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Leveraging Social and Cultural Experiences of Adolescents  
in India to Improve Writing Literacy

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts  
in Education

by

Rebecca Hope Glaser

2013



## ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

### Leveraging Social and Cultural Experiences of Adolescents in India to Improve Writing Literacy

by

Rebecca Hope Glaser

Master of Arts in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

Professor Rashmita Mistry, Chair

Developing educational systems that will reduce social inequalities in India is a federal and international priority. The purpose of this study was to explore the effects of a writing intervention that was specifically designed to draw on translation skills that many multi-lingual children develop through assisting members of their families and communities. 89 middle school students in Hyderabad, India participated in the study. Data were collected through pre- and post-intervention surveys, each including a writing sample. Analyses explored how well the writing intervention a) improved writing skills, assessed via measures of lexicon, syntax, and discourse, for multi-lingual adolescents in India, and b) effected changes in students' means, opportunities, and motives for writing, as potential pathways towards future writing improvement. Significant differences were found between treatment and control groups on a measure of students own expectations for future English writing performance. Implications and directions for further research are discussed.

The thesis of Rebecca Hope Glaser is approved.

Alison Bailey

Marjorie Orellana

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University of California, Los Angeles

2013

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## Leveraging Social and Cultural Experiences of Adolescents in India to Improve Writing Literacy

In India, as in the United States, literacy is a powerful tool for social mobility. The basic skills of reading and writing that children are expected to acquire in the early years of elementary school are an essential beginning. However, children who grow up in poverty need considerably more than these foundational abilities in order to attain social and economic mobility. According to the 2009 World Bank report *Secondary Education in India: Universalizing Opportunity*,

“Elementary education is of course necessary for all, but it is frequently insufficient to enable young workers to lift themselves and their families permanently out of poverty; recent economic studies have shown that secondary education is critical to breaking intergenerational transmission of poverty. Unfortunately, access to secondary education in India is highly unequal” (p. xv).

Reflecting the critical role of secondary education, the World Bank signed the Secondary Education Project with the Government of India in October, 2012, with the World Bank lending \$500 million to contribute to the \$12,896 million project. Developing educational systems that will reduce social inequalities in India is plainly a priority from federal and international perspectives.

Literacy in writing is instrumental in the importance of secondary education to students' eventual achievements. A student's capabilities in writing impact content learning in subjects such as science and history, grades assigned in these subjects, and access to higher education based on those grades and application essays. In adulthood, writing skills can create or limit employment opportunities, and advancement within a career (Graham & Perin, 2007a). According to the National Commission on Writing in America's Schools and Colleges (2003), “[f]ields like engineering emphasize the written materials, such as proposals and interim and final reports, that are essential by-products of technical work. The reward of disciplined writing is the most valuable job attribute of all: a mind equipped to think. Writing today is not a frill for the

few, but an essential skill for the many” (p. 11).

The purpose of this study was to explore the effects of a writing intervention that was specifically designed to draw on translation skills that many multi-lingual children develop through assisting members of their families and communities. The analyses reported in this paper attempted to answer two research questions. 1) In what ways did a writing intervention based on the “Found in Translation” curriculum improve writing skills, assessed via measures of lexicon, syntax, and discourse, for multi-lingual adolescents in India? 2) In what ways did the intervention lead to changes in students’ means, opportunities, and motives for writing that may be a pathway towards future writing improvement?

In the following pages, I will briefly review the ideas behind the “Found in Translation” curriculum. I will then describe the context of the current study, which replicated these ideas and redesigned the curriculum itself for multi-lingual adolescents studying in an English-medium school for low-income students in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India.

### **Found in Translation**

The “Found in Translation” curriculum guided students to recognize the expertise they have constructed through acting as informal translators for friends and community members, and to use this expertise as a scaffold for improving their writing skills in English. Both sets of skills require them to practice audience awareness, that is, to adapt the way they are using language in order to communicate most effectively with their audience. The theoretical framework of this writing curriculum emphasizes social and cultural interactions as the mechanisms through which learning occurs, and was designed for Spanish-English bilingual students in the United States (Martínez, Orellana, Pacheco, & Carbone, 2008). The curriculum is based on ethnographic research that documented the linguistic skills of immigrant children, and revealed that these children frequently acted as interpreters for their families and communities (Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007). Exploring these practices across genres

and in relation to oral speech and many kinds of texts brought into focus the connections between everyday translation and the academic skills of summarizing and paraphrasing (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008).

Although this skill set is not conventionally acknowledged in academic contexts, translation practices have substantive similarities with the literacy skills that are crucial to academic achievement, such as summarizing or paraphrasing written texts (Dorner et al., 2007; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008). Based on this insight, “Found in Translation” was developed with 6<sup>th</sup> grade Spanish-English bilingual students in Los Angeles, California. Students were guided to recognize the translation skills they already possessed as valuable for school and to apply them to writing tasks (Martínez et al., 2008). Based on classroom discussion and activities around the concepts of voice and audience awareness, students composed pairs of persuasive essays written for different readers (Carbone & Orellana, 2010; Martínez et al., 2008).

### **Leveraging Social and Cultural Experiences**

“Found in Translation” is part of a tradition in educational research asserting that school is only one of many settings where children learn. Daily practices of children in their homes and communities can be framed as assets for the social and cognitive development expected in school, rather than obstacles to education (Gonzalez et al., 1995; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). Because children should be able to draw on and benefit from these “historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills” (Moll et al., 1992, p. 134), they are termed “funds of knowledge”.

Building on this concept, “cultural modeling” is a strategic framework to tie together the daily practices that students engage in at home and at school. Specific aspects of the cultural knowledge and skills of students from non-dominant backgrounds are significantly analogous to conventional academic skills. The aim is to construct a logic within the classroom that explicitly draws on these similarities. This concept was initially developed to connect African American

rhetorical traditions of *signifying* with classroom practices of literary analysis (Lee, 1995; 2001).

These ideas fit with language acquisition research affirming the significance of interactions between the child and her environment along with the connections between language and literacy. Social contexts directly influence English language learning outcomes (Carhill, Suárez-Orozco, & Páez, 2008; Goldenberg, Rueda, & August, 2006). In the current study, students were encouraged to recognize that their community and life experiences provide each of three primary factors determining language proficiency: means, opportunity, and motives (MOM). Means, the child's internal resources, include her cognitive and sensory integrity. Opportunities to develop and use a language in meaningful ways allow them to build on their intrinsic potentials, and motives are based on the requirements of functioning within their environment and personal preferences whether and in what situations to use the language. The many factors expressed by these three broad categories combine to determine a child's eventual language proficiency (Kohnert & Pham, 2010).

### **Improving Writing Literacy**

The National Commission on Writing in America's Schools and Colleges (2003) asserts that "[i]f students are to make knowledge their own, they must struggle with the details, wrestle with the facts, and *rework raw information and dimly understood concepts into language they can communicate to someone else*. In short, if students are to learn, they must write" (p. 9, emphasis added). Despite the importance of this skill, the majority of students never become proficient writers (e.g., The College Board, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 2008). The period of adolescence is a particularly difficult hurdle, because just as confidence in writing becomes especially important to academic success, physical and social changes cause students to feel less confident (Klassen, 2002). One promising approach to improving adolescents' writing skills is through more effective writing instruction (Graham & Perin, 2007a). A pair of meta-analyses on writing instruction for adolescents drew on 123 experimental and

quasi-experimental studies, as well as single-subject design studies and studies of exceptional teachers and schools in grades 4 through 12, to identify particularly effective instructional practices (Graham & Perin, 2007a; 2007b). Many of these practices were integral components of “Found in Translation”, and of the curriculum used in the current study.

First, “explicitly teaching adolescents strategies for planning, revising, and editing their compositions” (Graham & Perin, 2007b, p. 317) had the largest mean weighted effect size of any instructional practice studied, and was even more powerful for struggling writers (i.e., those who produce writing rated as “poor” or “basic”) (Graham & Perin, 2007a). Nine more recommendations were drawn from the experimental studies, with the largest effect sizes attributed to summarization (e.g., Chang et al., 2002), collaborative work with peers (e.g., Yarrow & Topping, 2001), and setting clear and specific goals (e.g., Beaufort, 2000). Each of these was part of the curriculum used in the current study. Based on this meta-analysis, Graham and Perin found that a very small portion of the research focused on struggling writers, and call for additional research with these students (2007a).

**Writing by non-native English speakers.** The writing of English Language Learners (ELLs) often places them in the category of “struggling writers” because they are still learning the language. All adolescent-aged students are learning the practices of academic production of English; however, non-native speakers have a much steeper hill to climb. Children begin to develop the skills that lead to literacy long before kindergarten, and ELLs are less likely to have parents who can support early literacy practices in English (Carhill, Suárez-Orozco, & Páez, 2008). Many of the research-supported recommendations for ELLs are similar to those for all struggling writers. For example, explicit instruction in both cognitive and metacognitive strategies is important for language learners (e.g., Rubin, Chamot, Harris, & Anderson, 2007; Yang & Plakans, 2012) In the context of teaching ELLs, Brisk (2010) explains that collaborative work with peers which includes different instructional groupings change students’ comfort levels,



and impact language development by offering opportunities to use a variety of language registers.

### **Education, Poverty, and Language Use in Hyderabad**

In India, as in the United States, economic resources are closely tied with academic achievement. “There are sharp inequalities in primary school completion and middle school transition rates in relation to class, caste and minority status” (Nambissan, 2010, p. 732). Even students who attend school and learn how to read and write often drop out after only a few years, in particular those growing up in poverty. When Indian students are split into quintiles by expenditure, the lowest quintile has a 30% enrollment rate in secondary education, compared to a 70% enrollment rate in the highest quintile (The World Bank, 2009). As an example, the site of this study, a pre-K to 10<sup>th</sup>-grade private school of 1,000 students, has fewer than 150 students enrolled in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> grades combined. When the school body is divided in this way, pre-K through 6<sup>th</sup> grades average about 94 students, while in 7<sup>th</sup> through 10<sup>th</sup> each grade averages about 37 students. Within these years, there is a sharp drop just preceding the transition to secondary school: in the year this study was conducted, class sizes of 40-50 students in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grades dipped to 23 students in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade.

The state of Andhra Pradesh offers high returns for quality education, and simultaneously exhibits high levels of educational inequality. The richest and poorest quintiles of this state's population experience differences in access to secondary education that are among the greatest in the nation (World Bank, 2006 analysis, as cited in Kingdon, 2007, p. 8; Sarangapani & Winch, 2010). The political borders of Andhra Pradesh were drawn in 1956 to encompass the population speaking Telugu, a south Indian language. Hyderabad is the capital and the largest city in Andhra Pradesh. The differences between Hyderabad and other parts of Andhra Pradesh are apparent in educational achievement: in 2011, literacy rates for Andhra Pradesh as a whole were 68%, while literacy rates in the district where Hyderabad is located

were 81% (Census of India, 2011). The city has been very cosmopolitan and affiliated with many languages since its founding in the 16th century, and its contemporary linguistic complexity reflects this long history. Children born and raised in Hyderabad are likely to speak any combination of Telugu, Urdu, English, and Hindi, as well as any of India's hundreds of other languages that might be spoken in their household.

In Hyderabad, many families prioritize English-medium education because the information technology sector draws companies from around the world and particularly from the United States, creating a consistent demand for English-language skills (Nambissan, 2012). For example, companies such as Google, Microsoft, Facebook, HP, Dell, and Amazon have their Indian offices in Hyderabad (Mishra, 2010). Although many people living in Hyderabad do not speak English, professional jobs tend to require facility in English. As a result, English literacy skills are important in order to benefit from Hyderabad's contemporary economic growth, and parents overwhelmingly choose English-medium schooling for their children (Baird, 2009). Public schools, however, teach in Telugu, Urdu, or a mix of the two. A census conducted by researchers in the poorest neighborhoods of Hyderabad found that over 80% of private unaided (i.e., without any government funding) schools reported that they were English medium, and that 73% of public schools taught in Urdu (Tooley, Dixon, Shamsan, & Schagen, 2010, p. 122). This is one reason that low-income families often stretch their finances to pay for private schooling for their children (Nambissan, 2010; 2012).

However, "the fact that teachers in these schools often do not know English themselves makes the quality of instruction suspect as well as belie parental aspirations that their children will learn the English language" (Nambissan, 2012, p. 86). A father quoted in a qualitative study that took place in a rural area of southern India stated, "You see all these boys in the 7<sup>th</sup> standard, after three years of learning English if you ask them for a glass of water in English they will run away. Even the English teacher will not talk to you in English" (Pal, Lakshmanan, &

Toyama, 2007, p. 8). In the same study, teachers commonly complained that children are not able to learn English because they do not know other English-speaking people with whom they can practice.

### **Language Brokering in Hyderabad**

Although the participants in India are very different from the Latino students in Los Angeles for whom the “Found in Translation” curriculum was developed, they use their language skills to translate for family and community members in similar ways. Research in language brokering has looked at children speaking Mandarin, Vietnamese, Swahili, and Korean as well as Spanish, demonstrating that these practices are common to many language communities (Morales & Hanson, 2005). In Hyderabad, the migration pattern is from rural to urban environments rather than across national borders, but linguistic and cultural differences are still challenging for families from outside of the city. As is true for immigrants to the United States, children who come to Hyderabad quickly learn strategies for shifting between languages in order to communicate appropriately and how to use their language skills to support family and community members who do not share their linguistic expertise. A measure that was developed with an urban sample of 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grade students whose families had immigrated to the United States identified that sample as 12% active, 34% partial, and 53% non-language brokers (Dorner et al., 2007). The participants in the current study were identified as 61% active, 27% partial, and 11% non-language brokers, demonstrating that language brokering practices are very common for these students.

### **Summary and Implications for the Current Study**

Literacy in English is an important skill in both Los Angeles, California and in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. Although it is challenging for children who are not native speakers of English to achieve fluency in their writing, “Found in Translation” was based on the idea that the translation practices which these children use to help their families and communities can be

leveraged to improve their academic writing, especially through practicing audience awareness. “Found in Translation” was based on research in language brokering and sociocultural theories of education. Both “Found in Translation” and the curriculum used in the current study incorporated many practices of writing instruction for adolescents which are supported by the literature, such as strategy instruction, summarization, working with peers, and goal-setting. Insight into the specific mechanisms that make this curriculum effective might inform the best ways to integrate it with existing practices at schools and other educational organizations.

Working with 89 multi-lingual students in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, the current study sought to improve students' writing and to examine the shift in students' perceptions of their means, opportunities, and motives (MOM) for writing over the course of a brief intervention, presented to participants as a “Digital Journalism Workshop” called For the Write. Recognizing the critical importance of secondary education for children growing up in poverty in India, this intervention was focused on 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> grades, the years preceding the transition to high-accountability secondary education in the site of the study, a school for children from poor families. “For the Write” was an adaptation of the “Found in Translation” intervention, making use of classroom activities and coding schemes detailed in published and unpublished data (e.g., Martínez et al., 2008; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008). The curriculum leveraged student experience in translating for family and community members to support important skills for writing. Helping students to recognize that the skills that are necessary for this language use in their daily lives are also important for academic writing provides a basis for believing they possess the *means* to write. Along with the intervention itself being an *opportunity* to write, accessible ways to practice writing outside of school such as E-mails, blogs, and notes to friends were emphasized. Finally, *motive* was supported through the objective of publishing online for a real audience and discussions about using writing to effectively raise awareness for important causes, as well as to succeed in school.

## **Research Questions**

1. In what ways did a writing intervention based on the “Found in Translation” curriculum improve writing skills, assessed via measures of lexicon, syntax, and discourse, for multi-lingual adolescents in India?
2. In what ways did the intervention lead to changes in students’ means, opportunities, and motives for writing that may be a pathway towards future writing improvement?

## **“For the Write” Intervention**

### **Curriculum & Content**

The curriculum used in this study was presented as a “Digital Journalism Workshop” to the students who were invited to participate. Instruction was designed to build writing skills, and the essays that participants produced were published online. The workshop was organized around preparing for and completing three “chapters”, each culminating in a core writing assignment. Class time for each assignment included discussion with the whole group, work in pairs or small groups, individual work, and multimedia resources such as graphics, magazines, or videos that related to discussion topics. Each chapter included a focal writing strategy for both treatment and control groups, as well as an audience awareness question that was raised only to the treatment group. Participants completed up to 3 writing assignments over the course of the intervention. Each grade was at a different level of capability in English, so they progressed through the writing assignments at different speeds. The 7<sup>th</sup> class completed only writing assignment #1, 8<sup>th</sup> class completed assignments #1 and #2, and 9<sup>th</sup> class completed all three assignments. Within each class, the treatment and control groups progressed at the same speed.

In each writing assignment that their group completed, students were given class time to organize their information, write a rough draft individually, edit their drafts in pairs or small

groups, and correct their edits for a final draft. Writing assignments were published to a group blog under pseudonyms (<http://srisai.tumblr.com/>), and the blog was viewed in class because most students did not have computers or internet access at their homes. It is important to note that students were not required to post their work if they did not want to, and were not permitted to publish under their real name in the context of this study. Blog posts were scheduled to publish 2 to 3 times daily, and the blog itself remains available on the internet for future access.

**Assignment #1: Develop your expertise on your selected topic that you would like to change about society by writing, editing, and publishing a blog article.** The first workshop chapter introduced participants to the practices of the workshop, such as brainstorming, collecting ideas using graphic organizers, and peer editing. “Organize” was the focal writing strategy during this chapter, and the audience awareness question for the treatment group was “Can my readers *understand* my meaning or argument?”. Discussion topics included “journalism that changed the world” (e.g., the creation of Amnesty International, Center for International Media Ethics, 2011) and publishing on the internet, and participants discussed different kinds of multimedia, such as photography, video, or illustration, that could accompany their “coverage”.

**Assignment #2: Interview a classmate about *their* selected topic that they would like to change about society, and write an article covering your interview.** The second workshop chapter introduced participants to the practices of interviewing and journalistic research. “Support” through specific, concrete facts and examples was the focal writing strategy of this chapter, and the audience awareness question for the treatment group was “Will a reader feel that I am talking to *them*?”. Students paired up with other members of their class group and took turns as “interviewer” and “expert”. They discussed the responsibilities of interviewers to their subjects and had the opportunity to get feedback from the classmates who they interviewed before publishing. The discussions for this assignment addressed the role of a

journalist, what it means to be “good at interviewing”, and the goals of an interview.

**Assignment #3: Interview a local community member about your selected topic, and write an article covering your interview.** The third workshop chapter was based around an interview with a local community member, selected for his or her insights on the student's topic. For their writing strategy, students focused on the “introduction and conclusion” of their essays, and the audience awareness question for the treatment group was “How can I make readers *agree* with my argument?”. Drawing on their experiences interviewing peers, students planned their questions and reviewed interviewing practices before interviewing the community member who they selected. The discussions for this assignment revolved around selecting a community member to interview, similarities and differences with interviewing peers, and demonstrating respect.

### **Piloting**

Before attempting to implement this curriculum in Hyderabad, a very different environment from where it was developed, the workshop was conducted with two groups of students in Los Angeles, CA. These pilot workshops served three functions: they provided time to work through instructional methods in order to facilitate a smoother adaptation to Hyderabad, provided material that subsequent participants used as examples during their own workshops, and were an opportunity to collect data from a group that was comparable to the original “Found in Translation” sample. Broad guidelines for grade-appropriate writing objectives for students in Los Angeles were drawn from California’s Common Core Content Standards.

The first pilot was a summer program called *Aprendamos*, which serves residents of a predominantly Latino neighborhood near downtown Los Angeles. *Aprendamos* is the K-5<sup>th</sup> grade program of the *Instituto de Educación Popular del Sur de California* (IDEPSCA, the Southern California Institute of Popular Education), and the five-week program was housed at a Los Angeles Unified School District site. Only 5<sup>th</sup> grade students participated in this workshop, twice

each week. The object of this initial pilot was to develop the workshop curriculum itself, so no data were collected. This pilot provided time to adjust discussion topics and experiment with different forms of media. The second workshop took place in two science classrooms at a public middle school in Los Angeles, CA. Participants were 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade students, and this workshop was utilized to test the survey measures as well as to further refine the curriculum. During this pilot, the amount of time spent working in small groups was expanded, and a pattern of “group work days” and “individual work days” was established. Sessions took place once a week for 6 weeks. Data was collected, but is not reported in this paper.

### **Incentives**

All participants received incentives during the last workshop session. In India, these included biscuits and a personalized, colorful certificate with their name and “team” (selected by each class at the beginning of the workshop). On a student level, these were effective incentives, with some students reporting proudly that this was the first certificate they had ever earned. Students also reported appreciation of the benefits intrinsic to the workshop, such as learning English and having an opportunity to change society. Examples include: “the workshop is a nice thing. I improved my learning, writing and reading skills in English...My writing is improved in English.” and “I love this workshop because it is very interesting and the people who read about our message they understand about the society problems. It was a very great idea to preparing a message to the world...”<sup>1</sup> A separate set of incentives were provided to participating organizations. Schools and programs that indicated interest received a printed, bound copy of the workshop curriculum laid out lesson by lesson. In addition, a final report was prepared for each participating organization outlining findings specific to that site as well as findings from the study as a whole.

### **Intervention acceptability**

Based on student self-report on the post survey, the workshop was viewed positively.

<sup>1</sup>Comments are edited for spelling and punctuation.



Students provided ratings of workshop value and interest on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored only at the endpoints or at the end and mid-points (e.g. *1 is Not At All Useful and 7 is Very Useful*). These items were patterned after measures of task values and perceived abilities that are also used in this study (Eccles & Wigfield, 1995) On average, students' perception of the workshop value was 5.92 ( $SD = 1.14$ ), the extrinsic utility value of the workshop was 5.83 ( $SD = 1.20$ ), and the intrinsic interest value of the workshop was 6.06 ( $SD = 1.19$ ). Along with these high ratings, students provided very positive comments in response to an open-ended question, such as “I like this workshop very well. I want to do next year also, but I think I don't have that luck” and “...The workshop is very useful in our future. The workshop very much it is useful to develop our writing skills in English and it gives us knowledge about how to write and read English. And also it is very interesting”, as well as the comments quoted above.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

Participants were 89 students between the ages of 12 and 16 who attend an English-medium school in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. This was a convenience sample selected based on the school's relationship with a non-profit organization where the principal investigator had previously conducted research. The majority (66 students, or 74%) were 13 and 14 years old, and 48 were male (54%) and 39 female (44%). Participants were drawn from the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> classes (U.S. “grades”) in this school. They represent a wider age range than is typical for these years because many students begin school when their family can afford to send them, whatever their age at the time. In the “For the Write” workshop, class sizes ranged from 11 to 17 students. To form these groups, half of the participants in each grade were randomly assigned to receive the experimental intervention, with the other half serving as the control. Many students were born locally (42% from the Hyderabad metropolitan area), but many came from another part of the state (47%) or a different state altogether (7%). 4% of participants gave responses that

could not be coded. In Andhra Pradesh, this indicates substantial differences in native language and/or academic preparation. 78 participants (88%) reported Telugu, the official state language, as the language they used the most. All participants studied Telugu, Hindi, and English at school, and 17 (19%) reported using another language such as Tamil, Kannada, or Marathi at least a little bit. 30 (34%) lived together at a local children's home providing food, healthcare, education, and a place to live for children whose families can not support them. The principal investigator also lived at this children's home for the duration of the study. The principal investigator therefore had additional interactions with some participants. However, participants' membership in this children's home was tested for independent associations with dependent variables and these were not significant.

### **Study Site**

The school that was the site of the study serves about 1,000 low-income students, although it is a private school. In Hyderabad, private schools charging very low tuition fees are often chosen by poor families because of dissatisfaction with the public educational system (Tooley, 2009). The study site was located in a small village in an area undergoing rapid development due to industries including electricity, agricultural machinery, and building materials (Cherlapally Industries Association, 2013). It is approximately 18 km (11 miles) from the center of Hyderabad, on the outskirts of the greater Hyderabad metropolitan area. The classroom where the study workshop took place contained a computer hard drive and projector, and plastic chairs for each student.

### **Procedures**

**Recruitment & Eligibility.** Participants in this study were recruited through educational organizations that provide care and instruction to children and adolescents, and selected for inclusion through discussion with their teachers and school administrators. Adult representatives of educational organizations were invited to participate through pre-existing professional

relationships, via phone call or via e-mail. The initial contact included information about the purpose of the study and an outline of the activities that would be asked of participants.

Eligibility was determined by student grade or class, enrollment in one of the educational organizations that served as a study site, and demonstration of an adequate level of English to participate in the workshop activities. A waiver of parental permission was considered appropriate by the Institutional Review Board of the University of California, Los Angeles, because participants' parents have chosen to enroll their children in the participating educational organizations specifically in order to improve the kinds of academic skills targeted by the curriculum used in this study. All students who fit these criteria and provided their assent were included.

**Data Collection.** Data for this study were collected through two main types of instruments: surveys and writing samples (see *Appendix A: Pre-intervention survey* and *Appendix B: Post-intervention survey*). Surveys were administered in a group setting before and after the intervention, and writing samples were produced as a component of the surveys. The pre-survey was administered as a component of the first and second workshop sessions. The survey was presented one measure at a time, and questions about completing each measure were answered as they were asked throughout the time provided. The writing sample was framed as the first draft of their first article, and was used to practice the peer editing process in subsequent sessions.

The post-survey was completed during the last two sessions for each group. Each participant finished the survey in a single session (except for one student), but high levels of absenteeism meant that two opportunities were necessary to reach an acceptable response rate. The writing sample was framed as an opportunity to demonstrate how much they have learned, help future students to learn English, and send a message to government offices. During the final week of the workshop, students were told that 20 of their essays to “friends”

would be selected as reference material for future workshops, and 5 of their essays to “someone in the government” would be selected and sent to the official who they chose. This was intended to give students an authentic audience for their writing. Students were permitted to write about the same issue they had chosen at the beginning of the workshop, or to choose a new topic.

**Workshop schedule.** The intervention workshop was adapted to fit the school schedule, where students attended classes 6 days a week. The curriculum lasted 7 weeks overall, with each class missing one week during that time for their regularly scheduled exams. Treatment groups had sessions on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and control groups had sessions on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. All sessions (except completing the pre-survey) took place in the morning during 45 minute schedule blocks. Students were given teachers' and administrators' permission to attend the workshop rather than the classes that were normally scheduled during that time, and the principal investigator delivered all of the workshops in the intervention. Broad guidelines for grade-appropriate writing objectives for students in Hyderabad were drawn from the Indian National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT).

**Methods for effective pedagogical delivery & student engagement.** Participants in this study have learned English as a foreign language and were accustomed to a South Indian (rather than North American) dialect, so it was critical to ensure that I met students' English language comprehension needs in delivering the intervention. I adapted my own practices as much as possible to facilitate comprehension. I lived in the local community and studied Telugu, the official state language of Andhra Pradesh, so that I could use English words, phrases, and constructions that are familiar to students. I also used pedagogical strategies within the workshop which align with best practices for middle school instruction more generally as well as supporting comprehension for English Language Learners.

Class sizes were purposefully kept small (maximum 17 students) so that there was

enough time during the 45 minute period to speak with students individually. Lessons included visual references such as posters, magazines, and computer projections so that students could draw on both their reading and listening comprehension skills. All instructions were repeated slowly and clearly a minimum of two times, while referring to lesson materials including written guidelines (e.g. worksheets, articles, posters). I also used work produced by a classmate to help explain directions whenever possible, which provided students with examples to reference that were appropriate to their level of understanding. I incorporated many paired and small group activities so that students had ample opportunities to learn from each other and share their understanding of the activities. Whenever students were doing individual or group work, I walked around the room to answer specific questions. The classroom practices during each session were also repetitive so that students could focus on learning new concepts. Each session began with an introduction to the day's activity, followed by a review of the class poster(s), a review of "English tips" which were a list of mistakes these students frequently made in their writing, project work, and ended with a concluding set.

**Maintaining group-level distinction (treatment vs. control conditions).** The workshop curricula for the treatment and control groups were the same with the exception of discussions and materials addressing audience awareness. For participants in the treatment group, I explicitly explained that the translation they regularly performed for their families and communities had given them skills that could be used to support their English writing. I introduced additional questions (e.g., Is this interesting? Will people want to keep reading?) and framed assignments to emphasize voice and audience awareness during each discussion session. I included a reminder at the beginning of each session: "Remember, whenever we write we are thinking about who will be reading our articles! We are writing to our readers". This audience-focused framing was also part of the treatment group's discussions of sample materials that I brought to class, such as magazine articles. In addition, the treatment group had

two posters: “Writing Goals” and “Audience Goals”, that always hung on the wall during the workshop and that I frequently referenced. The control group had only the “Writing Goals” poster. For details, see *Appendix D: Workshop posters*. The control group's curriculum otherwise matched the experimental intervention (i.e., in data collection procedures, assignments, materials, variety of activities, and time spent participating).

### **Measures**

Most measures were included in both surveys (i.e., at baseline and after the final workshop session) in order to assess changes over the course of the intervention. For the first research question, writing samples were used to evaluate participants' writing skills. These writing samples were coded according to qualitative measures adapted from the previous research on “Found in Translation” (Carbone & Orellana, 2010; Martínez et al., 2008). For the second research question, survey items used to operationalize participants' perceptions of their means, opportunities, and motives are drawn from research with immigrant children to the United States (i.e., language proficiency, mock report card, and language brokering) and expectancy-value theories with adolescents (i.e., task- and self-perceptions) (Brown & Chu, 2012; Dörnyei et al., 2007; Eccles & Wigfield, 1995). Some additional variables were created to define meaningful subgroups. These are dichotomous variables created for student condition (treatment and control), membership in the Sphoorti Foundation, having completed pre- and post- surveys, birthplace in Hyderabad or outside of Hyderabad, attendance (3 variables; absent more than 10%, 25%, and 33% of sessions), having reported a fourth language, and reporting Telugu as their primary home language. See *Table 1: Descriptive characteristics of the sample*, and *Table 2: Descriptive characteristics of dependent variables*, for details.

### **Experience with the English Language**

Participants reported how often (1=Not at all to 4=Almost always) they used each of their self-reported languages in each of 8 ways (e.g., *I use this language in my home...*, *I watch*

*movies or TV in this language..., I write in this language...*). The items were drawn from a measure used by Brown and Chu (2012) in their assessment of Spanish and English use among Mexican immigrant children living in the United States. Students were asked to report on multiple languages including those that are rare or unexpected in Hyderabad, such as Bengali, or being studied as additional subjects in school, such as French. Composite scores for English language use were used for pre-post analyses, specifically *experience with English across contexts* (3 item scale,  $\alpha = 0.47$ ;  $0.62$ . All statistics are reported at pre-intervention and post-intervention measurement, respectively), *experience with English conversational skills* (2 item scale,  $r(86) = 0.35$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ;  $r(73) = 0.52$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ), and *experience with English productive skills* (2 item scale,  $r(85) = 0.25$ ,  $p = 0.020$ ;  $r(74) = 0.26$ ,  $p = 0.024$ ). Two additional composite variables, *experience with English academic skills* (2 item scale,  $r(85) = 0.47$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ;  $r(80) = 0.16$ ,  $p = 0.160$ ) and *experience with English receptive skills* (2 item scale,  $r(86) = 0.48$ ,  $p = 0.000$ ;  $r(76) = 0.07$ ,  $p = 0.536$ ), did not significantly correlate in the post-intervention survey. Therefore, the individual survey items that were included in these variables were used as dependent variables, i.e. *I understand this language...* ( $M = 3.25$ ,  $SD = 0.85$ ;  $M = 3.35$ ,  $SD = 0.82$ ), *I read books in this language...* ( $M = 3.67$ ,  $SD = 0.60$ ;  $M = 3.67$ ,  $SD = 0.59$ ), and *I write in this language...* ( $M = 3.70$ ,  $SD = 0.67$ ;  $M = 3.78$ ,  $SD = 0.55$ ). See Table 3: Correlations between experience with English language items for complete correlations between these survey items.

### **Task- and self-perceptions**

Measures of task values and perceived abilities related to writing draw on a framework of expectancy-value theory (Eccles & Wigfield, 1995). Items were adapted to assess writing (rather than math or English Language Arts more broadly). All responses were made on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored only at the endpoints or at the end and mid-points. The anchors were adapted so they are appropriate for each question (e.g. *1 is Not At All Useful and 7 is Very Useful; 1 is A Little, 4 is Some, and 7 is A Lot*), and easily visible graphics were provided for

each set of questions. Eccles and Wigfield (1995) divide these measures into broad categories of “perceived task value items” and “ability/expectancy-related items” and these categories were used to calculate two composite scores for analyses. However, the composite variable of ability/expectancy-related items was not used in analyses due to low reliability on the post-intervention survey. See *Table 4: Correlations between task- and self-perceptions items* for complete correlations between these survey items.

**Perceived task value items.** 5 items assessed participants’ perceptions of “extrinsic utility value” (2 items, e.g., *How useful is what you learn about writing in English for what you want to do when you grow up?*), “attainment value/importance” (1 item, *How important is being good at writing in English for you?*), and “intrinsic interest value” (2 items, e.g., *How interesting is working on English writing assignments?*) in writing. Responses to all items were averaged to create a scale score ( $\alpha = 0.74; 0.77$ ).

**Ability/expectancy-related items.** Participants’ beliefs about how good they are at writing were assessed with 3 items. Responses to all items were averaged to create a scale score but reliability was inadequate at post-intervention measurement ( $\alpha = 0.60; 0.13$ ). Therefore, these three survey items were included as individual dependent variables in analyses. They were *How good at writing in English are you?* ( $M = 5.25, SD = 1.50; M = 5.57, SD = 1.37$ ), *How good would you be at learning something new about writing in English?* ( $M = 5.99, SD = 1.20; M = 6.06, SD = 1.16$ ), and *How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year?* ( $M = 5.76, SD = 1.37; M = 6.27, SD = 1.17$ ).

### **Writing samples**

Participants were provided with two large speech bubbles at the end of each survey and the prompt, “Now I would like you to write about an issue in your community that people should know more about. In the space below, you will draw a self-portrait. You can make it as sketchy or as detailed as you want. In one of the speech bubbles, I want you to write how you would



convince your friends that it's important, and what they can do about it. In the other, write how you would convince the government that this is an important issue, and what they can do about it." This prompt was designed for the "Digital Journalism Workshop" curriculum specific to this study, but was designed to elicit writing samples with the same characteristics for coding as those produced during the "Found In Translation" workshop (Carbone & Orellana, 2010; Martinez et al., 2008). That is, a pair of essays written on the same topic and addressed to two different audiences (i.e., figures of authority and friends).

Writing samples were coded according to an adaptation of the qualitative measures used by Carbone and Orellana (2010) and Martínez et al. (2008) to analyze student writing samples produced during their "Found in Translation" curriculum. These twelve measures address lexical (word-by-word), syntactic (sentence structure), and discourse (composition and effective communication) levels. Many of the measures utilized by these researchers were too advanced for the English proficiency level of the student sample in the current study, so a subset of measures were applied. For example, lexical items incorporated into the rubric used for the current study included *spelling* and *individual, important words that differ between essays*. Syntactic items included *opening & closing lines* and *main assertion*. Discourse items included *argument structure, supporting evidence, and efforts to construct common ground*.

Working from these bases, the principal investigator and a research assistant (a Program Coordinator for a literacy non-profit who had previously worked as a classroom teacher) developed the final coding scheme through an iterative process. This entailed discussing an initial "rubric" for coding proposed by the principal investigator, coding sets of writing samples separately, and comparing each response. This process was repeated with sets of 15 essays until inter-rater agreement was greater than 80%, totaling four rounds of coding. All writing samples were then coded according to the finalized rubric by the principal investigator. They were coded without knowledge of group status (i.e., treatment or control).

The final rubric included measures of four constructs: writing proficiency (sum of 6 items; Kappa = 0.67), English proficiency (sum of 2 items; Kappa = 0.69), audience awareness (sum of 2 items; Kappa = 0.60), and differences between paired essays (sum of 8 items; Kappa = 0.78). Each item was rated 1 = *present*; 0 = *absent* with the exception of 3 items that were rated on 3-point scales: *opening & closing lines* (0 = *neither*; 2 = *both*), *spelling* and *grammar* (0 = *more than 10 mistakes*; 2 = *fewer than 2 mistakes*). Responses to all items were summed to create a scale score for each construct. If a student did not follow instructions, for example if they wrote about two different topics, they received a 0 in writing proficiency, differences between paired essays, or both. See *Table 5: Coding scheme for writing samples* for details of the rubric items, and *Appendix C: Case studies of writing samples*, for example of essays receiving low, middle, and high scores based on this rubric.

#### **Measures only included on pre-intervention survey**

In addition to the measures above, the pre-survey elicited information that was not expected to change over the course of the intervention but is important to understanding how this intervention affected different groups of adolescents within the study sample.

**Descriptive data.** Items included age (in years), gender (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*), year in school (1 = *7<sup>th</sup>*, 2 = *8<sup>th</sup>*, 3 = *9<sup>th</sup>*), birthplace (1 = *Hyderabad*, 2 = *Outside of Hyderabad*), and age when the participant began to learn English (in years).

**Mock report card.** Participants were asked to self-report their grades in Language Arts, Science, and Math (Brown & Chu, 2012). Each subject area was rated on an 10-point scale ranging from “A+” to “Below C-”. These scores were averaged to create a self-reported GPA ( $\alpha = 0.87$ ).

**Language brokering.** Experience in language brokering was assessed using a 4-item measure (e.g., *Do you ever translate for other people?*, *Where have you translated?*). Participants’ answers placed them in one of three groups: active, partial, or not-primary

language broker. This determination is based on the coding scheme developed by the authors of this measure. For example, an active language broker reports translating for a close family member every day, in 4 or more locations, and 8 or more different things (Dorner et al., 2007).

### **Measures included only on post-intervention survey**

The post-survey included items asking participants about their experience of the intervention itself. These items were modeled after the perceived task value items, as were the 7-point Likert-type response scales. A sample item is: *In general, how useful was this workshop? 1 is Not At All Useful and 7 is Very Useful.* Because all four of these items were in the perceived task value category, they were averaged into a single composite score for analysis (4 items,  $\alpha = 0.68$ ), as well as two subsets of this category, i.e. extrinsic utility value (2 items,  $r(81) = 0.33$ ,  $p = 0.003$ ) and intrinsic interest value (2 items,  $r(82) = 0.34$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). Space for open-ended comments was also provided.

## **Results**

### **Plan for Analysis**

Each descriptive variable was used to test that random assignment of participants was conducted properly. To verify that random assignment was achieved successfully, independent samples *t*-tests were conducted for continuous variables, and Chi-squares for categorical variables. To investigate changes in the treatment group in comparison to the control group over the course of the intervention, analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were conducted for each dependent variable measured at the post-survey. The dependent variable measured at the pre-survey, as well as variables that differed between treatment and control groups, were included as covariates.

### **Preliminary Analyses: Evaluation of Random Assignment**

Significant differences in baseline scores between the treatment and control groups were not expected because participants were randomly assigned to their condition. As expected,

there were no significant group differences in age, self-reported grades in Language Arts, mean of self-reported grades, Sphoorti membership, sex, class (7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, or 9<sup>th</sup>), birthplace, or comprehension of pre-test instructions. However, an independent samples *t*-test revealed that the age at which participants reported learning English differed significantly among treatment and control group participants. Specifically, participants in the treatment group ( $M = 8.50$ ,  $SD = 2.16$ ) were older when they began to learn English as compared with control group participants ( $M = 6.38$ ,  $SD = 3.02$ ,  $t(85) = -3.77$ ,  $p=0.000$ ). In addition, Chi-squared tests revealed significant differences between groups in the language brokering variable such that the treatment group contained significantly fewer “partial language brokers” ( $n = 7$ ) than the control group ( $n = 17$ ),  $X^2(2, N=88) = 6.43$ ,  $p = 0.040$ . Consequently, both *beginning to learn English* and *language brokering* were included as covariates in all subsequent analyses.

### **Primary Analyses**

In order to evaluate the first research question, dependent variables calculated from qualitative coding of writing samples were 1) *writing proficiency*, 2) *English proficiency*, 3) *audience awareness*, and 4) *paired essays differences*. For each dependent variable, I ran an ANCOVA, with treatment vs. control group assignment as the independent variable and adjusting for the influence of the dependent variable measured at baseline, *beginning to learn English*, and *language brokering* by including these variables as covariates. Results indicated that after adjusting for the influence of the covariates, there were no significant differences across any of the indicators of writing proficiency and audience awareness.

In order to evaluate the second research question, dependent variables calculated from survey measures were: 1) *experience with English across contexts*, 2) *experience with English conversational skills*, 3) *experience with English productive skills*, 4) *I understand this language...*, 5) *I read books in this language...*, 6) *I write in this language....*, 7) *task values of writing in English*, 8) *How good at writing in English are you?*, 9) *How good would you be at*

*learning something new about writing in English?*, and 10) *How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year?*. I tested these dependent variables with the same model used for the first research question, that is, an ANCOVA including the dependent variable measured at baseline, *beginning to learn English*, and *language brokering* as covariates. Significant differences between treatment ( $M = 5.7, SD = 1.46$ ;  $M = 6.57, SD = 0.80$ . All statistics are reported at pre-intervention and post-intervention measurement, respectively) and control ( $M = 5.82, SD = 1.30$ ;  $M = 5.98, SD = 1.39$ ) groups were observed for *How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year?* ( $n = 82, F(1,76) = 5.19, p = 0.046$ ). No other significant differences were observed between treatment and control groups on these dependent variables. This lack of treatment effect may be due to high ratings on these measures across time points. Among the *experience with English language* items, the means of all ratings fell within the top 25% of the scale (between 3 and 4, on a 1-4 scale) except for *experience with English across contexts* ( $M = 2.90, SD = 0.54$ ;  $M = 2.97, SD = 0.61$ ). Similarly, the means of all responses to the *task- and self-perceptions* items were in the top 25% of the scale (between 5.25 and 7, on a 1-7 scale).

## Discussion

In 2010, the Indian government passed the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act<sup>2</sup>, which is the first national law to mandate standardized schooling for all children in India. This legislation is an important step towards attaining education for all children, but it can do little to change educational outcomes without concerted efforts to improve the quality of education for children whose families live in poverty. Identifying curricula that can be effectively incorporated into a larger program by existing educational organizations is one strategy that can support children's educational attainment. The current study was an implementation and evaluation of an intervention having this potential. The "For the Write" intervention was a replication and extension of "Found in Translation", a curriculum developed

<sup>2</sup> <http://mhrd.gov.in/rte>

for bilingual middle school students in Los Angeles, CA. “Found in Translation” sought to leverage the language brokering skills that students developed as they informally translated for their family and community members in order to support their achievement in English writing skills. “For the Write” was an adaptation of this curriculum for children growing up in poverty in Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh. The intervention took place in a “low-cost” private school, a type of school that is often attended by the children of poor families in Hyderabad (Tooley, 2009; Tooley et al., 2010). The current study sought to answer two questions: first, in what ways did a writing intervention based on the “Found in Translation” curriculum improve writing skills, assessed via measures of lexicon, syntax, and discourse, for multi-lingual adolescents in India? Second, in what ways did the intervention lead to changes in students’ means, opportunities, and motives for writing that may be a pathway towards future writing improvement?

There were no significant differences between treatment and control groups on the measures of writing skills included in response to the first research question (*writing proficiency, English proficiency, audience awareness, and paired essays differences*). This study was designed with the awareness that it would be difficult to find observable changes in students' writing after just 13.5 hours of instruction - per participant, instruction lasted approximately 2.25 hours a week, for 6 weeks – and these results are therefore not completely surprising. However, the results are not consistent with the concept behind “Found in Translation”, because the treatment condition specifically received instruction and reminders about audience awareness. Furthermore, descriptive results demonstrate that a large majority of participants engage in language brokering to assist their families or communities. It should theoretically have been possible to leverage these skills in order to improve writing skills in English. An important question is why there were not significant differences in *audience awareness* or *differences between paired essays*, the two dependent variables that attempted to measure whether audience awareness was affected by explicit instruction.

First, it may have been necessary to give students more time to discuss and process these concepts before greater audience awareness became apparent in their writing. A second possibility, which became apparent after completing and reflecting on the coding process, was that our measurement of these constructs may have been too broad to reflect the real differences between groups. That is, each item was rated as present or absent, and did not take into account the number of times it was used, the number of types of use, or the complexity with which it was represented. For example, if a student wrote “pollution is bad”, and another student wrote “I think that pollution is harmful and dangerous”, both were marked as demonstrating their personal opinions. A more nuanced rating system might reveal differences between the groups, however, there was not sufficient time for the purpose of this thesis to create, validate, and apply a new coding system based on this speculation.

As it was, our coding scheme did reveal interesting themes relating to audience awareness in the participants' writing. We frequently observed markers of audience awareness in the writing samples, including commands (e.g., “water pollution is main problem in our villages and you need to help me to avoid water pollution”), pleas (e.g., “please you should take care of this children and give them a good life”, “my request is to clean the dam and take more care about the dam water pollution”), and statements of opinion (e.g. “I think deforestation is harmful to us”, “I want to talk about pollution. I would convince the government that this is an important issue. People doing pollution and I want to stop them.”). Among the strategies that students used to differentiate their essay to an authority figure from their essay to a friend, students most frequently used opening and closing lines in order to shift their writing “voice” for different audiences, for example in this pair of conclusions: “Please stop the pollution. Dear prime minister please take it responsibility”, and to a friend, “The human bodies are not safe. Please control the pollution. The pollution is not safe for us”.

The treatment group reported a significantly greater increase than the control group in

how well they expected to do in English next year. There were no significant differences between treatment and control groups on the other measures of means, opportunities, and motives that were included in the surveys, that is, reports of experience with the English language, valuing of the task of writing in English, and perceptions of a students' own capabilities in English writing. These measures were included in the study design because we recognized that such a brief workshop would be unlikely to shift the quality of participants' writing in a measurable way. However, we hypothesized that we might observe shifts in participants' reports of their means, opportunities, and motives that might lead to future improvements in English writing skills. This finding suggests that a focus on audience awareness, as a skill particular to language brokers, can serve to bolster their confidence in learning to write in English. Strengthening students' confidence to face challenging writing tasks is particularly important for adolescents, because of the role of self-efficacy beliefs in determining their writing achievement (Klassen, 2002). In the Handbook of Adolescent Literacy Research (2010), Schoenbach and Greenleaf explain that “most adolescents need support for developing key dispositions for approaching and engaging in challenging tasks... [including] maintaining confidence in their own abilities” (p. 101-102). Educators should attempt to develop students' confidence as one of their key strategies to improve academic outcomes.

### **Contributions, Limitations and Implications for Future Research**

The current study is important as the first mixed methods study of a curriculum for English writing which leverages multi-lingual students' language brokering skills, and its findings raise important questions for future researchers. Findings suggest that language brokering, which has previously been studied in several other cultures, is frequently practiced by some multi-lingual adolescents in India. Limited conclusions can be drawn from the analyses performed in order to answer the two research questions. While the intervention produced some evidence of shifting attitudes regarding participants' own capabilities in writing in English, it was



not successful in immediately improving writing skills or changing other measures of means, opportunities, and motives. As mentioned above, the intervention was conducted for only 7 weeks, a very short time to effect differences in demonstrated skills and reported beliefs about writing. As evidenced by the literature discussing the difficulties that even language-majority students in the United States encounter with their writing skills (e.g., The College Board, 2003; U.S. Department of Education, 2008), there is no quick and easy path to learning how to write well. Therefore, it is encouraging to observe increased confidence among treatment group participants, who will hopefully utilize this change in self-efficacy beliefs to support their future learning and achievement.

The current study was conducted at one school, in a very specific social and cultural context in India, and all workshop sessions were conducted by the principal investigator. It is important to note that this facilitated the randomized, experimental design used in this study and allowed for the variance between treatment and control groups to be precisely controlled. However, because treatment and control group students were drawn from the same classes, they could have discussed the intervention at any time. If so, the lack of greater differences between the treatment and control groups may have been due to contamination between the two groups. A second practical limitation is that the level of English writing proficiency of these students was low in relation to the demands of this Digital Journalism curriculum because of differences between students' demonstrated skills and those advertised by their school. The "For the Write" curriculum was designed for adolescents, with the expectation that students who attend an English-medium school would be at a level of proficiency to work on refining their writing. In support of this expectation, participants reported an average of five years since they had begun to learn English. However, in the context of this study participants were generally unable to write a grammatically correct sentence in English. The examples in *Appendix C: Case studies of writing samples* are representative. Because more classroom time than expected

needed to be devoted to mechanics of the English language (e.g., irregular plural forms such as “children” and use of articles such as “the”), there was less time to discuss and practice audience awareness skills.

This study adds to a very small literature on educational interventions for low-income secondary students in India. One theoretical limitation of conducting research in this context is the difficulty of working with students to fully use their communication skills in the school setting. Martínez et al. (2008) explain that in order for students to effectively use their translation skills as support for their writing performance, it was essential for teachers to push their students “to utilize their full linguistic repertoires for academic tasks... to draw on language skills that they had for so long been taught to keep out of school” (p. 425). Because the participants in the current study have used English primarily in a school context, they were not very familiar with non-academic uses of English. If this approach was adopted by staff members who were part of the local community, they might facilitate an adaptation of the “For the Write” workshop that could more completely employ students' language skills, for example through multi-lingual projects and presentations.

The current study demonstrates that the construct of audience awareness can significantly impact Hyderabad students' perceptions of their abilities. This study was conducted in the hope that this framework of instruction can eventually be incorporated into existing programs of educational organizations to support their students' achievement. In order to better understand the impact of this pedagogical approach, future research should examine the effects of an intervention conducted with greater ecological validity. Both the curriculum and study period should be extended for a longer period of time, and delivered as a component of students' regular school curriculum by their classroom teachers.

## Conclusion

Learning to write well in English is a critical skill for success in school and in professional careers, yet many children seeking an English-medium education never become proficient writers. The path to writing proficiency is harder for children whose parents do not speak English fluently. An English writing curriculum for multi-lingual middle school students that draws on their particular skills as language brokers has great potential to positively impact their learning. Findings from the current study indicate that the inclusion of audience awareness as a topic of explicit instruction can enhance students' confidence for writing. Specifically, after receiving the intervention students reported higher expectations for their future English writing achievement.

The study intervention is one example of a curriculum leveraging the translation skills of English Language Learners to help them learn to write in English. In addition, this workshop demonstrated strategies for situating research-supported “best practices” for writing instruction within the ideological framework of cultural modeling, in which educators work with students to leverage skills that they have gained in their out-of-school communities. In the context of this study, participants demonstrated many strengths as they were challenged to complete difficult writing tasks: in addition to impressive translation skills, they expressed a deep level of concern for the world around them, and dedication to change the problems that were important to them. “For the Write”, “Found in Translation”, or other curricula based on cultural modeling should ultimately lead educators and students to recognize and reinforce their numerous strengths, situating writing in English among the many tools that students can use to face future challenges.

## Tables & Appendices

Table 1  
*Descriptive characteristics of the sample*

	Range	Full sample (N = 89) M (SD)	Treatment Group (n = 45) M (SD)	Control Group (n = 44) M (SD)
<i>Variables measured at pre-survey</i>				
Age	12-16	13.43 (0.89)	13.57 (0.90)	13.3 (0.88)
Sex	1-2	1.45 (0.50)	1.47 (0.51)	1.43 (0.50)
Class	1-3	1.88 (0.80)	1.89 (0.80)	1.86 (0.80)
Language Arts grades	1-10	5.96 (2.89)	5.74 (2.73)	6.18 (3.04)
Mean of grades	1-10	5.57 (2.54)	5.33 (2.46)	5.82 (2.62)
Birthplace	0-1	0.44 (0.50)	0.45 (0.50)	0.42 (0.50)
Age beginning to learn English	2-13	7.43 (2.83)	8.50 (2.16)	6.38 (3.02)
Comprehension of pre-test instructions	0-1	0.75(0.43)	0.76 (0.44)	0.75 (0.44)
Language brokering	0-2	1.5 (0.70)	1.52 (0.76)	1.48 (0.63)
<i>Variables measured at post-survey</i>				
Perceived workshop value	0-7	5.92 (1.14)	6.09 (0.88)	5.74 (1.34)
Workshop extrinsic utility value	0-7	5.83 (1.20)	5.92 (1.17)	5.74 (1.23)
Workshop intrinsic interest value	0-7	6.06 (1.19)	6.26 (0.84)	5.86 (1.44)
<i>Additional descriptive variables</i>				
Sphoorti membership	0-1	0.34 (0.48)	0.33 (0.48)	0.34 (0.48)
Student missed over 10% of sessions	0-1	0.57 (0.50)	0.58 (0.50)	0.57 (0.50)
Student missed over 25% of sessions	0-1	0.81 (0.40)	0.78 (0.42)	0.84 (0.37)
Student missed over 30% of sessions	0-1	0.91 (0.29)	0.89 (0.32)	0.93 (0.26)

Table 2  
*Descriptive characteristics of dependent variables*

	Range	Full sample (N = 89)		Treatment Group (n = 45)		Control Group (n = 44)	
		M (SD)		M (SD)		M (SD)	
<i>Dependent variables (measured at both timepoints)</i>		<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>
Writing proficiency	0-7	4.07 (2.42)	4.66 (2.14)	4.36 (2.40)	5.2 (1.80)	3.77 (2.43)	4.12 (2.35)
English proficiency	0-4	1.47 (1.08)	1.75 (1.08)	1.64 (0.93)	1.93 (1.02)	1.3 (1.19)	1.56 (1.12)
Audience awareness	0-2	1.4 (0.77)	1.52 (0.76)	1.62 (0.61)	1.6 (0.70)	1.18 (0.84)	1.44 (0.81)
Paired essays differences	0-8	2.62 (2.39)	3.66 (2.55)	3.24 (2.52)	4.29 (2.52)	1.98 (2.07)	3.02 (2.45)
Experience with English across contexts	1-4	2.90 (0.54)	2.97 (0.61)	2.98 (0.46)	2.92 (0.53)	2.81 (0.60)	3.02 (0.70)
Experience with English conversational skills	1-4	3.06 (0.68)	3.15 (0.72)	3.19 (0.63)	3.18 (0.67)	2.93 (0.71)	3.13 (0.78)
Experience with English productive skills	1-4	3.29 (0.59)	3.36 (0.56)	3.37 (0.49)	3.32 (0.58)	3.2 (0.67)	3.39 (0.54)
I understand this language...	1-4	3.25 (0.85)	3.35 (0.82)	3.41 (0.79)	3.37 (0.83)	3.09 (0.88)	3.32 (0.82)
I read books in this language..	1-4	3.67 (0.60)	3.67 (0.59)	3.73 (0.50)	3.57 (0.63)	3.61 (0.69)	3.76 (0.53)
I write in this language...	1-4	3.70 (0.67)	3.78 (0.55)	3.77 (0.61)	3.69 (0.64)	3.64 (0.72)	3.88 (0.40)
Task Values of writing in English	1-7	6.29 (0.79)	6.28 (0.87)	6.48 (0.55)	6.56 (0.51)	6.09 (0.93)	6.01 (1.06)
How good at writing in English are you?	1-7	5.25 (1.50)	5.57 (1.37)	5.16 (1.51)	5.33 (1.37)	5.34 (1.49)	5.81 (1.33)
How good would you be at learning something new about writing in English?	1-7	5.99 (1.20)	6.06 (1.16)	6.11 (0.95)	6.05 (1.02)	5.86 (1.41)	6.07 (1.29)
How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year?	1-7	5.76 (1.37)	6.27 (1.17)	5.7 (1.46)	6.57 (0.80)	5.82 (1.30)	5.98 (1.39)

Table 3  
*Correlations between experience with English language items*

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>	<i>Pre-survey</i>	<i>Post-survey</i>
1) I use this language in my home...	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2) I use this language with my friends...	0.43**	0.40**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3) I use this language at school...	0.12	0.23	0.14	0.44**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4) I watch movies or TV in this language...	0.07	-0.80	0.31**	0.09	0.23*	0.10	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5) I understand this language...	0.10	0.52**	0.22*	0.34**	0.38**	0.54**	0.06	0.02	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
6) I speak in this language...	0.38**	0.43**	0.38**	0.53**	0.42**	0.42**	0.18	0.12	0.35**	0.52**	1	1	-	-	-	-
7) I read books in this language...	0.11	-0.09	0.01	0.25*	0.31**	0.13	0.07	0.20	0.48**	0.07	0.22*	0.18	1	1	-	-
8) I write in this language...	-0.03	0.19	0.06	0.12	0.53**	0.40**	0.03	0.00	0.40**	0.60**	0.25*	0.26*	0.47**	0.16	1	1

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 4  
Correlations between task- and self-perceptions items

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8	
	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey
1) In general, how useful is what you learn about writing in English?	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
2) How useful is what you learn about writing in English for what you want to do when you grow up?	0.41**	0.39**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
3) How important is being good at writing in English for you?	0.56**	0.19	0.25*	0.54**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
4) How interesting is working on English writing assignments?	0.43**	0.56**	0.47**	0.40**	0.37**	0.29**	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	--	-
5) How much do you like to write in English?	0.41**	0.42**	0.29**	0.35**	0.21	0.23*	0.21*	0.45**	1	1	-	-	-	-	--	-
6) How good at writing in English are you?	0.17	-0.01	0.30**	0.24*	0.09	0.08	0.12	-0.02	0.09	0.12	1	1	-	-	--	-
7) How good would you be at learning something new about writing in English?	0.22*	0.33**	0.49**	0.43**	0.25*	0.38**	0.32**	0.28*	0.29**	0.25*	0.42**	-0.05	1	1	--	-
8) How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year?	0.17	0.58**	0.14	0.45**	0.22*	0.33**	0.25*	0.62**	0.05	0.43**	0.26*	-0.47	0.36**	0.27*	1	1

\*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

**Table 5**  
**Coding scheme for writing samples**

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Items</b>	<b>Range</b>	<b>Pre-test mean (n=89)</b>	<b>Post-test mean (n=83)</b>	<b>Cohen's Kappa</b>
Writing proficiency	1) Main assertion	0-7	4.07 (SD=2.42)	4.66 (SD=2.14)	0.67
	2) Format				
	3) Argument structure				
	4) Supporting evidence				
	5) Opening & closing lines				
	6) Focus				
English proficiency	1) Spelling	0-4	1.47 (SD=1.08)	1.75 (SD=1.08)	0.69
	2) Grammar				
Audience awareness	1) Efforts to construct common ground	0-2	1.40 (SD=0.77)	1.52 (SD=0.76)	0.60
	2) Demonstration of personal opinions				
Differences between paired essays	1) Main assertion	0-8	2.62 (SD=2.39)	3.66 (SD=2.55)	0.78
	2) Argument structure				
	3) Supporting evidence				
	4) Opening & closing lines				
	5) Grammar				
	6) Key lexical items				
	7) Efforts to construct common ground				
	8) Demonstration of personal opinions				



### Appendix A: Pre-intervention Survey

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Circle one: Male Female Prefer not to answer

Current grade: \_\_\_\_\_

What school do you go to? \_\_\_\_\_

In school, the grades I receive are mostly (circle your answers):

Language Arts	A+	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	Below C-
Science	A+	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	Below C-
Math	A+	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	Below C-

1. Where were you born?

2. How old were you when you began to learn English?

**Now I am going to ask you some questions to find out about when and where you have used your language skills to interpret, and who you have interpreted for. There are a lot of options for your answers, and if you can think of anything else there is a space to write it down in. You will tell me how often each of these options is true:**

**1 = Never**

**2 = Just sometimes**

**3 = Once a week**

**4 = Every day**

3. Do you ever translate (between English and Spanish) for other people?

\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_No

*If you answered Yes, continue with question 4. If No, go to question 7.*

4. Who have you translated for and how often do you translate for them?

a. Your parents:

1 = Never

2 = Just sometimes

3 = Once a week

4 = Every day

b. Younger brothers or sisters	1	2	3	4
c. Other family members	1	2	3	4
d. Teachers	1	2	3	4
e. Friends	1	2	3	4
f. Other people (who?):	1	2	3	4

---

5. Where have you translated? Please circle ALL the places that apply to you.

a. at home	1	2	3	4
b. at school	1	2	3	4
c. with a doctor	1	2	3	4
d. in a market or a shop	1	2	3	4
e. on the street	1	2	3	4
f. other places (where?):	1	2	3	4

---

6. What kinds of things have you translated? Please circle ALL the things that apply to you.

a. letters	1	2	3	4
b. homework	1	2	3	4
c. report cards	1	2	3	4
d. other school information	1	2	3	4
e. the mail	1	2	3	4
f. bills	1	2	3	4
g. bank statements	1	2	3	4
h. legal documents	1	2	3	4
i. phone calls	1	2	3	4
j. conversations	1	2	3	4
k. television shows	1	2	3	4
l. movies	1	2	3	4
m. radio shows	1	2	3	4
n. the newspaper	1	2	3	4
o. words	1	2	3	4
p. other stuff (what?):	1	2	3	4

---

The next section will tell me about which languages you know and how you use them. Each language is at the top of this table, and you will write how much each statement is true for each language underneath. You will decide if each statement is true:

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = A little bit
- 3 = Sometimes
- 4 = Almost always

For example, if I read a statement that said “I like to spend time with my friends...” I would say 4, almost always. What would you say?

Write all the languages you know in the top row of the table :

<i>Languages --&gt;</i>	English	Telugu	Hindi	
I use this language in my home...				
I use this language with my friends...				
I use this language at school...				
I watch movies or TV in this language...				
I understand this language...				
I speak in this language...				
I read books in this language...				
I write in this language...				

Now I will ask you some questions about writing. For these questions, I would like you to circle the number that best matches your answer. Even though I will only read what some of the numbers mean, you can choose any number between 1 and 7.

7. In general, how useful is what you learn about writing in English? 1 is Not At All Useful and 7 is Very Useful.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. How useful is what you learn about writing in English for what you want to do when you grow up?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. How important is being good at writing in English for you? 1 is Not At All Important and 7 is Very Important.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. How interesting is working on English writing assignments? 1 is Very Boring and 7 is Very Interesting or Very Fun.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. How much do you like to write in English? 1 is A Little, 4 is Some, and 7 is A Lot.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. How good at writing in English are you? 1 is Not At All Good, 4 is Ok, and 7 is Very Good.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

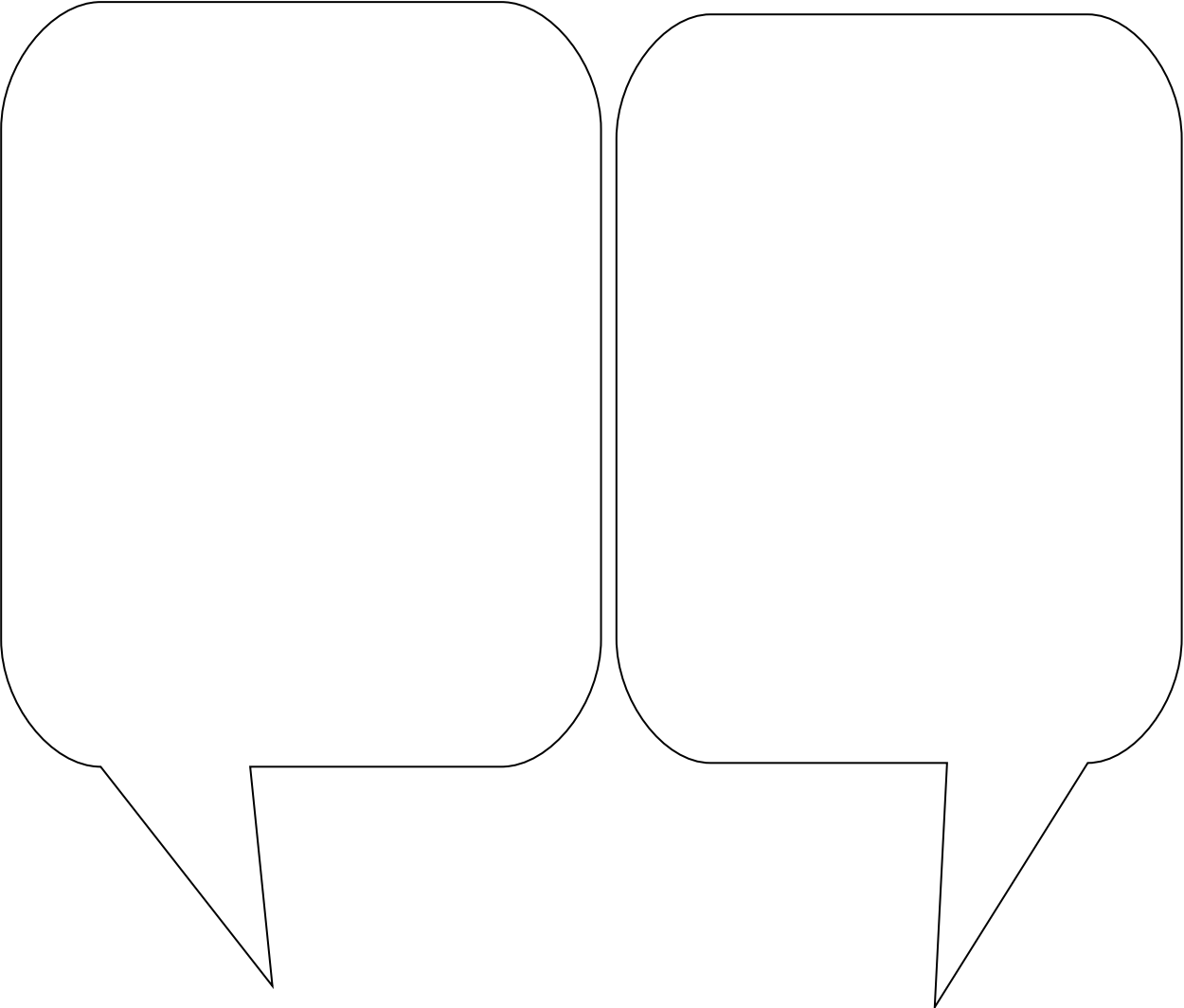
13. How good would you be at learning something new about writing in English?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year? 1 is Not At All Well, 4 is Ok, and 7 is Very Well.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Now I would like you to write about an issue in your community that people should know more about. In the space below, you will draw a self-portrait. You can make it as sketchy or as detailed as you want. In one of the speech bubbles, I want you to write how you would convince your friends that it's important, and what they can do about it. In the other, write how you would convince the government that this is an important issue, and what they can do about it.



## Appendix B: Post-intervention Survey

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**First I have some questions about this workshop. For these questions, I would like you to circle the number that best matches your answer. Even though I will only read what some of the numbers mean, you can choose any number between 1 and 7.**

1. In general, how useful was this workshop? 1 is Not At All Useful and 7 is Very Useful.

1    2    3    4    5    6    7

2. How useful was this workshop for what you want to do when you grow up?

1    2    3    4    5    6    7

3. How interesting was this workshop? 1 is Very Boring and 7 is Very Interesting or Very Fun.

1    2    3    4    5    6    7

4. How much did you like this workshop? 1 is A Little, 4 is Some, and 7 is A Lot.

1    2    3    4    5    6    7

5. Do you have other comments about the workshop, or suggestions for the next time?

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---

The rest of the survey will look a lot like the one we filled out at the beginning of the workshop. This section is about which languages you know and how you use them again. Each language is at the top of this table, and you will write how much each statement is true for each language underneath. You will decide if each statement is true:

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = A little bit
- 3 = Sometimes
- 4 = Almost always

For example, if I read a statement that said “I like to spend time with my friends...” I would say 4, almost always. What would you say?

Write all the languages you know in the top row of the table :

<i>Languages --&gt;</i>	English	Telugu	Hindi	
I use this language in my home...				
I use this language with my friends...				
I use this language at school...				
I watch movies or TV in this language...				
I understand this language...				
I speak in this language...				
I read books in this language...				
I write in this language...				

Now I will ask you some questions about writing. For these questions, I would like you to circle the number that best matches your answer. Even though I will only read what some of the numbers mean, you can choose any number between 1 and 7.

7. In general, how useful is what you learn about writing in English? 1 is Not At All Useful and 7 is Very Useful.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. How useful is what you learn about writing in English for what you want to do when you grow up?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. How important is being good at writing in English for you? 1 is Not At All Important and 7 is Very Important.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. How interesting is working on English writing assignments? 1 is Very Boring and 7 is Very Interesting or Very Fun.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. How much do you like to write in English? 1 is A Little, 4 is Some, and 7 is A Lot.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. How good at writing in English are you? 1 is Not At All Good, 4 is Ok, and 7 is Very Good.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. How good would you be at learning something new about writing in English?

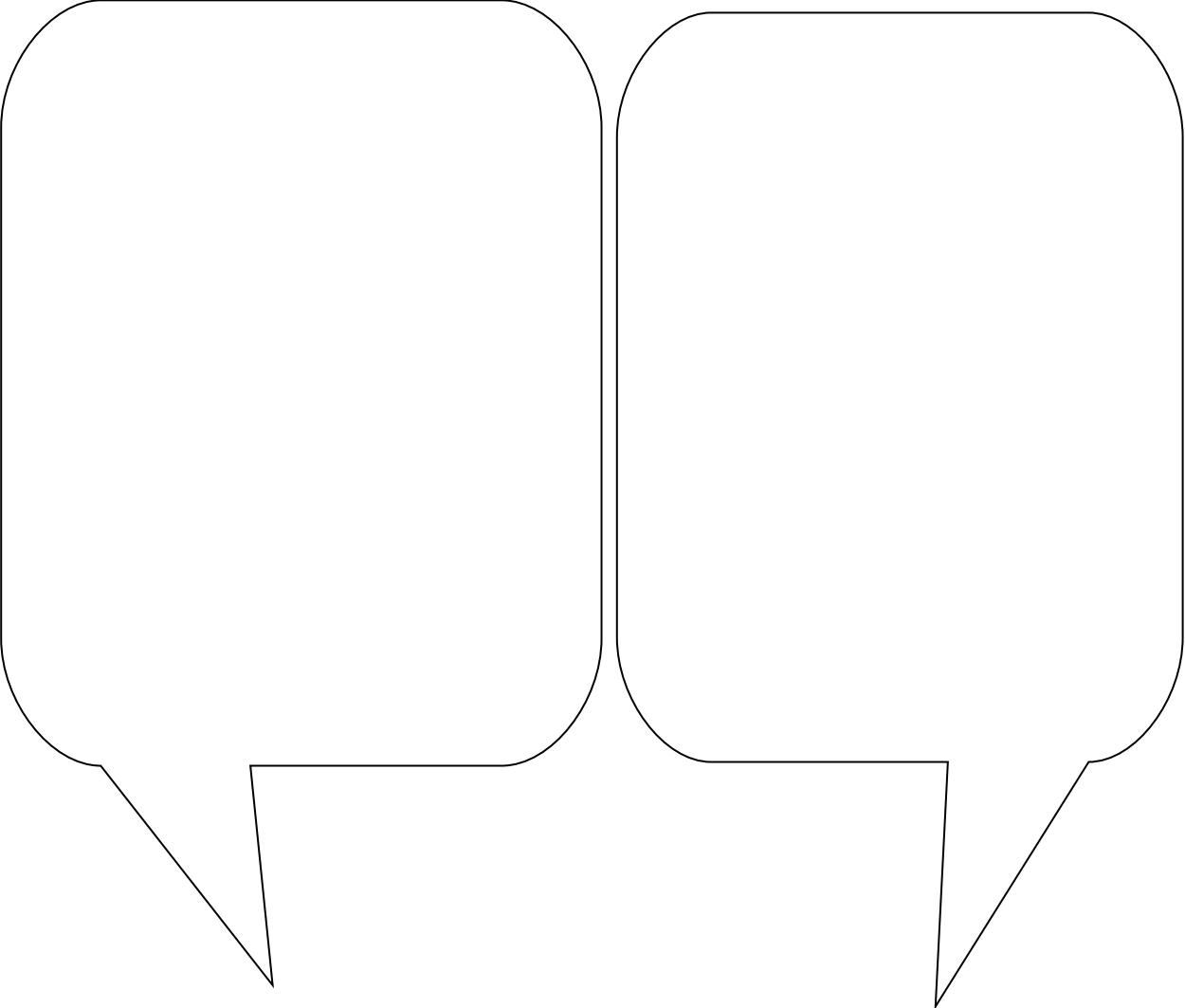
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. How well do you expect to do in writing in English next year? 1 is Not At All Well, 4 is Ok, and 7 is Very Well.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7



**Now I would like you to write about an issue in your community that people should know more about. In the space below, you will draw a self-portrait. You can make it as sketchy or as detailed as you want. In one of the speech bubbles, I want you to write how you would convince your friends that it's important, and what they can do about it. In the other, write how you would convince the government that this is an important issue, and what they can do about it.**



### Appendix C: Case studies of writing samples

<i>Essay to the government</i>	<i>Essay to friends</i>
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**Low-scoring essay (1/21 points)**

*Boy, 7<sup>th</sup> class*

Topic: Water pollution

<p>Water makes a dast comkale, soil, fish so, makes in a water and space book, some many or makes in a water some time a makes comkale, and v. good waterm parst water batel dast water, comkale water compal gas water is a are water pollution</p>	<p>My Bast friends name is Rohit Abidas, smayl would dise are is my Bast Friend and my Bast name R. Udy.</p>
--	--

**Low-mid scoring essay (6/21 points)**

*Girl, 9<sup>th</sup> class*

Topic: Water pollution

<p>In general main ranfull walk Government is a Department issue your Government also if you with showing that Government also shops rates also very much Government is Department that very important all rates also very much school Fees also rate very much. Public also India Full members also all rates also very much is called Government issue.</p>	<p>Hai friends how are you I am telling about waler pollution. Water pollution is very important lakes rivers lands, also about harmful human bodies aquatic micro organisms water pollution is bathing washing fruits trees also water is trees flowers also water is important damage to water is dust water drinking dust water is important.</p>
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**Mid-scoring essay (11/21 points)**

*Girl, 7<sup>th</sup> class*

Topic: Child marriage

<p>This is very bad in child marrige because child marrige is not correct once upon child marrige 12 years this is not correct. Marrige only 18 years girls for boys 20 years this is not 12 years. Marrige is not child marrige in 12 years the girl pregence she is died. I am what the child marrige is stop but child marrige is future is spoil that's I am telling child marrige is not correct.</p>	<p>Hai Sunitha! How are you! I am fine what did you say I am saying child marrige! Sunitha what happen to you! I am telling in child marrige is a not but child marrige is future is spoil! Sunitha child marrige means what! Child marrige means 12 years marrige for girl and boy this not correct I am telling Sunitha this is not at all correct. That's I am telling in child marrige. Buy Sunitha/ thank you; your's telling for child marrige.</p>
--	---

**High mid-scoring essay (15/21 points)**

*Boy, 8<sup>th</sup> class*

Topic: Population

<p>To, Sir Kiran Kumar Reddy, Population was increasing we are facing so many problems. Agriculture land area was decreasing. Natural wealth also decrease. Some animals there have no own shelter. Deforestation is very dangerous to us. Rainfall was rapidly decreasing. Every family have 4 or 5 children. there have no food and no shelter. That's why we are decrease the poputation. Uses: It increases the rainfall and do not cut forest areas. Every family have 1 or 2 children only. Every person do not separate the individual family.</p>	<p>To, My Dear Mounika, Population was increasing we have to face so many problems. Agriculture land area was rapidly decreasing. Animals there have no own shelter where we live. Natural wealth was also decrease. Rainfall was very scarce. Every family have no food to eat. Agricultural land area was decreasing people they do not live. Rainfall was most important to cultivate the land area. So many member are cutting down the forests. Everybody don't cut the forest areas. Every children can tell the forest areas is most important. To increase the natural wealth also.</p>
---	---

**High-scoring essay (19/21 points, maximum score)**

*Girl, 9<sup>th</sup> class*

Topic: Child Labour

<p>Dear sir, Now I am going to discuss about child labour a major problem in the world. All poor families parents are not taking care about their children and leaving their children in some places. Because children are working in railway stations, busstations and some other places. Because of this problems child labours was increased and now also increasing. So I want you to be take care of this problem and please educate that children. Thank u sir.</p>	<p>My dear friend, I want to discuss about child labour with you. I want's to eradicate this problem. Some parents are leaving their children in some ware and they are living happy so this problem is increasing. I wants to eradicate this problems. You also do someting to solve this problem in our society.</p>
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## Appendix D: Workshop posters

The image shows two hand-drawn posters side-by-side. The left poster is on a blue background and is titled 'WRITING GOALS'. It lists four main goals: 1. ORGANIZE (with sub-points: THOUGHTS, PLANS), 2. SUPPORT (with sub-points: GIVE: FACTS, EXAMPLES; BE: SPECIFIC, CONCRETE), 3. INTRODUCTION + CONCLUSION (with sub-point: CLEAR, CONCISE), and 4. STYLE (with sub-points: VOCABULARY, OPINIONS). The right poster is on an orange background and is titled 'AUDIENCE GOALS'. It lists four main goals: 1. CLEAR (with sub-point: \*CAN MY READERS UNDERSTAND MY MEANING OR ARGUMENT?), 2. CONNECTING (with sub-point: \*WILL A READER FEEL THAT I AM TALKING TO THEM?), 3. CONVINCING (with sub-point: \*HOW CAN I MAKE READERS AGREE WITH MY ARGUMENT?), and 4. INTERESTING (with sub-point: \*WILL PEOPLE WANT TO KEEP READING?).

### WRITING GOALS

1. ORGANIZE
  - THOUGHTS
  - PLANS
2. SUPPORT
  - GIVE: FACTS, EXAMPLES
  - BE: SPECIFIC, CONCRETE
3. INTRODUCTION + CONCLUSION
  - CLEAR, CONCISE
4. STYLE
  - VOCABULARY
  - OPINIONS

### AUDIENCE GOALS

1. CLEAR
  - \* CAN MY READERS UNDERSTAND MY MEANING OR ARGUMENT?
2. CONNECTING
  - \* WILL A READER FEEL THAT I AM TALKING TO THEM?
3. CONVINCING
  - \* HOW CAN I MAKE READERS AGREE WITH MY ARGUMENT?
4. INTERESTING
  - \* WILL PEOPLE WANT TO KEEP READING?

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