
Tuba: Ne yapıyorsun ozamanlarda? Türkçe konuşuyor musun mesela?
Elif: Anlamadığında bilmiyorum.
Tuba: Ellerinle hareketler yapıyor musun mesela ya da çizebilirsin.
Elif: Sonra anlamadığın da yine söylüyorum.
Tuba: O seni anlayınca kadar tekrar mı ediyorsun?
Elif: Evet

Tuba: Don’t they (your peers) understand you?
Elif: Sometimes.
Tuba: What do you do then? Do you speak Turkish, for example?
Elif: When they don’t understand me, I don’t know.
Tuba: Do you use your hands, or do you draw?
Elif: When they don’t understand, I repeat.
Tuba: Do you repeat until they understand you?
Elif: Yes. (Elif’s second interview)

The teacher’s evaluation of Elif’s language skills and Elif’s self-reports indicated that Elif’s limited English proficiency hindered her interactions with her teacher. However, since her social language skills were more developed than her academic language skills and she used her gestures such as facial expressions to support her linguistic messages, she managed to establish better interactions with her peers (Elif’s teacher interview). Thus, Elif’s limited English language proficiency created frequent

discontinuities in her interactions with her teacher and occasional discontinuities in her interactions with her peers.

Language use boundary also influenced Elif's learning experiences. For example, in the science lesson, upon teaching the functions of sun, stars and moon to the whole class, the teacher addressed a comprehension question to Elif: "What would happen if there was no sun?" Elif stayed silent indicating that she did not comprehend the question. The teacher repeated the question to facilitate her understanding because "she has been struggling a little bit to pick up...She is really struggling to come up with words" (teacher interview). Although Elif did not understand the question again, Elif gave an answer in the second time to meet the teacher's expectations: "water". As a result of her incorrect response to the comprehension question, one of her peers humiliated Elif by calling her "dumb" aloud. In conclusion, due to Elif's limited perception of familiarity (limited English proficiency) in the differing language practices between home and school, Elif experienced frequent discontinuities in her learning.

In conclusion, the distinct differences between the language practices in Elif's home and school and Elif's limited English proficiency hindered her learning and communication and prevented her to show her full potential in the tasks. She experienced struggles in meeting schools' language expectations and comprehending, demonstrating and constructing knowledge in schools. Thus, Elif's transition between home and school could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Ozan

The language practices of adults in Ozan's home and school shared a large number of commonalities. Ozan's mother used both English and Turkish to interact with

Ozan. Ozan's mother stated that she used Turkish occasionally so that her children could practice Turkish through listening (parent interview). To respond his mother's Turkish practices, Ozan used only English because "Turkish is just confusing. At least when you speak in English, it makes sense. Bugün ben bunu yapacağım- today I did something. It doesn't make sense. It's like today I'm going to do something." Ozan expressed that although he did not speak in Turkish at home, he could understand his mother, and when he did not understand, his mother would translate for him because she was proficient in both English and Turkish. His mother also confirmed his high level comprehension considering his appropriate responses to her Turkish response. Ozan and his brother used only English to communicate. Thus, although Turkish was used to a small degree, English was dominant in Ozan's home.

English was the only language used to communicate by Ozan's teachers, peers and Ozan at school. Although Ozan experienced some challenges to adapt linguistic expectations of schools when he first started daycare, as he gained proficiency in English, the restraining impact of the language use boundary between home and school on his interactions and learning got weakened and finally disappeared (parent interview). Ozan expressed that his English proficiency enabled him to understand his teachers' and peers' talk clearly and convey his own messages to them comfortably (Ozan's first interview). I also observed in my school visit that he understood and responded the instruction without experiencing any communication problems. In conclusion, language use boundary was soft between Ozan's home and school since English was shared in both discursive spaces and Ozan was proficient in English. Thus,

Ozan's boundary crossing experience can be positioned between smooth and managed.

Umut

The language practices of adults in Umut's home and school also shared large number of commonalities. Umut's mother mostly spoke English to communicate because both Umut and his mother were more fluent in English. However, Umut's mother occasionally used Turkish so that Umut could practice his Turkish skills and involve in conversations when monolingual Turkish speaking family members visited their home. Umut's siblings used only English to communicate with Umut because they were fluent in English and had limited Turkish proficiency. On the other hand, his grandmothers and great-grandmother mostly spoke Turkish with Umut since they were more fluent in Turkish. Umut expressed that he could understand most of the Turkish discourses used at home, and respond them in Turkish using short phrases or sentences to state an opinion or answer a question (student interview). Thus, although Turkish was used to a small degree, English was dominant in Umut's home.

Umut's mother also mentioned that Umut experienced communication problems when he first started school in Bahamas. However, as he improved his English proficiency, he overcame these communication problems and he could interact with his teachers and peers clearly. In the interviews, Umut mentioned that he could understand his teacher's instruction and his peers very well at his current school. His teacher also expressed that he never experienced communication problems with her or his peers. She added that he could understand the instructions comfortably and respond appropriately (teacher interview). In conclusion, language use boundary was soft

between Umut's home and school since English was shared in both discursive spaces and Umut was proficient in English. Thus, Umut's boundary crossing experience can be positioned between smooth and managed.

Transitions between home and the CTS

The language use boundaries were perceived differently by each participant since each participant identified different amounts of familiarity within the common and differing language practices between homes and the CTS (see Figure 5-6).

Elif

As mentioned before, Elif's parents used only Turkish to interact with Elif at home. Similarly, the CTS teachers used dominantly Turkish to achieve communication with Elif. Since Elif was fluent Turkish speaker, she could meet adults' language expectations, and participate into the Turkish dominant instructional practices, demonstrate her knowledge and comprehension and raised questions when she felt confused. Thus, the common Turkish practices between adults' language practices at home and school suggested a congruent language use boundary and facilitated Elif's interactions with adults in both spaces.

On the other hand, the English dominant language practices among peers differed from Elif's home language practices and created discontinuities in her interactions. Since Elif was a beginner level English speaker, she experienced struggles to involve in peer discussions and often needed translations from her bilingual peers to involve into the peer discussions. To meet her peers' linguistic expectations, she moved between her Turkish and English resources; however, her linguistic practices stayed limited to achieve effective communications with her peers. In conclusion, although the English dominant language practices of her peers hindered her interactions, Elif's

transition between home and the CTS could be positioned between smooth and managed because language use boundary between home and the CTS was soft considering the large amount of commonalities between language practices of adults in home and the CTS and her high level of proficiency in Turkish, the language dominantly used in both spaces.

Ozan

In Ozan's home, Turkish use was limited to his mother's occasional Turkish discourses and Ozan's use of a few words such as "anne (mom)", "baba (dad)", "gunaydin (good morning)" and so on (home observations and parent interview). However, Turkish was the medium of instruction, and thus, the dominant language used by adults, and the language of some peer discussions in the CTS. Ozan expressed that he experienced great challenges in comprehending the CTS teachers' and peers' Turkish discourses although he could comprehend his mother's Turkish discourses very well at home, and he experienced frequent discontinuities in his interactions due to his limited Turkish proficiency. Thus, the large amount of differences between language practices in Ozan's home and the CTS, and Ozan's limited proficiency in this language, Turkish, implied an impenetrable language use boundary.

The CTS teachers' insistence on using dominantly Turkish and expectations from the students to speak Turkish were beyond Ozan's Turkish proficiency skills. Like he did at home, Ozan used dominantly English to respond teachers' and peers' Turkish practices in the CTS. Ozan's language practices in Turkish was limited to a few words such as "yes", "no" and "merhaba" in the CTS. His Turkish proficiency and use stayed limited to meet the CTS teachers' linguistic expectations. As a response to his limited

comprehension of Turkish discourses and failure to meet CTS teachers' language expectations, he often avoided participating into the tasks and Turkish dominant peer discussions, and walked out the classroom during the lessons. Thus, language use boundary, in turn, hindered his learning in the CTS. In conclusion, Ozan's boundary crossing experience could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable considering the discontinuities in his interactions and learning created by the differences in language uses between homes and the CTS and his limited proficiency in the different language practices.

Umut

In Umut's home, Turkish was occasionally used by his mother, his grandmother and his great-grandmother. He responded these Turkish discourses in Turkish when he knew what he would say, and used English when he could not remember words (Umut's first interview). Compared to language practices at home, the language practices in the CTS were more Turkish-oriented. The difference between the amount of Turkish language practices appeared as a boundary between Umut's home and the CTS.

Although the use of Turkish varied in home and the CTS, since Umut was more proficient in Turkish than Ozan, he could comprehend most of the Turkish discourses used by adults and peers in the CTS. Moreover, his intermediate level Turkish speaking skills often enabled him to involve into Turkish-oriented discussions with CTS teachers and peers. Thus, he rarely experienced discontinuities in his interactions and learning in the CTS despite of the language use boundary. In conclusion, although the differences between language practices at home and the CTS suggested a language use boundary for Umut, thanks to his intermediate level Turkish proficiency, the negative impact of the

language use boundary was softer. Thus, Umut's boundary crossing experience between home and the CTS could be positioned between managed and traumatic.

Transitions between the CTS and schools

The only commonality between the language practices in the CTS and school was peers' English dominant language practices for all students. The adults' language practices had distinct differences since CTS teachers used dominantly Turkish and mainstream teachers used only English in their interactions. Depending on the students' perceptions of familiarity with these different languages (language proficiency levels), the students' experiences in crossing the language use boundary between the CTS and schools varied (see Figure 5-6).

Elif

Between the adults' differing language practices, mainstream teachers' English-only language practices acted as a strong boundary with a restraining role on learning and interactions for Elif due to her low proficiency in English language. Elif could follow the instructions, raise and answer questions and demonstrate her learning comfortably in the CTS while she experienced challenges in doing so in the school. Thus, language use boundary between the CTS and school created frequent discontinuities in Elif's learning and interactions in the school. Moreover, although peers' English dominant language practices were a commonality that could support making sense of the differing practices, Elif perceived these commonalities at the minimum level since she was not proficient in English. Considering Elif's limited perceptions of familiarity with both commonalities and differences between two spaces and distinct differences in her engagement with learning and interactions, her boundary crossing experience between the CTS and the school could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Ozan

Between the differences in adults' language practices in the CTS and school, the adults' language practices in the CTS acted as a strong boundary with a restraining role on learning and interactions for Ozan due to his low proficiency in Turkish language. While he could follow the instructions, raise and answer questions and demonstrate his learning comfortably at school, he experienced strong challenges in doing so in the CTS. Thus, language use boundary between the CTS and school created frequent discontinuities in Ozan's learning and interactions in the CTS. Moreover, although peers' English dominant language practices were a commonality that could support making sense of the differing practices, Ozan perceived these commonalities at the minimum level because he often avoided interacting with his peers in the CTS. Considering Ozan's limited perceptions of familiarity with both commonalities and differences between two spaces and the distinct differences in his engagement with learning and interactions, his boundary crossing experience between the CTS and the school could be positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Umut

Although the adults' language practices in the CTS and school differed and suggested a language use boundary, the language use boundary acted as a softer boundary for Umut since he was fluent in English and he had intermediate-level Turkish proficiency, enough to make sense of the Turkish discourses in the CTS. Thus, he could follow the instruction, raise and answer questions and demonstrate his learning both in the CTS and school. Moreover, he perceived high level of familiarity with the common language practices, that is peers' English discourses, and these commonalities softened

the negative impact of language use boundary on Umut's learning and interactions. However, compared to school, he experienced more discontinuities in his learning and interactions in the CTS due to the differences in his proficiencies in Turkish and English (Umut's third interview and field notes). Considering Umut's perceptions of high level of familiarity with commonalities and medium level of familiarity with differences between language use in two spaces and slight difference in his engagement with learning and interactions, his boundary crossing experience between the CTS and the school could be positioned between managed and traumatic.

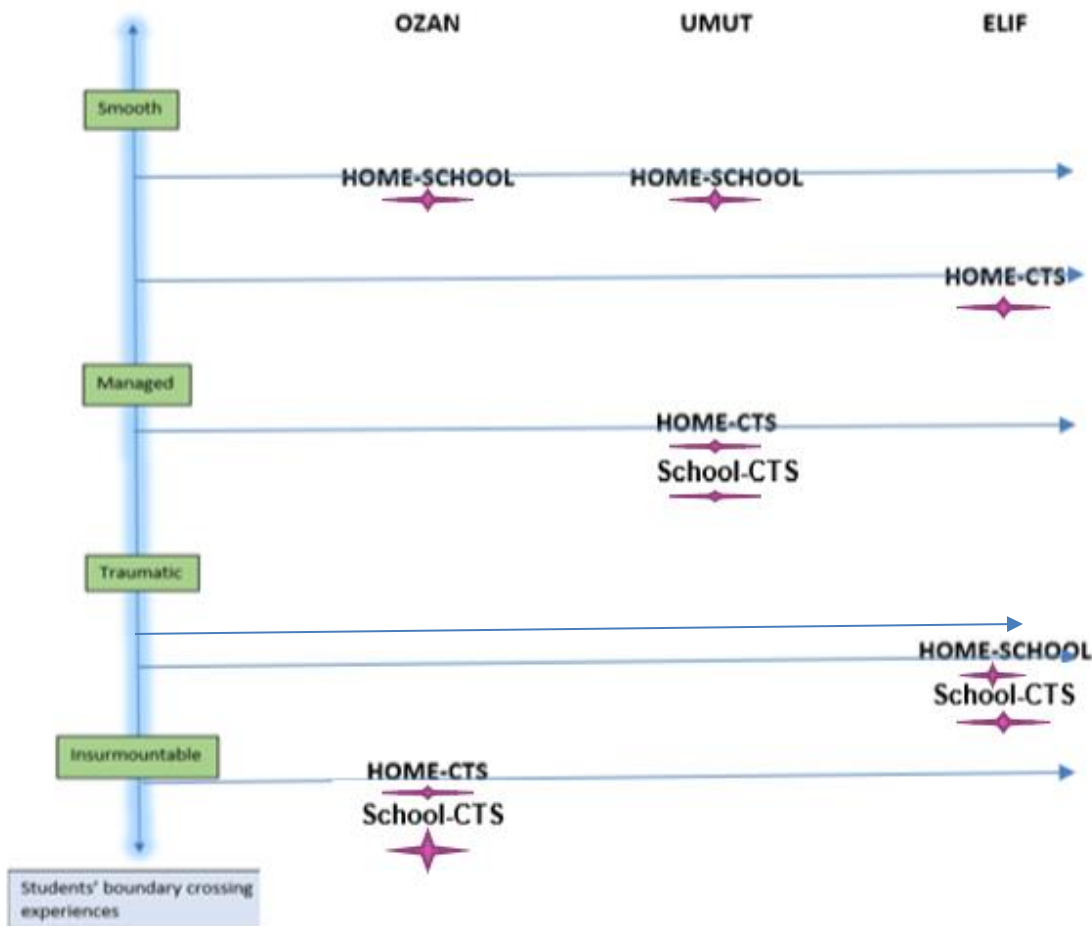


Figure 5-6. Focal Students' Experiences with Crossing Language Use Boundaries

Summary

An analysis of sociocultural differences across three different discursive spaces revealed two motifs as boundaries: Epistemic culture and Language use. The epistemic culture (attitudes to knowledge and knowledge construction) appeared in the form of topics and tasks in homes, schools and the CTS. While the topics and tasks in mainstream schools aimed to develop the students' academic knowledge and skills and dominant culture knowledge and practices, the topics and tasks in the CTS aimed to develop students' Turkish social language and Turkish cultural knowledge and practices. Finally, parents engaged the students into discussions about their personal interests, extended family and social language to talk about history and culture.

Although the differences between topics and tasks appeared as boundaries, their impact on each participant's learning and interactions varied, and thus, the students' boundary crossing experiences were positioned differently on the smooth—insurmountable boundary crossing continuum. Since Ozan perceived high level of familiarities with the epistemic culture boundaries between homes and schools, his boundary crossing experiences were positioned between smooth and managed. Moreover, since Elif perceived limited familiarities between the epistemic cultures of homes and schools, and the epistemic culture boundaries created frequent discontinuities in her learning and interactions, her boundary crossing experience was positioned between traumatic and insurmountable. Finally, while Umut perceived large amount of familiarity but he still experienced rare discontinuities in his learning and interactions, his boundary crossing experience was positioned closer to managed.

Since Ozan perceived limited familiarity within the epistemic culture boundaries between home and the CTS and the differences in topics and tasks in the CTS

influenced Ozan's learning and interactions, his boundary crossing experience was positioned between traumatic and insurmountable. On the other hand, because Elif perceived a large amount of familiarity with the epistemic culture boundaries between home and the CTS and the topics and tasks in her home and the CTS shared large amount of commonalities that she was familiar with, Elif experienced limited discontinuities in her learning and interactions in these spaces and her boundary crossing experience was positioned between smooth and managed. Finally, despite of the limited number of commonalities between homes and the CTS, since Umut perceived high level of familiarity within the differing topics and tasks due to his background experiences, Umut occasionally experienced discontinuities in his learning and interactions and his boundary crossing experience was positioned between managed and traumatic.

An analysis of language practices across discursive spaces revealed that adults and peers used their linguistic resources differently and thus, their language use appeared as a second boundary across homes, schools and the CTS. While mainstream teachers used only-English to communicate, the CTS teachers used dominantly Turkish. Ozan and Umut's parents used their linguistic resources fluidly to communicate with their children, Elif's parents used only Turkish. On the other hand, peers used dominantly English in schools, the CTS and Ozan and Umut's homes. Since Elif did not have siblings, only Turkish was used in Elif's home.

Although the differences between language practices in homes, schools and the CTS appeared as boundaries, their impact on each student's interaction varied, and thus students' experiences in crossing the language use boundary were positioned

differently on the smooth—insurmountable boundary crossing continuum. Since adults' and peers' language practices between homes and schools showed a high degree of similarities and Ozan and Umut were proficient in the named language (English) dominating these spaces, Ozan and Umut's boundary crossing experiences between home and school were positioned between smooth and managed. Since adults' language use had distinct differences between home and school and Elif had limited proficiency in English, the dominant language in her school, Elif experienced frequent discontinuities in her interactions and her experiences with crossing the language use boundary between home and school were positioned between traumatic and insurmountable.

Finally, due to the distinct differences between adults' language practices in the CTS and school, and Elif and Ozan's limited perceived familiarities with both the common and the differing language practices, they experienced frequent discontinuities in their interactions and learning. Thus, their experiences with crossing the language use boundary were positioned between traumatic and insurmountable. On the other hand, despite of the adults' distinct language practices, Umut experienced a managed and traumatic boundary crossing experience since he had intermediate level proficiency in Turkish and high level of proficiency in English. The commonalities in peers' language practices also facilitated Umut's boundary crossing since he used these commonalities as resources.

CHAPTER 6

BOUNDARY CROSSING MECHANISMS

Research suggests that the impact of the boundaries on students' learning and interactions can be softened through students' engagement with boundary crossing mechanisms, i.e. the mechanisms that increase the commonalities between two or more spaces and/or the students' perceptions of familiarity with boundaries by making references to their funds of knowledge (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b). Boundary crossing mechanisms include boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects. This chapter first explains how each mechanism emerged in the data by providing examples and then discusses the functions of each mechanism as boundary crossing mechanisms.

Identification of Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Boundary Interactions

Boundary interactions refer to events or practices that bring the community members of different discursive spaces together for collaboration and mutual engagement (Wenger, 2000). In this study, boundary interactions appeared as collaborative events that aimed to support students' learning and interactions within one or more discursive spaces by softening the negative impact of a boundary. For example, culture- focused topics in the CTS, as an epistemic culture boundary, created discontinuities in some students' learning due to the students' limited background knowledge. Cultural celebrations, as a boundary interaction, softened the negative impact of this boundary by creating cultural background knowledge among students so that they could make sense of the references to these topics in the lessons.

While some boundary interactions required collaborations of only adults, other boundary interactions involved both adults and the students. For example, cultural celebrations in the CTS required collaboration of the CTS teachers, parents, CTA board members and students while parent-teacher conferences did not require students' collaboration, but only mainstream teachers and parents.

Boundary People

Boundary people refers to the individuals who provided scaffolding to the students by creating bridges between the new knowledge or practice and students' familiar knowledge or practices (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Wenger, 2000). There are two types of boundary people: spanners and roamers (Wenger, 2000). Spanners support students' boundary crossing experiences within a discursive space as a member of one specific discursive space community, whereas roamers move across spaces to create connections between spaces to smooth the students' boundary crossing experiences.

To identify boundary people, firstly, the actions or interactions that were interrupted or stopped by an epistemic culture or a language use boundary were found. Next, the moments that involved someone's scaffolding practices to reestablish continuities in these interrupted or stopped learning moments or interactions were selected and the scaffolders were categorized as boundary people. Finally, these people were categorized as boundary spanners and boundary boomers based on which discursive space they belonged and in which discursive space they facilitated students' learning. For example, due to the language use boundary, Umut experienced an interruption in his Turkish interactions in a group discussion about sea world in the CTS. To establish continuity in his interaction, his peers translated some sentences for Umut

and acted as boundary people. Since these peers belonged to the CTS community and scaffolded Umut's learning only in the CTS, they were identified as boundary spanners.

Boundary Objects

Boundary objects refer to the artifacts, processes and discourses that fulfil a bridging function between prior and new knowledge, and/or familiar and new practices (Akkerman & Baker, 2011a; Wegner, 2000). The identification of boundary objects required a more complicated analysis process since (1) they involved not only real objects but also symbolic objects, and (2) they involved an analysis of not only the observation notes and interviews, but also the audio recordings to reveal the role of translanguaging as a boundary object. In this study, boundary objects appeared as artifacts such as a tablet, a necklace and fishing tools, processes that included topics and tasks and discourse strategies such as translanguaging.

To identify the artefacts that acted as boundary objects, firstly, artefacts that appeared in two or more discursive spaces or moved between or across discursive spaces were identified. Then, their roles in students' learning were identified and the artefacts that supported students' learning by (1) opening discussions in which students could share their expertise, and (2) allowing them to demonstrate their bilingual or bicultural identities were selected. For example, a necklace that Elif's peer wore opened a discussion between Elif and her peer in which Elif could share her expertise about the necklace that she gained at home.

Processes as boundary objects appeared in the form of topics and tasks in this study. The topics and tasks that create links between students' funds of knowledge and new knowledge or familiar practices and new practices were identified as processes that act as boundary objects. For example, "pets" as a topic opened a third space in the

CTS in which Umut could share his expertise about pets and link his home experiences with the CTS topics.

Finally, translanguaging practices that involve language codes from different named languages were identified as discourses that act as boundary objects because they mediated learning by facilitating interactions. To reveal these discursive practices, audio-recordings in the CTS were analyzed and the hybrid discourse strategies that were used in the moments of interrupted or stopped interactions by boundaries were selected as boundary objects. For example, Umut translanguaged when he was describing the snake he saw in the lake because he “didn’t know how to say ‘line’ in Turkish”. The discontinuity that occurred due to the language use boundary was reestablished through translanguaging.

Functions of Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Upon identifying the boundary crossing mechanisms, functions of each boundary crossing mechanism were identified. This section discusses the how each mechanism softened the impact of boundaries on students’ learning and interactions by discussing their roles in students’ learning and interactions.

Boundary Interactions

Boundary interactions appeared in four different forms in this study: cultural celebrations, family events, parent-teacher conferences/interactions, and snack time. All these boundary interactions except parent-teacher conferences included the involvement of students into the collaboration process.

Cultural celebrations

Researcher observations showed that students involved in some cultural celebrations in the CTS that acted as boundary interactions through a collaboration of

the CTS teachers, parents, CTA board members and the students. The cultural celebrations in the CTS included the Republican Day, Ataturk's Memorial Day and Halloween celebrations. Cultural celebrations facilitated students' learning and interactions in three ways: 1) They modelled typical national celebrations for students and gave students an opportunity to become familiar with these celebrations; 2) since they were bilingually designed, they increased the students' cultural competence by transgressing the linguistic boundaries; and 3) they enhanced students' linguistic and cultural knowledge through negotiations about boundaries. Overall, these celebrations enhanced students' familiarity with the topics and tasks engaged in the CTS.

Firstly, cultural celebrations gave students opportunities to observe a typical national celebration and interact with experienced people who practiced these cultural practices before. For example, in the Ataturk's Memorial Day, attendees read poems, told historical stories, performed folk dances and sang marches like a typical Ataturk's Memorial Day in Turkey. During the celebrations, students raised questions to adults to learn more about the celebration and enhanced their learning.

Secondly, cultural celebrations increased students' cultural knowledge by accommodating the language practices. To ensure students' comprehension, language policy was stretched out in these celebrations. For example, in the republican day celebration, teachers and parents read both Turkish and English poems to facilitate both the Turkish-dominant and English-dominant students' learning.

Finally, cultural celebrations provided students opportunities to negotiate the differences between American and Turkish cultures. For example, due to the timing of the Halloween and the Turkish Republican day, the teachers and the CTA board

members decided to celebrate these two activities in the same day. After the republican day ceremony, all students attended the Halloween celebration. During the Halloween celebration, all students sat by a long table, ate their specially designed Halloween snacks, cupcakes as well as Turkish food and involved in a conversation about Halloween practices. Since Ozan and Umut were familiar to this celebration, they participated actively to the conversations about Halloween and made sense of other students' contributions. On the other hand, it was a new experience for Elif and she experienced difficulties in making sense of the Halloween conversations. To facilitate Elif's comprehension, Umut explained the importance of the Halloween and the practices of the children in the Halloween using his linguistic resources fluidly (Week 2 observation notes). Parents and teachers also made explanations about the Halloween culture to inform newcomer students like Elif by making references to similar Turkish practices. Thus, these cultural celebrations acted a resource for the participants since they opened spaces for students in which they could negotiate the differences between cultural practices and enhance their knowledge.

Family events

Parent interviews revealed that all three focal students engaged in family events that involved the CTS teacher(s) and students' parents. These events acted as a boundary interaction because (1) they created opportunities for the students' to practice their Turkish skills, (2) they created opportunities to demonstrate the students' bilingual and bicultural identities, and (3) they created opportunities for parents to share their children's experiences and needs. While Elif's family celebrated some special days such as the Mother's Day together with teacher Ayla and her family, Ozan's family and

the CTS teachers attended picnics on special days, and finally, teacher Ayla and Umut's family met for dinners or other social events.

In these events, parents and the CTS teachers engaged in conversations related to the CTS practices and they used their linguistic resources fluidly on purpose to increase the students' proficiency in their weaker language. For example, in the Mother's Day breakfast event, teacher Ayla and Elif's parents used some words in English so that Elif could get familiar with these words (Teacher Ayla's interview). Similarly, Ozan's mother informed that they went to an amusement park with teacher Sibel's family. In this meeting, Ozan's mother and teacher Sibel moved between Turkish and English in their interactions with Ozan to expose him to comprehensible input in Turkish and increase his Turkish proficiency. Thus, these gatherings that were planned in collaboration of parents and the CTS teachers created opportunities for the students to practice their Turkish/English skills.

Moreover, family events opened opportunities for students to demonstrate and perform their American and Turkish identities. For example, Umut's family and teacher Ayla's family made picnic at a weekend (Teacher Ayla's interview). In this event, Umut's mother gave the recipe of carrot cake in Turkish to teacher Ayla by requesting help from Umut. By using Turkish to inform teacher Ayla about a common food in American culture, Umut's mother modelled her bilingual identity, and gave Umut an opportunity to do the same. Moreover, they played popular Turkish and American card and ball games together. Through these games, Umut also performed his bicultural identity. In conclusion, this family meeting which occurred in collaboration of teacher Ayla and

Umut's mother opened opportunities for Umut to practice his Turkish skills and demonstrate and perform his bilingual/ bicultural identities.

Finally, these meetings gave parents an opportunity to share their children's school experiences and needs so that CTS teachers can leverage to the students' funds of knowledge and increase their learning. For example, Ozan's mother shared that she informed the CTS teachers to use more translations and modified American games to engage Ozan to learning. Elif's mother informed the CTS teachers that Elif was not ready to learn Turkish literacy skills. Thus, family events gave parents an opportunity to share their children's strengths and limitations so that teachers could use effective instructional strategies.

Parent-teacher conferences

Parent-teacher conferences at schools or personal interactions of parents and mainstream teachers through e-mails, phones or notes were additional examples of boundary interactions (parent and teacher interviews). Teachers informed that they often communicated with parents through e-mails, phones and notes. Through these interactions, they created bridges between home and school practices to support students' learning at school and they collaborated to find ways to support students' school learning through planned activities at home.

Teacher-parent interactions opened opportunities to find ways to support students' learning by creating shared practices. For example, Umut's teacher and Umut's mother discussed Umut's low performance in reading and science and collaborated to develop a practice that he could engage at home so that he could perform better at school (Umut's parent and teacher interview). They agreed that Umut would read 20 pages about science every day and record his learnings in a journal

(teacher interviews). Through this practice, Umut developed his literacy skills and enhanced his knowledge about science.

Similarly, teacher-parent interactions created opportunities to overcome cultural conflicts and ensure students' participations to cultural activities at school. For example, Elif's mother had a confusion about what kind of costumes Elif was expected to wear in the Halloween party at school since the information in the school note was limited to understand the the event. Her mother expressed that she had to send a few extra notes to Elif's teacher to learn more about the school event and be sure Elif was not get excluded due to her inappropriate costume (Elif's parent interview). The teacher informed Elif's mother about the Halloween celebrations in American schools and suggested her some costumes that Elif could wear in the celebration. The communication between the teacher and Elif's mother created potentials for Elif's learning since Elif's mother also shared what she learned from the teacher with Elif (parent interview). Thus, Elif's mother's interaction with Elif's teacher created potentials for Elif to learn about the mainstream culture at home. In conclusion, parent-teacher meetings/interactions acted as boundary interactions since they gave members of different communities an opportunity to create potentials for the focal students' learning.

Snack times in the CTS

Snack times referred to the break times in which CTS students ate snacks for lunch. In these breaks, parents, teachers, students and other CTA members come together to socialize and eat food. In this time frame, parents informed the CTS teachers about their children's progress at school or Turkish use at home (CTS observations). For example, Ozan's mother informed the CTS teachers that Ozan had a video call with his grandparents in Turkish and could understand and talk with them in

Turkish for a few minutes. Through these interactions, the CTS teachers could track the students' language progress and accommodate for the students' needs.

Moreover, in snack times, the CTA board members shared updates about the community events and requested the teachers to teach specific topics so that the students could take active roles in the events. For example, students learned a few poems and quotes about Atatürk in week 4 so that they could read them in the Atatürk's Memorial Day event. Thus, teachers' interactions with the CTA board members influenced the curriculum and aimed to develop the students' cultural knowledge and bicultural identity purposefully.

Snack times opened third spaces in which students could interact with each other and other community members to engage in learning. During snack times, students were allowed to transcend the linguistic boundaries and use their linguistic resources flexibly so that they could build rapport and community, socialize, share information and negotiate language. For example, in the dialogue below, Umut and another student negotiated Turkish language using their linguistic resources flexibly.

Umut: What is the difference between *tesekkurler* and *tesekkur ederim*.

Hava: It means the same thing. It means *thank you*.

Umut: I thought one is like *thank you very much* and the other is *thank you*.

Hava: Same thing.

In this dialogue, two fluent English-speaking students negotiated the difference between two similar phrases. Snack time provided Umut a safe space to ask a question to clarify meaning. In conclusion, snack time opened third spaces for parents, teachers, other

community members and the students in which they could discuss ways to support students' learning and negotiate boundaries to promote learning.

Boundary People

Boundary people that emerged in this study were teachers, peers, parents, and the researcher. This section discusses each boundary spanner and boundary roamer's role in supporting the participants' learning and interaction within homes, schools or the CTS. It also discusses a third category, called *boundary mediators*.

Boundary spanners

Among all boundary people, mainstream teachers, CTS teachers, peers, parents and the researcher acted as boundary spanners since they supported students' learning within only one of the discursive spaces focused in this study. This section discusses how boundary spanners facilitated students' learning.

Mainstream teachers

Mainstream teachers acted as boundary brokers by leveraging the participants' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge. Since Ozan and Umut's boundary crossing to schools were smooth, their mainstream teachers' roles as boundary people stayed limited to the designing tasks with a resource-oriented approach or engaging students into cultural discussions. Culture projects were the only task that Umut and Ozan's teachers used to open spaces in which the students could demonstrate and share their expertise and bilingual/bicultural identities with their peers and negotiate the boundaries between their homes, communities and schools (teacher interviews). For example, Umut's teacher engaged her students into a culture project for which students gathered information about Christmas practices in different countries and make presentations of these practices in the classroom. Through these presentations, she opened third

spaces in which students could raise questions and negotiate the differences between American culture and other cultures. Umut researched and presented Christmas practices in Turkey for this project.

On the other hand, Elif experienced challenges at school due to the epistemic culture and language use boundaries. To facilitate Elif's learning and interactions, Elif's mainstream teacher, as a boundary broker, used ESOL accommodations such as repetitions, slower speech, gestures and pictures (teacher interview). These accommodations supported her learning and interaction by making the content comprehensible and giving her opportunities to express herself nonverbally. Elif's ESOL teacher also used some accommodations such as student friendly definitions on the PowerPoint slides to support students' learning (observations). However, these accommodations stayed limited to facilitate Elif's learning and interactions since she did not have literacy skills to read these definitions and relate to the reading passages. Thus, Elif's mainstream teacher could be positioned as a boundary person since she softened the impact of boundaries through her ESOL accommodations.

The CTS teachers

The CTS teachers acted as boundary people for Umut and Elif by accommodating to students' needs and creating third spaces in which the students could negotiate the boundaries and engage in learning. Some accommodations for Umut could be listed as translating some key words, using gestures or visuals to make the content comprehensible and involving them into engaging discussions or tasks in which they could negotiate their funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge (Observation notes). For example, Umut experienced difficulties in expressing his plans to be a

marine biologist in the small group discussion in Week 4 due to language use boundaries. Teacher Sibel noticed that Umut did not know what marine biologist meant in Turkish, and helped him to express his plans by providing Turkish correspondence of the vocabulary word:

Umut: Ben Turkceyi bilmiyorum ama marine biologist olmak istiyorum.

Hava: It is a scientist that studies the ocean lives.

Sibel: Sen biolog olmak istiyorsun.

Umut: Evet.

Umut: I don't know it in Turkish, but I want to be a marina biologist.

Hava: It is a scientist that studies the ocean lives.

Sibel: You want to be a biologist?

Umut: Yes.

In this dialogue, teacher Sibel, Umut and Hava negotiated the meaning of the word "marine biologist" and found the meaning of the word in Turkish. Through this negotiation, teacher Sibel and Hava reestablished Umut's interaction that was interrupted by language use boundary by translating and clarifying the word in Turkish.

The CTS teachers also accommodated for Elif's needs when there was limited attendance in some weeks. These accommodations opened third spaces for Elif to practice and improve her English language skills and negotiate the differences between two language systems. For example, in week 8, teacher Sibel modified a popular American children's game (i.e. Guess who) and asked Elif to use Turkish to describe the person on the card, but English to label the person. When Elif did not know the English word to label the person or knew it wrong, they negotiated the word together. By this way, she supported Elif's interaction and learning, and acted as a boundary person.

As a result, the CTS teachers scaffolded Umut and Elif's learning by accommodating for their needs and facilitating their interactions and learning in different ways.

Peers

Peers acted as boundary people for Elif, Umut and Ozan at school and/or in the CTS. For Ozan, peers only at school acted as boundary people and scaffolded his learning when he experienced discontinuities. For example, Ozan engaged in a Kahoot game at school that the teacher prepared to assess the students' comprehension of the book. The game was a new practice for Ozan and acted as an epistemic culture boundary since this was a school-specific and new practice. In the Kahoot game, he had some technical problems and he could not fix it by himself. He requested help from his peers aloud: "I can't get back. How do you get out?". His peers gave him tips to solve the technical problem and he could join the task quickly again. In this situation, Ozan's peers acted as boundary people since they reestablished continuity in his action which was interrupted due to an epistemic culture boundary.

For Umut, peers both in the CTS and school acted as boundary people and facilitated his learning and interactions. While his peers in the CTS often supported his interactions that were interrupted or stopped by a language use boundary, his peers at school supported his content learning that he perceived as a boundary due to epistemic culture differences between school and other spaces. For example, in the discussion below, Umut's peer, Hava, translated teacher Sibel's question for Umut since he could not comprehend it:

Sibel: Sen biolog olmak istiyorsun.

Umut: Evet.

Sibel: Arastirmak istedigin bir tur var mi?

Umut: pardon?

Sibel: Özellikle Arastirmak istedigin bir tur var mi? arastirmak yapmak istedigin.

Hava: **Is there anything you want to specialize?**

Sibel: Özellikle istedigin birsey var mi mesela balinalar olsun?

Sibel: You want to be a biologist?

Umut: Yes.

Sibel: Is there a species you like to specialize?

Umut: pardon?

Sibel: Is there a species you like to specialize? That you want to research?

Hava: Is there anything you want to specialize?

Sibel: Is there a species you like to specialize like whales?

In this dialogue, teacher Sibel's question in Turkish caused an interruption in Umut's interaction. Thus, his peer, Hava, noticed that Umut could not make sense of the teacher's question, she provided Umut the translation of the sentence. Hava's translation supported Umut's comprehension and allowed him to share his knowledge with his peers through his response to the question. As a result, his peers acted as boundary people since they translated for him when he could not comprehend the questions or struggled to express his ideas, comments or instructions.

Finally, peers both in the CTS and school acted as boundary people for Elif since they scaffolded Elif's learning and facilitated her interactions. Elif experienced difficulties in comprehending instructions, topics and tasks due to the epistemic culture and language use boundaries of school. Elif expressed that she often avoided asking questions to her teachers when she was confused, but she could request scaffolding from her peers comfortably in small group tasks (see dialogue below).

Tuba: Mesela okulda İngilizce bilmediginde ne yapıyorsun?

Elif: O zaman bilmediyse benim arkadaşlarım yardım ederdi bana.

Tuba: Peki öğretmenle nasıl konuşturdun o zaman?

Elif: O zaman da arkadaşlarım söylerdi bana sonrada öğretmenim de öyle yapardım.

Tuba: What do you do when you do not know English at school?

Elif: When I do not know, my peers would help me.

Tuba: How would you communicate with your teacher, then?

Elif: Then, my peers would explain to me, my teacher would do so, too. I would complete the task.

At school, to facilitate Elif's comprehension and engage her into the tasks, her peers often explained her the teacher's instructions, topics or the tasks in a simpler language or modelled her how to complete a task (Elif's third interview). For example, in the math centers, teacher engaged students into a new activity, a board game in which students moved their chips on the board in the number they found after solving an addition problem. This game was a new activity and appeared as an epistemic culture boundary for Elif since it resulted discontinuities in her actions although other students in her group seemed familiar with this game. To engage Elif into the game, her peers modelled the game and explained her the rules. She imitated their actions and made sense of the game after a few tries (School observation). Similarly, in the reading lesson, she partnered up with an ESE student to practice her literacy skills. He also had low level literacy skills compared to the other students but could identify the words better than Elif. Her peer could model her how to read words and gave Elif some tips to identify sounds and read correctly. Thus, the impact of epistemic culture and language use boundaries on Elif's learning and interactions was softened through peers' explanations or demonstrations at school.

Peers also acted boundary people in the CTS when Elif experienced difficulty in understanding the language her peers used in peer discussions. While peers at school facilitated Elif's learning through modelling and paraphrasing, peers in the CTS used

translations to support Elif's comprehension and learning. Field notes revealed that Elif's peers in the CTS translated some English conversations for Elif so that she could also involve into the discussions or participate into the games (CTS observation notes). As a result, peers in the CTS and school acted as boundary people for Elif by facilitating her engagement into the unfamiliar tasks or topics and different language practices at school and in the CTS.

Parents

Parents acted as boundary spanners since they facilitated students' actions and interruptions at home when the students encountered a boundary that created a discontinuity in their actions or interactions. For example, due to his limited Turkish proficiency, Ozan experienced discontinuities in his interactions when his monolingual Turkish speaking grandparents visited them (observation notes and parent interview). To mediate communication between Ozan and his grandparents, Ozan's mother translated for Ozan and her parents, and made references to what Ozan learned in the CTS to remind him some Turkish phrases or words. Similarly, Elif's mother facilitated Elif's learning during homework. When Elif could not make sense of the math word problems due to her limited English proficiency skills, she translated for her, and facilitated her comprehension. Finally, Umut's mother involved Umut and his siblings to some home projects related to Turkish culture or language such as coloring Turkish flags at home. Moreover, when Umut's mother and his grandparents or other Turkish background visitors involved in conversations in Turkish, she sometimes translated for Umut and his siblings so that they could also make sense of the content and state their opinions (parent interview). For example, during my home visit, Umut's mother and I

spoke in Turkish purposefully to check Umut's comprehension and language production in Turkish at home. When Umut could not make sense of the conversations, his mother translated and ensured his comprehension. Thus, she facilitated Umut's interactions interrupted by language use boundary at home.

The researcher

The researcher acted as a boundary spanner in the CTS for all students. Her role was considered as a boundary spanner in this space because as a Turkish-American who attended the CTS regularly, she considered herself a member of CTA. She supported the participants' learning in the CTS by making references to their familiar knowledge to make the new knowledge comprehensible for them. The researcher facilitated Umut's learning by making references to American culture in explaining who Atatürk was in the CTS. When students were working on poems about Atatürk's Memorial Day, Umut raised questions about Atatürk's role for Turkish history. The researcher made references to American presidents to explain him that Atatürk was the first president and the founder of the country. Similarly, when Umut was confused with the Turkish writing system and read some words incorrectly, the researcher explained him the system highlighting the differences between English and Turkish writing systems. In conclusion, the researcher as a boundary spanner created opportunities for the students' learning by connecting their familiar practices or knowledge with the new topics or practices.

Boundary roamers

The analysis of data suggested parents and the researcher as boundary roamers since they facilitated students' learning not only in homes or the CTS, but also in different discursive spaces by moving between them.

Parents

Parents acted as boundary roamers since they supported the participants' learning by moving between home and the CTS. Parents scaffolded students' learning by involving into the tasks in the CTS and linking the new content to students' familiar practices at home or school. For example, when Ozan expressed that he could not make sense of the Republican day march, Ozan's mother translated the republican march to facilitate his learning:

Ozan's mom: ... Cumhuriyet marsi: Cumhuriyet republic demek. Cumhuriyet Cumhuriyet, en guzel sey hurriyet: Republic republic, the best thing ever happened is freedom, tamam. Hurriyet: freedom. Nice zahmet nice emek, Verdi sana bu millet. This nation worked really really hard to earn freedom. Gazimin sen en buyuk yadigarisin bana: Gazi dedigi Ataturk. Republic is coming from Ataturk.

Teacher Ayla: Evet devam ediyoruz.

Ozan's mom: Nice zahmet nice emek Verdi bu millet sana meaning we worked very very hard to earn freedom. Dalgalansin her tarafta sanli Turkun bayragi: Bayrak neydi?

Teacher Ayla: Bayrak neydi? Demin ne yaptik biz? Boyadik. Neyi? Turk bayragi

Ozan's mom: The big Turkish flag should be suburbing over the stars. Korumaktir ve yuceltmek azmimiz bu topragi: Our mission is to protect this nation and the land. Bu vatan hic sensiz olmaz ey guzel cumhuriyet: Our nation cannot be without republic. Milletim oyle demistir ya olum ya hurriyet: Our nation said: we either die or live in a free world. Would you like to live in a free world?

Hava: no. I rather be in jail.

Ozan's mom: ... Republican march. Cumhuriyet means republic. Cumhuriyet Cumhuriyet, en guzel sey hurriyet: Republic republic, the best thing ever happened is freedom, ok? Hurriyet: freedom. Nice zahmet nice emek, Verdi sana bu millet. This nation worked really really hard to earn freedom. Gazimin sen en buyuk yadigarisin bana: Gazi refers to Ataturk, here. Republic is coming from Ataturk.

Teacher Ayla: Yes, let's continue.

Ozan's mom: Nice zahmet nice emek Verdi bu millet sana meaning we worked very very hard to earn freedom. Dalgalansin her tarafta sanli Turkun bayragi: what was bayrak?

Teacher Ayla: what was bayrak? What did we just do? Colored. What? Turkish flag

Ozan's mom: The big Turkish flag should be suburbing over the stars. Korumaktir ve yuceltmek azmimiz bu topragi: Our mission is to protect this nation and the land. Bu vatan hic sensiz olmaz ey guzel cumhuriyet: Our nation cannot be without republic. Milletim oyle demistir ya olum ya hurriyet: Our nation said: we either die or live in a free world. Would you like to live in a free world?

Hava: No. I rather be in jail.

In this dialogue, Ozan's mother and teacher Ayla translated the march by making references to what the students had already learned. They provided them the English correspondences of some Turkish words (e.g. "hurriyet" "freedom") and reminded them some Turkish words such as "bayrak" that they had learned before. Ozan's mother acted as a boundary roamer in this example since she facilitated Ozan's learning by using the translation method that Ozan was familiar from home.

Elif's mother also acted as boundary roamer by involving in some CTS tasks to support Elif's learning when there was limited attendance. As a boundary broker, she sat next to Elif and when she observed a discontinuity in Elif's actions or interactions, she involved into the tasks and made references to their home practices so that Elif could complete the tasks successfully and enhance her learning. For example, in an activity called "guess who", Elif's mother mentioned about some post officers they knew in their communities so that she could guess the occupation on the card in English. By linking Elif's familiar knowledge with the game and using home experiences to achieve this purpose, Elif's mother acted as a boundary broker and supported Elif's learning.

Finally, Umut's mother acted as a boundary roamer in the CTS when Umut was challenged by the Turkish writing system. When Umut found the teacher Ayla's explanations about the Turkish letters and sounds limited, he consulted his mother in

the other room and she explained him the system by referring to the differences between Turkish, Arabic and English writings systems (Umut's audio recordings). Teacher Ayla expressed that Umut's mother also took a boundary person role whenever students needed extra information about some American cultural practices such as Halloween. When the CTS teachers' knowledge about mainstream culture stayed insufficient to meet the students' needs, they consulted Umut's mother and she explained the new content to all students by linking Turkish and American cultural practices and making references to students' school practices as she was also schooled in the U.S. (CTS teacher interviews). In conclusion, parents acted as boundary people who facilitated students' learning in the CTS by translating, giving cultural information and connecting the new knowledge to the students' funds of knowledge.

The researcher

The researcher acted as a boundary roamer since she moved to other discursive spaces that participants engaged on a regular basis. However, since she was a non-participant observer in schools and homes and did not involve into the students' learning, her boundary roamer role was active only in Elif's school. In the ESOL lesson, the teachers' accommodations such as the use of student friendly definitions, some visuals such as the pictures of the objects or a map in the PowerPoint slides stayed insufficient to make the content, the frontier explorers, comprehensible for Elif. In the post-reading activity, the ESOL teacher gave students a sentence frame to assess their understanding of the content. Due to her limited literacy skills and limited comprehension of the content due to both epistemic culture and language use boundaries, she seemed lost and lied on the desk rather than working on the task. The

researcher approached her and asked her if she could understand the content and the post-reading task. When she expressed that she did not understand the task or the meaning of the sentence frame, the researcher briefly summarized her the content in Turkish and explained her how to fill out the sentence frame and complete the task. Elif suddenly made a connection between the content and what her mother explained her about the expansion of Turkey's borders and came up with an idea how to complete the sentence frame. Thus, the researcher created potentials for Elif's learning in which she could link her funds of knowledge with the new content.

Boundary mediator

Although it was not proposed in the boundary crossing literature, parents' role as mediators between interactions of CTS teachers and mainstream teachers appeared as a new category. Thus, I called it these people who mediated interactions between adults of other discursive spaces as boundary mediators. In this study, parents acted as boundary mediators since they informed the CTS teachers about the students' school practices. For example, Elif's mother often informed the CTS teachers about Elif's English literacy development so that the teachers could accommodate for her needs. Ozan's parents also informed the CTS teachers about Ozan's school achievements such as his being selected to writer's café. Finally, Umut's mother informed the CTS teachers about Umut's test results, especially in Spanish. Although parents informed the CTS teachers about the school practices, their mediating role was limited in schools since most parents did not inform the mainstream teachers about their children's attendance to the CTS.

Boundary Objects

Upon identification of each boundary object, the boundary objects were categorized based on their functions. This section explains the functions of artifacts, processes and discourses as boundary objects below.

Artefacts

The students of this study used various artefacts to soften the epistemic culture and language use boundaries across different discursive spaces. Artifacts that functioned as boundary objects included: a necklace, Turkish food, a science project, fishing tools and a calendar project. These artefacts acted as boundary objects in two ways: 1) They opened discussions that gave the students opportunities to share their expertise or practices from other spaces; and 2) they acted as representations of participants' cultural and bilingual identities or opened third spaces in which students could demonstrate their identities. This section firstly described the artefacts opening discussions and demonstrating identities, and then explained how they functioned as boundary objects.

Artefacts opening discussions

One function of artifacts as boundary object was to create connections between students' lives and practices in different discursive spaces and engage them into discussions that enhance their knowledge. A necklace, a tablet, calendar work and fishing tools were some artefacts revealed to serve this purpose in this study.

A necklace that one of Elif's peers at school wore acted as a boundary object since it created a connection between her peer's style and her own style and opened a discussion in which they could exchange information. When Elif saw her peer's necklace, she asked: "Do you have a black one?" This conversation continued with

additional questions like “who bought the necklace?” and praises to other outfits that Elif liked on her peer. Through this conversation, Elif and her peer shared their expertise about the necklaces and exchanged information about each other’s community lives. Moreover, Elif had an opportunity to learn about mainstream culture from her peer. For example, her peer informed her that her mother bought the necklace from a specific store and she planned to buy other jewelry. That is, the necklace became a tool for Elif to share her expertise and home life and to learn more about her American peer’s life and style.

Similarly, Elif’s tablet acted as a boundary object in the CTS that engaged her and her peers into discussions about the online games they played at home. During the snack time, Elif showed them some online games she played at home, and her peers also shared their favorite games. Thus, Elif’s tablet opened a discussion about students’ interests and home practices such as playing online games. This discussion gave Elif opportunity to share her experiences in home space and learn about home practices of her peers who were more familiar to mainstream culture as they grew up in the U.S.

Moreover, Ozan’s calendar work acted as a boundary object by moving from school to home. The calendar work was a school task that Ozan prepared for his mother as a Christmas gift. Ozan drew special pictures to his calendar that reflected his creativity and higher order thinking. The calendar acted as a boundary object since it built a bridge between his home and school and gave Ozan an opportunity to share his school practices with his mother.

Finally, Ozan’s fishing tools acted as boundary object that engaged Ozan and Umut into a discussion in the CTS about fishing and using fishing tools. Ozan

experienced difficulty in placing bait to the fishing rod and requested help from Umut. After Umut showed him how to place the bait appropriately, they engaged in a discussion in which they shared their favorite fishing areas and their experiences with fishing. This conversation gave Ozan and Umut an opportunity to construct knowledge about fishing and created a connection between their home tasks and the CTS.

Artifacts demonstrating identity

The analysis results showed that a second function of the artifacts as boundary objects was to open spaces in which students could demonstrate their identities. By using specific artifacts, students demonstrated their bilingual and bicultural identities or involved into discussions that allowed them to demonstrate their identities. For example, Umut's teacher expressed that Umut used a special writing style, called cursive writing, that he did not learn in American mainstream schools. His teacher mentioned that he might have learned the cursive writing in Bahamian schools, and transferred this writing style to American schools to demonstrate his identity. Thus, Umut's cursive writing acted as a boundary object which he used to demonstrate his bilingual and bicultural identity.

A second artifact that acted as a boundary object was a Hong Kong poster in Elif's school. Elif's peers found a Hong Kong poster in the posters pile in ESOL classroom and called Elif to show it to her (field notes). Elif joined them and they had a small discussion about Hong Kong, her life in Hong Kong and the buildings in the poster. Thus, the Hong Kong poster acted as a boundary object through which Elif had an opportunity to demonstrate her Hong Kong identity with her peers.

Elif's tablet also acted as a boundary object that allowed her to demonstrate her identity. During the snack time, she showed her pictures in Turkey to her peers using her tablet. She, then, explained her life in Turkey by showing her pets' and extended family members' pictures and sharing her experiences with them. Her pictures attracted other students' attention, too, and Elif and her peers engaged into a group discussion about their visits to Turkey (CTS observation notes). Thus, Elif's tablet acted as a boundary object that allowed her to demonstrate her Turkish identity.

Another artifact that acted as a boundary object was Turkish food. Turkish food acted as a boundary object by creating connections between Umut's Turkish identity and school practices. Umut took some Turkish food to cultural celebrations at school to demonstrate his Turkish identity and share his expertise about Turkish food with his peers (Umut's third interview). His teacher informed that in one of the cultural celebrations, after he shared the name of the food, his peers tried the food, and gave him positive feedback. In this instance, the food which moved from home space to school space acted as a boundary object which built a connection between two cultures he practiced. In other words, Turkish food acted as a boundary object that facilitated his demonstration of bicultural identity.

Additionally, the red-white t-shirts that represented the colors of Turkish flag and Halloween costumes acted as boundary objects in the CTS. For the republican day celebration, students, parents and other community members were required to wear their specially-designed red and white t-shirts. Moreover, all students were also asked to bring their Halloween costumes and wear them for the Halloween celebration. These costumes acted as boundary objects for all students since they built a bridge between

their Turkish and American identities and gave them an opportunity to demonstrate identities. Similarly, the menu of the snack time in the Halloween celebration included both American and Turkish food. The students had a conversation about the Halloween cupcakes and Turkish pies in the menu and shared their favorites. Thus, the menu also bridged two cultures and acted as boundary object which gave them an opportunity to demonstrate and practice their bilingual/bicultural identities.

Finally, hand-colored flags and Halloween bags that Umut carried from home to the CTS acted as boundary objects. For the Republican day and Halloween celebration in the CTS, Umut and his family prepared hand-colored Turkish flags and Halloween bags, and distributed these artifacts to the students in the CTS. Halloween bags positioned Umut as an expert about Halloween and gave him an opportunity to share his expertise with his peers. In the discussion around the snacks table, he informed others about what to put in a Halloween bag and how the tradition worked in the U.S. By bringing objects that represented two different cultures, he demonstrated and modelled his bilingual/bicultural identity.

Processes

Processes that acted as boundary objects referred to the ongoing and changing practices that created connections between students' practices in different discursive spaces. Topics and tasks appeared as processes in this study because they appeared in a discursive space repeatedly in the same way or in modified ways. The analysis results showed that some topics and tasks acted as boundary objects in different discursive spaces in two ways: (1) they opened discussions that gave the students opportunities to share their expertise or practices from other spaces; and (2) they opened third spaces in which students could demonstrate their identities. This section

describes the topics and tasks that acted as boundary objects and their functions as boundary objects.

Topics

Topics that acted as boundary objects included animal-related topics, Atatürk, directions and Hong Kong. This section explains topics based on their two functions as boundary objects: 1) topics connecting practices between different discursive spaces, and 2) topics opening third spaces in which students could demonstrate and negotiate their identities.

Topics connecting practices between different discursive spaces

Animal-related topics such as hamsters, sea animals and snakes were one type of topics that connected Umut's home practices with the CTS practices. Umut was the expert of animals in the classrooms since he had owned several pets compared to others. Thus, when the CTS teachers engaged the students into animal-related discussions, Umut had an opportunity to share his expertise on animals by making references to his experiences with his own pets. As a result, animal-related topics acted as boundary objects for Umut since it created connections between his home practices and the CTS.

Atatürk was another topic that acted as a boundary object for all students since they all were already familiar with Atatürk from home (parent interviews). Umut and Ozan learned Atatürk from the stories they heard from their mothers or grandparents while Elif learned Atatürk both at home from her parents and at school when she was in Turkey. When the CTS teachers involved the students into discussions about Atatürk, the students could connect their home discussions about Atatürk with the CTS

discussions. They often first shared their expertise about Ataturk such as the poems, songs, marches, or the story of his life, and then asked their questions for clarifications or additional information. Thus, Ataturk as a topic acted as a boundary object since it connected their home discussions with the CTS discussions.

Topics opening third spaces to demonstrate and negotiate their identities

Directions in Turkish was a topic that acted as a boundary object for Ozan because the CTS teachers used his mother's hometown as an example city located on the west of Turkey. Through this topic, he could connect the topic with his identity. This topic motivated him to listen to the lesson and participate into the activity. Teacher Ayla explained how the topic, directions, acted as a boundary object for Ozan as such:

İlk ders çok verimli geçti mesela Türkiye haritası üzerinde çalıştık. ... Güney doğu batı diye başladık önce. nereli aileleri falan. İzmirli olanlar, izmir türkiye'nin neresinde? Batısı... Ozan önce uzağındaydı sağda solda. Biliyorsun onu dolaşıyor. Sonra bir baktım ... Türkiye'nin işte Yukarısını gösteriyorum 'kuzey' diyor hepsi bana. o da. Sonra tek tek başladım onlara hızlı hızlı yaptırmaya. O Katılmak istedi ve kendisi de yaptı.

The first class was very effective. We worked on the Turkey's map.... We started to label east, west, south north and found which part their families were from. Which part of Turkey is Izmir located? West. Ozan was not around at first, you know, he is here or there. Then, I have seen him engaged. When I showed the north, all of them said north, and so did he. Then, I asked them to label individually. He also joined the activity and labelled.

She highlighted that the sentence that involved his mother's hometown engaged Ozan to the lesson as it related to his identity.

Hong Kong became a topic that acted as a boundary object for Elif. When the CTS teachers engaged her into a discussion about Hong Kong and raised their questions, she shared her experiences in Hong Kong and demonstrated her Hong Kong identity by sharing the words she knew in Cantonese (observation notes). Thus, the

topic of “Hong Kong” acted as a boundary object since it enabled her to demonstrate her Hong Kong identity with her peers.

Tasks

Tasks that acted as boundary objects included culture projects, literacy-focused tasks, modified American games and coloring tasks. This section discusses two functions of tasks as boundary objects: 1) tasks connecting practices between different discursive spaces, and 2) tasks opening third spaces in which students could demonstrate and negotiate their identities.

Tasks connecting practices between different discursive spaces

Literacy-focused tasks acted as a boundary object for Umut since these tasks connected Umut’s literacy practices in English that he often performed at school and home with his literacy practices in Turkish that he performed in the CTS. Through these tasks, Umut could negotiate the differences between literacy features in Turkish and English. For example, in the ‘copy the Turkish alphabet’ activity, Umut frequently questioned the pronunciation of some Turkish sounds such as “ı, ç, ş, ö, ü, ğ” while copying the letters on his notebook. To facilitate his learning, Teacher Ayla provided him some example words in Turkish and pronounced these words slowly so that he could notice the differences between pronunciation of these sounds. His peers also supported his learning by providing other example words that included these special sounds, and explained him the differences between these sounds by making references to English words (observation notes). Thus, this task gave Umut an opportunity to negotiate Turkish and English sounds and construct knowledge, and acted as a boundary object since it related the literacy practices in other spaces and the CTS.

Drawing/coloring tasks acted as boundary objects for Ozan and Elif as these practices were frequently performed in these students' homes and created a connection between their home and CTS practices. The teachers noticed that these tasks were engaging for Ozan and Elif and used these tasks to engage students into culture specific discussions. Through these tasks, Ozan and Elif could involve into group discussions, raise their questions and enhance their knowledge. For example, in week 2, when students were coloring some pictures, teachers were modelling singing a march about the republican day so that the students could get familiar with the lyrics of the march before they performed it in the Republican Day celebration. Ozan's interest to drawing activity engaged him listening to the teachers, which he would avoid under normal conditions considering his responses to other tasks. This activity created an opportunity for him to get familiar with the pronunciation of some words as he repeated the lyrics with the rest of the group while completing the coloring activity. Similarly, in week 3, students were engaged in a coloring activity. While Elif was coloring a cow, she was confused with the colors of a cow and raised the question "inek ne renk olur?" (what color is a cow?) to the CTS teachers. This question opened a discussion in which all students shared their answers in English or Turkish. Thus, through drawing/coloring activity which Elif performed at home and in the CTS as a shared practice opened a discussion in which Elif could raise her questions and increase her knowledge. In conclusion, the drawing/coloring tasks engaged Ozan and Elif since they were shared tasks at home and the CTS and acted as boundary objects since they created opportunities to negotiate and co-construct knowledge.

Finally, modified American games that were accommodated to meet Elif's individual language needs also acted as boundary objects by creating a bridge between her school practices and the CTS practices and creating opportunities to enhance her linguistic competence. In the weeks when there was limited attendance, the CTS teachers made some accommodations in their tasks so that Elif could practice and improve her English skills. For example, they asked Elif to label the numbers in English in the Bingo game or guess the occupations on the cards in English in the "guess who" game although the descriptions of the occupations were Turkish. In these tasks, Elif could negotiate meaning in different languages to complete the tasks correctly and increase her vocabulary knowledge in English. Thus, modified American games created a connection between Elif's school practices and CTS practices and opened opportunities for Elif to improve her English proficiency skills.

Tasks opening third spaces to demonstrate and negotiate their identities

Culture projects acted as boundary objects and opened third spaces in which students could demonstrate their bilingual and bicultural identities. In this study, culture projects were used as boundary objects in Ozan and Umut's schools to cross the boundaries between schools and other spaces. For his culture project called "Christmas around the world", Umut took Turkish food to school, and shared it with his peers and teachers. Through food, he explained his home culture to his peers and demonstrated his Turkish identity to his peers (parent and student interviews).

Similarly, Ozan's mother informed that Ozan was engaged in a "culture in the box" project in the previous school year. For this project, Ozan put seven items in a 'culture' box such as evil eye, a map, a recipe book and a few pictures that reflected

Turkish culture, and he introduced Turkish culture to his peers at school using these objects as boundary objects. Thus, Ozan could demonstrate his bilingual and bicultural identity at school through these projects.

Translanguaging

The students of this study used translanguaging as a hybrid discourse practice to soften the epistemic culture and language use boundaries across different discursive spaces. Translanguaging was identified as a boundary object because 1) it bridged students' dominantly monolingual language practices in different discursive spaces and allowed them to use these practices fluidly to achieve communication, and 2) it reestablished continuities when students' interactions were interrupted by the epistemic culture or language use boundaries. Translanguaging was observed as a shared discursive practice in all discursive spaces at varying frequencies. This section discusses translanguaging practices in all discursive spaces and functions of translanguaging practices as a boundary object.

Translanguaging as a shared discursive practice

Translanguaging was observed in several discursive spaces as a shared discursive practice. However, the frequency of translanguaging moments varied across discursive spaces. This section describes the observed or self-reported translanguaging practices in homes, schools and the CTS.

Homes

Translanguaging practices were observed at limited degrees in homes. Functions of translanguaging practices in homes included demonstrating comprehension, constructing knowledge, building relationships and sharing information.

Elif was more fluent in Turkish than English, and thus she was observed using mostly her Turkish resources in her interactions with her parents who were also fluent Turkish speakers. Observation notes and interviews revealed three situations that Elif enacted translanguaging:

1. After she watched YouTube videos in English, she discussed videos with her parents in Turkish.
2. When she was reading her storybook in English, she explained the story to her mother in Turkish.
3. When she was doing her homework, she used numbers both in English and Turkish to solve the problem.

These data indicated that although it was a rare practice, translanguaging was still present in Elif's home. Her translanguaging practices at home were more at the word or phrase level. The functions of her translanguaging practices were to demonstrate comprehension and construct knowledge.

Ozan was more fluent in English than Turkish, and thus he often used only his English resources to interact with his mother and brother who were also fluent English speakers. Observation notes and interviews revealed three situations that Ozan enacted translanguaging:

1. His mother asked him some questions in Turkish and he responded her in English.
2. He used certain phrases such as "mom, dad, good morning and good night" only in Turkish at home due to their home language policy.
3. He greeted his grandparents on the phone in Turkish.

Similar to Elif's case, these data indicated that although it was a rare practice, translanguaging was still present in Ozan's home. His translanguaging was more at the

word or phrase level. The functions of his translanguaging practices were to demonstrate comprehension and build relationships with extended family.

Finally, Umut was more fluent in English than Turkish, and thus he often used only his English resources to interact with his mother and siblings who were also fluent English speakers. Observation notes and interviews revealed four situations that Umut enacted translanguaging:

1. He responded his grandmother's and great-grandmother's questions about food at dinner table using his full linguistic resources (English and Turkish).
2. When his mother and the researcher engaged in a discussion in Turkish, he involved in the Turkish discussion using his full linguistic resources.
3. He introduced his pets and room to the researcher using his full linguistic resources.
4. He occasionally talked to his mother and father in Turkish and English to make a request, answer questions or state opinion.

Similar to other students' cases, these data indicated that although it was a rare practice, translanguaging was still present in Umut's home. Unlike other students, his translanguaging was not only at the word or phrase level, but also at the sentence level since he had intermediate level Turkish proficiency. The functions of his translanguaging practices were to demonstrate comprehension, share information and involve into family discussions as a bilingual child.

Schools

An analysis of translanguaging practices in schools showed that they were observed at limited degrees in schools. All students performed translanguaging at the word level in schools. Functions of translanguaging practices in schools included demonstrating identity and constructing knowledge.

Schools were the discursive spaces students translanguaged the least because (1) monolingual English policies were dominant in schools, and (2) students were the only Turkish background people in their classrooms. Ozan's 4th grade teacher and Ozan both expressed that Ozan never used Turkish at school. However, his mother expressed that he used a few words when he was introducing Turkish culture to his peers at school in the 'culture in the box' project at 3rd grade. Thus, Ozan's translanguaging was very limited at school and the function of his translanguaging practice was to demonstrate identity. Similarly, Umut's teacher informed that Umut used Turkish only to introduce the food, teach certain Turkish phrases to his peers during a cultural event or share the Turkish meaning of a word covered in class that sounded or looked the same in Turkish. Similar to Ozan, the function of Umut's translanguaging practices was to demonstrate identity. Finally, Elif's translanguaging was limited to labelling numbers in Turkish in her head when she was solving some math problems and teaching a few Turkish phrases to her peers (Elif's third interviews). Her teacher highlighted that she might be thinking in Turkish, but she did not use it to communicate with others as no one in the classroom knew Turkish. Thus, the functions of her translanguaging practices were to construct knowledge and demonstrate identity.

The CTS

Translanguaging was a common practice for all focal students in the CTS compared to other discursive spaces because 1) the language policy in the CTS was more flexible, and 2) the classroom population had bilingual proficiency in Turkish and English at varying degrees. An analysis of recorded language practices revealed that students' translanguaging practices varied based on form and frequency in the CTS.

The analysis results showed that translanguaging appeared in different forms in the CTS. These forms included translanguaging within modes (code-switching between literacy skills, code switching in-words, in-sentences and between-sentences, translations and cognates) and translanguaging between modes (code-switching across modes, translations and repeat and learn). Students' translanguaging practices in the CTS were exemplified in Table 6-1.

Table 6-1. Forms and functions of translanguaging in CTS

Mode	Students	Forms of translanguaging	Example	Purpose
Translanguaging within modes	Umut, Elif	Code-switching between literacy skills	Negotiating languages while reading: Lyrics of the march Lyrics of the poems Writing: English alphabet Elif's name	To demonstrate knowledge, to construct knowledge and to negotiate language
	Umut, Elif	In-sentence and between sentences code switching	Umut: Evet göz var ama görmüyorlar. They are blind. Ama böyle vibration varya böyle balık yuzunce. Like when you blow on the air, you feel that on your hand. It is like that. Fish, hissediyorlar, bu fishler motionlari detect ediyor ve sen yuzurken aa o balık, sen böyle noise yapıyorsun. Elif: Ben tek başıma çalışacağım hadi hadi. Closed. This is closed. Please go..	To demonstrate knowledge, to demonstrate expertise, to construct knowledge, and to comply with others
	Umut Elif	Made-up words	Singing the marches Singing the songs Gri grey gari gari gari	To demonstrate knowledge and comply with others
	Umut Elif	Translation	Umut: So she says if you don't understand just go like that and they will help you. Ayla: Tamam mı Eda. ..Şimdi o iki fare hala sende mi? Senin mi? Translation of colors Translation of occupations	To connect with peers, and to construct and demonstrate knowledge, to share information, to negotiate language, to clarify meaning,
	Umut Elif	Cognates	Zebra-Zebra Lemon-Limon	To construct and demonstrate knowledge

Table 6-1. Continued

Mode	Students	Forms of translanguaging	Example	Purpose
Translanguaging between modes	Ozan, Umut, Elif	Code-switching across modes	Sibel: Bu ne renk? Elif: blue? Ahmet: No. You fired me? Elif: Kovuldun. Umut: Evet. ... Atatürk kimdir? I know he is a president but what did he do? Tuba: Founder. Ayla: Hosgeldiniz. Iyi misin? Ozan: yeah	To socialize and connect with peers, to construct and demonstrate knowledge, to share information, to negotiate language, to clarify meaning, to appropriate the others
	Umut	Translation	Reading Turkish sentences on the cards and translating verbally Umut: En çok sevdiğin meyve hangisi? (reads from the card) Ayla: Çok guzel. Ne dedi en çok sevdiğin meyve hangisi? X? (she asked the student to translate to check comprehension) X: What is your favorite fruit?	to demonstrate knowledge
	Ozan, Elif, Umut	Repeat and Learn	Umut: Kuzey. Ayla: Kuzey. Ü değilde u. Kuzey Tamam mı? Umut: Kuzey. Umut: Zebra (pronounces like English) Ayla: Zebra söyle bakalım Umut: zebra. Elif's mom: Palyaço. Sibel: İngilizce ne peki? Clown. Elif: Clown. ...	To construct knowledge (increase proficiency)

The analysis results showed that Ozan translanguaged only between modes, Elif and Umut translanguaged both within and between modes. Moreover, the data showed that while translanguaging was frequently used by Umut and Elif, it was rarely practiced by Ozan.

Functions of translanguaging in the CTS

An analysis of functions of students' translanguaging practices showed that translanguaging (1) bridged students' practices in different discursive spaces (2) softened the impact of language use boundaries by giving the participants a voice, (3) opened third spaces in which the participants could express their opinions, ask questions and construct knowledge about language and content without limiting their language use to one language, and (4) opened third space in which students can demonstrate their identities.

Creating bridges between practices

Translanguaging as a boundary object created bridges between students' languaging practices across different discursive spaces. For example, in the dialogue below, Elif used "ama" (but) a conjunction in Turkish in her English sentence.

- Sibel: Nasılsın nasıl geçiyor bakalım hafta?
Elif: Doğum günüydü.
Sibel: Kimin?
Elif: Kivanc'ın.
Sibel: Gerçekten mi? (to Kivanc) Doğum gününde neler yaptın anlatmak ister misin? Pasta yedin mi pasta?
Elif: Toy ama birthday cake.
- Sibel: How are you? How is your week going?
Elif: It was his birthday.
Sibel: Whose?
Elif: Kivanc's.
Sibel: Really? (to Kivanc) Would you like to share what you did in your birthday? Did you eat a birthday cake?
Elif: He had a birthday cake, but it was a toy.

By using a Turkish conjunction within her English sentence, she created a bridge between her language practices at home and school and used her full linguistic resources to achieve communication with teacher Sibel and demonstrate knowledge about Kivanc's birthday party in the CTS.

Similarly, Ozan created a bridge between his home practices and the CTS practices through translanguaging. Hearing Turkish and responding English was a languaging practice he used at home while communicating with his mother. By practicing in the same way in week 3, he code-switched across modes:

- Ayla: Hosgeldiniz. Iyi misin?
Ozan: **yeah**
Ayla: oturmak ister misin? Hadi kapilari kapatalim oturalim ne dersin?
Ozan: **ok.**
- Ayla: Welcome. Are you good?
Ozan: yeah
Ayla: Do you wanna take a seat? Let's close the doors and sit?
Ozan: Ok.

In this dialogue, Ozan heard Turkish, but responded in English. Thus, he code-switched between modes.

Translanguaging giving voice

Translanguaging as a boundary object gave students a voice when language use boundary hindered their interactions. Through translanguaging practices, students could convey his messages that he would not convey if translanguaging was not welcomed in the CTS. For example, in week 5, teacher Ayla engaged students in a discussion about their personal lives and asked them what they did in the morning before the school.

Umut explained that he went to fishing and saw a snake in the lake, that he wanted to

adopt, but his mother would not allow him to do so. Then, teacher Ayla encouraged all students to ask him questions about the snake so that they could practice Turkish and construct knowledge. In the dialogue below, Umut answered their questions by using his linguistic resources fluidly:

- Hava: Yılanın rengi neydi?
Umut: Sarı türkçede bilmiyorum ama **linelar** vardı.
Ayla: **Çizgileri** mi vardı?
Umut: Evet.
Ayla: Aaa Çizgiliymiş.
Umut: Ama sadece kafasında.
Ayla: Kafası sarı renkteydi.
Umut: Ondan sonra **the rest** was siyah
Ayla: Çizgili ve siyah mı?
Umut: Yok sadece siyah.
Hava: What was the color of the snake?
Umut: Yellow, and I don't know in Turkish but it had lines..
Ayla: Did it have lines?
Umut: Yes.
Ayla: Oh, it was lined.
Umut: but only on its head.
Ayla: So, its head was yellow.
Umut: Yes, and the rest was black.
Ayla: was it lined and black?
Umut: No, just black.

In the dialogue above, Umut could answer his peers' questions through translanguaging. If translanguaging was not allowed in the CTS, his interactions would be hindered, he would be silenced by the language use boundary and he would not express his messages since he did not know a word in Turkish. Thanks to translanguaging practices, he could share his experiences, participate into the

discussions and enhance his vocabulary knowledge by learning that the word 'cizgi' meant 'line' in Turkish.

Translanguaging scaffolding learning

Translanguaging as a boundary object opened third spaces in which the participants could express their opinions and ask questions comfortably, and support construction of language and content knowledge. By using their linguistic resources fluidly, the participants were engaged in negotiations about language, and could increase their proficiency and metalinguistic awareness. In the dialogue below, Umut was confused by a minimal pair in Turkish that sounded alike, and expressed his confusion to his teachers to clarify and make meaning by using translanguaging in the form of code-switching:

Ayla: Peki meyve sebze a ile başlayan?

...

Hava: Ağ-aç.

Ayla: Ağaç. Sen söyle.

Umut: Aç? Like you're hungry? I thought like açım.

Tuba: She meant "tree". You have to pronounce a longer. Aaaaç.

Ayla: Hah, bak çok güzel açıkladı. Aç hungry ağaç tree. Güzel oldu bu örnekleme teşekkür ederim.

Ayla: Any vegetable that starts with "a"?

....

Hava: Ağ-aç (tree).

Ayla: Ağaç (tree). You tell one.

Umut: Aç (hungry). Like you're hungry? I thought like açım (hungry).

Tuba: You have to pronounce /a/ longer. Aaaaç.

Ayla: Hah, she explained very well. Aç hungry ağaç tree. It was a good example, thank you!

In the dialogue above, Umut clarified the difference between “aç” and “agaç” which started with the same letter and pronounced similarly. In this process, teacher Ayla and the researcher helped him to construct knowledge and increase his metalinguistic awareness by explaining him the differences between two words. In this dialogue, translanguaging enabled the negotiation of language and supported students’ construction of knowledge.

Similarly, Elif used cognates as a form of translanguaging to construct knowledge and increase her metalinguistic skills. In the activity “find a word starting with” game, Elif often came up with words in English since she was learning the letters and sounds in English first, and familiar with practicing this kind of tasks only in English. In the example below, she came up with a few cognates that shared the same initial letter:

- Tuba: C ile başlayan?
Elif: Ket.
Kerem: Türkçe?
Elif: Ama burada can jale çay.
Tuba: J ile başlayan?
Elif: Jet.
Tuba: L ile başlayan kelime düşün leylek var mesela?
Elif: Leylek.
Tuba: ondan başka? Mesela bir tane meyve gibi bir şey var böyle sarı renkli oluyor ekşi oluyor böyle?
Elif: Limon.
Tuba: M ile?
Kerem: Mustafa.
Elif: marş.
- Tuba: Find a word starting with C?
Elif: Cat.
Kerem: Turkish?

Elif: but, here “can, Jale, çay (tea)”.

Tuba: Find a word starting with J?

Elif: Jet.

Tuba: Think of a word starting with L, for instance “leylek” (stork)

Elif: Leylek.

Tuba: What else? For instance, there is vegetable that is yellow and sour?

Elif: Limon.

Tuba: a word with M?

Kerem: Mustafa.

Elif: mars (march).

In this dialogue, Elif, Kerem, a fluent English and Turkish speaker and the researcher tried to find words starting with certain letters to complete the exercise in the worksheet. In the first example, she suggested a word that started with the same letter both in Turkish and English, but the sounds were different. The similarities between the English alphabet and Turkish alphabet might have confused her. When the researcher and her peer clarified the Turkish and English words, Elif’s metalinguistic awareness was increased, and she could construct knowledge about languages. Translanguaging was a tool that facilitated this conversation.

Translanguaging demonstrating identity

Translanguaging as a boundary object opened third spaces in which the participants could demonstrate their bilingual and bicultural identities. By using their Turkish and English resources fluidly, students demonstrated their bilingual and bicultural identities. Elif demonstrated her bilingual identity by responding Turkish discourses in English. For example, in the “label the color” activity, teacher Sibel asked Elif the question “what color is this?” in Turkish, and Elif initially labelled the color in English:

Sibel: Bu ne renk?
 Elif: **blue?**
 Sibel: huh?
 Elif: aa şey, mavi.
 Sibel: What color is this?
 Elif: blue?
 Sibel: huh?
 Elif: Uhmm , blue.

In this dialogue, the purpose of Elif's use of English to respond a Turkish question in the CTS was to demonstrate her identity. Since responding to the CTS teachers' questions in English was a common practice used by her English-dominant peers due to their limited Turkish proficiency, Elif used English rather than Turkish although she knew the response in Turkish to demonstrate her bilingual identity.

The purpose of Umut's translation practices often was to demonstrate his bilingual identity. Teacher Ayla often positioned Umut the bilingual expert and asked him frequently to translate for English dominant students. For example, after Umut explained the story of his lost hamster, the teacher raised a question:

Ayla: Kaçmış olsun diyenler el kaldırsın. Kaçsın gelmesin kaçsın ölmesin yani değil mi?
 Umut: Like do you want to get be eaten or runaway and die?
 Ayla: Umut Eda'ya açıklasana.
 Umut: I used to have two rabbits but either they both ran away or cat ate them. Would you rather the cat eat them or run away?

Ayla: Raise your hand if you want it to run away? It is better it had run away and did not return than it died
 Umut: Like do you want to get be eaten or runaway and die?
 Ayla: Umut, can you explain it to Eda?
 Umut: I used to have two rabbits but either they both ran away or cat ate them. Would you rather the cat eat them or run away?

In this dialogue, Umut explained the story of hamster in English for Eda since she was English dominant. He translated from Turkish to English and demonstrated his bilingual identity through translanguaging.

Summary

In order to soften the restricting impact of epistemic culture or language use boundaries, the students took advantage of boundary crossing mechanisms. Boundary crossing mechanisms included boundary interactions that required a collaboration between teachers, parents, community members and/or the students, boundary people that included boundary spanners, boundary roamers and boundary mediators, and boundary objects that included artefacts, processes such as topics and tasks, and hybrid discourses.

Through boundary interactions, community members informed each other about students' performances in a certain discursive space and exchanged ideas about how to support students' learning in different discursive spaces. The boundary interactions identified in this study included cultural celebrations, family events, parent-teacher conferences/interactions, and snack time in the CTS. In all these boundary interactions, parents and/or students collaborated with either mainstream teachers or the CTS teachers. However, any boundary interaction that involved both the CTS teachers and mainstream teachers was not identified.

Boundary people supported the participants' learning by creating links between the students' familiar knowledge and practices and new knowledge and practices. They also supported students' learning at varying levels by exchanging information about how to meet students' individual needs better. The boundary people were divided into three groups. Boundary spanners included mainstream teachers, the CTS teachers, parents,

peers and the researcher, boundary roamers included parents and the researcher, and boundary mediators included only the parents.

Finally, boundary objects included artefacts such as a tablet, a necklace, a calendar project, food, red-white t-shirts and Halloween costumes, processes such as topics and tasks that appeared repeatedly in discursive spaces and translanguaging practices. Artefacts and processes had two functions in crossing the boundaries: 1) they opened discussions in which students could show their comprehension and construct knowledge, and 2) they opened third spaces in which students engaged in discussions that allowed them to demonstrate their bilingual identities.

Lastly, translanguaging as a hybrid discursive practice was a shared practice across homes, schools and the CTS. While it was occasionally used in homes and schools, it was commonly practiced in the CTS. While the use of translanguaging practices were mostly at the word level in homes and schools, two forms of translanguaging were observed in the CTS: translanguaging in modes and translanguaging between modes. Finally, while translanguaging was used to demonstrate comprehension, construct knowledge, share information and involve into family discussions as a bilingual child in homes, it was mainly used to demonstrate identity and construct knowledge in schools. In the CTS, translanguaging was used to bridge practices across discursive spaces, give voice, support learning and demonstrate identities.

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this dissertation was to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge so that teachers can develop effective pedagogies for this group of students and increase their academic achievement. The study specifically aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What boundaries do Turkish-American students encounter as they move across their home, heritage language school and mainstream schools?
2. How do students respond to these boundaries with a specific focus on their interactions with boundary crossing mechanisms and languaging practices?
 - a. What role does translanguaging play in Turkish American youngsters' boundary crossing?

To answer these questions, a linguistic ethnographic multi-case design was implemented in the contexts of a Turkish heritage language school, mainstream schools and homes to reveal the boundaries that influenced three Turkish-American students' languaging practices and the mechanisms that facilitated the students' boundary crossing experiences. Data collection consisted of primary and secondary data tools. The primary data tools included interviews with the parents (n=3), heritage language school teachers (n=2), mainstream teachers (n=3) and the students (n=3), observations (22 hours in the heritage language school, 5-6 hours in each school and 3-5 hours in each home) and field notes, and audio recordings (360 minutes in total) of young participants' language use in the HLS. The secondary data tool included questionnaires administered to parents (n=6) to select the student participants. Data were analyzed using the five steps of the linguistic ethnography data analysis procedure and open, axial and selective coding.

The major findings from this dissertation are discussed below. First, I detail culture-based differences in topics and tasks, skill-based differences in topics and tasks, and the differences in language practices of others as three sociocultural differences across homes, mainstream schools and the HLS that influenced CLD students' languaging practices. Secondly, I explained students' boundary crossing experiences based on their perceptions of familiarity and language proficiencies as two factors that influenced the students' perceptions of boundaries and language proficiencies. Thirdly, the three functions of boundary crossing mechanisms in facilitating the students' boundary crossing are discussed. Finally, I reframed the boundary crossing theory to better analyze the CLD students' boundary crossing experiences

Boundaries Across Heritage Language Schools, Mainstream School and Homes

The first research question examined the nature of the boundaries Turkish-American students encountered as they moved across homes, mainstream schools and the heritage language school. The external analysis of sociocultural norms and values showed that epistemic culture and language use surfaced as boundaries due to three major differences across homes, schools and the HLS: 1) cultural differences in topics and tasks, 2) skill-based differences in topics and tasks, and 3) the differences in language practices of others.

Cultural Differences in Topics and Tasks

This section first discusses cultural differences between topics and tasks in each discursive space under the title of sociocultural practices. It then discussed the nature of boundaries by positioning them on the smooth-insurmountable continuum. While boundaries that appeared as smooth or managed were labelled as soft, the boundaries that appeared as hazardous or insurmountable were labelled as strong in this part.

Sociocultural practices

The analysis revealed that students encountered topics and tasks that were culturally different in the three observed discursive spaces, and these cultural differences acted as epistemic culture boundaries. Not surprisingly, the mainstream school and the heritage language school were the most different. Students engaged in more “U.S. centric” or mainstream culture dominant topics and tasks (e.g. names of the American cultural days, games, food and currency) in the mainstream school settings than in the HLS where they were engaged in more “Turkey centric” or Turkish culture dominant tasks and topics (e.g. names of the Turkish cultural days, games, food and currency). Similar cultural differences were also revealed in Kenner and Ruby’s (2012), Lytea’s (2015) and Tereshchenko and Archer’s (2015) studies. For example, in Tereshchenko and Archer’s (2015)’s study, the researchers found Albanian or Bulgarian culture focused tasks and topics in the HLSs while British culture focused tasks and topics in MSs. These differences suggested disconnections between these spaces that students could draw on to engage in learning.

Compared to school spaces, homes were more hybrid spaces since both mainstream culture and the heritage culture-oriented tasks and topics, such as Halloween, Ramadan, Christmas or Ataturk’s Memorial Day, were initiated and discussed in all students’ homes. The culturally hybrid natures of tasks and topics provided students opportunities to construct background knowledge and commonalities so they could actively participate in cultural tasks and topics in both schools and thus played a key role in facilitating students’ boundary crossing experiences to school spaces. For example, while Halloween discussions at home supported Elif’s engagement in discussions about Halloween at school, Republican Day discussions at

homes supported Umut and Ozan's engagement in Republican Day discussions in the HLS. The culturally hybrid nature of homes revealed in this study is somewhat different from heritage culture only natures of CLD homes in other studies (Hedegaard, 2005; Hinnenkamp, 2003; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, Hedegaard (2005) found in her study with Danish-Turkish students that while parents valued and practiced only Turkish culture at homes, schools valued and practiced only Danish culture at school. These differences in values and practices created conflicts and influenced students' motives and identities.

The HLS was a more hybrid space in terms of culture-related tasks and topics compared to the mainstream schools. The teachers explained this hybridity with the purpose of schools. MS teachers stated that they mainly valued adopting the students to the mainstream culture and accelerate the acculturation process. On the other hand, the HLS teachers stated that they valued adopting the students to not only the mainstream culture but also the Turkish culture so that they could build on and perform their Turkish identities when they occasionally visited their home countries. While similar purposes of the MS schools have been reported in several other studies in the literature (Kenner & Ruby, 2012, Lytea, 2015; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015), the purpose of the HLS in this study differed slightly from the purposes of other HLSs studied in the literature (Lo, 2009; Lu, 2001; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015). The HLSs in other studies aimed to prepare their students for not only short visits but also longer stays by teaching them not only their heritage cultures but also academic topics (see next section).

Deficit-oriented teacher and parent ideologies can be one reason for the distinct cultural differences between the tasks and topics in different discursive spaces. Several studies reported a dominance of monoglossic ideologies in some MS and HL schools and homes (Francis Archer & Mau, 2009; 2010; Helmer, 2013; Hinnenkamp, 2003; Lasagabaster & García, 2014; Otcu, 2010; Shim & Shur, 2018). For example, Shim and Shur (2018) found that teachers purposefully engage students to only mainstream culture focused tasks and topics to accelerate their acculturation process, which is a misconception (Harper & de Jong, 2004; Berry, Phinney, Sam, Vedder, 2006; McCarthy, 1998). These monoglossic ideologies create disconnections between discursive spaces that CLD students regularly engage in and imply discontinuities in students' learning or interactions.

Parents' and teachers' limited bicultural competence can be another reason for engaging the students into monocultural tasks and topics in schools or homes. The mainstream teachers in this study lacked knowledge about Turkish culture and even if some teachers stated positive attitudes and value to diversity, they rarely engaged students into culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogies as reported also in Craighead and Ramanathan's (2007) and Lee's (2018) studies. On the other hand, since parents, especially U.S. born students' parents, had familiarity with both mainstream and HL cultures, they could engage students into tasks and topics in both cultures and these students' homes appeared more hybrid than the homes of other CLD students in the literature whose parents had limited bicultural competence (Hedegaard, 2005; Hinnenkamp, 2003; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999).

Nature of boundaries

While the distinct cultural differences between tasks and topics in the HLS and MSs suggested strong boundaries between these spaces, hybrid nature of tasks and topics in students' homes suggested softer boundaries between homes and two schools. Similar strong boundaries between HLSs and MSs have also been implied in Tereshchenko and Archer's (2015) study. However, boundaries between homes and HLSs and MSs softened by hybrid natures of tasks and topics in homes contradicted with strong boundaries found in several studies (Helmer, 2013; Hinnenkamp, 2003). These studies found either heritage culture or mainstream culture focused tasks or topics in homes and implied strong boundaries between homes and two school spaces.

Skill-based Differences in Topics and Tasks

This section first discusses skill-based differences between topics and tasks in each discursive under the title of sociocultural practices. It then discussed the nature of boundaries by positioning them on the smooth-insurmountable continuum. While boundaries that appeared as smooth or managed were labelled as soft, the boundaries that appeared as hazardous or insurmountable were labelled as strong in this part.

Sociocultural practices

The tasks and topics made different linguistic demands on the students. The tasks and topics in both at home and in HLS spaces dominantly afforded students to use socially oriented language and verbal communication skills. Only Umut with highest bilingual proficiency were engaged in literacy practices in Turkish in the HLS although it was limited to "copy the text" or "read the words/sentences" tasks. In contrast, the tasks and topics in MSs dominantly demanded students to use more academic language (technical words such as factorials and subtractions) and literacy skills. The differences

in skills required by tasks and topics created disconnections between MSs and other discursive spaces.

While the dominant use of socially oriented language and verbal language skills in homes and dominant use of academic language and literacy skills in MSs overlapped with the findings of several studies (Duarte, 2016; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Pacheco & Miller, 2016; Parke et al., 2002), dominant use of socially oriented language and verbal skills partially overlapped with the literature. Studies mostly found a dominance of literacy skills and academic language both in the HLSs like MSs unlike homes (Byeon, 2015; Creese et al., 2008; García & Kleifgen, 2011; Lo, 2009; Pak, 2005; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015; Velasco & García, 2014). For example, Pak (2005) reported that the Chinese HLS teachers in her study engaged students in predominantly academic topics and tasks that required high level of literacy skills so that they got prepared for the standardized tests in China. This difference showed that the HLS in this study differed from other HLSs in terms of purpose and curriculum. While the HLS in this study mainly aimed to develop the students' bilingual identities and short visits to Turkey, the other HLSs mainly aimed to develop the students' heritage identities and prepare the students for permanent visits in the home countries.

Students' limited Turkish proficiency levels and young ages could be one reason for the difference between the findings of this study and findings of other studies. In this study, most students enrolled to the HLS were younger than 7 years old and illiterate both in Turkish and English. Thus, the HLS teachers dominantly focused on developing their social language proficiency and verbal skills. Moreover, even in older students' group, the use of academic language and literacy skills was limited since they had low

Turkish proficiency and limited literacy skills in Turkish. On the other hand, the students in other studies (e.g. Byeon, 2015; Creese et al., 2008; Lo, 2009; Pak, 2005; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015; Velasco & García, 2014) were older and literate in their heritage languages that teachers could build on these skills and engage them into complex practices.

Nature of boundaries

The skill-based commonalities between tasks and topics in the HLS and homes suggested softer boundaries in this study compared to the boundaries suggested in other studies (Lo, 2009; Pak, 2005; Tereshchenko & Archer, 2015; Velasco & García, 2014). On the other hand, the skill-based differences between tasks and topics in the HLS/homes and MSs suggested strong boundaries. Several studies implied similar strong boundaries between these spaces (Chu & Wu, 2010; Heath, 1983; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, in Heath's study, the students, especially the Black students, in Trackton community perceived linguistic boundaries between their communities and schools due to the varying use of standard and vernacular language practices and literacy practices, and these differences influenced some students' learning and academic achievement considerably. Thus, this study supported the literature by implying strong boundaries for all students between homes and schools, and highlighted stronger boundaries for the ELL. Thus, the findings implied that teachers need to accommodate to soften the boundaries that appeared due to the differences between skills for all students, and additionally use ESOL accommodations for the ELLs.

Differences in the Language Practices of Others

A third sociocultural difference among the three discursive spaces was the extent in which students had opportunities to or were engaged in more monolingual or dynamic bilingual practices. These differences were shaped by the bilingualism of adults and peers (community members) in each discursive space. Both findings will be discussed below.

Monolingual and dynamic bilingualism

The tasks and topics in MSs provided students opportunities to use only their monolingual English resources. English-only language practices were revealed in several studies in the literature (Hornberger & Link, 2012; Jonsson, 2013; Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Pacheco & Miller, 2016; Reynolds & Orellana, 2014; Rose, 2013). For example, Reynolds and Orellana (2014) compared students' language practices in their communities and schools, and revealed that while students used their bilingual resources fluidly in their communities, they used monolingual English resources in mainstream schools.

On the other hand, the tasks and topics in the HLS and homes provided students opportunities to use both English and Turkish resources. These findings partially overlapped with the literature since some studies revealed predominantly monolingual heritage language practices in homes (Coady, 2013; Giampapa, 2001; Haneda, 2006; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Valdés, 2001; Valencia, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999) and heritage language schools (Helmer, 2013; Lytea, 2015; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Lo, 2009; Showstack, 2015). For example, Lytea (2015) found that HLS teachers spoke only standard Turkish in the HLS so that students could get familiar with this form of Turkish and learn practicing it.

The role of bilingualism of adults and peers

Bilingual proficiency levels of adults and peers in homes and HLSs may be one reason for differing language practices between homes and the HLS in this study and homes and HLS in other studies. Unlike parents in other studies (Hornberger & Link, 2012; Valdés, 2001; Valencia, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999), parents in this study were experienced bilinguals and could move between their bilingual resources to interact with the participants in homes. On the other hand, the HLS teachers were emergent bilinguals (fluent Turkish speaker and beginner/intermediate level English speakers) and used dominantly Turkish. However, since the majority of peers were English dominant emergent bilinguals, flexible bilingualism was dominantly practiced in the HLS unlike strict monolingual language practices in other studies (Helmer, 2013; Lytea, 2015; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Lo, 2009; Showstack, 2015).

Nature of boundaries

The differences between language practices across homes, the HLS and MSs appeared as boundaries. The strength of boundaries between discursive spaces depended on how far community members' language practices were positioned on the monolingualism-plurilingualism continuum. Since dominant Turkish practices in the ELLs' home differed from English-only practices of adults and peers in MSs more than Turkish-dominant hybrid community practices in the HLS, the strongest boundaries appeared between home and MS for the ELL. On the other hand, since the Turkish-dominant hybrid community practices in the HLS differed from English-only practices in MSs more than English-dominant hybrid home practices, the strongest boundaries appeared between MSs and HLSs for the U.S.-born students. While several studies confirmed the implication for ELLs, only a few studies reported strong boundaries in the

HLS for the U.S.-born CLD students since these students also predominantly practiced the heritage language and culture at home (Byeon, 2015; Lu, 2008; Otcu, 2010). Most studies implied more commonalities between U.S.-born students' homes and HLSs and less discontinuities in HLS spaces compared to school spaces (Francis, Archer & Mau, 2009; Helmer, 2013; Leeman, 2015; Seals & Peyton, 2017; Showstack, 2015). This study showed that when U.S.-born students practiced flexible bilingualism with English dominance at home, the strength of boundaries between HLSs and other spaces increased.

Adults' language practices across homes, MSs and the HLS influenced the strength of boundaries more than peers' language practices since adults were the power figures and language planners in all discursive spaces. For example, although the HLS appeared as the most hybrid space in terms of flexible use of bilingual resources and shared commonalities with all participants' home and school practices, since adults' language practices between the HLS and MSs differed distinctively, the boundaries between these two spaces appeared the strongest for U.S.-born students. On the other hand, since adults' language practices overlapped between homes and the HLS, the boundary between these spaces appeared smoother for Elif. This finding suggested that although adults in school spaces advocated for strict separation of languages in a belief that this would accelerate CLD students' additional language learning process (Møller & Jørgensen, 2011; Poza, 2017), monolingual practices of adults in these spaces appeared as a strong boundary for the students.

Students' Experiences with Boundaries Across Homes, HLSs and MSs

Although the external analysis suggested culture and skill-based differences in tasks and topics and the differences in community members' language practices as

boundaries, it was limited in explaining how CLD students perceived these boundaries and how they influenced the students' learning and interaction. The analysis of students' responses to the boundaries showed that each CLD student perceived these boundaries differently (see Figure 7-1) due to two factors: perceived familiarities and language proficiencies.

As demonstrated in Figure 7-1, the impact of boundaries on three Turkish-American students' learning and interactions varied between soft and impenetrable when the students with varying perceived familiarity and language proficiency levels transitioned between homes-MSs and homes-the HLS. On the other hand, the impact of boundaries on their learning and interactions varied only between hazardous and impenetrable when students transitioned between the HLS and MSs. The variances in the impact of boundaries were explained below.

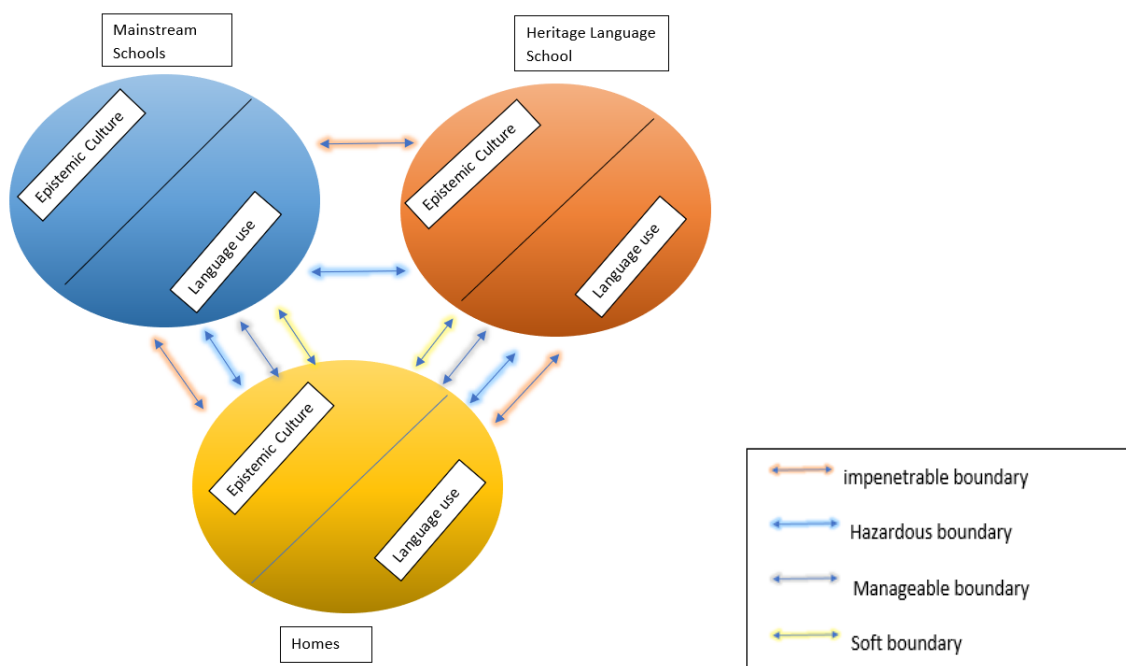


Figure 7-1. Turkish-American Students' perceptions of boundaries

Perception of Familiarity

This section, firstly, discussed the role of perceived familiarity on students' perceptions of boundaries. Then, it discussed how the students perceived boundaries based on their individual familiarities with tasks and topics in each discursive space.

The role of perceived familiarity on perception of boundaries

Familiarity referred to background knowledge about a task and topic or funds of knowledge. Findings showed that perception of familiarity played a significant role in facilitating students crossing the epistemic culture boundary. Although boundary crossing literature suggested perceptions of familiarity and commonalities between practices as two factors that influence students' perceptions of boundaries (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Phelan et al., 1991; Stone, & Han, 2005; Wenger, 2000), this study showed that commonalities did not influence CLD students' boundary crossing experiences unless students perceived familiarity in commonalities.

Students' perceived familiarities with the topics and tasks in each discursive space played a key role in determining CLD students' perceptions of boundaries and transitions to new discursive spaces. The more familiarity students perceived among tasks and topics in different discursive spaces, the softer they perceived the boundaries between these spaces. Several studies also highlighted the role of the perception of familiarity in students' perception of boundaries (Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Martin-Beltran, 2014; Phelan et al., 1991; Valdés, 2001; Li Wei, 2014). For example, Phelan and colleagues (1991) found that students who perceived schools, peer worlds and homes as congruent worlds due to their high level of familiarity with tasks and topics in each space perceived the boundaries between these discursive spaces soft.

Students' boundary crossing experiences based on their perceived familiarity

Each student's experiences with boundary crossing between discursive spaces varied since their perceptions of familiarity with tasks, topics and language practices in each discursive space varied. In contrast to U.S. born and older participants who perceived the home-MS boundaries the softest, Elif perceived home-MS boundaries the strongest due to her perceptions of limited familiarity with the epistemic culture in her school as she was the newcomer and youngest student who had limited exposure to MS schools in the U.S. She demonstrated lower comprehension and limited interactions comparing her performance in the MS with the HLS. Several studies reported similar strong boundaries between homes and MSs for specifically newcomer ELL students implying that students' familiarity with the epistemic cultures of schools influenced by duration of exposure to MS culture (Daniel & Pacheco, 2015; Jonsson, 2013; Hedegaard, 2005; Phelan et al., 1991; Valdés, 2001; Valencia, 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, Valenzuela (1999) found in her study that the Mexican immigrant students demonstrated less comprehension of school topics and tasks than Chicano students due to their less perception of familiarity. This study added to these findings by also highlighting age as another possible factor that influenced the students' experiences and perceptions of boundaries between homes and schools.

As students' perceived familiarities with the epistemic culture in each discursive space increased (which often took a long time since students consistently engaged in new tasks and topics), their transitions to these spaces became smoother over time. Comparing Umut' first and second times engaging in new (Turkish-culture-based) games, poems or songs in the HLS and the newcomer ELL's first and second times engaging in modified American games in the HLS and mainstream culture-oriented

tasks in the MSs, students demonstrated more active participation as their perceived familiarity increased. However, Ozan's first engagement with a new task or topic was so traumatic due to his low Turkish proficiency and limited background knowledge that he rejected attending these topics and tasks a second time and dropped the HLS in short time. Several studies reported similar CLD student experiences to Ozan's experiences (Byeon, 2010; Creese et al., 2008; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Otcu, 2010). For example, Lytra & Baraç (2008) revealed that some European-Turkish students experienced discontinuities in their engagement in certain cultural activities in a community school due to their limited familiarity with these cultural activities. Since their experience was traumatic, they did not attend these practices a second time. Similarly, some Bulgarian students in Tereshchenko and Archer's (2015) study experienced considering dropping out the HLS due to their traumatic experiences with new tasks and topics. Thus, the findings implied that when students' perceived familiarity did not increase, their learning remained somewhat stunted.

The boundaries between HLSs and MSs is an under-researched issue in the CLD literature. This study showed that although the students perceived the impact of boundaries between home-MSs and home-HLSs differently, all students perceived traumatic or impenetrable boundaries between MSs-the HLS due to the distinct differences between the tasks, topics and language practices in these two school spaces. Similar traumatic or insurmountable boundaries were perceived by Albanian and Bulgarian students in Tereshchenko and Archer's (2015) study due to the distinct differences between epistemic culture and language use in MSs and HLSs. The strong

boundaries between these school spaces resulted in discontinuities in students' learning.

Language Proficiency

This section, firstly, discussed the role of bilingual proficiency on students' perceptions of boundaries. Then, it discussed how the students perceived boundaries based on their individual bilingual proficiency levels to meet the linguistic demands of tasks and topics in each discursive space.

The role of language proficiency on perception of boundaries

Since only a few studies have used boundary crossing as a theoretical framework to understand CLD students experiences between different discursive spaces, language proficiency was not mentioned as a factor that influenced the perceptions of boundaries in boundary crossing literature. However, several studies in CLD literature that analyzed CLD students' experiences in different discursive spaces suggested language proficiency was a factor that might influence students' learning and interactions in these discursive spaces (Kano, 2013; Lambert, 1974; Otcu, 2010; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, Kano (2013) noted that students' experiences with crossing the linguistic boundaries of tasks and topics in an after-school program varied depending on their English proficiencies. Thus, language proficiency played an important role in determining the impact of boundaries on students' perceptions of boundaries and learning.

Students' boundary crossing experiences based on their language proficiencies

When students had language proficiency to meet the linguistic expectations of tasks, topics and language practices of others in two discursive spaces, they perceived the boundaries softer and transitions between these discursive spaces smoother. The

findings showed that while English proficient students experienced the smoothest transitions between home and MSs where the medium of communication was predominantly English, the Turkish proficient student experienced the smoothest transition between home and the HLS where the medium of communication was predominantly Turkish. Similar differences between the perceptions of boundaries based on language proficiency were revealed in Otcu (2010) and Valdés (2001)'s studies. Otcu (2010) noted that Turkish-American students, who practiced predominantly Turkish at home and had high level Turkish proficiency, experienced smoother transitions between their homes and the HLS than the students who practiced predominantly English at homes and had beginner level Turkish proficiency. Similarly, Valdés (2001) observed smoother transitions of Mexican immigrant students with higher English proficiencies between homes and MSs compared to the students with lower English proficiencies.

Although Elif was fluent Turkish speaker and could meet the HLS teachers' linguistic expectations, peer's language use influenced her perceptions of boundaries in the CTS since their language practices differed from her dominant language practices. While similar peer pressure was felt slightly in the MSs for English fluent participants considering their reports about their linguistic decisions, it was felt strongly in the HLS for Elif considering the increase in her English use. Similar peer pressure was reported in other studies by the students who perceived impenetrable boundaries between MSs and their communities (Lytea, 2015; Phelan et al., 1991). However, these students highlighted the cultural conflicts such as religion, values and perspectives as factors that influenced their perceptions of the boundaries the most, this study revealed language as

a factor that influenced the perceptions of boundaries between the HLS and home for Elif and feeling of belonging in the peer community.

Students' bilingual proficiencies may soften the boundaries across all three discursive spaces. While emergent bilingual students perceived the impact of one boundary impenetrable and another smooth, Umut, who was an experienced bilingual, perceived none of boundaries as impenetrable. In other words, the impact of strong boundaries on Umut's learning and interactions was perceived softer than other students since he had the highest bilingual proficiency. Compared to other two students who performed low in one school space and high in another, his performance varied between average to high as he transitioned between the HLS and MS. Since the studies that analyzed students' experiences both in HLSs and MSs were limited, literature stayed limited to support this finding. However, some researchers implied that when students were allowed to use their bilingual resources in their literacy tasks, experienced bilinguals could create more complex work (Canagarajah, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; García & Kleyn, 2016; Gorter, 2015; Velasco & García, 2014).

Considering the importance of language proficiency in students' learning and interactions, it is important to understand how students responded to the boundaries between the same discursive spaces as they gained proficiency. Considering the increases in Elif and Umut's classroom participation in the HLS between the beginning and end of the study, this study noted that as students gained bilingual proficiency, their boundary crossing experiences moved to smooth end of the continuum, and they experienced less discontinuities in their learning and interactions in time. In other words, as students moved from emergent bilinguals to experienced bilinguals, their school

achievement and engagement with learning increased and they demonstrated more comprehension of teachers or peers' language. Several studies implied similar results after analyzing the differences between experienced and emergent bilinguals' experiences in two discursive spaces (Phelan et al., 1991; Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, Kano (2012) compared experienced and emergent bilingual Japanese-American students' experiences during a literacy activity. She provided students the same passage both in Japanese and English and asked them to read the passage and answer the given questions using only English. She revealed that while experienced bilinguals dominantly relied on English passage and answered the questions comfortably, emergent bilinguals relied on Japanese texts and experienced struggles writing only in English.

Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Considering the negative impacts of some boundaries on CLD students' learning and interactions, it is important for teachers to develop effective teaching strategies through which CLD students could demonstrate their full potentials. Boundary crossing mechanisms revealed in this study can provide teachers some insights since they provided the participants opportunities to demonstrate their full potentials and re-established continuities when the students experienced discontinuities in their actions or interactions. Findings of this study suggested that boundary crossing mechanisms supported Turkish-American students' learning and interactions in three ways: 1) creating connections between different discursive spaces; 2) opening third spaces to affirm CLD students' full linguistic repertoire; 3) opening third spaces to affirm CLD students' cultural identities.

As demonstrated in Figure 7-2, all boundary crossing mechanisms, that included boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects, were actively used to soften the boundaries in and across all three discursive spaces. However, while boundary crossing mechanisms were frequently used in some spaces, they were used once or twice in other spaces. The detailed information about the use of each boundary crossing mechanism to fulfil the abovementioned three functions and soften the boundaries is discussed below.

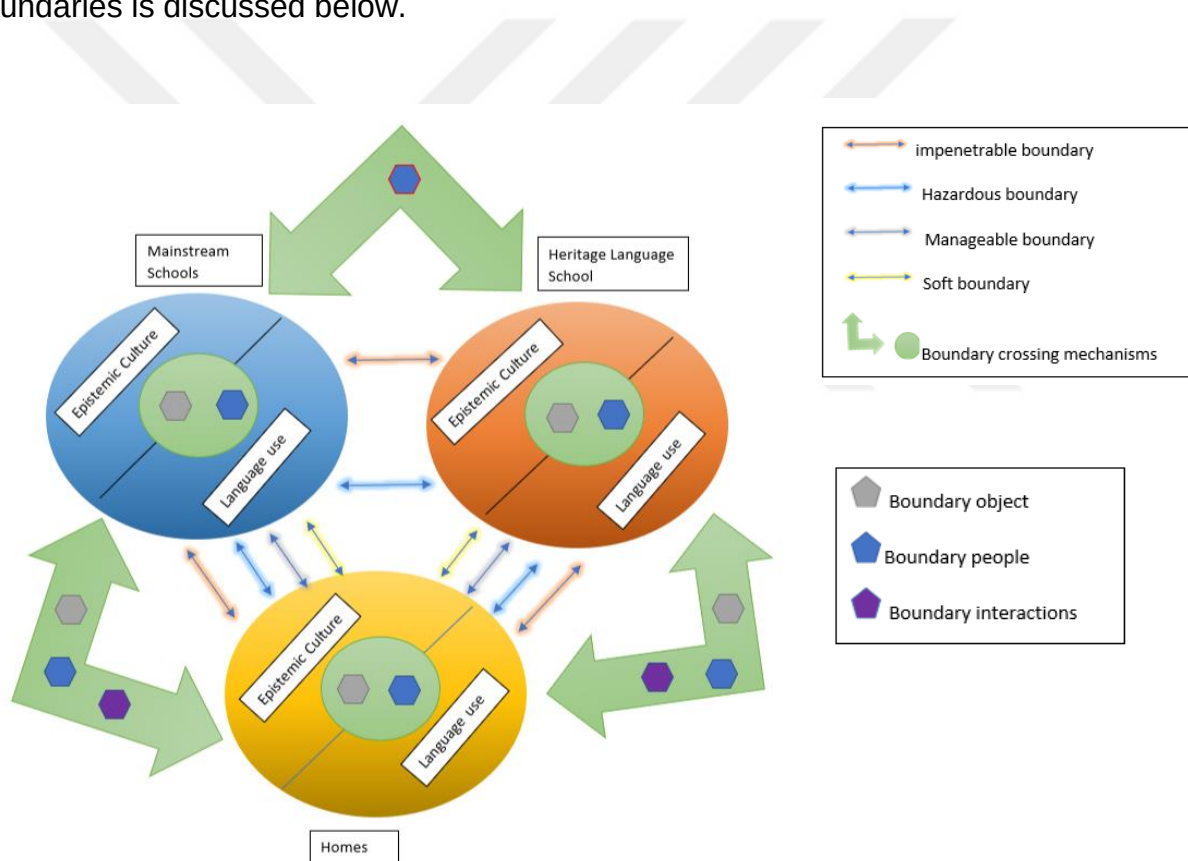


Figure 7-2. CLD students' boundary crossing experiences with boundary crossing mechanisms

Creating Connections Between Discursive Spaces

One important role of boundary crossing mechanisms revealed in this study was to create connections between epistemic cultures and language use in homes, MSs or

the HLS. Boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects in this study all created connections between different discursive spaces in different ways.

Boundary interactions

The boundary interactions created connections between tasks, topics and language practices in different discursive spaces through collaboratively designed events or projects. In these interactions, adults in different discursive spaces were informed about the children's academic and linguistic performance in various spaces. Based on this information, the adults (and students) designed events or projects that meet students' needs and support their learning and interactions in the discursive spaces the collaborating community members belonged. The community members created connections between the students' funds of knowledge and new knowledge in these events or projects to support students' learning.

The analysis results showed that although boundary interactions were a commonly used mechanism between the HLS teachers-parents and MS teachers-parents, no boundary interactions were observed between HLS teachers and MS teachers. Considering the strong boundaries between these two school spaces, as Kenner and Ruby (2012) suggested, this study implied a need for boundary interaction between HLS and MS teachers to soften the negative impact of boundaries on students' learning and interactions and create connections between these spaces. These boundary interactions, in turn, might increase students' comprehension and engagement in learning as observed in Kenner and Ruby's (2012) study. Moreover, through these collaborations, both MS and HLS teachers can better understand

epistemic culture boundaries between MSs and HLSs and develop more effective strategies to draw on students' funds of knowledge at schools.

Boundary people

Boundary people, such as HLS and MS teachers and parents, created connections between different discursive spaces by engaging students in culturally and linguistically relevant topics or making references to their experiences in other discursive spaces. Among boundary people, only parents scaffolded students' learning both as a boundary spanners and boundary roamers. On the other hand, HLS and MS teachers acted only as boundary spanners as documented in several other studies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Leiva, 2014; Haneda & Wells, 2012; Martin-Beltrán, 2014; Palmer et al., 2014; Pontier & Gort, 2016; Sayer, 2013; Velasco & García, 2014). Considering parents' support in the HLS improved their children's learning and interactions considerably, findings from this study suggested that MS and HLS teachers also need to take on boundary roamers roles to better create links between two school spaces.

In addition to parents' roles as boundary spanners and roamers, which were also documented in several other studies (Alvarez, 2014; Isik-Ercan, 2012; Ntelioglou et al., 2014), this study showed that parents took an additional role, which I called 'boundary mediators' and created connections between MSs and the HLS indirectly. As boundary mediators, the parents frequently informed the HLS teachers about CLD students' school experiences and their interactions with MS teachers. In this way, they indirectly provided insights to the HLS teachers to develop ways to create links between MSs and the HLS.

Boundary objects

Boundary objects that included artifacts, processes (topics and tasks) and translanguaging created connections between discursive spaces by opening discussions in which the CLD students shared their experiences in other discursive spaces by centering the objects. To date, bilingual materials, culturally relevant topics and tasks such as culture projects, bilingual literacy tasks, bilingual role plays and bilingual games, and hybrid discourses such as translanguaging practices were identified as some boundary objects in the literature (Bjorgen, 2010; Cummins, 2009; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez & Chiu, 1999; Jonsson, 2013; Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Lantz-Andersson, Vigmo & Bowen, 2013; Pacheco & Miller, 2016). This study broadened the category by adding new artifacts, processes and hybrid practices that represented a specific culture to the present list. Through this, new insights were opened up to teachers to develop effective teaching practices for CLD students.

Opening Third Spaces to Affirm CLD Students' Full Linguistic Repertoire

A second function of boundary crossing mechanisms was to affirm CLD students' full linguistic repertoire or funds of linguistic knowledge. All boundary crossing mechanisms used different strategies to fulfil this purpose.

Boundary interactions

Boundary interactions opened third spaces by bringing bilingual Turkish-American people together, modelling them practicing bilingually and providing CLD students opportunities to use their bilingual resources flexibly. Through these opportunities, CLD students demonstrated their linguistic expertise in safe spaces and constructed new language practices.

Although boundary interactions frequently affirmed the students' bilingual resources in the HLS, they rarely fulfilled the function in MSs due to their limited use in MS contexts. Many researchers confirmed similar roles of boundary interactions in the HLS spaces more than MS spaces (Alvarez, 2014; Byeon, 2015; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Kenner & Ruby, 2012; Orellana, 2009; Otcu, 2010). A fewer number of tasks and topics in the MSs implied a need for more collaboration of parents and MS teachers and designing more events or projects to affirm CLD students' full linguistic repertoire. Instructional activities designed through boundary interactions between MS teachers and parents or HLS teachers could also legitimize bilingual practices more in the MSs.

Boundary people

Boundary people opened third spaces to affirm CLD students' full linguistic repertoire in two ways: (1) engaging them into topics and tasks that afford them to use their bilingual resources and (2) modelling flexible bilingualism. While both MS and HLS teachers mostly used the first way and often engaged the students in topics and tasks so that they could enact their full linguistic resources, parents mostly used the second way and modelled flexible bilingualism and exposed them to comprehensible input purposefully.

Other studies noted HLS teachers to use both ways to affirm students' full linguistic resources (Byeon, 2015; Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Otcu, 2010). Since peers' English practices provided the students opportunities to practice flexible bilingualism, the HLS teachers in this study practiced Turkish monolingually and did not model flexible bilingualism as much as reported in other studies.

Similarly, some studies noted that some MS teachers used both ways to affirm students' full linguistic repertoire (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; 2013; García et al., 2012;

García & Leiva, 2014; Haneda & Wells, 2012; Pacheco & Miller, 2016; Sayer, 2013), MS teachers in this study were not observed or reported practicing and modelling flexible bilingualism since they did speak Turkish and had limited proficiency in a different named language. These findings implied a need for third spaces that affirmed CLD students' full linguistic repertoire in specifically MSs (Martin-Beltran, 2014; Pontier & Gort, 2016; Sayer, 2013).

Boundary objects

Boundary objects, specifically translanguaging, opened third spaces that affirm CLD students' bilingual resources. Translanguaging spaces that allow students to use their English and Turkish resources flexibly to engage in tasks and topics enabled CLD students to demonstrate and construct knowledge. However, this role of translanguaging varied across discursive spaces. Translanguaging was a common mechanism used in the HLS and homes as also reported in several studies (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Byeon, 2015; Coady, 2013; Giampapa, 2001; Haneda, 2006; Jonsson, 2013; Leeman, 2015; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Lo, 2009; Parke et al., 2002; Showstack, 2015; Tatar, 2015). This frequent use of translanguaging in the HLS and homes legitimized their bilingual practices and positioned the HLS and homes as hybrid spaces.

On the other hand, it was a rarely used mechanism in MSs since the participants were the only Turkish background people in their MS classrooms. Limited use of translanguaging spaces in MSs was also reported in several studies (Hornberger & Link, 2012; Makalela, 2015; Pacheco & Miller, 2016). However, the researchers in these studies explained the limited use of translanguaging in MSs with mainly teachers' deficit-oriented approaches and strong beliefs for strict separation of languages. The

teachers in this study stated their monolingualism as reason for limited use of translanguaging to support students' learning in the MSs. The rare use of translanguaging positioned MSs as more monolingual spaces and stayed limited to affirm the students' full linguistic repertoire consistently.

Opening Third Spaces to Affirm CLD Students' Cultural Identities

The final shared role of boundary crossing mechanisms was to affirm CLD students' cultural identities. All boundary crossing mechanisms affirmed CLD students' cultural identities differently.

Boundary interactions

Boundary interactions affirmed CLD students' identities through cultural celebrations through which the students could interact with adult Turkish-Americans and learn from them. Moreover, they could demonstrate their own Turkish-American identities through their clothes, funds of cultural knowledge and bilingual practices in these celebrations. Parents, HLS and MS teachers, as boundary people, all engaged students in cultural celebrations in their discursive spaces to affirm their Turkish-American identities. However, only cultural celebrations in the HLS acted as boundary interactions since only these celebrations were designed through a collaboration parents and HLS teachers. On the other hand, similar boundary interactions were not observed in schools, and the roles of cultural celebrations in the MSs acted as only boundary objects. Although this study did not identify any boundary interactions that affirmed students' identities in MSs, Kenner and Ruby (2012) identified a few cultural events that acted as boundary interactions which were a part of syncretic curriculum that they designed through a collaboration. Thus, they observed more opportunities in

MSs to affirm their identities. These findings implied a need for more collaboration between MS teachers and other adults in other discursive spaces so that CLD students could increase their metacultural awareness and celebrate their bicultural identities.

Boundary people

All boundary people engaged the students in cultural activities through which the students could demonstrate their identities in different ways. The HLS teachers frequently involved the students in culture-focused discussions (e.g. Halloween vs. Republican Day/Children's day) in which the students could share their bicultural expertise and increase their metacultural awareness as reported in the literature (Helmer, 2013; García & Hesson, 2015; Leeman, 2015; Showstack, 2012). Parents frequently took the students to various cultural celebrations in the community and involved them into discussions in homes to share their expertise. In contrast to frequent use of cultural discussions or celebrations as boundary objects in the HLS and homes, MS teachers involved the participants in only one culture project to affirm their Turkish-American identities. One reason for limited use of cultural discussions and celebrations in the MSs can be MS teachers' deficit-oriented approaches to students' cultural resources as proposed by some researchers (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Scanlan, 2007; Shapiro, 2014; Valencia, 1997). Another reason could be teachers limited knowledge about culturally responsive pedagogies (Brooks, Adams & Morita-Mullaney, 2010; García et al., 2012; García & Kleifgen, 2011; Palmer, 2008).

Boundary objects

Boundary objects that included artifacts, such as red-white t-shirts, Halloween costumes and cursive writing, and topics and tasks such as Ataturk, the Turkish leader, Republican Day and Turkish food opened third spaces in all discursive spaces in which

the students could demonstrate and negotiate their identities. However, while they were frequently used in the HLSs, they were rarely used in the MSs. The commonly used boundary object that confirm students' Turkish identities in MSs was Turkish food. The use of Turkish food was limited in affirming students' hybrid identities compared to the boundary objects, such as Spanish newspapers or a newspaper article about deportation and a hip-hop song that MS teachers used in other studies (García & Leiva, 2014; Pacheco & Miller, 2016). While Turkish food opened opportunities for students to only inform their peers, the boundary objects in other spaces and other studies could engage students in discussions in which they could negotiate the boundaries critically (Helmer, 2013; Showstack, 2015). Thus, the use of boundary objects in the MSs were not only limited but also less effective in increasing the participants' metalinguistic awareness and affirm their hybrid identities. This finding implied that MS teachers need to make use of more boundary objects to not only affirm their hybrid identities but also increase their critical consciousness (Valenzuela, 2016)

Holistic Analysis of Boundaries and Students' Boundary Crossing Experiences

This study showed that as CLD students moved from HLSs to homes to MSs, the register of language the tasks and topics afforded moved from heritage culture oriented to mainstream culture oriented and the language practices of others moved from flexible bilingualism to monolingualism. Moreover, as students moved from homes to HLS to MSs, the language requirements of tasks and topics moved from social language to academic language. A holistic analysis of these variances showed that the tasks, topics and language practices of others in each discursive space provided the students different opportunities to draw on their full linguistic resources.

These varying opportunities to language suggested that only a holistic analysis of CLD students' language practices within and across MSs, homes and the HLS can document a broader picture about the students' full language repertoire, as also suggested by Cenoz and Gorter (2011). Thus, the literature which analyzed CLD students' linguistic practices in one or two discursive spaces could explain CLD students' full linguistic repertoire only partially (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Byeon, 2015; Coady, 2013; Giampapa, 2001; Haneda, 2006; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Jonsson, 2013; Makalela, 2015; Pacheco & Miller, 2016; Parke et al., 2002). Moreover, through a holistic analysis, teachers could understand the variances in CLD students' learning and linguistic experiences and develop effective ways to leverage the students' full linguistic repertoire so that they could demonstrate their full potential (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

Although an external analysis implied the same sociocultural differences as boundaries across homes, MSs and the HLS, each student perceived boundaries differently due to the variances in their bilingual proficiencies and perceived familiarities. The newcomer ELL had low English proficiency and low level of familiarity with the MS tasks and topics. Thus, as she moved from homes to HLS to MSs, her perception of boundaries moved from soft to impenetrable. Her boundary crossing experiences across three discursive spaces resembled to several other ELLs experiences in other studies (Byeon, 2010; Creese et al., 2008; Jonsson, 2013; Lytra & Baraç, 2008; Otcu, 2010; Pacheco & Miller, 2016). This finding suggested that the newcomer ELLs may need more accommodations in MSs compared to the HLSs.

Although the other two students were both U.S. born and had high level of familiarity with mainstream culture and English proficiency, their perceptions of boundaries also varied due to the variances in their perceived familiarities with Turkish culture and their varying levels of Turkish proficiencies. As Ozan moved from homes to MSs to the HLS, his perceptions of boundaries moved from soft to impenetrable. On the other hand, as Umut moved from homes to MSs to the HLS, his perceptions of boundaries moved from soft to hazardous. Umut perceived the boundaries between the HLS and other spaces softer than Ozan due to his higher bilingual proficiency and perceived familiarity with the Turkish culture. Both students' perceptions of boundaries implied that the HLS teachers need to accommodate to soften the boundaries for these students. However, Ozan might need more accommodations since he perceived the boundaries stronger than Umut.

Understanding CLD students' experiences with a Boundary Crossing Theoretical Lens

The findings of this research study implied that boundary crossing theory needs to be reframed to better explain CLD students' boundary crossing experiences across multiple discursive spaces. Boundary crossing theory was often used to understand students' learning experiences between two different contexts. This study used boundary crossing framework to understand students' learning experiences across three discursive spaces. This framework could effectively explain students' learning experiences holistically across three discursive spaces. On the other hand, since this study recruited CLD students who differed from monolingual the students and focused also on students' linguistic experiences to better understand their funds of linguistic knowledge, boundary crossing theory stayed limited. Thus, this framework was

supported with translanguaging framework. When the boundary crossing and translanguaging theories used together, they enabled to fulfil the overall purpose of this dissertation and document the Turkish-American students' learning and linguistic experiences across three discursive spaces very well.

This study revealed that commonalities between tasks, topics and language practices created connections and supported students' learning and interactions only when students were familiar with these commonalities. For example, peers' English use acted as a common language practice across homes, MSs and the HLS. While U.S.-born students perceived these practices as resources to draw on to construct new knowledge and overcome the discontinuities in their interactions or learning, the newcomer ELL perceived these practices as barriers since she had limited proficiency in the named language peers used. Boundary crossing researchers did not highlight the role of perceptions of familiarity in commonalities so that these commonalities could soften the boundaries and reestablish communities in their actions and interactions (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011b; Engeström et al., 1995; Phelan et al., 1991; Wenger, 2000). This study suggested a need for modification of the figure in the literature review as below (see Figure 7-3). In the figure below, the perceptions of familiarities are placed within commonalities. As students perceived more familiarities in the commonalities, their boundary crossing experiences moved from insurmountable to smooth.

This study also found language proficiencies as another key factor that influenced the students' perceptions of boundaries and boundary crossing experiences since participants of this study were bilinguals, not monolinguals. Thus, I placed language proficiency on the figure 7-3 as a new a factor, and suggested that as the

students gained bilingual proficiency, their boundary crossing experiences moved towards the smooth end of the continuum.

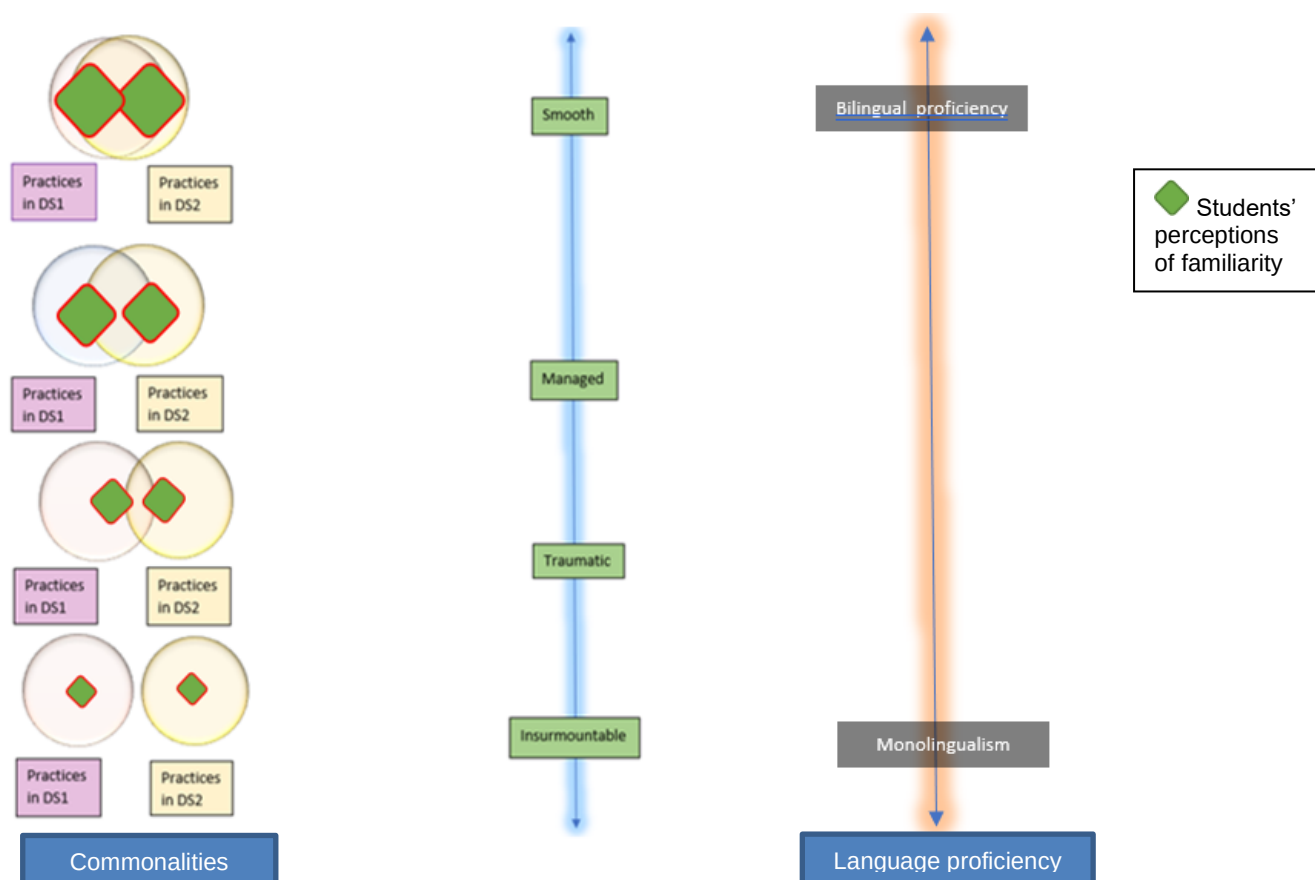


Figure 7-3. The factors that influence CLD students' boundary crossing experiences

Boundary crossing researchers suggested that boundary people supported students' learning and interactions by acting boundary spanners and/or boundary roamers (Akkerman & Bakker, 2011a; Engeström et al., 1995; Phelan et al., 1991; Wenger, 2000). In addition to these two roles, this study revealed a third role of boundary people that I called "boundary mediators". Parents as boundary mediators mediated the interactions between MS and HLS teachers, and thus provided HLS teachers insights to find ways to soften the boundaries between these two school spaces. Thus, the study suggested that the boundary people category of boundary

crossing mechanisms should be reorganized and boundary mediators should be added as a third role of boundary people as below (see Figure 7-4).

Finally, a thorough analysis of boundary objects in this study showed that 'boundary object' as a concept stayed limited to include and explain translanguaging because it implied a concrete and a stable scaffolding tool rather than a transforming practice. Translanguaging is a practice that can appear in various forms and transforms as students moved between different discursive spaces. Moreover, it supported students' both learning and interactions. On the other hand, the artifacts and processes often appear in the same form and often mostly support only students' learning each time. To give a broader and more inclusive sense, in the model below, boundary objects as a boundary crossing mechanism is replaced with 'boundary tools' as an alternative. Moreover, translanguaging as a discourse strategy can be replaced with hybrid discourses since translanguaging as a theoretical lens considered individual's linguistic resources as one linguistic repertoire rather than two distinct language systems that combine and create hybridity. Considering the contributions of this study to the boundary crossing theory, the figure of boundary crossing mechanisms can be revised as shown below:

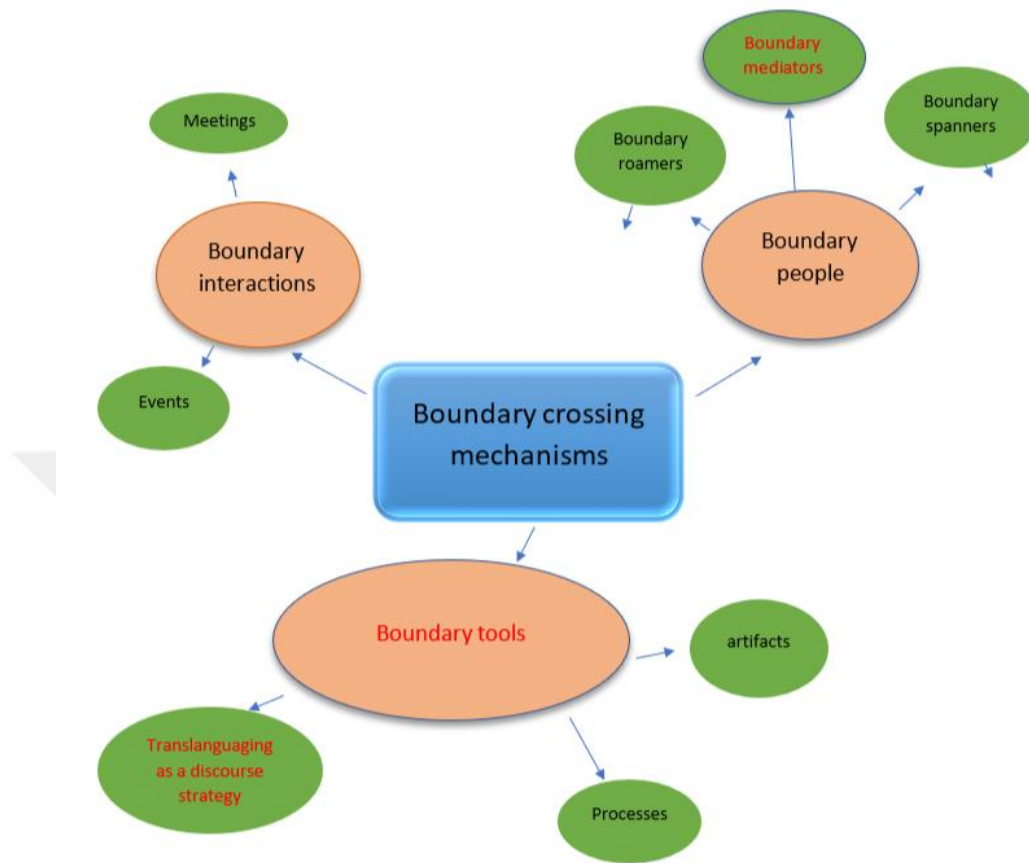


Figure 7-4. Boundary Crossing Mechanisms

Summary

Findings of this dissertation indicated that the cultural differences and skill-based differences in tasks and topics and differences in language practices appeared as boundaries that might create discontinuities in their learning and interactions. Although an external analysis of differences suggested the same boundaries for all students, the students perceived boundaries between homes, MSs and the HLS differently due to their varying perceived familiarities and bilingual proficiencies. While U.S.-born students perceived the strongest boundaries between the HLS and MSs, newcomer ELL perceived the strongest boundaries between homes and MSs. As students gained

bilingual proficiency and familiarity with the tasks, topics and language practices of others, their perceptions of boundaries got smoother.

A holistic analysis of boundaries and students' boundary crossing showed that as students moved from the HLS to homes to MSs, the tasks, topics and language practices of others demanded them to change their language practices from flexible bilingualism to English monolingualism. Moreover, as they moved from the MSs to the HLS to the homes, the tasks, topics and language practices of others demanded them to more from change their language practices from more academic oriented and in literacy forms to more socially oriented in verbal/auditory form.

Boundary crossing mechanisms, i.e. boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects, facilitated CLD students' boundary crossing in three ways: 1) by creating connections between discursive spaces, 2) by affirming CLD students' full linguistic repertoire, and 3) by affirming their cultural identities. Translanguaging as a boundary object played a crucial role in fulfilling these three functions and softening the students' perceptions of boundaries. A comparison of the frequency of use of translanguaging as a boundary object showed that it was commonly used in the HLS while it was rarely used in the MSs.

An evaluation of boundary crossing as a theory to analyze CLD students' linguistic and learning experiences across three discursive spaces showed that this theory could meet the purpose of this study when it was supported by translanguaging as a second theory. Moreover, it should be revised to position boundary mediators as a third subcategory of boundary people and explain the role of commonalities to soften the impacts of boundaries. Finally, while analyzing CLD students' experiences, some

terms in the boundary crossing mechanisms figure can be changed to make it clearer for the CLD researchers.



CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

This linguistic ethnographic multi-case study explored three Turkish-American youngsters' full linguistic repertoire by analyzing the boundaries, i.e. differences in socio-cultural norms and values, they encountered as they transitioned across the HLS, MSs and homes and the boundary crossing mechanisms with a focus on translanguaging used to support their learning and interactions when they experienced discontinuities. To fulfil my research purpose, observations in homes, the CTS and MSs and in-depth interviews with student participants parents and teachers and audio-recordings were taken in the HLS.

Considering the positive impact of taking an asset-based approach and drawing on funds of knowledge on students' academic success, it is important to understand CLD students' funds of linguistic knowledge boundary crossing mechanisms, including translanguaging. However, since the existing literature analyzed the students' language practices within one discursive space or between two discursive spaces, they stayed limited to understand how the students negotiate and enact their funds of linguistic resources in multiple discursive spaces. Thus, this study involved three discursive spaces and took a holistic approach through boundary crossing and translanguaging theories which considered student experiences and language practices as simultaneous rather than separate, independent experiences and practices. This knowledge, in return, provided important insights for teachers and parents.

This research study provided a wealth of understanding about how Turkish-American students who engaged in similar discursive spaces on a regular basis experienced boundary crossing differently. Their openness and willingness to share

their perspectives and experiences was critical in contributing to the success of this study. This study ascertained several valuable findings regarding the boundaries across homes, the HLS and MSs from an external point of view, and how each CLD student perceived these boundaries. Moreover, it suggested important implications about how these boundaries influenced students' languaging practices and learning, and what kind of and how scaffolding tools, called boundary crossing mechanisms, supported students' learning and interactions.

Summary of Findings

The study revealed the following findings:

1. Sociocultural norms and values in homes, the Turkish HLS and MSs differed in two ways and appeared as two boundaries: 1) epistemic culture and 2) language use. While the epistemic culture boundary appeared as a result of differences in tasks and topics, the language use boundary appeared as a result of language practices of adults and peers in each discursive space.
2. An analysis of epistemic cultures across homes, the HLS and MSs showed that the cultural and skill-based differences that tasks and topics afforded and differences in the bilingual practices of others influenced the participants' languaging and learning. While MSs afforded the participants to use more academic language and literacy skills, the homes afforded them to use more social language and verbal skills. On the other hand, while the HLS afforded students to deploy their full linguistic repertoire and practice flexible bilingualism, MSs afforded them to use their monolingual English resources only.
3. A holistic analysis of students' responses to boundaries showed that as students moved from MSs to the HLS to homes, their languaging practices moved from

academic language practices in writing and reading to verbal social language practices. Moreover, as students moved from HLS to homes to MSs, their languaging moved from flexible bilingualism to monolingual English practices. Thus, MSs appeared as the spaces with the most complex language practices in terms of register of language, and the HLS appeared as the most hybrid spaces with fluid use of bilingual resources.

4. An analysis of epistemic culture and language use boundaries suggested that the boundaries were perceived differently by the newcomer ELL student and the U.S. born students. While the newcomer ELL experienced the strongest boundaries between homes and the HLS, the U.S. born student experienced the strongest boundaries between the HLS and MSs.
5. Two factors influenced students' perceptions of boundaries: perceived familiarity with the nature of tasks and topics and bilingual proficiency. When students had limited familiarity with the tasks and topics in a discursive space and had limited proficiency in the named languages adults and peers used, they experienced a great number of discontinuities in their learning and interactions and perceived the boundaries hazardous or insurmountable. As students gained familiarity and bilingual proficiency, the students experienced less discontinuities in their learning and interactions and the boundaries get smoother.
6. When students did not have adequate familiarity and bilingual proficiency to meet the affordances of tasks, topics and language practices of others, some boundary crossing mechanisms, i.e. boundary interactions, boundary people and boundary objects, softened the boundaries by creating connections between discursive

spaces, affirming students' full linguistic repertoire and affirming students' hybrid identities.

- a. Boundary interactions such as cultural celebrations that required a collaboration of adults in different discursive spaces to scaffold students to content and language learning observed in this study were often between homes and the HLS and homes and MSs. This study demonstrated a lack of boundary interactions between the HLS and MSs which created strong boundaries between these two discursive spaces for the students.
- b. Boundary people such as parents, teachers and peers supported students' learning in one or two discursive spaces as boundary spanners or boundary roamers. This study showed that parents also acted as boundary mediators since they mediated communication between MS and the HLS teachers to support the students' learning.
- c. While all boundary objects i.e. artifacts, processes (tasks and topics) and translanguaging were effectively and commonly used in the HLS, they were rarely used in the MSs. All boundary objects scaffolded not only students' learning but also interactions. Through the boundary objects, all students were also given a voice.
- d. Translanguaging as a boundary object appeared in different forms. These forms could be divided into two categories: translanguaging within modes and translanguaging across modes. The complexity of the forms each student enacted depended on their language proficiencies.

Implications for Teachers

Findings from this study present important implications for teachers. Based on this dissertation, both HLS and MS teachers can find ways to create connections between practices in different discursive spaces and affirm and leverage students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge to facilitate CLD students' boundary crossing experiences, content and language learning and interactions, and eventually to increase their school success.

Firstly, considering that distinct differences between epistemic cultures and language practices created strong boundaries and discontinuities in CLD students' learning and interactions, teachers can facilitate students' boundary crossing experiences by creating connections between epistemic culture and language practices in each discursive space. One way to create connections is opening third spaces in which students can negotiate these differences explicitly. Another way to do it is to engage students into familiar tasks and topics that provide them opportunities to use their both bilingual academic and social language resources in multimodal ways and demonstrate their expertise.

Secondly, findings showed that one reason for strong boundaries between the HLS and MSs is the lack of boundary interactions between these discursive spaces. This finding implied that MS and HLS teachers need to communicate and collaborate to soften the boundaries between these spaces and support CLD students' learning and interactions in both discursive spaces. One way to do this can be to prepare a syncretic curriculum that connect tasks, topics and language practices in these spaces (Kenner & Ruby, 2012). Teachers can also engage students into culture projects and school or

community wide cultural celebrations that can bring members of different discursive space communities together.

Thirdly, parents played an important role in supporting their children's learning and interactions by acting as boundary spanners, roamers and mediators. However, teachers' roles stayed limited to boundary spanners. That is, teachers supported students' learning only in the discursive space they interacted with the students. This finding implied that both HLS and MS teachers' roles as boundary people need to be expanded. They can act as boundary roamers by moving between discursive spaces and scaffolding students' learning not only in the space they interact with the students, but also in other spaces.

Fourthly, parents' roles as boundary people should be increased in schools. Parents' presence in the CTS building and sometimes in the classroom enabled them to involve in students' learning actively when teachers' language skills and cultural knowledge stayed limited to accommodate students' needs. When teachers' pedagogies stayed limited to support the participants' learning and interactions, the parents created bridges between tasks, topics and practices in the heritage language with those in homes and schools. Parents can similarly facilitate students' learning and interactions in mainstream schools.

Fifthly, considering that each participants' perceptions of boundaries varied due to their varying level of familiarity with the tasks and topics and/or bilingual proficiencies, it is important that teachers individualize their accommodations rather than positioning them as one group with same needs. While some students needed to gain familiarity with the epistemic culture of each discursive space, others needed opportunities to

enact full linguistic repertoire since they had limited proficiencies in English or in their heritage language. Thus, while translanguaging and drawing on students' full linguistic repertoire can be some effective way to promote some students' learning, drawing on students' funds of cultural knowledge can be more effective for others. Some students may need both accommodations.

Boundary crossing mechanisms created connections between discursive spaces, constructed background knowledge with the new knowledge, and increased students' familiarity with the new knowledge. Thus, they could effectively reestablish continuities in the students' learning and interaction. However, boundary crossing mechanisms were not equally used in all discursive spaces. A comparative analysis of their uses showed that mainstream teachers rarely used them to draw on students' funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge. Considering the positive impacts of boundary crossing mechanisms in each space, MS teachers need to use more boundary crossing mechanisms to not only support ELLs' learning and interactions but also to affirm the U.S. born CLD students' bilingual and hybrid identities.

An additional implication of this study is that when CLD students were the only students from a specific cultural background, teachers needed to use more accommodations to support their learning since these students lacked peer scaffolding. Opening translanguaging spaces for these students can be one effective way to support their learning and interactions as only these spaces can provide these students opportunities to use their full linguistic resources. Receiving support from parents and HLS teachers is also important because the use of boundary objects can stay limited to support these students' learning and interactions.

Finally, since heritage language schools bring CLD students with different language proficiencies together, a flexible language policy plays a crucial role in keeping these students engaged and make the learning comprehensible for them. When heritage language schools created third spaces for students with low heritage language proficiencies in which they can enact their full linguistic repertoire and negotiate the boundaries, they can demonstrate higher engagement and maximum learning.

Future Research

The findings from this dissertation present various suggestions for future research. This study showed a bigger picture of CLD students' language and linguistic experiences across homes, MSs and the HLS than other studies since it involved three discursive spaces. However, there were limitations to this study that might have influenced the study findings.

The participants of this study differed from each other in terms of age, proficiency levels, home language practices, grade level, gender and their familiarities with Turkish and mainstream cultures. Further research can select more homogenous participants who are at the same grade and age levels and so on, and can provide more specific implications for teachers educating students with more specific characteristics. Similarly, further studies that select participants at the same proficiency levels could provide detailed information about how to accommodate for specific language learners in schools and heritage language schools.

Turkish-American immigrants are one minority group in the U.S. who had limited access to resources to increase their cultural competence and language proficiencies due to the small Turkish population in the U.S. For example, all participants of this study

were the only Turkish-background students in their schools and this student group lacked peers as resources. Further studies that recruit participants students from a different ethnic background with higher population could reveal different findings and implications.

This study focused on young participants' boundary crossing experiences. Since they were young, some participants failed to differentiate the boundaries of different discursive spaces and identify the mechanisms that supported their learning. Thus, this study used several data sources in addition to student interviews to obtain trustworthy results. Further studies can work with older students with more metalinguistic awareness, cross-cultural awareness and critical skills and reveal more insights about the students' perceptions of boundaries and learning and language experiences across discursive spaces.

Finally, a study that includes different discursive spaces such as bilingual education (BE) programs can provide different implications and reveal different boundaries. Moreover, students' boundary crossing experiences may vary in a study that includes BE programs rather than or in addition to mainstream schools.

APPENDIX A
IRB APPROVAL LETTER



Behavioral/NonMedical Institutional Review
Board
FWA00005790

PO Box 112250
Gainesville FL 32611-2250
Telephone: (352) 392-0433
Facsimile: (352) 392-9234
Email: irb2@ufl.edu

DATE: 9/6/2017
TO: Tuba Yilmaz
PO BOX 117048
Gainesville, Florida 32611-7048
FROM: Ira Fischler, Ph.D., Professor Emeritus
Chair IRB-02

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Ira Fischler", written over the printed name in the "FROM" field.

IRB#: **IRB201701513**
TITLE: CROSSING BOUNDARIES: TURKISH-AMERICAN YOUNGSTERS' LANGUAGE
PRACTICES WITHIN AND ACROSS MULTIPLE DISCURSIVE SPACES

Approved as Expedited	Expires on: 9/6/2018

You have received IRB approval to conduct the above-listed research project. Approval of this project was granted on 9/6/2017 by IRB-02. This study is approved as expedited because it poses minimal risk and is approved under the following expedited category/categories:

6. Collection of data from voice, video, digital or image recordings made for research purposes.
7. Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behaviors) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation or quality assurance methodologies. Note: Some research in this category may be exempt from the regulations for the protection of human subject noted in 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2) and (b)(3). This listing refers only to research that is not exempt.

Approval Includes, but is not limited to:

Dated and watermarked IRB-approved Informed Consent Form(s)

It is essential that each of your participants sign a copy of your approved informed consent that bears the IRB approval stamp and expiration date.

Principal Investigator Responsibilities:

The PI is responsible for the conduct of the study.

- Using currently approved consent form to enroll subjects (if applicable)
- Renewing your study before expiration

- Obtaining approval for revisions before implementation
- Reporting Adverse Events
- Retention of Research Records
- Obtaining approval to conduct research at the VA
- Notifying other parties about this project's approval status

If you have not completed the study prior the expiration date, please telephone our office (392-0433) and we will discuss the renewal process with you. **Additionally, should you complete the study on or before the expiration date, please complete and submit the closure report.**

Study Team:

Ester de Jong Study Coordinator

The Foundation for The Gator Nation

An Equal Opportunity Institution

Confidentiality Notice: This e-mail message, including any attachments, is for the sole use of the intended recipient(s), and may contain legally privileged or confidential information. Any other distribution, copying, or disclosure is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please notify the sender and destroy this message immediately. Unauthorized access to confidential information is subject to federal and state laws and could result in personal liability, fines, and imprisonment. Thank you.

APPENDIX B INFORMED CONSENT LETTERS

Study ID:IRB201701513 Date Approved: 9/6/2017 Expiration Date: 9/6/2018



INFORMED CONSENTS

Informed Consent Letter for Mainstream Teacher Participants in English
School of Teaching and Learning
PO Box 117048
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7048

Informed Consent

Dear English Language Arts Teacher,

I am a graduate student in ESOL and Bilingual Education, School of Teaching and Learning, University of Florida. For my doctoral dissertation, I am conducting a research project entitled 'Crossing Boundaries: Turkish-American Youngsters' Language Practices within and across Multiple Discursive Spaces'. The purpose of the research study is to investigate how Turkish-American students use their languages in different contexts such as Turkish club, public schools and homes. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer and discuss interview questions individually with me once. The interview will take for 45-60 minutes. The interview will be conducted in English, in a location where you are comfortable, and at a time of your convenience. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interviews. The audio recordings will be used for transcription and analysis later, and will be destroyed when the analysis is completed. I would like to observe your classroom for one full day. I will not interrupt your students' learning process and your teaching process at any moment during the observations. The study carries no harm to you or your students.

There is no direct benefit to you in this study. However, participation in this study will be an opportunity to discuss and develop your understandings about how your Turkish-American students use their languages in various contexts. No more than minimum risks are anticipated. There is no compensation to you for participating in the study. Your identity will remain confidential to the full extent provided by law. A pseudonym will be assigned to all data collected from you. The list connecting your name to this pseudonym will be kept in my locked file. Only I will have access to the list. Real names of you, your students, your school, or your city will not be revealed in any report. All data will be destroyed when they have been analyzed and the study is completed. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in the study at any time without consequence. Also, you have the right to skip any questions you do not wish to answer in the survey and in the interviews.



If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at (352) 328-2877, or tubaylmz@ufl.edu. You can also contact my faculty supervisor, Dr. Ester de Jong, professor in ESOL and Bilingual Education, University of Florida at (352) 273-4227 or edejong@coe.ufl.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant may be directed to UFIRB office, University of Florida, Box 112250, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250 or (352) 392-0433.

Please sign this copy of informed consent below and return it to me. A second copy will be provided for your record. By signing this letter, you give me permission to report data from your interviews, classroom observation, and material recordings with pseudonyms in the final manuscript to be submitted to my faculty supervisor for my doctoral dissertation. Thank you very much for your consideration.

If you need some time to discuss your involvement to this study, you can return it later at your convenience.

Cordially,
Tuba Yilmaz

I have read the procedure for this research study outlined above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study and have received a copy of this description.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature and date: _____

Principal investigator's signature and date: _____



Informed Consent Letter for Heritage School Teacher Participants in English
School of Teaching and Learning
PO Box 117048
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7048

Informed Consent

Dear Turkish Club Teacher,

I am a graduate student in ESOL and Bilingual Education, School of Teaching and Learning, University of Florida. For my doctoral dissertation, I am conducting a research project entitled 'Crossing Boundaries: Turkish-American Youngsters' Language Practices within and across Multiple Discursive Spaces'. The purpose of the research study is to investigate how Turkish-American students use their languages in different contexts such as Turkish club, public schools and homes. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to answer and discuss interview questions individually with me once. The interview will take for 45-60 minutes. The interview will be conducted in Turkish or English as you prefer, in a location where you are comfortable, and at a time of your convenience. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interviews. The audio recordings will be used for transcription and analysis later, and will be destroyed when the analysis is completed. As part of the study, I would also like to observe your classes over a period of ten weeks.

There is no direct benefit to you in this study. However, participation in this study will be an opportunity to discuss and develop your understandings about how your Turkish-American students use their languages in various contexts. No more than minimum risks are anticipated. There is no compensation to you for participating in the study. Your identity will remain confidential to the full extent provided by law. A pseudonym will be assigned to all data collected from you. The list connecting your name to this pseudonym will be kept in my locked file. Only I will have access to the list. Real names of you, your students, your school, or your city will not be revealed in any report. All data will be destroyed when they have been analyzed and the study is completed. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent to participate in the study at any time without consequence. Also, you have the right to skip any questions you do not wish to answer in the interviews.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at (352) 328-2877, or tubaylmz@ufl.edu. You can also contact my faculty supervisor, Dr. Ester de Jong, professor in ESOL and Bilingual Education, University of Florida at (352) 273-4227 or edejong@coe.ufl.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant may be directed to UFIRB office, University of Florida, Box 112250, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250 or (352) 392-0433.



Please sign this copy of informed consent below and return it back to me. A second copy will be provided for your record. By signing this form, you give me permission to report data from your interviews, classroom observation, and material recordings with pseudonyms in the final manuscript to be submitted to my faculty supervisor for my doctoral dissertation. Thank you very much for your consideration.

If you need some time to discuss your involvement to this study, you can return it later at your convenience.

Cordially,
Tuba Yilmaz

I have read the procedure for this research study outlined above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study and have received a copy of this description.

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature and date: _____

Principal investigator's signature and date: _____



Informed Consent Letter for Parents in English
School of Teaching and Learning
PO Box 117048
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7048

Parental Consent

Dear Parent/Guardian,

I am a graduate student in ESOL and Bilingual Education, School of Teaching and Learning, University of Florida. For my doctoral dissertation, I am conducting a research project entitled 'Crossing Boundaries: Turkish-American Adolescents' Linguaging Practices within and across Multiple Discursive Spaces'. This study aims to understand how Turkish-American students use their languages in different contexts such as Turkish club, schools and homes.

This study may help teachers develop their understandings about Turkish-American students' language use in different contexts and give teachers clues to increase these students' school achievement. Thus, I invite you to take a short online survey (15-20 minutes), and interview with me once for 45-60 minutes to understand your child's language practices at home. You have the right to skip any questions you do not wish to answer in the survey and in the interviews. The interviews will be conducted in Turkish or English as you prefer, in a location where you are comfortable, and at a time of your convenience. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interviews. The audio recordings will be used for transcription and analysis later, and will be destroyed when the analysis is completed. Moreover, I request your permission for me to make a visit (for 2 to 3 hours) to your home and observe your child's communication with you and her/his siblings.

Furthermore, with your permission, I would like to interview with your child three times for 30-45 minutes and observe him in the Turkish club (for 10 weeks) and school (one full day). The observations will not influence your child's learning. I would also like to audio-record your child's language during the Turkish club observations, and during the interviews. The places and days of the interviews and the home visit can be determined by you at your convenience. Your child has the right to skip any questions s/he does not wish to answer in the interviews.

Your and your child's identity will be kept confidential to the full extent provided by law. I will replace all names with pseudonyms. The list connecting the names to these pseudonyms will be kept in my locked file. Only I can have access to the list. Real names of the children, parents, teachers, schools, or city will not be revealed in any report. All data will be destroyed when they have been analyzed and the study is



completed. Your child's participation or non-participation in this study will not affect his or her grades or placement in any programs.

You and your child have the right to withdraw consent for your child's participation in this study at any time without consequence. There are no known risks or immediate benefits to the participants. No compensation is offered for participation. The results of this study will be available in August, 2018 upon request.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at (352) 328-2877, or tubaylmz@ufl.edu. You can also contact my faculty supervisor, Dr. Ester de Jong, full professor in ESOL and Bilingual Education, University of Florida at (352) 273-4227 or edejong@coe.ufl.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant may be directed to UFIRB office, University of Florida, Box 112250, Gainesville, FL 32611-2250 or (352) 392-0433. Thank you very much for your consideration.

If you need some time to discuss your participation to this study, you can return it later at your convenience.

Cordially,
Tuba Yilmaz

I have read the procedure described above. I voluntarily give my consent for myself and my child, _____, to participate in Tuba Yilmaz's study of "Crossing Boundaries: Turkish-American Youngsters' Language Practices within and across Multiple Discursive Spaces'. I have received a copy of this description.

Your child's name: _____

Parent/Guardian's name: _____

Parent/Guardian's signature and date: _____



Informed Consent Letter for Students in English

School of Teaching and Learning
PO Box 117048
University of Florida
Gainesville, FL 32611-7048

Student Consent

Dear student,

I am a graduate student at the University of Florida, studying English as a Second Language and Bilingual Education. Currently, I am doing a research study to understand how Turkish-American students use their languages at school, Turkish club and home. I would like to invite you to this study. If you agree to work with me, I would like to watch you in school for one day, Turkish club for ten weeks and home for two-three hours and take notes about your language use. In Turkish club, I will also record your conversations with your classmates and teachers with audio-recording devices. Moreover, I would like to interview you, and ask you some questions to understand how you decide to use your languages in certain locations. Please note that you do not have to answer the questions you do not wish to answer. The interviews will also be audio-recorded with your permission, and not be shared with anyone. The audio-recordings and all other information will be destroyed when this research study is completed. In this study, your name/identity will be private and any information you do not want to share with others will stay between you and me. Lastly, you can stop your participation in this study without a reason when you do not want to continue. If you agree to participate this study, please sign below.

Student's name: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C
SURVEY QUESTIONS

Survey Questionnaire for the Parents

Please note that you can skip any questions you do not want to answer.

PART I

FAMILY DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Your age:

2. What is your marital status?

Married____ Divorced____ Separated____ Never married____

3. Your highest educational degree? (Check)

Elementary____	Secondary____	High School____
Vocational____	2-year college____	University____
Master's____	Doctorate____	Other____

4. Your spouse's age:

5. Your spouse's highest educational degree? (Check)

Elementary____	Secondary____	High School____
Vocational____	2-year college____	University____
Master's____	Doctorate____	Other____

6. Where were you born?

U.S.____ Turkey____ Other (Please state)_____

7. Where were your parents born?

Mother: U.S.____	Turkey____	Other (Please state)_____
Father: U.S.____	Turkey____	Other (Please state)_____

8. Where do your parents currently live?

U.S.____ Turkey____ Other (Please state)_____

9. Where was your spouse born?

U.S.____ Turkey____ Other (Please state)_____

10. Where were your spouse's parents born?

Mother: U.S.____	Turkey____	Other (Please state)_____
Father: U.S.____	Turkey____	Other (Please state)_____

11. Where do your spouse's parents currently live?

U.S.____ Turkey____ Other (Please state)_____

12. If you were not born in the U.S., at what age did you arrive here?

13. If your spouse was not born in the U.S., at what age did s/he arrive here?

14. What was the reason you came to the U.S.?

15. What was the reason your spouse came to the U.S. (if you did not come together)?

16. Are you working at the present time? Yes _____ No _____

If yes to above question, what kind of work do you do?

17. Is your spouse working at the present time? Yes _____ No _____

If yes to above question, what kind of work does s/he do?

18. What is your total household income?

Less than \$10,000 _____ \$10,000 to \$34,999 _____ \$35,000 to \$74,999 _____

\$75,000 to \$99,999 _____ \$100,000 or more _____

19. How often do you visit Turkey?

More than once a year _____

Once a year _____

Once in two years _____

Once in more than two years _____

20. How many children do you have? _____

21. Where was/were your child(ren) born?

Child 1: U.S. _____ Turkey _____ Other (Please state) _____

Child 2: U.S. _____ Turkey _____ Other (Please state) _____

Child 3: U.S. _____ Turkey _____ Other (Please state) _____

22. If your child(ren) was/were not born in the U.S., at what age did s/he/they arrive here?

C1: _____

C2: _____

C3: _____

23. How old is/are your child(ren) now?

C1: _____

C2: _____

C3: _____

24. What grade level are your children?

C1: _____

C2: _____

C3: _____

25. Which child(ren) currently attend the Turkish Club?

C1: _____

C2: _____

C3: _____

26. Is/Are your child(ren) eligible for free or reduced lunch?

C1: Yes _____ No _____

C2: Yes _____ No _____

C3: Yes _____ No _____

27. Why do you send your child(ren) to the Turkish club?

Your comments on any of the above questions will be greatly appreciated:

PART II

YOUR CHILD(REN)'S LANGUAGE PRACTICES

Please fill out the questions below **only for your child(ren) who attend(s) Turkish club.**

Child 1

28. How often does s/he attend Turkish club?

Every weekend _____ Every two weeks _____ Once in a month _____

Once in a semester _____ Only on special days _____

29. How long has your child attended Turkish club?

New to the school _____ 0-6 months _____ 6-12 months _____

12 -36 months _____ More than 36 months _____

Child 2

30. How often does s/he attend Turkish club?

Every weekend _____ Every two weeks _____ Once in a month _____

Once in a semester _____ Only on special days _____

31. How long has your child attended Turkish club?

New to the school _____ 0-6 months _____ 6-12 months _____

12 -36 months _____ More than 36 months _____

Child 3

32. How often does s/he attend Turkish club?

Every weekend _____ Every two weeks _____ Once in a month _____

Once in a semester _____ Only on special days _____

33. How long has your child attended Turkish club?

New to the school _____ 0-6 months _____ 6-12 months _____

12 -36 months _____ More than 36 months _____

THE USE OF MATERIALS

34. What Turkish materials do you have at home? (check all that applies)

Books _____ Magazines _____ Turkish TV channels _____

Games _____ Internet _____ Other (please specify) _____

35. What English materials do you have at home? (check all that applies)

Books _____ Magazines _____ TV channels _____

Games _____ Internet _____ Other (please specify) _____

36. What resources in other language(s) do you have at home? (check all that applies)

Books _____ Magazines _____ TV channels _____

Games _____ Internet _____ Other (please specify) _____

Child 1

37. How do you rate your child's use of Turkish materials at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books _____ Magazines _____ Turkish TV channels _____

Games _____ Internet _____ Other (please specify) _____

38. How do you rate your child's use of English resources at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ TV channels_____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

39. How do you rate your child's use of resources in other languages at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ TV channels_____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

Child 2

40. How do you rate your child's use of Turkish resources at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ Turkish TV channels _____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

41. How do you rate your child's use of English resources at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ TV channels_____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

42. How do you rate your child's use of resources in other languages at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ TV channels_____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

Child 3

43. How do you rate your child's use of Turkish resources at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ Turkish TV channels _____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

44. How do you rate your child's use of English resources at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ TV channels_____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

45. How do you rate your child's use of resources in other languages at home? (5 daily, 4 every week, 3 every month, 2 once in six months, 1 for once a year)

Books_____ Magazines_____ TV channels_____
Games_____ Internet_____ Other (please specify)_____

Your comments on any of the above questions will be greatly appreciated:

PART III

LANGUAGE SKILLS AND USE AT HOME

46. What languages can you speak?

You: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____
Your spouse: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____

47. How do you rate your proficiency in those languages? (Rate it 5 for proficient, 1 for beginner)

You: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____
Your spouse: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____

48. What languages can your child(ren) speak?

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____
C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____
C3: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____

49. How do you rate their proficiency in those languages? (Rate it 5 for proficient, 1 for beginner)

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____
C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____
C3: Turkish_____ English_____ Other(Specify)_____

50. What language(s) do you speak at home?

With your spouse:

Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other_____

With your child(ren):

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____
C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____
C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

51. What language(s) do/does your child(ren) speak at home?

With you:

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____
C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

With your spouse:

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

52. What language(s) do your children use to talk each other (if you have more than one child)?

Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

53. What language(s) do your children speak with their extended family members (e.g. cousins, grandparents, etc.)

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

54. What language do you send text messages to your child(ren)?

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

55. What language does your child(ren) feel more comfortable in speaking at home?

C1: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

C2: Turkish_____ English_____ Both_____ Other(Specify)_____

Your comments on any of the above questions will be greatly appreciated:

Please let me know if you would be willing to participate in the second phase of this study. This second phase includes an interview with you and your child(ren) in the Turkish Club. I will also do some observations at the Turkish club and in schools. If you are willing to participate, please write down your contact information below.

Your name: _____

Contact Information: (Phone) _____

Contact information: (Email) _____

APPENDIX D
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Questions for Focal Students' Parents

Parent's Name _____

Date _____

1. Tell me about yourself.
2. Tell me about the time you first moved to the U.S. What do you remember about what it was like? How do you feel now about being in the U.S.?
3. Tell me about your child's language learning process. Which language did s/he learn first or did s/he learn more than one simultaneously? What kinds of activities did s/he participate in that helped her/him to learn this/these language(s)?
4. Is it important to you that your child learns Turkish? Why is it important? What kind of activities/events does your child participate in to enhance his/her Turkish language skills now? Is it important to you that your child learns English? Why is that important? What kind of activities/events does your child participate in to enhance his/her English language skills now?
5. What is your opinion on the importance of learning Turkish/American culture for your child? When your child was young, what kind of cultural activities did s/he participate to enhance his/her knowledge about Turkish and American culture? What kinds of cultural activities does s/he participate now?
6. Tell me about the first time your child started elementary school.
7. What motivated you to send your child to Turkish Club? What do you hope s/he will learn in the Turkish club?
8. Do you see any differences and similarities between the Turkish club and school? What are some of your child's favorite activities in these settings? Are there things s/he does not like as much? Can you give some examples?
9. How do you communicate with Turkish club teachers? How do you communicate with the teachers in the schools?
10. In the survey, you indicated that you use _____ language(s) at home. How do you decide what language(s) to use with your child and when?
11. In the survey, you indicated that you have _____ in English and Turkish at home. What does your child read/view/enjoy the most? Do you wish you had other materials in Turkish or English? What might those be?
12. Is there anything you'd like to add? Any comments? Questions?

Interview Questions for Focal Students' Heritage Language Teachers

Teacher's Name _____

Date _____

1. Tell me about yourself.
2. Tell me about your educational and professional background (how many years of experience do you have working in Turkish school? With Turkish American students?)
3. I would like to know more about your experiences working with the students in the Turkish club.
4. What are your goals at the Turkish club linguistically and culturally?
5. Tell me about your language use when teaching. How do you decide what language to use? How do you think students respond to it?
6. Could you please give me some information about your students' language use during instruction? What languages do they speak? How do you think they decide about which language to use and when?
7. What kinds of activities do you engage your students? Can you describe an activity that students liked very much? Why do you think they liked it? Can you describe an activity that students did not like as much? Why do you think they did not like it as much?
8. How is Turkish club similar and different from schools? Is there any relation between what Turkish club does and what students learn or do in the public schools? If so, could you describe what happens? Do you have any communication with their school teacher(s)?
9. Tell me about focal students A and B.
 - a. How long have you known them? What is your impression of them as learners? What do they seem to like/dislike in class?
 - b. What do you notice about how they learn Turkish in the Turkish Club? What strategies do they use? What about their English? What role does English play in the Turkish Club?
 - c. Tell me about A and B's attitudes to Turkish club. Do they enjoy coming to class? Do they participate in the Clubs activities? Can you give an example of the kinds of things they participate in?
10. Is there anything you'd like to add? Any comments? Questions?

Interview Questions for Focal Students' Mainstream Teachers

Teacher's Name _____

Date _____

1. Tell me about yourself. Could you please give me some information about your educational and professional background (degree, certification? How many years of experience do you have working in mainstream school?
2. Could you please share your experiences working with CLD students? Have you worked much with Turkish-American student(s)? What have your experiences been so far?
3. How do you approach working with English language learners or diverse students in your class? What kinds of accommodations, if any, do you make? What seems to work best in your experience? Are there other things you wish you could do but have not been able to do?
4. How many languages do your students speak and/or are familiar with? How do you approach the use of languages other than English when you are teaching? Do your students use any language other than English? When? How about outside the classroom?
5. Tell me about the focal student (his/her personality, relationship with his classmates, extracurricular activities she/he is involved, how s/he is doing academically.)
6. (If student is ELL) Can you describe [focal student's] English language development? What do you notice? What has been most challenging/easiest for him to master?
7. What do you know about [focal student's] Turkish language skills? Do you know about the Turkish Club? What do you know about it?
8. Tell me more about the focal student's experiences with the school. How can you describe the difference between his/her first day in your class and now? Can you think of any challenge or any achievement s/he has experienced if there is one? How was the student's reaction?
9. Tell me about your communication with the focal student's parents. (How often do you contact with the parents? For what purposes? How do you promote parent involvement?) What do you know about them?
10. Is there anything you like to add? Any comments? Questions?

Questions for Focal Students' First Interview

Student Name _____

Date _____

1. Tell me about yourself How would you describe yourself to a new person?
2. Tell me about a typical school day for you. Tell me about a typical weekend. (What time do you go to school? What time do you go home? Any activities you do after school? What do you do at the weekends other than Turkish school?)

Questions about home practices

3. Tell me more about your life at home? What do you do at home in your spare time?
4. What special days do you celebrate with your family? Do you celebrate Turkish festivals? Which ones? What do you do on those days?

Questions about the Turkish club

5. Can you think of the first day you joined the club? What was it like?
6. What is your opinion about the Turkish club? How do you feel about attending the Club? Do you like it? What do you like about it?
7. Tell me what you learn in the club. What is your favorite moment/activity in the Turkish club? Tell me about it

Questions about the school

8. Can you think of the first day you went to the school? What was it like? How did you feel? Why?
9. How do you feel about going to school? Is this your first school? How do you describe yourself at school? What kind of a student are you?
10. Tell me more about your friends at school. Any other Turkish-American? Anybody from different countries?
11. What is your favorite moment and not so happy moment (if there is one) at school? Tell me about it.

Questions for Focal Students' Second Interview

Student Name _____

Date _____

1. In our previous interview, you said you can speak _____ and _____ languages. Tell me how you learned them. What do you think about these languages? How do you feel about speaking these languages? Do you think it is important to know both Turkish and English? Why/why not?
2. Tell me more about the language(s) you use in the Turkish club. How do you decide what language to use in the club and when? Do you use English words while speaking in Turkish with your Turkish-American friends? What are these words? Where do you learn these words? Why do you use them? Are there any particular 'rules' about these uses of the words? (e.g. contexts you can/cannot use them?)
3. Tell me more about the language(s) you use in the school. How do you decide what language to use in the school? Do you use Turkish words while speaking in English with your American friends? What are these words? Where do you learn these words? Why do you use them? Are there any particular 'rules' about these uses of the words? (e.g. contexts you can/cannot use them?)
4. Do you find English helpful to your learning Turkish? How? How do you feel when you use English? Do you find Turkish helpful to your learning English? How? How do you feel when you use Turkish?
5. What language do you use to talk with your family in the USA? What language do you use to talk with your family in the Turkey? Why?
6. (Show some pictures/texts and ask them to listen to the audio recordings that illustrate translanguaging) What comes to your mind when you see/hear this conversation/photograph/text? Why do you think you practiced in this way?

Questions for Focal Students' Third Interview

Student Name _____

Date _____

1. Three of the places where you spend a lot of time are your home, school, and the Turkish club. Tell me about the similarities and differences between these places.
2. Do you think differences between these places affect your success in these places? Why/why not? Do you think similarities between these places support your success in these places?
3. When you think of yourself in school, the Turkish club and home, what kind of similarities and differences do you see in your behaviors/practices?
4. What are the roles of the Turkish club and school in your life? What did you learn by participating in both settings? When you think of your life before participating in both school and Turkish club, what changed? How do you feel about spending time in these places? What do you learn differently in these places?
5. Tell me about your parents, school teachers and Turkish teachers' expectations at home, school or Turkish club. Do you find it difficult to meet these expectations? Why or why not?
6. Do you practice what you learn in the Turkish club when you are at school or home? If yes, can you give me an example? Do you practice what you learn at school when you are in the Turkish club or home? If yes, can you give me an example?
7. How do you call yourself: Turkish, American, Turkish-American or something else? Why? Would you call yourself differently at different settings? Why or why not?
8. How do you decide to use your language in school, home, and the Turkish club? What changes in your language occur when you go from one place to another? Why does this happen? How do you feel about it?
9. Tell me about your opinions on speaking two languages. What would you suggest a child who wants to be bilingual based on your language learning experiences?
10. What is the role of Turkish in your life? What is the role of English in your life? How do you feel when you speak only Turkish, only English and both?
11. Is there anything you like to add? Any comments? Questions?

APPENDIX E THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Activities	
Painting/drawing	Nov 5 w3
Dialogue cards	
Sing the march/poem/song	Nov 5
Reading a story	
Playing with toys as a tool to facilitate learning	
Let's label things (color, organs, numbers..)	Nov 5
snacktime	
Games (role plays, roll the ball, stickers up, yag satarim bal satarim, hot & cold, Taboo, animal board game, bingo, esya-hayvan-bitki, gece-gunduz, find the animal, hide & seek, freeze & burn, heads up seven up, mothers' day, their weekend, korebe, bezirgen basi.	W7, W11 walk like an old person. This role play activity doesn't require much use of language but comprehension and application of instructions. Role play activity gives a way to demonstrate their FOK, and teachers' acceptance of different roles may be considered as a way to welcome different vales and merge cultural FOK for fun. Yag satarim: They could not apply the rules at the beginning, but they were able to understand the game in the following trials. This game required them to follow the instructions.
Instruction (worksheets-matching), translation (repeat the sentence, find a word starting with..., write the alphabet on your notebook.	
Prepare money	
Shopping activity	w5 W9
Folk dance	
Hug each other and say the CTS aloud.	
OZAN's School	
The book they read is about baby Jesus: Christian book. The Best Christmas Pageant Ever by Barbara Robinson	He didn't spend great effort to complete his work. He wrote his answers in the middle of the blank in two-three sentences.
Kahoot game to quiz students' comprehension about the book	During the Kahoot game, he made comments about the questions/answers like "I did the wrong one". When he had a technical problem, he explained it aloud and asked for help.
Watch a part of the book video	He asks "what if" questions. This indicates that he thinks critically about the video. His reactions to the video are in the American way. He was making fun of the girl in the video, making his peers laugh. His teacher said fine to his work after she checked it.
Calendar work (drawing/painting)	The calendar is about Christmas and would be a gift for his parents. I checked the pictures and speech bubbles he added to his calendar. There is not any reflection of Turkish culture.

Whole group discussion Q-A	
Math instruction-problem solving as a whole class	The teacher asked him a question, and he couldn't answer so teacher gave him tips. He couldn't answer the question, and he was upset about it. He was giving the correct answers when he was on the map, but could not solve it on the board. In the next questions, he was less willing to raise his hands.
test	He often talks to himself (inaudible). He did so also during the test. The language is only English.
American football (PE)	
Reading exercise	The teacher asked him to write more to his writing task.
Playing the Christmas song with an instrument in music lesson	He was better in following the instructions in music lesson. He was able to play the song in a high pace.
Lunch	He played with his food and made jokes. laughed with his friends to the food. It seems like his best friend and the Asian boy had a conflict. He was stopping their fight physically. It seemed like bullying, but not a race issue. Interestingly, he was with other White kids.
Leadership training	The teacher announces that there is a training for leadership about equity. Al raised hand to attend this meeting. Teacher wrote his name in addition to 7 more people. The teacher said she would choose three people based on their leadership skills.
Interaction with peers	He works with 3 other students. He talked to his group members time to time. It was mostly his peers that initiated the conversation. He talks to Black students, Asian students and White students all. He worked again on his calendar. Time to time, he talked to his peers. He made jokes. It seems like his best friend is a white boy with glasses. During the transitions, he has an interaction with his peers. His best friend was teaching him how to do magic of coins and ears.
He is more on task than he was in CTS, and more interactive to his peers. He has some problems following the instructions like he does in CTS. His peers were helpful unlike the case in CTS. He moves around the classroom, talks to different people and make jokes. He doesn't talk much in the CTS, and hangs out only with his brother.	
Ozan's home	
After lunch-game time	Although mom speaks Turkish and English together, kids spoke only in English. They could understand what their mom was telling them. They used anne and baba in Turkish only. His mom asked him to invite me again in Turkish when I was leaving, and he basically repeated what she said.
Conversation with dad	His father came, and they talked only in English although the father's English is not very fluent. Al didn't talk to his dad much. He kept watching youtube videos.
Toys	I interviewed him when two brothers were playing with their toys. Each took one toy and placed the other toys to the centers, and with

	their chosen toys, they visited these centers. They used only English while playing with their toys.
Youtube videos	He watches youtube videos that were about games and science in English only. A cartoon character gives info about laser lights.
Language with extended family	The next day, mom and uncle were skyping in Turkish. Al just said hi in Turkish. Grandma and grandpa would arrive to stay a few months, which means there would be more Turkish spoken at home.
Umut's school	
Church: "love your neighbors/enemies".	Their morning message was also very critical, which implies that they should love everyone without presumptions. He actively participated to dancing, and listened to the story silently. D actively participated to screaming of the we are.. song. He approached to the microphone. : Dance music (about God) A story from the bible related to loving everyone. Examples from sports to give the message of the day "love everyone". Social justice for women. Song again that says we love Jesus. Students read relevant text from bible.
lunch	He brought his food from home. The girls are in a different table.
Science project	They have science night where they display their inventions. He made an invention for asthma, but didn't have a chance to present in the class. He talks to his peers about his science project. He talked about their science essay that his mother edited. It is about a medical device related to his health. Two students presented their inventions. He listened to them eagerly, and raised questions. His questions were simple, not very deep, but he seemed very interested in their inventions
reading	The book they read was higher order and critical. Although it is a Christian school, I see this book more critical. He helped his friend with spelling (expert). She asks some comprehension questions about the book, he answered one question correctly (not in the test) and she reminds them of a few assignments. He read Retiring like retaying, but the rest was fine. His writing has a reflection of Bahamas writing, but he doesn't speak with an accent, and have no hard time or reflect Bahamian accent to his talk. His mom learned it in America, so he probably has his mom's accent. They worked on their essays and organized their folders. The teacher writes student friendly definitions on the board.
Work on folders	He is talking to people closer and further when they work on their folders. He started to throw things on other boys to attract their attention when he finished his work. He talked to them silently (maybe about the test questions)
Clean-up time	During clean-up time, He played with a bug, and everyone's attention was on him. They received popsicle candies for cleaning up.

Math activity	D wrote his answer to one math question on the board. The teacher asked him to read a text in math textbook, and he did a good job. He had hard time identifying the factors of 50.
CTS vs School	When I think of him in CTS, he seems to be more social and talkative. I can understand that D sees CTS peers as children, and the games seems simple for him. At school it is more like a competition, and the students are challenged cognitively all the time. It seems like to make CTS more fun, he should be with his own age group, and although he has difficulty in reading in Turkish, he needs more complex games. D is a very silent kid in CTS who barely talks, but he is very active and talkative at school.
Test	The teacher had given them an open book test, but since most students couldn't take good grades, the teacher gave them another one (not open book). The students who took good grades did free reading.
Umut's home	
Night movie	They were watching a movie in English (with no subtitles). D and his siblings speak in English to interact at home. In the morning, they watched TV again in English and I have heard him talking in English with his brother
Kitchen talk	I assume it was about his school work. He then read something in English (like a letter).
breakfast	In the breakfast table, they had a conversation in Turkish and English. D could understand the best, his sister had hard time understand and asked translation a few times.
Interview & room visit	When I ask him questions, he answered them in Turkish when the questions required short answers. He had one Turkish book in the house, not sure where it was. His sister found it, and D read it and translated to check if his comprehension is right or not. When he reads correctly, the sentence made sense to him. When he reads wrong, he was having hard time making meaning.
Elif's home	
Math exercise	A brought her math book and started to solve math problems about subtractions in two-digit numbers. She was skipping the word problems. Her mom warned her to make mistakes if she doesn't read. She used eleven in English then continued in Turkish. Numbers are English. she was saying 100 in Turkish, and 11 in English. Her accent was not very clear, which can be because she started her English learning experience in Hong Kong, when her mother warned her not to use 100 in Turkish, she started to use "a hundred".

	Mom and dad spoke only Turkish. Mom used a few English words when she was helping her solve the math problems.
Picture drawing game	She was drawing objects in the white board, and her mom and I were trying to guess what it was. When both her mom and I had a hard time in predicting the object she drew, she was providing clues in Turkish She was really good at drawing and labelling objects in Turkish. Her pumpkin drawing shows that she drew it before. It was my turn to draw pictures, and she and her mom guessed what I draw. She was very fast labelling all the pictures I draw. I intentionally drew world map (continents on it) to check A's knowledge about world. She was able to recognize world as soon as she saw it (which implies that her transitions across continents increased her global awareness and made her a global citizen who had a good geographic knowledge about the world. A's clues are sometimes in English. Mom's clues are in Turkish.
Youtube/TV	After the game, She watched Turkish youtube videos. She watched Turkish TV show when her mom is cooking breakfast. They sometimes talked in Turkish.
Dinner	All in Turkish
Elif's school	
book shopping	She then sat on the carpet in front of the library, and some other girls also joined her. She spoke with them in English. She had a small talk with the boy sitting next to her, who seemed like a Spanish speaking kid.
Q-A	Teacher asked some questions to check their background knowledge about the topic moon/sun. The teacher asked a question to Elif: "which picture would a telescope show?" Elif could not understand it in the first time, so she asked the question again slowly, and she gave her the options "the bottom one or the top one". Elif said down one. Not sure if she actually understood the question and answered correctly or just predicted. Stars are evenly spaced in the sky T/F. Teacher drew stars evenly to explain the question/statement. They could answer correctly (F) after she drew it. Elif could also answer false because she could comprehend it. "What else can you see in the daytime sky?" Elif answered "sun", and she said good. What do we see in the nighttime sky? They drew these things on their books. "Elif, what would happen if there is no sun?". She thought a little bit which indicates she is having hard time comprehending the question. Teacher repeated the question slowly but she could not understand in the second time, either. Finally she answered with "water". Another kid made fun of her answer and teacher warned her for doing it. "Energy, light". "How many tens is a hundred?" "ten tens".
Unscramble the letters	Teacher asked them to work on their own in this activity. Since she is good at letters making different words and figuring out English spelling, she was fast in this activity.

compare & contrast daytime and nighttime skies	In this activity, Ms. K asked more yes/no questions as the words were already given, and students could complete it very quickly.
Wax museum	Around the hall, the exhibitors set their stands, and students are asked to go there one by one and learn who they are and ask their extra questions. The presenters memorized their texts or read the information from the cards in their hands. A and her friend spent most of their time standing still or walking around without visiting the stands.
Computer work	The screen showed in order like 1+8 2+7, and some screens were missing. The computer was asking her to place the missing ones. She didn't understand what it actually asked. Before she could not finish 5 missing frames with 10s, the center time was up.
Center work	Then she went to carpet in front of the library to roll the dice, and get as many legos, change it with a ten block when she gets ten ones, and a hundred block when she gets ten tens. She worked with another female student. The girl kind of led the work and helped her to follow the instructions. Another student asked her a question. She behaved like an expert when helping her. She seemed to take over the lead and started to lead the girls group. When all the girls made more than one hundred, she asked the teacher what to do, and Ms. K asked them to start over because this is not competition, so they started over. In the second round, she worked with another girl but she still connected to the other girls. She talked to her friends and enjoyed the center. Then, she moved to another center. In this center, they took out cards from a bag one by one, solve the problem on the card (additions/subtractions), and based on the result, they moved their toy on the path to get closer to the finish line. She was very active in this game, and wanted to take the turn all the time. At a point, her toy stepped in "start over" and she had to start over, which made her upset, and demanding more turns. The teacher came to their station at some point, and realized all their toys are the same color, so asked them to pick different colors. She is quite persistent in her group activities. She keeps her leader role in CTS and at home.
Esol reading	Teacher said they will finish the frontiersmen. "Who can tell me a little bit about Daniel Booms?" "There were people going through the mountains and they cut the trees and made a passage for men." "Who were in America first?" "Native Americans, Christopher Colombus, Pilgrims, Daniel Booms (there are texts in the slides, but some students like A don't know how to read), Thomas Jefferson (he wanted someone to go and buy a city "New Orleans" from FR. They have one Spanish speaking adult in the classroom). Does anyone remember what green section is? Louisiana purchase. There is one Spanish speaking adult in the classroom. A kept silent, and she didn't raise her hand to answer any questions. The teacher addressed one question to her, but she pretended as she was sleeping, and didn't answer it. Teacher then started to read the story of the New Orleans and Jefferson. She reflected slides when she was reading where there were student friendly definitions of some vocabulary words, some pictures of the men in the story and some photos of some

	vocabulary words. 3 more students joined them later (now there are 11 students). She had a definition of “brave” on the board, she read brave in the text, but didn’t read the definition explicitly. Thus, not sure if A could know the meaning of the word. She put her head on her desk and teacher warned her not to sleep. “Do you know what Brave means Elif?” She pretended as sleeping not to answer the question. I am not sure she could learn the meaning of “brave” at all. To be sure, everyone know expedition, she gave them a sentence frame “I would want to go on an expedition to _____ because _____”. She asked them to complete this sentence frame and draw themselves on an exploration and explain their drawings. She seems to have fun /be proud when she was speaking Turkish especially in ESOL class After she finished drawing her picture, she bought a box of cards with very little difficulty. She wanted to read them. When I asked A if she could understand what the teacher read, she looked empty to me. She didn’t even understood why she learn this, but she made a connection to the stories of Turkish presidents that her mother told her. I explained her briefly what they talked about In Turkish.
PE	When teacher was trying to keep them in line, A played with other girls around. Girls (two girl and A) were disruptive and teacher warned them a few times to stay on task. A’s team did a good job, she could follow the instructions very well. She contributed her team’s victory (twice or more) during the game because she was really good at catching and throwing the ball. They understood the rules better towards the end of the game. She seemed bored a little bit after a certain time because the ball never reaches to her, but then teacher changed the positions of back and front line, and she had a few more chance to throw the ball, even over the net. She seemed really good at throwing and catching the ball. I have seen her to do face to a friend because she didn’t throw the ball to her. When the game ends, teacher asked “what kind of things did you notice when you are throwing or catching?”
Transitions	Then she saw a white girl wearing the same necklace she wore, and she talked to her about it. She asked “do you have a black one?” Then she kept talking about how nice her shoes were, and kept talking about things. She seemed comfortable in expressing her opinions with social language and comprehend what others were saying. Elif took some food, and sat on another table where three more other girls were eating. The owner of the seat came and said she should have her permission before she sat there cos she might not like it. A didn’t understand it at the beginning, and then I saw other girls protecting her and even one informed the teacher, and teacher asked her permission then. When other students were getting ready for morning work, teacher sat next to Elif and asked her “what did you do this weekend?” “Did you buy present to your mom?” Elif could comprehend and answer her questions. She is the one holding the door in these transitions.
lunch	Elif run to cafeteria. She took food from the cafeteria and sat in the table assigned to their classrooms. Next to her, the disabled kid, an

	adult taking care of her and another girl (I learned that she was one of the students from other class who wore the same necklace). During the lunch, she first ate the food she took from cafeteria while talking to the girl and sometimes other girls sitting on the other side of that girl. I have not seen her eating the food she brought from home, only the strawberries. Her seating position indicates her leadership skills. When I asked her what they talked with the girl, she said they made party plans like pajamas parties and play more games when the
Free reading	she decided to read with Jose, the disabled student. I have seen this kid also in ESOL classroom so I am not sure if both could read well or not. It seems like they are trying to guess the words without any scaffolding. It seems Jose could read better than A because she has hard time recognizing the words. She is often making up the words.

		Boundaries	Boundary crossing
Elif	School	Content: American history-presidents Limited differentiation in both ESOL and MC (needs explanation) Literacy practices (read some text from the book/write using sentence frames/long answer Qs/ computer instructions/ St friendly definitions on the slides) English-only policy Schoolwide cultural activities Insider/outsider (social network) Bullying & American culture Lunch food Center instructions and computer instructions Limited English proficiency Teacher's lack of Turkish proficiency Language	Turkish student in another class Broken English Extravert personality Necklace/shoes/HK poster/Flags as boundary objects to build connects Teacher intervention Brings Turkish food but buys from the school Mental/hidden translanguaging Peer language teaching Teacher Turkish flag in the school cafeteria Food Content about bilingualism Peers Personal discussions Repetition ESOL accommodations Elif's Avoidance (pretending to sleep) Follows others' lead Answers wrong teacher's questions
	Home	Homework-Literacy practices School notes Undeveloped metalinguistic skills (no cognates) Math workbook	Translanguaging during homework(use of some numbers in English) Her mom's scaffolding (boundary person) Requesting extra info from the teacher/school Drawing/painting Math workbook Elif's mother Researcher School notes e-mails Skiping word questions during homework Avoiding to talk about school experiences

			Stories to cross boundaries of home and home country
	CTS	English conversations among her peers: Avoidance Tasks: Content focused: Translanguaging (Board game) Insider/outsider (social network based on dominant language) Teachers' attitudes to Turkish dominant st:no challenge Conflicts among peers Math calculations	Watch to remember numbers (Boundary object) Tablet (to avoid and facilitate learning) Translanguaging (Shopping game; board game-unconscious) Eren-peer scaffolding (boundary person) Drawing/painting Use of English in snack-time TR one-on-one and avoidance of English in groups Halloween costume Turkish Cognates English The book about bilingual animals Snacktime Elif's mother Researcher Elif herself Special day celebrations Whatsapp Personal discussions Shopping game Imitation Avoidance Use of numbers in English Use of English as a reaction Pretending to read books Watching videos Not attending group picture
Ozan	School	Schoolwide cultural activities Lunch food-peer pressure	Home & School: Culture in the box (a recipe book, a picture, an evil eye, guide book) Book about social class/race Murmuring Buys from school
	home	Turkish politics His parents' English proficiency	Home & Home country: Videos for grandparents on religious days Use of certain phrases only in Turkish Murmuring Use of Turkish as secret language Mexican politics
	CTS	Turkish-only policy Ataturk Drawing (simple) Limited accommodations Limited metalinguistic awareness Social network	physical isolation, Silence, avoidance Mom's translations (boundary person) Tasks: Content focused/Translanguaging-translation (poems/marches) Murmuring Questions to mother about Ataturk Rejection to connect her peers Limited engagement to national celebrations

		Lack of Intrinsic motivation Expectations as an older st Physical space	English poems Ozan's brother Researcher English poem Ozan's mom talking to teacher Ayla WP e-mails Ozan's mom Ozan's mom's involvement to ceremonies Halloween Drawing Hiding under the table
Umut	School	Schoolwide cultural activities Lunch food Expectations Science-tests Bible words	Brings American food Mixes traditional and cursive writing Bible words Taking notes to home Turkish food e-mails Bahamian writing Teaching Turkish to peers at school
	Home	Politics Expectations Limited experiences to practice Turkish	Translanguaging-translation (Breakfast table) Use of Turkish as secret language Turkish politics Spanish Some socialization with Turkish families Stories about Christianity happening in Turkey Shaking head and saying "bilmiyorum" as a boundary practice. Turkish tv show Umut as a translator Science reading
	CTS	Social network among CTS peers: Yag satarim Tasks: Content focused/translanguaging (dialogue) Pronunciation mistakes as a boundary Expectations Group games Limited academic language proficiency/literacy Limited Intrinsic motivation Physical space Age group	Translation-CS in sentence-translanguaging during the dialogue (marine biologist Answer in Turkish then English (Repetition) Brainstorming/make sense/construct knowledge (Translanguaging-"vibration varya") Teacher scaffolding (repetition of mispronounced words) X translates (boundary person) Increased metalinguistic awareness Practicing Turkish with his siblings Limited engagement Asking Qs to mom Snack time Turkish flags colored at home Red-tshirts- Halloween costumes Find a word starting with Dialogue cards (bilingual) Dialogues about personal life Topics (shark-snakes) Pledge Ataturk vs Trump Umut's mom CTS teachers

			Researcher Collaboration between mom & cts teachers WP Translation of poem Halloween Planning
Boundary-crossing activities/ strategies of the teachers	CTS	Outsider/exclusion (yag satarim game) Turkish-only policy National/religious celebrations due to limited knowledge about the importance of these celebrations. Ataturk and poems/marches/songs about him Folk dance Tasks: Content focused Literacy practices (Find a word starting with.. for Elif) Pronunciation mistakes Snacktime (third space)-a space to practice English for Elif and speak comfortably for Ozan and Umut.	Ball game: name changes/build rapport/create community Red t-shirts & Halloween costumes A conversation about a fruit, their favorite food: photos, experiences Two cultural celebrations Paintings: space for socialization and free talk Repetition of mispronounced words
	Ozan's school	Schoolwide cultural activities	Culture in the box
	Umut's school	Schoolwide cultural activities	Christmas around the world
	Elif's school	Schoolwide cultural activities Slower group instructions Exclusion of sts' FOK Peer exclusion from the games	Teachers' strategies: Content practices (unscramble the letters, short answer Qs, group work/centers) Connections to personal life (multilingualism) Cinderella Use of Spanish
Shifts in roles	Ozan	School vs CTS :	Unlike Ozan in the CTS, Ozan asks several Qs, expresses his feelings and needs, answers questions confidently and makes comments. Language expert at school Language learner in CTS Language user at home Distracting st in CTS Obedient student in school
	Elif	Home-school-cts	Use of numbers in English Leader in all contexts in group work Persistent in CTS Bullied at school ELL at school ELL during snack time Learning disabled in school Child at home

			Artist at home Leader in cts Dependent-leader in school Shy in school Extravert in cts Turkish/Cantonese expert in school Math expert in school Commander in CTS Follower in school
	Umut	Home school cts	His name changes Friendly st at school Oldest st in CTS Bilingual at school Older brother (abi) at home Language learner in cts Translator in cts and school Language expert at home Leader in cts
Shifts in identity	Ozan	School CTS	White kid Leader Independent American at school -with Turkish parents -who eats Turkish food Turkish-American at home
	Elif	Food: school vs CTS and Home	Eats differently Turkish at home, and CTS Multilingual at school Culture and Ataturk expert at school Outsider in school and CTS
	Umut		As his name changes, he feels like a different person. Limited opportunities to practice Turkish: more belonging to Turkish identity American with Turkish parents Turkish in cultural events American in Turkey His name changes in CTS and school Different person based on language
Shifts in perspective	Ozan		Devalues Turkish at CTS Values Turkish at home Values English at school
	Elif		Value shift to Turkish in CTS and home Positive to negative to literacy in English Positive to negative to CTS Negative to positive to English CTS as playhouse CTS as Turkish school
	Umut		Positive to Turkish at home and school Negative and positive in the CTS Heritage at home & school No need at school Needed in CTS Can exist at home

			CTS as kindergarten School is formal
Shifts in expertise	Ozan	Performance across CTS vs school Literacy	More engaged at school More focused at school More peer interaction at school Expert at home and school, none in the CTS Writer at school Gamer at home No expertise at CTS (physical)
	Elif	CTS-School Home school	Expert in Turkish speaking with me Expert in English speaking with me Expert in Turkish while teaching Turkish to Vic Turkish expert in CTS & home & school Cantonese expert in CTS & home & school Culture expert in CTS Intelligent in CTS Learning disabled in school Math expert in CTS Average math in school Devalued Turkish expert in school Good in following instructions in CTS Not so good in following instructions in school Literacy learner at school No literacy in CTS Participate in discussions in CTS, not in school Right answers in CTS, not in school Expert in Turkish culture, learner in American history
	Umut	School: translator	Teacher Ayla's visit Increased metalinguistic awareness (Bahamian vs English)
Identity	Language expert Translator		
Linguistic strategies	Ozan		
	Elif	She explains her difficulty in English with that she couldn't remember some words in English or she does not know some words. She says she would speak Turkish with her relatives in Turkey even if they know English. When I ask her how she decides what to speak, she says because they don't know English. Her strategy is that she chooses the language based on addressee's language strengths. I showed her a part that she speaks in English during the shopping game although teacher S keeps asking her to speak Turkish. She says she used it because some kids don't know Turkish. When I asked her why she doesn't speak English with me, she highlighted her weaknesses in English. She understands little of English kids speak in TC.	
	Umut	He feels more comfortable in speaking English but when someone speaks in Turkish, he would use Turkish and English together. When I show him an example of him translanguaging and using some English words in a Turkish sentence, he says he used them because he doesn't know the word line in Turkish. He also used rest in English in another sentence because he doesn't know the meaning of the rest in Turkish.	

		He agrees that when he cannot remember a Word in Turkish, he is telling it in English He finds speaking both languages as confusing. “when I speak in Turkish I’m saying a sentence and like after that words I’m trying to figure out what I’m going to say next that makes sense. And Then I say it. But Sometimes it doesn’t make sense. So I feel like I don’t know a lot but I know some.” He doesn’t change his language based on the listeners’ dominant language because of his limited proficiency, but his strategy is : “If I don’t know it in Turkish then I would say this is the closest thing that I can or I would say in English” “If I don’t know it in Turkish then I would say this is the closest thing that I can or I would say in English”
Boundary crossing experiences	Ozan	He finds transitions between Turkish and English very difficult, especially transitions between CTS to School. Since he can understand this mom, it is not hard between transitions from home to school.
	Elif	She finds transitions between CTS, home and school a little bit difficult. She thinks it would be easier if everyone speaks Turkish. It will be harder if everybody speaks only English. She feels more difficulty at school, but not much. Or she doesn’t feel sad to be have to use different languages at school
	Umut	He feels a lot spending time in these three settings. “Home means where I go to sleep and I naturally live. Your feelings. School is where I usually have fun with my friends. Turkish Klub I go to interact with other people that speak my language. Like my other language.”

The context	mother and the child were in the living room with the researcher. The research was sitting next to the child to hear and watch her. The father was watching Turkish TV channels and the mother was visiting the kitchen time to time. A brought her math book and started to solve math problems about subtractions in two-digit numbers
Homework practices	She was skipping the word problems. Her mom warned her to make mistakes if she doesn’t read. She used eleven in English then continued in Turkish. Numbers are English. she was saying 100 in Turkish, and 11 in English. Her accent was not very clear, which can be because she started her English learning experience in Hong Kong, when her mother warned her not to use 100 in Turkish, she started to use “a hundred”.
His mom’s language practices	Communication is all Turkish except the school work discussions.
The language practices between her and his mom.	Mom and dad spoke only Turkish. Mom used a few English words when she was helping her solve the math problems.
Personality trait about him	She is a friendly girl, and she leads the activities. It can be because she is the only child.
The language practices between her and his dad.	His father spoke only Turkish, watched Turkish Tv shows.
Interview environment	I interviewed her after breakfast.

Her hobbies	After the homework, she decided to play a picture game. She was drawing objects in the white board, and her mom and I were trying to guess what it was. When both her mom and I had a hard time in predicting the object she drew, she was providing clues in Turkish She was really good at drawing and labelling objects in Turkish. Her pumpkin drawing shows that she drew it before. It was my turn to draw pictures, and she and her mom guessed what I draw. She was very fast labelling all the pictures I draw. I intentionally drew world map (continents on it) to check A's knowledge about world. She was able to recognize world as soon as she saw it (which implies that her transitions across continents increased her global awareness and made her a global citizen who had a good geographic knowledge about the world. After the game, She watched Turkish youtube videos. She watched Turkish TV show when her mom is cooking breakfast. They sometimes talked in Turkish.
Language practices	A's clues are sometimes in English. Mom's clues are in Turkish.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Tuba Yilmaz was born in Fethiye, Turkey. She attended a public elementary and middle school in her hometown. She, then, attended the high school entrance examination and gained the right to receive education in a teacher training high school, which prepares students to educational programs in college. During high school, she was fascinated with speaking a foreign language, and chose the language area of specialization to advance her English skills and learn a third language, German. In the University entrance examination, she obtained a great score and gained the right to major in English Language Teaching program at one of the highly esteemed universities, the Middle East Technical University, in Turkey.

After receiving her bachelor's in English language teaching program, she taught English as a foreign language to elementary school students for a year. Next, she taught English for special purposes to college students in different programs in Selcuk University for two years. After three years of teaching experience, she decided to study abroad to learn more about contemporary ESL and ELF methods and bilingual education programs in other countries and started graduate school in the University of Florida in fall, 2012. For her master's thesis, she studied tertiary level international students' experiences with fear of negative evaluation in two different classroom contexts: one where the majority of their classmates were dominant English speakers and one where the majority of their classmates were dominantly other language speakers. After receiving her master's degree in ESOL/Bilingual education program in 2014, she decided to pursue her doctoral degree in the same program and enrolled in the PhD program at the University of Florida with a specialization in ESOL and Bilingual Education in the fall of 2014.

During her PhD program, she worked as a research assistant to understand macro, meso and micro level practices in two-way immersion bilingual education programs. She also worked as a teaching assistant for six semesters and taught various courses that included ESOL Curriculum, Methods & Assessment course, ESOL Foundations: Language and Culture in Elementary Classrooms and ESOL Strategies for the Content Area Teachers. Furthermore, she served as a field supervisor and seminar instructor for teacher candidates in their pre-internships for four semesters. As a graduate student, she was involved in rigorous level of research about language policy, multicultural education, flipped learning for ESL teacher education courses. She received her PhD from the University of Florida in spring 2019.