

Systemic Inequities in the Policy and Practice of Educating Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers: a Critical Race Theory Analysis

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BOSTON COLLEGE

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and Curriculum and Instruction

Program of Curriculum and Instruction

**SYSTEMIC INEQUITIES IN THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF
EDUCATING SECONDARY BILINGUAL LEARNERS AND THEIR
TEACHERS: A CRITICAL RACE THEORY ANALYSIS**

Dissertation

by

KARA MITCHELL

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August, 2010

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ABSTRACT

SYSTEMIC INEQUITIES IN THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATING SECONDARY BILINGUAL LEARNERS AND THEIR TEACHERS: A CRITICAL RACE THEORY ANALYSIS

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In 2002, voters in Massachusetts passed a referendum, commonly referred to as “Question 2,” requiring that, “All children in Massachusetts public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English and all children shall be placed in English language classrooms” (M.G.L.c.71A§4). This dissertation investigates the system of education for secondary bilingual learners and their teachers resulting from the passage of Question 2 by examining assumptions and ideologies about race, culture, and language across policy and practice. Drawing on critical race theory (CRT) and the construct of majoritarian stories, two distinct and complimentary analyses were conducted: a critical policy analysis of state level laws, regulations, and policy tools, and a critically conscious longitudinal case study of one teacher candidate who was prepared to work with bilingual learners and then taught bilingual learners during her first three years of teaching.

The critical policy analysis, conducted as a frame analysis, exposes that legally sanctioned racism and linguicism are institutionalized and codified through Massachusetts state policy. Additionally, Massachusetts state policy consistently and strongly promotes four common majoritarian stories regarding the education of

secondary bilingual learners and their teachers: there is no story about race, difference is deficit, meritocracy is appropriate, and English is *all* that matters. The longitudinal case study demonstrates the power of these majoritarian stories in classroom practice and how they limit the opportunities of bilingual learners and their teachers while also perpetuating institutionalized racism and linguicism. Taken together, the two analyses that make up this dissertation reveal a problematic system deeply affected by majoritarian stories that obscure the role white privilege and white normativity play in perpetuating issues of inequity for secondary bilingual learners and teachers. This dissertation argues that in order to disrupt institutionalized racism and linguicism, these stories must be consistently, proactively, and powerfully challenged across all levels of policy and practice.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Dr. Marilyn Cochran-Smith who has provided me with innumerable invaluable learning experiences and patient assistance. Your mentoring, kindness, and example will forever be immensely powerful influences on me. There will never be words sufficient to express the gratitude I feel for the sacrifice and extensive support you have offered me.

To Dr. María Estela Brisk whose far-reaching influence on all she works with has also deeply affected me. I am proud to be an affectionate member of the wide-ranging group of devotees self-named “Brisk Babies.”

To Dr. Lisa Patel Stevens whose words and actions have literally altered my life trajectory. For beginning and assisting me on a critically conscious path that spans my personal and professional life, I will forever be grateful.

To Dr. Patrick Proctor whose perspective and expertise have long impressed me and continue to push my thinking. Your open door and willing support have been widespread and priceless.

To Randall Lahann whose unbelievable help throughout the dissertation process has been immeasurable. Your honest and poignant feedback, as well as dedicated loyalty as my friend, has been tremendous and greatly appreciated.

To my colleagues on the QCS research team. Working with you has been a highlight of my doctoral experience and a priceless learning opportunity. You all are wonderful friends and scholars.

To Amanda whose generous willingness welcoming me into her classroom to follow her development as a teacher over the course of several years has deeply affected my own growth as a teacher and scholar. I strive to be as reflective and open in my practice as you are.

To my village of support composed of friends and family near and far. You know who you are—I love you and thank you for all you do for me. In particular, to all the Viescas and Mitchells who have supported and loved me throughout this exhausting process. To Sharon Abraham, the better half of “ShaKara” for your dedicated friendship, open ear, and regular walks to help me through the hard times. To Erika Riddle and Trey Treeful for the many hours you spent reading and responding to my work as well as providing occasional and much needed breaks. It absolutely took a village to get me to this point, and the people in my village are pretty incredible.

Finally, but most importantly, to Gama Viesca, my life partner and best friend, whose patience, support, and devotion to my success is entirely incomprehensible to me because of its expanse. I love you so much. This truly is *our* accomplishment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: “What’s the Matter Here?”: Inequity in the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers	1
<i>The Education of Bilingual Learners in Massachusetts</i>	2
<i>Institutionalized Discrimination: Racism and Linguicism</i>	8
<i>Purpose of this Dissertation</i>	15
<i>Research Questions</i>	16
<i>Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory (CRT)</i>	18
<i>CRT in Education</i>	24
<i>CRT Construct: Majoritarian Stories</i>	27
<i>Criticisms of CRT</i>	30
<i>Systemic Inequity in Policy and Practice Regarding the Education of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers</i>	37
<i>Organization of the Dissertation</i>	39
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review Related to the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers	42
<i>Conceptual Scholarship on the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and Their Teachers</i>	49
<i>Empirical Scholarship on the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers</i>	57
<i>Research on Teacher Education Practices</i>	58
<i>Research on Teaching Secondary Bilingual Learners</i>	66
<i>Policy Analyses Related to the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers</i>	100
<i>Cross-cutting Analysis and Critique of the Empirical and Conceptual Research</i>	124
<i>Majoritarian Stories about Race</i>	126
<i>Majoritarian Stories About Culture</i>	133
<i>Majoritarian Stories about Language</i>	144
<i>Conclusion</i>	154
CHAPTER THREE: Research Design	156
<i>Data Sources</i>	159
<i>Policy Documents</i>	159
<i>Longitudinal Qualitative Case Study</i>	165
<i>Data Analysis</i>	177
<i>Frame Analysis</i>	177
<i>Case Study Analysis</i>	181
<i>Conclusion</i>	184

CHAPTER FOUR: Linguicism and Racism: Powerful Issues in Massachusetts State Policy Regarding the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers	186
<i>The Framing of the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers in Massachusetts State Policy.....</i>	<i>194</i>
<i>Ideologies Infused Throughout the Educational Quality and Equality Frames.....</i>	<i>197</i>
<i>The Educational Quality Frame</i>	<i>203</i>
<i>Curriculum and Instruction.....</i>	<i>204</i>
<i>Teacher Qualifications</i>	<i>221</i>
<i>Parental Involvement.....</i>	<i>233</i>
<i>Assessment.....</i>	<i>236</i>
<i>The Educational Equality Frame</i>	<i>239</i>
<i>Racial Balance.....</i>	<i>240</i>
<i>Specialized Attention to Specialized Populations.....</i>	<i>245</i>
<i>Various Rights Explicitly Protected by State Policy.....</i>	<i>248</i>
<i>Anti-Discrimination.....</i>	<i>251</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>255</i>
CHAPTER FIVE: Educational Systems Dominated by Whiteness: Limiting the Educational Opportunities of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers	258
<i>A Youth Dominated by Whiteness.....</i>	<i>260</i>
<i>Amanda’s Family Background</i>	<i>260</i>
<i>Amanda’s Experience of K-12 Schooling</i>	<i>264</i>
<i>Amanda’s Experiences in College.....</i>	<i>272</i>
<i>Teacher Education for Social Justice: The Limitations of a Disjointed Program.....</i>	<i>276</i>
<i>School Context for Amanda’s Practicum Experiences.....</i>	<i>278</i>
<i>Amanda’s Teaching Practice</i>	<i>294</i>
<i>Social Justice</i>	<i>311</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>320</i>
CHAPTER SIX: Endorsing and Challenging Majoritarian Stories about Race, Culture, and Language in Practice: Amanda’s First Three Years of Teaching	323
<i>Highland High School.....</i>	<i>326</i>
<i>Majoritarian Story #1: There is no Story about Race</i>	<i>336</i>
<i>Race in the Curriculum</i>	<i>338</i>
<i>Racial Content in Classroom Management.....</i>	<i>351</i>
<i>Majoritarian Story #2: Difference is Deficit.....</i>	<i>360</i>
<i>Relationship with Students.....</i>	<i>361</i>
<i>Cultural Concept of Respect</i>	<i>367</i>
<i>Parents and Teachers as Collaborative Partners.....</i>	<i>371</i>
<i>Majoritarian Story #3: Meritocracy is Appropriate</i>	<i>376</i>
<i>Majoritarian Story #4: English is ALL That Matters</i>	<i>383</i>
<i>Language Teaching as Vocabulary Instruction.....</i>	<i>390</i>
<i>Language Teaching as Grammar Instruction.....</i>	<i>396</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>402</i>
CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusions and Implications: Disrupting Institutionalized Racism and Linguicism in Policy and Practice	405

<i>Implications for Policy</i>	409
<i>Teacher Qualifications</i>	410
<i>Parental Involvement</i>	412
<i>Curriculum and Instruction</i>	413
<i>Assessment</i>	416
<i>Racial Balance</i>	418
<i>Anti-Discrimination</i>	420
<i>Protected Rights and Specialized Attention to Specialized Populations</i>	420
<i>Coherent Vision for State Policy</i>	421
<i>Implications for Practice</i>	423
<i>Personal Background and Life History</i>	424
<i>Teacher Education</i>	425
<i>Students and School Context</i>	432
<i>Mentoring and Induction</i>	435
<i>Implications for Research</i>	436
<i>Conclusion</i>	438
REFERENCES	440
APPENDIX A: QCS Interview Protocols	463
APPENDIX B: Interview Protocols with Students	514
APPENDIX C: QCS Observation Protocol	516

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Graduation Rates of Massachusetts Bilingual Learners Designated as LEP.....	4
Figure 1.2. Drop-Out Rates of Massachusetts Bilingual Learners Designated as LEP.....	5
Figure 1.3. Yosso’s (2005) Figure Depicting the Intellectual Genealogy of CRT.....	21
Figure 1.4. Visual Representation of Simplified Findings of this Dissertation.....	38
Figure 2.1. Organization of Chapter 2: Review of Literature Related to the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers.....	49
Figure 4.1. Frames of Massachusetts State Policy Regarding the Education of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers.....	196
Figure 7.1. Visual Representation of Findings of this Dissertation.....	408
Figure 7.2. State Level Policy Analysis.....	410
Figure 7.3 Longitudinal Qualitative Case Study.....	424

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. State Level Policy Document Data Sources.....	160
Table 3.2. Data Sources for Case Study Participant, Amanda Lee.....	167
Table 3.3. Overview of QCS Interview Topics and Time of Completion.....	169
Table 3.4. Descriptions and Dates of Observations of Amanda Lee.....	171
Table 3.5. Amanda Lee’s Teacher Education Coursework.....	173
Table 3.6. Bilingual Learner Participants.....	176

**CHAPTER ONE: “What’s the Matter Here?”: Inequity in the Education of
Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers**

The pot was empty,
The cupboard was bare.
I said, Papa,
What’s the matter here?
I’m waitin’ on Roosevelt, son,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
Waitin’ on Roosevelt, son.
The rent was due,
And the lights was out.
I said, Tell me, Mama,
What’s it all about?
We’re waitin’ on Roosevelt, son,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
Just waitin’ on Roosevelt.
Sister got sick
And the doctor wouldn’t come
Cause we couldn’t pay him
The proper sum—
A-waitin on Roosevelt,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt,
A-waitin’ on Roosevelt.
Then one day
They put us out o’ the house.
Ma and Pa was Meek as a mouse
Still waitin’ on Roosevelt,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt.
But when they felt those
Cold winds blow
And didn’t have no
Place to go
Pa said, I’m tired
O’waitin’ on Roosevelt,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt.
Damn tired o’ waitin’ on Roosevelt.
I can’t git a job
And I can’t git no grub.
Backbone and navel’s
Doin’ the belly-rub—

A-waitin' on Roosevelt,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt.
And a lot o' other folks
What's hungry and cold
Done stopped believin'
What they been told
By Roosevelt,
Roosevelt, Roosevelt—
Cause the pot's still empty,
And the cupboard's still bare,
And you can't build a
bungalow
Out o' air—
Mr. Roosevelt, listen!
What's the matter here?
(Langston Hughes, 1934)

In the “Ballad of Roosevelt,” written and published during the Great Depression, Langston Hughes illustrated a disconnect between what had been promised to suffering Americans and what was actually happening in poor communities. He asked, “What’s the matter here?” to demonstrate the gap between the outcomes of the New Deal and the promises made when it was passed. I use this poem to introduce this dissertation because it illustrates issues of inequity as connected to failed assurances. His question, “What’s the matter here?” asserts the necessity to dig deeper into political promises for actual outcomes.

The Education of Bilingual Learners in Massachusetts

In 2002, Massachusetts voters overwhelmingly supported a voter referendum called “Question 2” that supplanted the 30 year state mandate for bilingual education with a policy focusing on instructing bilingual learners in English-only. The campaign promoting the ballot initiative was titled “English for

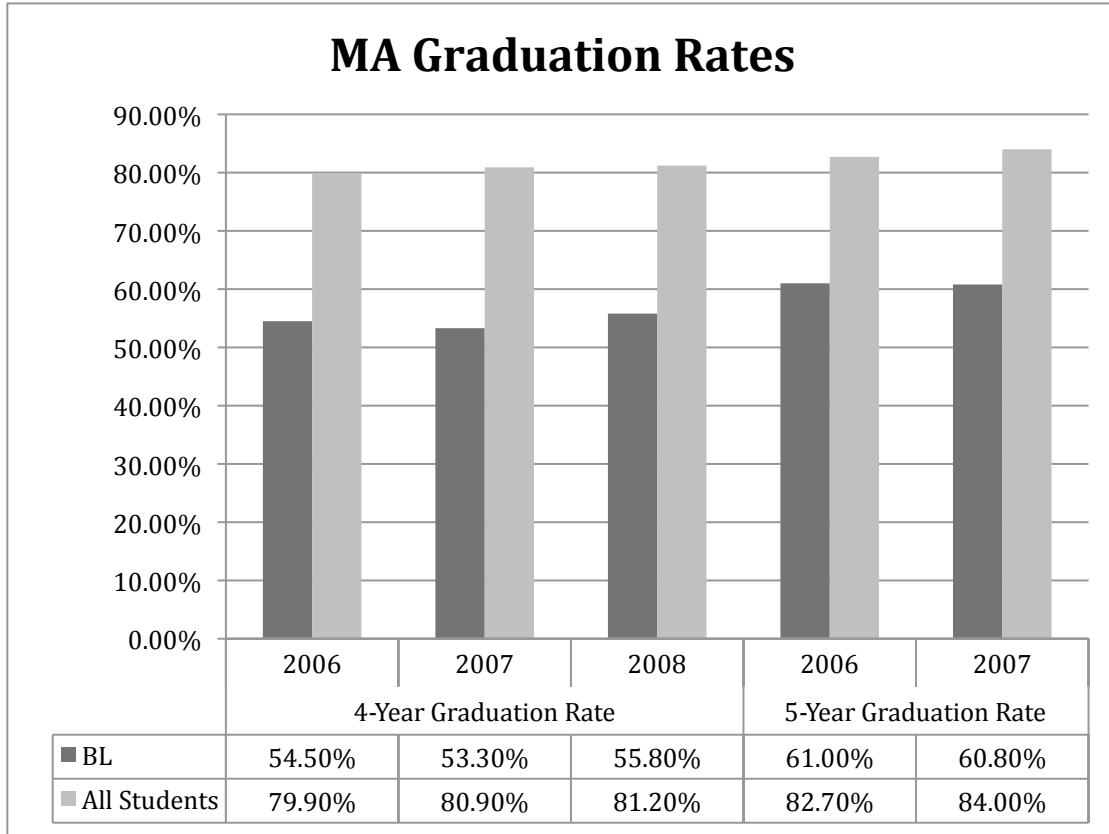
the Children” and attacked bilingual education for not helping immigrant students learn English. The thrust and promise within both the law and the campaign was that, “Immigrant children can easily acquire full fluency and literacy in a new language, such as English, if they are taught that language in the classroom as soon as they enter school” (M.G.L.c.71A§1).

The promise of this new law to improve academic outcomes for bilingual learners who are designated by the state as Limited English Proficient (LEP) in Massachusetts has not been realized. In 2010, a new report revealed that bilingual learners designated by the state as LEP have increased by 27% state-wide since 2001, are over enrolled in special education programs with proportions higher than 30% in some districts, and generally are not becoming English proficient even over a substantial period of time. In fact, only about 25% of bilingual learners designated as LEP in the state reach high levels of English proficiency after five years or more (ELL Sub-Committee of the Massachusetts Board of Elementary and Secondary Education’s Committee on the Proficiency Gap, 2010).

As Figure 1.1 suggests, my analysis of public state-wide data demonstrates that the four-year graduation rate for bilingual learners designated as LEP by the state is roughly 55% each year while the student aggregate rate is around 80% each year. For each year of data available at the time of analysis (March, 2009), the graduation rates for bilingual learners designated as LEP by the state were consistently the lowest graduation rates of any student subgroup in the state except

in one instance (2006) when the Pacific Islander subgroup had a slightly lower graduation rate.

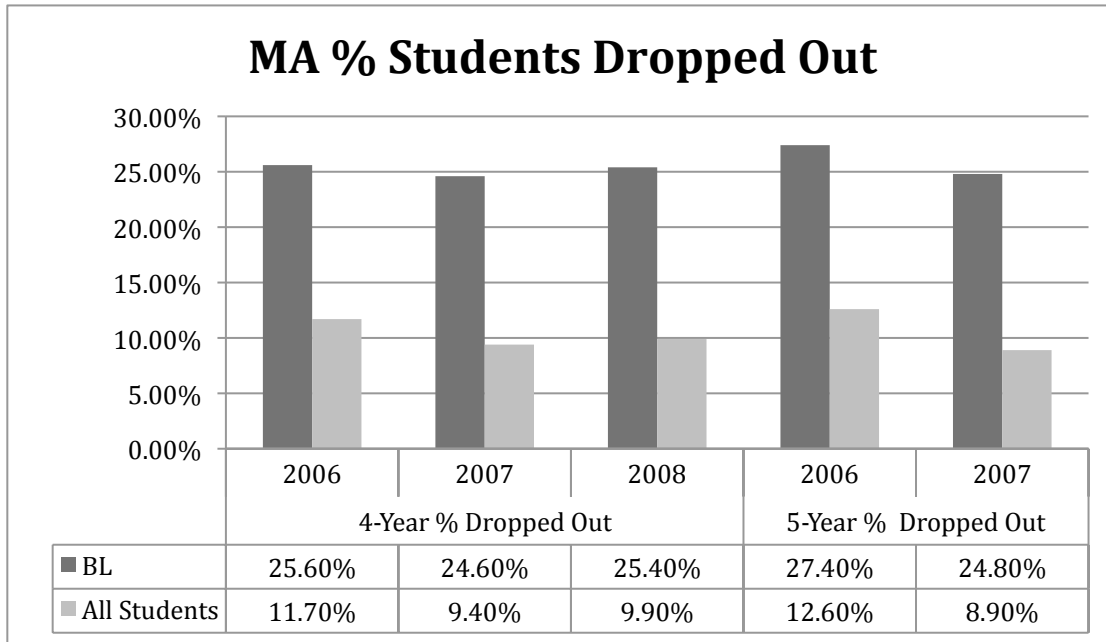
Figure 1.1. Graduation Rates of Massachusetts Bilingual Learners Designated as LEP.



The picture is similarly dismal in terms of drop-out rates. As Figure 1.2 shows, bilingual learners who are designated as LEP by the state, drop-out at significantly higher rates than the student aggregate. The drop-out rate for bilingual learners hovers around 25% each year whereas the general population is around 10% each year. As with the graduation rate, bilingual learners consistently have the highest drop-out rate of any subgroup in the state. Only in one year, 2006, did

bilingual learners have the second highest drop-out rate after the Latino student subgroup.

Figure 1.2. Drop-Out Rates of Massachusetts Bilingual Learners Designated as LEP.



Regardless of which data is analyzed, including competency determination rates and standardized test scores, bilingual learners who are designated LEP in Massachusetts are consistently the student subgroup with the lowest levels of educational achievement. Additionally, a recent report from the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (MA DESE) to the state legislature stated, “We have a critical shortage of licensed ESL teachers in the state” (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2009, p.2). In the same report, the MA DESE estimated that the state needs over 3,000 more elementary and secondary Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) content teachers and around 500 additional licensed ESL teachers. Further, the MA DESE reported that

currently nearly 1 in 4 bilingual learners designated as LEP in the state are receiving little to no English language instruction each week.

With such a dismal picture of bilingual learner educational achievement and support, it is critical to ask, “What’s the matter here?,” and it is easy to make all kinds of assumptions about bilingual learners and their teachers as well as the causes of their failures. However, as Gutiérrez and Orellana (2006) suggest, the picture created by these data is rather incomplete. Gutiérrez and Orellana agree that descriptive statistics can be useful, especially to highlight inequity, but they also assert that such data can situate bilingual learners and their education as a “problem” as well as create a “deficit-oriented, uncomplicated, and uneven narrative” about bilingual learners and their education (p. 503). In this sense, trend data are important but always incomplete. To truly answer, “What’s the matter here?” a deep, complex, and critical analysis that looks beyond common presentations of data regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers and digs deeper into actual policy and practice is necessary.

Common perceptions and depictions of bilingual learners are misleading, inadequate, and often institutionalize discriminatory practices and beliefs. Brisk (2006) described the politicized existence of bilingual learners in the United States experience where the primary goal for their education is the rapid acquisition of English, and bilingualism is often viewed as the source of academic failure. She argued:

The goal of quality education is to educate students to their highest potential. In the case of linguistic minority students, acquisition of English is only part of this goal...Quality education for language minority students combines concerns for language development and cultural awareness in a constant quest for good education...The key factor is the acceptance by schools, families, and students of bilingualism as a resource (p. 14).

In the data and policy mandate from Massachusetts described above, bilingualism is nowhere presented as a resource. In fact, the state identifies the subgroup of bilingual learners only in terms of their “Limited English Proficiency” and otherwise overlooks the population in data analyses. A bilingual learner is a student whose daily lived reality necessitates the negotiation of two or more languages. In the United States, one of those languages is English, and the students whom I call “bilingual learners” are at all stages of language development in regards to both English and their heritage languages. Brisk (2006) uses this term as well and contends that bilingual learners are more than simply the sum of two monolinguals. They are “influenced by a dynamic cross-cultural experience, rather than rigid cultural stereotypes,” and understanding this “is vital for designing school policy, classroom practices, and assessment procedures” (p. 3).

Along these lines, bilingual learners are only partially accounted for in the data presented above. The varying cultural and linguistic perspectives of a student who negotiates the world through multiple languages and cultures are frequently overlooked and often invisible in research and policy, especially once that student reaches a certain level of English proficiency. The usual data expose the unremarkable finding that students who are not yet proficient in English struggle to

succeed in a schooling system that is only in English. However, these same data are often used to suggest widespread failure on behalf of bilingual learners and their teachers.

There is certainly something the matter here when students who are by definition “not currently able to perform ordinary classroom work in English” (M.G.L.c.71A§2) are expected to meet competency determinations, pass high-stakes tests, and complete the coursework necessary for graduation in English. It appears that a major part of what is the matter is the manner in which the bilingual learner population is constructed in terms of English proficiency and therefore either situated as academic failures or invisible in policy and practice, which institutionalizes discrimination. Where so many students are positioned within the system only in terms of their deficit and where others are completely invisible within it, inequity appears inevitable for bilingual learners and their teachers in current educational processes. Due to such systemic inequity, contemporary and historical institutionalized racism and linguicism, or language based discrimination (O. García, 2009; Phillipson, 1992), appear to play significant roles in “what’s the matter here” and require further attention.

Institutionalized Discrimination: Racism and Linguicism

Even though the institutions and fundamental structures of our society were built on legally sanctioned racial discrimination and the perpetuation of white privilege (Campbell & Oakes, 1997; Horsman, 1997; Omi & Winant, 1994), many

people today fail to see how they and various institutions participate in the continuation of social inequities, especially those based on race (Flagg, 1997; Wildman & Davis, 1997). Racism is no longer explicitly legally sanctioned but it is still manifested, particularly institutionally.

The concept of institutional racism was first conceptualized in 1967 by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton in their book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. They provided an explicit critique of the American White establishment and asserted that institutional racism operates through the attitudes and practices that support various bureaucratic procedures that lead to racist outcomes.

Carmichael and Hamilton argued that institutional racism in the U.S. is a form of internal colonialism where Blacks exist as colonial subjects in relation to White society despite having the same citizenship status as Whites. Sociologist Karim Murji (2007) discusses Carmichael and Hamilton's ideas about institutional racism saying:

Their understanding of the key term "institutional" is close to sociological conceptions that use it to refer to processes that are persistent, beyond the control of one or a group of individuals and do not rely upon intention. It marked a shift from seeing racism and racial disadvantage as a psychological or cultural trait of individuals and groups (for example, "the authoritarian personality") or based on anthropological models of a culture of poverty. While such racism may be difficult to detect, its manifestations are observable in patterns of systematic inequality produced by bureaucracies. Sociologists adopted and developed the term as a way of analyzing and explaining racial disparities even when individuals acted without racist intent. It usefully underscored a view of institutional practices as embodying assumptions and values that produced skewed and racist outcomes (p. 845).

Essentially, the assumptions and values that produce racist outcomes are the results of social, political, and institutional structures that operate from the position of white normativity and perpetuate white privilege. Fundamentally, the structures and institutions that were originally created to support overt racism and racial domination through slavery continue to exist today, ensuring the perpetuation of white dominance and power. Carmichael (1997) critiqued this situation saying, “This country does not function by morality, love and nonviolence, but by power” (p. 53). He further asserted that, “For racism to die, a totally different America must be born” (p. 54) and called for an America where communities of color have power over their own existences and Whites proactively change the institutions and structures that perpetuate racial inequities in outcome and access to power.

Despite the advances of the Civil Rights Movement, institutional racism is still a significant issue in the United States today. For instance, over 50 years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision when the Supreme Court concluded that, “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” (“Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka,” 1954), public schools are still highly segregated as well as unequally resourced and staffed (Frankenberg, Lee, & Orfield, 2003; Holzman et al., 2009; Logan, Oakley, & Sowell, 2003; Orfield, Frankenberg, & Garces, 2008; Wishon, 2004). In addition, racial segregation and inequality in access to advanced level curriculum, qualified teachers, and well-resourced schools persist. Meanwhile, the discourse surrounding these issues has shifted from a focus on equal opportunities to a deficit discourse focused on the so-called “achievement gap,” thus situating the

blame for low educational attainment on the students, their families, and their communities rather than on the discriminatory practices of an inequitable system (Ladson-Billings, 2006; Love, 2004). Racism has proven to be resilient, especially institutionally, despite changes in the law. In fact, in many ways some contemporary laws and policies (e.g., the recently passed laws in Arizona targeting undocumented immigrants and ethnic studies courses as well as the policies investigated in this dissertation) work to ensure the perpetuation of racist outcomes despite the absence of the explicitly racist rhetoric and sentiment that characterized U.S. public discourse before the Civil Rights Movement.

Essentially, we live in a time dominated by what Bonilla-Silva (2006) calls “racism without racists.” He investigates “color-blind racism” and states:

Compared to Jim Crow racism, the ideology of color blindness seems like “racism lite.” Instead of relying on name calling (niggers, Spics, Chinks), color-blind racism otherizes softly (“these people are human, too”); instead of proclaiming God placed minorities in the world in a servile position, it suggests they are behind because they do not work hard enough...Yet this new ideology has become a formidable political tool for the maintenance of the racial order. Much as Jim Crow racism served as the glue for defending a brutal and overt system of racial oppression in the pre-Civil Rights era, color-blind racism serves today as the ideological armor for a covert and institutionalized system in the post-Civil Rights era. And the beauty of this new ideology is that it aids in the maintenance of white privilege without fanfare, without naming those who it subjects and those who it rewards...Shielded by color blindness, Whites can express resentment toward minorities; criticize their morality, values, and work ethic; and even claim to be victims of “reverse racism” (pp. 3-4).

As Bonilla-Silva suggests, the racism of today is a dramatically different racism from that of the pre-Civil Rights era. By taking a different, implicit, systemic form, today’s racism is easy to overlook, especially by those who are not negatively affected by it.

Additionally, contemporary racism significantly intersects with other issues like culture, language, and class¹. In fact, institutionalized racism is such a foundational feature of U.S. society that our culture is fundamentally racist and operates off of white normativity. Markers of difference from the White, monolingual, middle class, standard English speaking norm like language, class, gender, religion, and national origin are frequently used as tools to promote racialized agendas and outcomes through institutional practices. In this time of “racism without racists,” where biological race can no longer be an explicit tool for discrimination, culture and language have become powerful factors in institutionalized discrimination and racist outcomes, especially for bilingual learners and their teachers.

In this, “post-racial,” “colorblind,” era of “racism without racists,” the United States is experiencing a significant demographic shift. Current immigration trends have reached their highest numerical level in U.S. history and are changing the overall ethnic and racial demographics in this country (Crawford, 2004). Awokoya and Clark (2008) report that currently 13.5 million immigrants of color are residing in the United States, which is the highest number recorded in U.S. history. Crawford (2004) summarizes this demographic shift saying, “It is safe to say...that immigrants

¹ Poverty is a significant issue in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers and an important point of analysis. However, this dissertation focuses on the parallels and connections between institutionalized racism and linguicism, therefore focusing on race, culture, and language. While class is relevant and important to this overall work, it simply was not within the scope of this dissertation to substantively utilize class as a relevant point of analysis.

are remaking America – racially, culturally, and of course, linguistically. Few communities have remained untouched” (p. 4).

In response to these visible and extensive demographic changes, anti-immigrant and nativist sentiments are strong, as they have often been throughout various periods of U.S. history (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco suggest that the life of anti-immigrant public opinions in the U.S. is as old as immigration itself. However, they also argue that the current form of anti-immigration discourse is the “final frontier” in explicitly racist public speech where “citizens openly vent racial and ethnic hostilities.” They further argue that, “While blatant racism is largely confined to the fringes of society, anti-immigrant sentiments are more freely indulged in public opinion, policy debates, and other social forums. Even children articulate anti-immigrant feelings” (p. 7).

The current debate over the controversial law passed in Arizona that empowers police to utilize race, culture, and language as targeted indicators of undocumented status provides many examples of the explicitly racist anti-immigrant sentiment that pervades contemporary U.S. society. For instance, the governor of Arizona, Jan Brewer, described undocumented immigrants as criminals and dangerous by claiming that most work as “drug mules” for the powerful and violent drug cartels (Alfano, 2010). Government agencies often label immigrants “aliens” and anti-immigrant advocates like Pat Buchanan (2006) use the term “invaders” when discussing immigrants. Further, several national polls show strong support for Arizona’s new law across the country (Archibold & Thee-Brenan, 2010;

Wood, 2010). Clearly, contemporary public discourse and sentiment regarding immigrant populations² is highly racialized and negatively charged. Additionally, the majority of the American public appears to support legislation, like the new immigration law in Arizona, that operationalizes, legitimizes, and legalizes discriminatory practices based on race, culture, and language. Could the passage of Question 2, the voter referendum in Massachusetts that restricts the use of languages other than English in classrooms, be having the same effect? Could policy and practice in Massachusetts schools be operationalizing, legitimizing, and legalizing racism and linguisticism?

This dissertation focuses on the complex intersection of various issues that institutionalize inequity in public schools in Massachusetts for secondary bilingual learners and teachers. In our highly racialized country and culture where discrimination against immigrant populations is rampant, the question, “What’s the matter here?” regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers demands critical investigations of the intersections of race, culture, and language in order to expose and eventually battle serious issues of institutionalized racism and linguisticism that perpetuate educational inequity.

² It is important to note that immigrant students and bilingual learners may not be the same group of students. While languages other than English in the United States are most often the result of immigration, bilingual learners may not be immigrants and immigrants may not be bilingual learners. In fact, Goldenberg (2008) showed that most bilingual learners were born in the United States, but 80% of their parents were not. Therefore, there is a significant overlap between immigrant and bilingual populations, but they are not synonymous.

Purpose of this Dissertation

Willis et al. (2008) use the term “critically conscious” to describe the work of scholars who actively engage in research aimed at disrupting the perpetuation of educational inequities. They cite Kincheloe’s (1998) general description of critical research and its essence:

The “critical” aspect of critical research assumes that the inequalities of contemporary society need to be addressed and that the world would be a better place if such unjust realities could be changed...[We] explore the world...for the purpose of exposing this injustice, developing practical ways to change it, and identifying sites and strategies by which transformation can be accomplished (p. 1191) (Kincheloe, 1998, as cited in Willis et al., 2008, pp. 51-52).

This description of the essence of critical research captures the purpose of this dissertation: to explore the policies and practices of teaching bilingual learners and their teachers in order to identify injustice, to suggest practical ways to change these injustices, and to formulate strategies capable of accomplishing necessary transformations. Within the work of teacher preparation for bilingual learners and the education of secondary bilingual learners themselves, many inequities exist and require critical empirical examination in order to expose those injustices based on race, culture, and language as well as to develop practical solutions and strategies capable of transforming the system.

Though some empirical research has been conducted in Massachusetts investigating the impact of the restrictive language policy put in place with the passage of Question 2 (de Jong, 2008; de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; Tung et al., 2009), no critically conscious policy analyses of the recent policy change in Massachusetts

have been conducted, nor has there been any research that interrogates the relationship of that language policy to issues around institutionalized racism and linguicism. Stevens (2009) asserts that critical examination of language policy is of significant value saying, “Particularly within times of unprecedented movement globally, the need to consider critically the role of language policy, research and practice for immigrant populations is undeniable” (pp. 1-2). In the context of Massachusetts, this need to critically consider the role of language policy, research, and practice regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers is also undeniable, especially in terms of investigating discriminatory practices and outcomes based on race, culture, and language.

Research Questions

This dissertation focuses on the ideologies and assumptions surrounding the concepts of race, culture, and language within the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. Specifically the research questions for this dissertation are as follows:

- What are the ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in state level policies regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers?
- What are the ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in the practice of a teacher candidate who is prepared to work with bilingual learners and the novice teacher she becomes?
- What are the relationships among these ideologies and assumptions?

This study draws on critical race theory (Crenshaw, 1988; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) and its offshoots, referred to as “LatCrit” (Aoki & K. Johnson, 2008) and

“WhiteCrit” (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997a), as well as from the theory of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). The critical theoretical frame of this dissertation has the intention of investigating the hegemonic (Gramsci, 1971) forces within the teacher education enterprise as well as in the practices of a teacher candidate and the beginning teacher she becomes. (In this dissertation, practice is understood to include actions, discourse, interpretations, and classroom artifacts).

Fundamental to the critical orientation of this study is the understanding that racism, linguicism or “racism that is associated with language” (O. García, 2009, p. 39), and many other forms of domination and oppression are tightly ingrained in political, social, and educational structures. This sustains and reproduces inequity across generations and allows it to be regarded as “just the way things are.” Thus these issues are rarely explicitly sanctioned or critically examined in mainstream research. Critical race theory, LatCrit, WhiteCrit, and the theory of linguistic imperialism work in concert to provide a powerful set of theoretical tools for unmasking discrimination and power issues in systems, policies, and practices, especially as they related to bilingual learners and their teachers.

In this dissertation, I present two related analyses: the analysis of state level policy documents as well as a longitudinal qualitative case study. A frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Oliver & Johnston, 2000) was conducted on the policy documents to examine the ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language within the policies governing the education and practice of secondary teachers who work with bilingual learners. Additionally, I investigated a teacher’s ideologies and

assumptions about race, culture, and language through an in-depth case study (Yin, 2008) of a secondary teacher candidate/new teacher who met all state recommendations to teach bilingual learners through Sheltered English Immersion (SEI). (SEI will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, but it is mandated by the restrictive language policy in Massachusetts and requires that English is the predominant language of instruction, regardless of student proficiency level in English.)

Wildman & Davis (1997) suggest that in order to “remedy discrimination effectively, we must make the power systems and the privileges they create visible and part of the discourse” (p. 315). My analysis of ideologies and assumptions related to race, culture, and language in this dissertation cross several forums including both policy and practice and help to make visible the hegemonic power systems and privileges they create. As these become visible, they can become part of discussions focused on transforming educational policies and practices in order to better educate bilingual learners and their teachers.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Because of its central role in this dissertation in terms of the research questions and purpose for this dissertation, the discussion regarding my theoretical framework is most useful here in Chapter One. Critical race theory (CRT) was developed as a response to the stalled advances of the civil rights era during the mid 1970’s and originated in the field of law to combat new, institutionalized forms of

racism that were becoming prominent (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Though significant progress in improving the racist state of the nation had been made, racism persisted and largely became conceived as:

A discrete and identifiable act of “prejudice based on skin color” [which] placed virtually the entire range of everyday practices in America—social practices developed and maintained throughout the period of formal American apartheid—beyond the scope of critical examination or legal remediation (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p. xv).

In response, early CRT scholars called for expanding the legal scholarship and activism that led to the civil rights movement (Crenshaw, 1988), as well as reinterpreting civil rights laws in order to unmask the undermining systemic and institutional factors preventing the remedy of racial inequity (Tate, 1997). As a theory, CRT was developed to expose the “ways that so-called race-neutral laws and policies perpetuate racial and/or ethnic and gender subordination” (Bernal, 2002, p. 108). In 1993, Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado and Crenshaw set forth six tenets or unifying themes, which are often cited as defining CRT:

1. Critical race theory recognizes that racism is endemic to American life.
2. Critical race theory expresses skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness and meritocracy.
3. Critical race theory challenges ahistoricism and insists on a contextual/historical analysis of the law...Critical race theorists...adopt a stance that presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage.
4. Critical race theory insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color and [their] communities of origin in analyzing law and society.
5. Critical race theory is interdisciplinary.
6. Critical race theory works toward the end of eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression (p. 6).

These six tenets are the foundation for CRT although they are sometimes discussed in different terms or through a modified list of tenets (e.g., Solórzano, 1997, 1998). For example, Crenshaw et al., (1995) suggest, “there is no canonical set of doctrines or methodologies to which” all CRT scholars subscribe (p. xiii). They further explained:

Although Critical Race scholarship differs in object, argument, accent and emphasis, it is nevertheless unified by two common interests. The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection.” The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to *change* it (p. xiii).

These two unifying, common interests of CRT scholars along with what Delgado and Stefancic (2001) assert is a major strength of CRT—to study and transform the relationships between race, racism, and power—are the fundamental reasons for drawing on CRT for the theoretical frame of this dissertation.

In this dissertation, aspects of CRT that developed over time and represent an expansion and splintering of CRT will be utilized (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Yosso (2005) visually explicates that expansion as well as the genesis of CRT through the following figure (p. 71).

Figure 1.3. Yosso's (2005) Figure depicting the Intellectual Genealogy of CRT

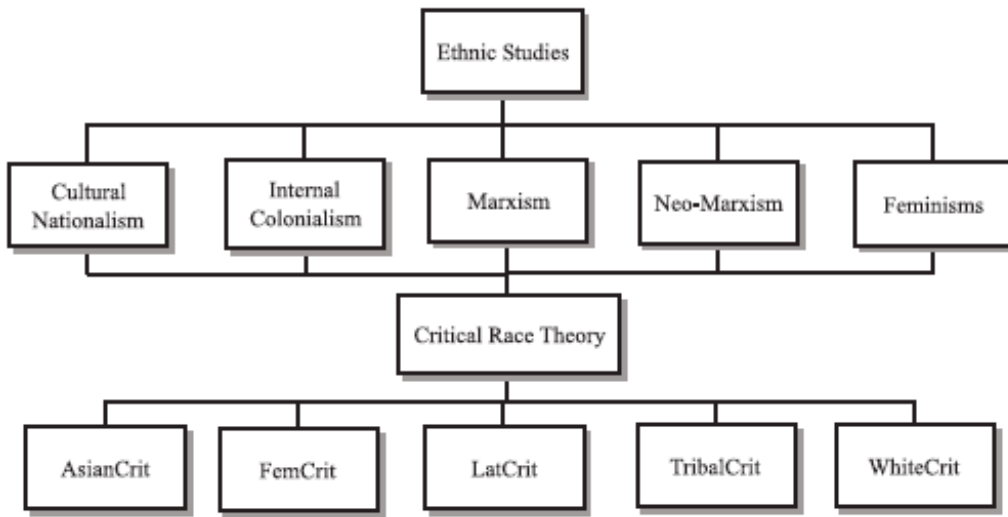


Figure 1. An intellectual genealogy of critical race theory

(Yosso, 2005)

Though this figure neglects the substantial influence of the field of legal studies on the creation of CRT, it does show the potential interdisciplinary nature of CRT and its development. Additionally, this figure shows the various offshoots of CRT that have come into being in order to combat the prevalent Black/White binary. This pervading binary in contemporary racial discourse overlooks the race issues facing Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, and other communities of color in the United States and potentially other issues such as gender and class (Yosso, 2005).

Yosso describes these expansions of CRT as “not mutually exclusive or in contention with one another. Naming, theorizing and mobilizing from the intersections of racism, need not initiate some sort of oppression sweepstakes—a competition to measure one form of oppression against another” (p. 73). The expansive work of CRT and its offshoots do not compete to establish one form of

oppression as being more harmful than another. Rather they centralize race in analyses and interrogate its intersection with other serious forms of oppression.

In this dissertation, LatCrit and WhiteCrit are of particular value for their emphases on issues like linguicism, white privilege, white normativity, and white dominance. LatCrit theory emerged in legal scholarship during the mid-1990s to expand the analysis of civil rights beyond race (Aoki & K. Johnson, 2008). Issues around nationality, language, immigration, culture, identity, ethnicity, and sexuality are theorized through LatCrit (Bernal, 2002).

From the beginning, LatCrit has been strongly committed to anti-essentialism and anti-subordination (Aoki & K. Johnson, 2008), therefore harnessing the power to elucidate Latinas/Latinos multidimensional identities as well as address the intersectionality of racism and other forms of oppression (Bernal, 2002). LatCrit is a powerful theoretical tool for this dissertation because of its expanded focus on the issues of language, immigration, and culture. However, it is important to note that by utilizing LatCrit, I am not asserting that all bilingual learners are Latino. LatCrit is useful to investigate issues of language, immigration, and culture for all bilingual learners regardless of nationality or ethnic background. It is also important to note that bilingual learners are not necessarily immigrants and immigrants are not necessarily bilingual learners. Language use and immigration are not synonymous.

WhiteCrit, sometimes called White Studies, is described by Yosso, Parker, Solórzano and Lynn (2004) as an expansion that White scholars offered to CRT by “looking behind the mirror” (Yosso et al., 2004, p. 3). Delgado and Stefancic’s

collection of essays on issues surrounding white privilege and racism (1997a) serves as the seminal text for WhiteCrit. WhiteCrit provides a valuable tool for this dissertation to investigate and challenge the dominance of whiteness and the privilege such white normativity maintains.

Though not on the CRT family tree as it stems from the field of applied linguistics, Phillipson's (1992) theory of linguistic imperialism has conceptual similarities to CRT and LatCrit and is helpful for this dissertation which will specifically interrogate issues of both racism and linguicism. Phillipson (1992) describes linguicism as the "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (p. 47). The theory of linguistic imperialism is used for analyzing issues of linguicism by looking at the relationship "between dominant and dominated cultures, and specifically the way English language learning has been promoted" (p. 15). This theory questions the hegemony and power that the English language exerts across the globe as well as in countries where English is the language of dominance. What has today become the common sense ideology of the economic, social, and political value of standard English is critically examined through the lens of linguistic imperialism and linguicism. In this dissertation, linguistic imperialism works in concert with CRT in order to expose and challenge contemporary issues of both racism and linguicism within the United States.

CRT in Education

CRT was first introduced into educational theory and scholarship by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) who attempted “to theorize race and use it as an analytic tool for understanding school inequity” (p. 48). Their intention was to expand the boundaries of educational research by including new perspectives and arguments from law and the social sciences. Now, more than a decade later, an emerging collection of educational research exists utilizing CRT (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Lynn & Parker, 2006).

CRT research in education covers topics like higher education policies (Iverson, 2007; Solórzano, Villalpando, & Oseguera, 2005; Yosso et al., 2004), the experiences of students and scholars of color in higher education (Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Foster, 2003, 2005; Solórzano, 1998), the experiences of students of color in K-12 educational settings (Bernal, 2002; Michael-Luna, 2008; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002, 2004), and the use of CRT with qualitative methodologies (Parker & Lynn, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001a, 2002b). CRT educational research in teacher education examines the usefulness of CRT in teacher education practice and research (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Milner, 2007, 2008; Solórzano, 1997; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001b), methods of and reasons for engaging with White pre- and in-service teachers about issues of racism (Blaisdell & Borman, 2005; LeCompte & McCray, 2002; Marx, 2004; Pennington, 2007; Vaught & Castagno, 2008), and the resistance of White teacher candidates to learning about racism from teacher educators and scholars of color (Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Williams & Evans-Winters, 2005).

Although much work on race and racism in teacher education and K-12 classrooms is being done in the tradition of CRT, research on race in education has been and continues to be conducted from a variety of perspectives, many of which are consistent with various aspects of CRT (Cochran-Smith, 2000, 2003; Gay & Howard, 2000; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Irvine, 1990, 1997; Nieto, 2000; Pollock, 2001, 2004a, 2004b).

Lynn and Parker (2006) reviewed the educational research utilizing CRT and concluded, “Critical race scholars in education have transformed the way race is understood and addressed in debates over the links between schooling and inequality” (p. 279). Though still limited and only rarely engaging with issues specifically surrounding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers (e.g., Revilla & Asato, 2002), this emerging body of research is already working to transform the conversation around race and inequity in the American educational enterprise, but can and should be expanded in order to transform educational practices.

One aspect of education that CRT research attempts to highlight and transform is what Bernal (2002) refers to as a major contradiction within the field of education “Critical race and LatCrit theorists acknowledge that educational structures, processes, and discourses operate in contradictory ways with their potential to oppress and marginalize and their potential to emancipate and empower” (p. 109). Education is often touted as the emancipatory and empowering solution to various social inequities, but without critical and careful examination

and practice, educational structures, processes, and discourses do oppress and marginalize (Gee, 1996). This contradiction is poignant and important to consider, especially in terms of this dissertation. Without careful reflection and practice, educational research can also participate in this troubling contradiction by utilizing deficit perspectives of student populations and communities, thus promoting marginalizing and oppressive educational practices that are “research-based.”

An additional critique of many common forms of educational research asserting the usefulness of CRT is offered by Parker and Lynn (2002):

Traditionally, educational research has (a) ignored historically marginalized groups by simply not addressing their concerns, (b) relied heavily on genetic or biological determinist perspectives to explain away complex social educational problems, or (c) epiphenomenized or de-emphasized race by arguing that the problems minority students experience in schools can be understood via class or gender analyses that do not fully take race, culture, language, and immigrant status into account (McCarthy & Crichlow, 1993; Solórzano, 1997; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998) (p. 13).

Parker and Lynn suggest that CRT in education research can build necessary connections among theory, practice, and activism about issues related to race. However, they also argue that this possibility hinges on “defining how one is using CRT in qualitative research at the epistemological or methodological levels of analysis and its connection with the law and racism” (p. 18). In other words, to effectively employ CRT in educational research, close attention must be paid to the epistemological and methodological foundations of both the study and researcher.

CRT Construct: Majoritarian Stories

This dissertation draws methodologically on the CRT constructs of “majoritarian stories” and “counter-storytelling” that utilize the fundamental tenets of CRT to expose issues of racial oppression. The overarching tenets of CRT (as cited previously) centralize race; challenge meritocracy, objectivity, neutrality, and ahistoricism; emphasize experiential knowledge; and support interdisciplinarity. Majoritarian stories often stand in contrast to these tenets and are therefore challenged by CRT scholars. Love (2004) defines majoritarian stories as:

The description of events as told by members of dominant/majority groups, accompanied by the values and beliefs that justify the actions taken by dominants to insure their dominant position. The commonly accepted “history” of the United States is one such story... Typically, majoritarian stories are constructed so that the responsibility for their own subordination falls on the subordinated people (pp. 228-229).

Contemporary majoritarian stories often downplay the centrality of race and racism in social institutions like schools and promote deficit ideologies that blame social and educational inequities on non-dominant populations. Often underlying teacher education curriculum, these stories generally draw on a cultural deficit model and blame students for failing to culturally assimilate to the dominant White, middle-class, monolingual culture that defines success in school (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002b). Solórzano and Yosso further assert, “Therefore, according to cultural deficit storytelling, a successful student of color is an assimilated student of color” (p. 31).

The power that majoritarian stories have in affecting definitions of success and failure is further discussed by Gillborn (2005), who argues that majoritarian

stories often come from an ahistorical perspective. He suggests that solutions to inequitable schooling outcomes for students will never be found through “common sense” stories that ignore existing structural and historical issues of power and domination. A common ahistorical majoritarian story in teacher education seeks technical, intervention-based solutions to issues that are conceived as school-based problems like learning English and overcoming the “achievement gap” that have little chance of being effective on their own, yet dominate teacher preparation curriculum. On its own, a purely technicist approach or what Bartolomé called a “methods fetish” (1994), will never help teachers and schools to overcome and overturn the years of educational inequity and debt this country owes to non-dominant student populations (Ladson-Billings, 2006).

Solorzáno and Yosso (2002b) make an important point about majoritarian stories saying, “Whether told by people of color or Whites, majoritarian stories are not often questioned because people do not see them as stories but as ‘natural’ parts of everyday life” (p. 28). The idea that majoritarian stories are largely “invisible” and that they are told by both people of color and those with white privilege is important to note for the research in this dissertation, which identifies and challenges majoritarian stories.

Counter-storytelling commonly uses the experiential knowledge of scholars and students of color to both expose and present a challenge to majoritarian stories (Cooper, Massey, & Graham, 2006; Singer, 2005; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002a). This experiential knowledge can directly challenge the majoritarian stories of neutrality,

objectivity, and meritocracy. However, both people of color and those with white privilege can participate in counter-storytelling and challenge majoritarian stories, depending on the positionality of the researcher rather than on the ability to use narrative research to share experiential knowledge.

The experiences and positionality of any scholar are not determined or essentialized by her or his race. Therefore, it is important for all scholars engaging with CRT to position themselves racially and epistemologically. For me, as a White female scholar, this means acknowledging that my racialized experiences and white privilege affect my epistemological knowledge of the world as well as how I have been positioned within it. Though I receive extensive privilege because of my whiteness, I also have experience and personal interest in challenging dominant ideologies and assumptions.

As a woman who participated in a severely restrictive as well as prescriptive religion and religious community for nearly 30 years, I heard strong majoritarian stories that clearly defined my role, purpose, and value as a woman as well as dictated many of my major life decisions. Through my own interaction with critical theories challenging predominant issues of power, the majoritarian stories ruling my personal life became visible to me. I began to recognize the damage they were inflicting and eventually chose to live a counter-story by leaving the religion and trying to make deliberate life decisions rather than continue to believe, internalize, and perpetuate the majoritarian stories I had been told my whole life through this tight-knit religious culture. The experience of recognizing the dominant ideologies

and assumptions that were controlling my life and choosing to act counter to them has been both excruciatingly difficult as well as unimaginably liberating.

Partly because of this personal experience with the oppressive nature of dominant discourses and ideologies that “otherize” and marginalize, my scholarship is now following the path of identifying majoritarian stories and promoting transformative change by challenging them. I am not suggesting that the sexism I encountered uniquely qualifies me to engage in CRT research, nor that it is analogous to racism, linguicism or any other oppressive “ism” in society. Grillo and Wildman (1997) emphasize that such analogies can be harmful by drawing false inferences about similarities which reinforce white supremacy. As the focus of this dissertation is on ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers, my gendered experiences and identity motivate me to critically examine these concepts though still from the position of a concerned White scholar. This dissertation will draw on CRT to challenge majoritarian stories and engage in a different conversation about educational inequity as well as hopefully offer some new possibilities and solutions.

Criticisms of CRT

CRT is not without its critics. A great deal of criticism against CRT is found within legal scholarship and espoused in legal arguments (e.g., Farber & Sherry, 2009; Litowitz, 2009; Posner, 1997; Twyman, 2005). Overwhelmingly, these critiques challenge the foundational tenets of CRT, most commonly through critical

assessments of meritocracy, objectivity, and rationality. For instance, Litowitz (2009) asserts:

There are some systematic problems with CRT. I use the term *systematic* to indicate my contention that much of the work in CRT is problematic at the level of deep structure; that in many cases CRT takes an approach that embodies fundamental errors or confusions about the proper legal role of argumentation within the law and the proper methodology of legal scholarship (p. 292).

Litowitz's use of the word "proper" to qualify both the role of argumentation and methodology of legal scholarship shows his fundamental stance to be contrary to that of a CRT scholar. A CRT scholar asserts that the concept of "proper" in western scholarship is highly racialized and founded on the systemic perpetuation of white privilege. CRT scholars openly challenge the epistemologies and methodologies that privilege certain voices over others and perpetuate hegemonic concepts determining the "proper" knowledge and methods of power. The criticisms of CRT scholarship almost uniformly disagree with this premise of CRT and therefore challenge the methodologies and epistemologies drawn on by CRT scholars in their attempts to disrupt the powerful hegemonic racialized conceptions of both law and scholarship.

Narrative research is also a major target of criticism by those who challenge CRT. Litowitz (2009) uses the term "narcissism" to point out the flaws of narrative legal scholarship because it focuses too much on the private while it should be focusing on the public. Farber and Sherry (2009) critique how narratives in legal scholarship do not provide a uniform voice for people of color. Posner (1997)

argues that CRT's critiques of the Western tradition of rational inquiry that forswears analysis for narrative, "reinforce[s] stereotypes about the intellectual capacities of nonwhites" (p. 42). And similarly, Twyman (2005) argues that CRT is writing the work of Black law professors into oblivion. He suggests that an entire generation of Black legal scholars has been lost to CRT and that a more effective method of improving the situation for Blacks is to play by the rules of the academy.

He asserts:

When Black law professors shy away from the hard, traditional work of scholarship, they are not seen as serious contenders in the academy. The Civil Rights generation understood that everyone was watching when you were the first Black in the office. You had to be the best that you could possibly be so that it would be easier for others (¶ 11).

Each of these critiques of CRT stem from the dominant conceptions of which knowledge matters and should be academically sanctioned. It is difficult for CRT scholars to respond to these critiques as the assumptions and ideologies promoting these critiques come from the very same majoritarian stories colored by white supremacy and white privilege that have been told in Western scholarship over the centuries. This critique does not accept the foundational premise of CRT, which is to challenge the knowledges and practices that dominate the academy, law, and other hegemonic and racialized institutional structures.

For instance, from a CRT perspective, the rules Twyman (2005) argues Black law professors should play by to make it easier for other Black law professors to be successful are permeated both historically and contemporarily with notions of white male supremacy. CRT fundamentally challenges the notion that racism will

end by playing by White rules, rather CRT seeks to change these rules by showing their racialized nature and how they perpetuate white privilege, white normativity, white dominance, and racial oppression. Therefore, it is not surprising that those within the traditional academy critique CRT and its radical approaches and assumptions.

Because CRT's critics are positioned ideologically in contrast to the assumptions and premise of CRT, they provide little insight into how to improve or refine the theory. Rather, from a CRT perspective, these critiques simply expose the necessity of CRT to centralize race and challenge notions of objectivity and meritocracy. However, the critiques within educational scholarship are of a different nature.

A major critique of CRT by educational researchers comes from a Marxist perspective (e.g., Cole, 2009; Darder & Torres, 2004) and critiques the theory for centralizing race over class. Both Cole (2009) and Darder and Torres (2004) are skeptical of CRT because of their perspective that capitalist production is the fundamental structure of modern society and any discussion of inequity that centralizes forms of oppression other than class and economic-based issues is insufficient.

The common CRT response to this critique points to the frequent work of CRT scholars to analyze race at its intersection with other issues of oppression like gender and class (Mills, 2009). However, this response is insufficient to Darder and Torres (2004) who argue that the CRT literature discussing intersectionality "lacks a

substantive analysis of class and a critique of capitalism” (p. 105). They further assert that CRT’s intersectionality promotes a “new pluralism” that “fails to grapple with the relentless totalizing dimension of capitalism and its overwhelming tendency to homogenize rather than to diversify human experience” (p. 105).

While from some Marxist theorists perspectives, CRT may not be a compatible theory with Marxism, from some CRT scholars’ perspectives it is compatible (Gillborn, 2008; Mills, 2009). In fact, according to Mills (2009):

A Marxist version of CRT is entirely possible, one that locates the emergence of race and white supremacy in the history of European imperialism, in bourgeois class interests and projects, while also recognizing that – *once created* – race achieves a certain autonomy of its own which requires the rethinking of orthodox white Marxism. From my perspective...presupposing an exclusive dichotomization of and opposition between Marxism and CRT, when for some theorists at least (depending on how you think of CRT, and how you think of Marxism) no such polarization is necessary (p. 272).

It appears that to some extent the Marxist critique of CRT is a form of the “oppression sweepstakes” Yosso (2005) argues CRT scholars strive to avoid. According to Gillborn (2008), “CRT involves more than an unswerving focus on race and racism” (p. 36). However, from the perspective of Marxist scholars, the focus most CRT literature puts on class is not a sufficient critique of the capitalist system.

Another critique cast on CRT by educational researchers is on the construct of race itself. Darder and Torres (2009) assert that continued academic and political attention to the concept of race perpetuates racism, essentializes groups of people based on race, and makes it impossible to end racism. They distinguish their

argument against using race as a theoretical and analytical construct from the perspective of colorblindness stating:

We argue that we must disconnect from “race” as it has been constructed in the past, and contend fully with the impact of “race” as ideology on the lives of all people—but most importantly on the lives of those who have been enslaved, colonized, or marked for genocide in the course of world history (p. 151).

This statement is entirely consistent with CRT and its major tenets. However, the argument Darder and Torres develop against the construct of race in the end is less about nuancing discussions around race in order to battle racism than it is about attempting to recenter the conversation on the inequities promoted by capitalism. They call for a “historical materialist approach to the study of racism” (p. 164) and thus apply a Marxist critique on CRT from another angle.

CRT is also critiqued by Awokoya and Clark (2008) who point out that CRT scholars have only minimally interrogated the different issues surrounding race and racism within and across various sectors of the Black community. They challenge the ethnocentric view of race in the United States and call for increased attention to nationality, immigration status, language, ethnicity, and religion rather than a focus solely on race as all of these aspects may play significant roles in the racialized experiences of various Blacks and Black communities within the United States.

This is actually a common critique of CRT by CRT scholars themselves and is the fundamental reason for its splintering and expansion into the realms of LatCrit, WhiteCrit, AsianCrit, FemCrit, and TribalCrit. Yosso (2005) discusses the expansion of CRT as addressing “the layers of racialized subordination,” and suggests that “CRT

scholarship has benefited from scholarship addressing racism at its intersections with other forms of subordination (Crenshaw, 1989, 1993)” (p. 72). Both this proposed attention to the intersectionality of oppression and the proactive avoidance of essentialization of various racial, immigrant, and linguistic groups are important herein. The intersectionality of racism and linguicism is an explicit analytical focus in this dissertation and the essentialization of the incredibly diverse and complex group of students commonly referred to as “English language learners” is fundamentally avoided as well as challenged.

An additional critique, or caution, for using CRT in educational research is offered by Ladson-Billings (1998). She warns that educational researchers using CRT need to carefully engage in an intense study of its use in legal scholarship in order to truly understand CRT and avoid misappropriation. Essentially, Ladson-Billings argues that CRT is not a simple theory and care must be taken to avoid watering it down through casual application. She also advises that CRT in education research should not only expose racism, but also make radical and potentially unpopular proposals for methods of addressing it. She concludes, “I fear we (educational researchers) may never assume the liminal position because of its dangers, its discomfort, and because we insist on thinking of ourselves as permanent residents in a *nice* field like education” (p. 22). This counsel on using CRT to the full extent to transform policies and practices even though it may be dangerous and difficult is exactly what this dissertation is striving to do. Though some critiques may land on well-established practices and policies, the analyses in

this dissertation aim to unmask and disrupt the perpetuation of racism and linguisticism in the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. These critiques are intended to transform current practices and policies rather than to belittle or undermine the work of others in the field. Additionally, these critiques are necessary in order to fully utilize the power of CRT, especially in a nice field like education.

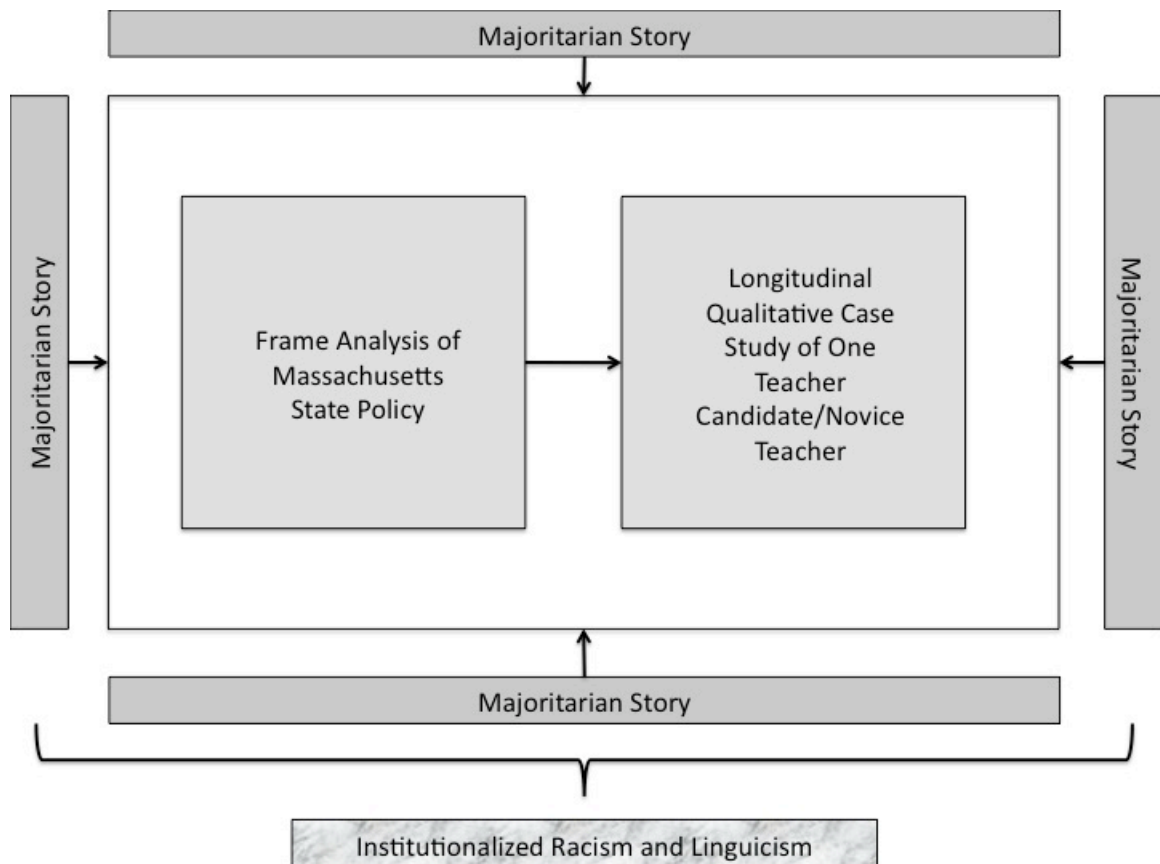
CRT has great potential as a theoretical tool in educational research broadly and for this dissertation in particular. Ladson-Billings (2005) calls CRT, “a theoretical treasure—a new scholarly covenant, if you will, that we as scholars are still parsing and moving toward new exegesis. And about that, somebody ought to say ‘Amen’” (p. 119). With this dissertation, I would like to say amen.

Systemic Inequity in Policy and Practice Regarding the Education of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers

I argue in this dissertation that in Massachusetts, linguisticism and racism are legally sanctioned in state level policy, which severely limits the educational opportunities and successes of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. I also argue that due to mixed experiences in her teacher education program, my case study participant did not engage in teacher education experiences that were powerful enough to support her development into a quality teacher of bilingual learners who could consistently agitate and disrupt the perpetuation of linguisticism and racism in within classroom policy and practice. Further, I argue that issues around race, culture, and language are perpetuated across the policy and practice

investigated through the promotion of majoritarian stories. Essentially, this dissertation exposes a system of education that from policy to practice limits the educational opportunities of both secondary bilingual learners and their teachers, sustains institutionalized racism and linguicism, and inevitably perpetuates substantial inequity. A broad overview of these findings is represented in Figure 1.4.

Figure 1.4. Visual Representation of Simplified Findings of this Dissertation



The particulars of the analysis represented in this figure are explored in detail in the chapters that follow. Additionally a more detailed version of the same figure is

presented in Chapter Seven in order to explore the implications and conclusions of this research. This more simplistic figure is intended to introduce the long and complex discussion that follows wherein two distinct, but related analyses are presented. These two analyses reveal the role and relationship majoritarian stories play in policy and practice regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and teachers as well as how policy and practice perpetuate institutionalized racism and linguicism. Returning to the poem that opened this dissertation and Langston Hughes's question, "What's the matter here?," this dissertation asserts that there is *a lot* that is systemically and institutionally the matter here.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter establishes the purpose and theoretical framework of the dissertation. It does so by citing data about bilingual learners who are labeled LEP by the state, critiquing the positioning of bilingual learners in terms of their English proficiency, discussing and operationalizing institutionalized racism and linguicism, and exploring the value and utility of critical race theory (CRT) for this investigation.

Chapter Two is an extensive literature review examining the empirical and conceptual scholarship regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Following what might be considered a more "standard" review of this literature, I offer a cross-cutting analysis that identifies the majoritarian stories that are commonly promoted as well as challenged regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers.

Chapter Three provides detailed descriptions of the data sources I collected and analyzed as well as the analysis plans I followed to ensure cohesive analyses that were conducted with care and rigor. In Chapter Three, frame analysis and longitudinal qualitative case studies are described in general as well as in particular to my specific analyses.

Chapter Four is a critical policy analysis on Massachusetts state policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Frame analysis uncovered two intersecting frames in Massachusetts state policy in terms of the overarching goals of educational quality and educational equality regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. However, despite these frames, my close analysis reveals legally sanctioned issues of racism and linguicism within that policy.

Chapter Five is the first of two chapters that present a longitudinal qualitative case study analysis of one teacher candidate and the beginning teacher she became. In Chapter Five, I examine systemic issues in the educational experiences of my case study participant, Amanda Lee, from her recounting of her K-12 and college experiences through her experiences as a teacher candidate in a teacher education program where she met state requirements to become an SEI teacher. This chapter illustrates how the systems of education Amanda encountered throughout her life operated from a position of white normativity and therefore marginalized her as well as limited her educational opportunities. Chapter Five also exposes the inadequacy of Amanda's experience in the teacher preparation program

where inconsistent coursework and uncritical fieldwork experiences limited her opportunities to develop into a quality teacher of bilingual learners capable of joining with others to agitate against the perpetuation of the racist and linguistic inequitable status quo.

Chapter Six explores Amanda's ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in her practice during her first three years of teaching. This exploration shows how majoritarian stories were both challenged and endorsed in Amanda's practice and the ways in which they affect the education of bilingual learners in her classroom. This chapter also shows the power of those stories, how they participate in creating an inequitable education for bilingual learners, and how they sustain and perpetuate institutionalized linguisticism and racism in classroom spaces.

Finally, Chapter Seven discusses the implications and conclusions of this work on educational policy, teacher education practice, and practice within secondary school classrooms. Overall, this dissertation asserts that without considerable, comprehensive, critical, and consistent reconceptualizations, agitations, and disruptions of the status quo, institutionalized discrimination in terms of racism and linguisticism regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers will likely persist.

CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review Related to the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers

Literature reviews can be powerful tools assisting educators, policymakers, and researchers in various decision making processes (Grant & Graue, 1996). Though literature reviews are “not the definitive answer on an educational topic” (p. 223), critical reviews can provide useful insights into current and past educational research practices as well as provoke “new and different analyses, inspire new visions, [and] invigorate debate” (Grant & Graue, 1997, p. 1). In agreement with this position, Lather (1999) describes the ways a literature review can be a useful critique that interprets and unpacks a problem as well as situates it historically and methodologically. Further she suggests, “A review is not exhaustive; it is situated, partial, perspectival” (p. 3).

The idea that a review is not exhaustive and is always positioned by a particular perspective provides relevant insight here. This literature review attempts to sort out what are called “majoritarian stories” and “counter-story telling” across various arenas of educational research, a necessarily partial review situated according to a particular perspective. Additionally, this literature review is not an attempt to disregard the influential work of the researchers reviewed. However, it is an effort to challenge ideas and some traditional ways of doing research as well as to suggest methods and methodologies capable of battling

racism and linguicism in both research and practice regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers.

In the pages that follow, I review conceptual and empirical scholarship as well as policy analyses related to the preparation of secondary teachers to work with bilingual learners and/or the practice of secondary teachers working with bilingual learners. Willis and colleagues (2008) argue that “ideological hegemony influences the way studies have been conceived, conducted, analyzed, and interpreted” (pp. 84-85). Therefore, a critical interrogation of the methods, analyses, and interpretations found in the research literature relevant to this dissertation is in order. Additionally, I will examine the concepts of race, culture, and language as well as unpack the majoritarian stories and counter-storytelling within the literature in order to examine various hegemonic influences on the reviewed research.

A major reason to engage in this kind of critical literature review is to challenge the majoritarian stories and/or hegemonic deficit ideologies that have been perpetuated in educational scholarship and research. Along these lines Stevens (2009) argues for critical examinations of research related to immigrant students saying:

I suggest that the ways in which education has framed immigrants solely as language learners destructively obscures both their needs for educational and societal achievement and society’s responses to those needs. Language is crucial to immigrant populations, but how this is framed from educational perspectives currently falls short of critical language awareness, favoring necessary but insufficient skills acquisition (p. 2).

Brisk (2006) as well as O. García, Kleifgen, and Flachi (2008) make similar arguments about the limiting ways bilingual learners are framed in educational contexts and how the labels and frames often create limited educational opportunities for bilingual learners. Educators and educational researchers may participate in the perpetuation of structural inequities by researching and teaching from uncritical standpoints where deficit perspectives are passed on and insufficient forms of education are embraced. This literature review seeks to challenge these practices, highlight the strengths of critical research that disputes majoritarian stories, and encourage transformative research and pedagogy.

Two major bodies of scholarship are included here. However, a brief discussion of the historical context of that literature is first necessary. Issues of student diversity began to be a part of the discourse about teacher capacity some 30 years ago (Howard & Aleman, 2008). In response to the civil rights and ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960's and 1970's, what is now called "multicultural education" and "multicultural teacher education" developed in the United States in order to provide students from diverse groups equal opportunities to learn by reforming schools, colleges, and universities (Banks, 2009). The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) endorsed multicultural education with a 1973 document titled *No One Model American*, and the National Council of Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) soon followed, calling for more attention by all member institutions to preparing teacher candidates to teach in diverse school settings (Howard & Aleman, 2008).

Since these early beginnings, the field of multicultural teacher education has grown and expanded considerably, to the point where in just the last five years many literature reviews have been published looking at various aspects of the field such as race (Montecinos, 2004; Sleeter, 2008; Villegas & Davis, 2008), what teachers should know and be able to do (Howard & Aleman, 2008), as well as what research has accomplished so far and will be most helpful into the future (Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004; Furman, 2008; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Trent, Kea, & Oh, 2008).

One of the ways the field of multicultural teacher education has expanded is through the increased focus specifically on the preparation of teachers to work with bilingual learners (e.g., Brisk, 2008; Lucas & Grinberg, 2008). In the beginning of multicultural teacher education research and practice, linguistic diversity was usually regarded as one among many types of diversity for which teachers required specific preparation (Grant & Secada, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Today, though language may still be incorporated into lists of diversity and included in discussions inside the field of multicultural teacher education and multicultural education generally, significant research exists specifically focused on preparing teachers to work with bilingual learners.

Similarly, research on the teaching practices and policies governing the education of bilingual learners has received increased attention. An explicit focus on language development and the education of bilingual learners in both of these fields provides significant insights into the education of bilingual learners and their

teachers as well as establishes language as being more than a symptom of diversity. By explicitly focusing on bilingual learners and their teachers rather than “diversity” in general, educational researchers may show the unique strengths of and possibilities for this expanding and diverse population. However, as I discuss in this review, an explicit focus on bilingual learners can also essentialize the population, limit their educational focus to English language development, and marginalize students within schools.

For this review, conceptual, empirical, and policy research regarding the education of bilingual learners and the preparation of their teachers was identified through extensive searches on multiple databases, reviews of research handbooks and cross-referencing articles. Over 400 articles, book chapters, and reports were initially found and examined for their fit into this review. In order to ensure relevance and rigor, certain criteria were applied in selecting the reviewed literature. First, only research published in 1998 or later is included in this literature review. 1998 is the year Proposition 227, the first English-only language restrictive voter referendum, similar to the one investigated in this dissertation, was passed in California. Since 1998, scholarship regarding bilingual learners and their teachers has increasingly focused on policy contexts, implementations, and impact as similar initiatives were passed through voter referenda in both Arizona (Proposition 203) and Massachusetts (Question 2). Therefore, the scholarship after Proposition 227 was passed is most relevant to the research of this dissertation. Second, to ensure quality of research, only literature published in peer-reviewed

journals was included. Third and finally, no descriptions of K-12 or teacher education practices were included. Although descriptive articles are valuable in conveying the work happening in classrooms and programs, the focus of this literature review is on conceptual and empirical research.

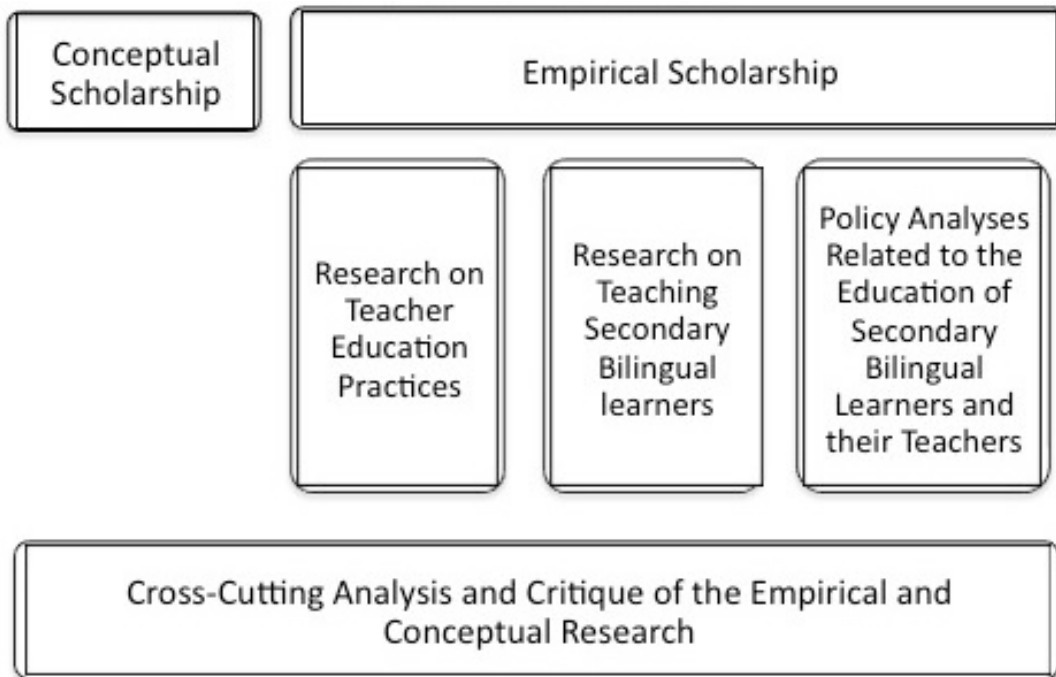
The main content inclusion criteria for this review involved having an explicit focus on teaching secondary bilingual learners or their teachers within the context of the United States. Therefore, research looking at the preparation of teachers for diversity, minority students, or urban schools was not included. Similarly research that looked at the education of various non-dominant populations without a specific focus on bilingual learners was not included. Research outside of the United States was excluded merely due to the unique nature of racism and linguicism within the context of the United States.

A further major criterion for inclusion in this review was to have either an explicit focus on the secondary level or across all grade levels. Literature looking specifically at elementary level teacher candidates and classrooms was not included as the context, strengths, and educational outcomes of adolescent bilingual learners differ significantly from those of elementary age learners. Further, this literature review includes only studies focusing on non-language teaching specialists and classrooms. Research focusing only on English as a Second Language (ESL) or bilingual teachers or classrooms was also not included because language teaching specialists and classrooms play a different role in the education of bilingual learners than general curriculum teachers/classrooms or Sheltered English Immersion (SEI)

content teachers/classrooms (the focus of this dissertation). However, research on California, Arizona, and Massachusetts that discussed bilingual teachers/classrooms in relation to the language restrictive contexts of those states was included for its relevance to this investigation. Finally, research on the preparation of specific content area teachers was only included if that content area was English language arts or social studies because those are the content areas represented by the participant in the case study analysis of this dissertation.

Though the preparation of teachers to work with secondary bilingual learners is a different topic of research from the education of secondary bilingual learners themselves, the research from these two areas is combined for analysis in this review. Much of the literature regarding the preparation of secondary teachers to work with bilingual learners draws on research about the education of secondary bilingual learners in order to suggest what teachers should know and be able to do. Therefore, combining these two bodies of literature for analysis is useful in order to establish relationships and connections as well as to critically examine the research in terms of race, culture, and language as well as majoritarian and counter-storytelling. This critical examination of all of the reviewed literature will follow the general analysis and review of the conceptual, empirical, and policy analyses. Figure 2.1 provides a visual map for the content and organization of this large chapter.

Figure 2.1. Organization of Chapter Two: Review of Literature Related to the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers.



Conceptual Scholarship on the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and Their Teachers

In comparison to the number of policy analyses and empirical studies, the amount of conceptual literature regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers is quite small. Only ten studies met the criteria for inclusion in this literature review. Five of the ten conceptual studies draw on critical theories and frames to conceptualize the education of bilingual learners and/or the education of their teachers (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Moses, 2000; Ngo, 2008; Orellana & Gutiérrez, 2006; Stevens, 2009), and the remaining five provide frameworks for either engaging in advocacy for bilingual learners (Herrera & Murry, 1999), conceptualizing academic language (Valdés, 2004), or teacher preparation for

bilingual learners (Chisholm & Beckett, 2003; de Jong & Harper, 2005; Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008).

Herrera and Murry (1999) situate their conceptual work during the period directly after the passage of Proposition 227 in California where the language of instruction in classrooms became restricted across the state. They argue that Proposition 227 along with the national English Only Movement are multifaceted threats to the education of bilingual learners and the volition of educational professionals. The authors offer a substantive framework for advocacy drawn from educational research and intended to help all educational professionals advocate on behalf of students, families, programs and practices.

Their framework has three major components: currency, defensibility, and futurity. Currency is “the extent to which educators are aware of potential threats to appropriate services for CLD [culturally and linguistically diverse] students and families, theory- and research-driven programming for these clients, and/or funding for program services and materials” (p. 187). Defensibility is the “extent to which educators are capable of self-examination and self-reflection on practice, collegial articulation of research and theory based rationales behind that practice, and the reflective development of a personal platform for best practice” (p. 189-190). And futurity is “the extent to which educators demonstrate the capacity to step outside of their more traditional roles in practice...Essentially, futurity may be thought of as the extra-pedagogical action component of advocacy” (p. 193).

Herrera and Murry present this framework for advocacy based on building educators' knowledge base (currency), reflective practice (defensibility), and skills working as advocates outside the classroom (futuraity), as an essential tool to combating the threats to quality education for bilingual learners and their teachers. This framework for advocacy appears to be a valuable tool for preparing teachers to work with bilingual learners and advocate on their behalf.

Valdés (2004) analyzes various conceptualizations of academic language within the fields of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), ESL (English as a Second Language), bilingual education, and mainstream English language arts. She shows how each field has a distinct conception of what academic language is and how these differing understandings affect the types of instruction and discourse bilingual learners have access to in various programs. Valdés also rightfully suggests that though it is easy to blame mainstream English teachers for low bilingual learner academic success because they would like to teach their classes as if all students were monolingual and native-speaking, the problem potentially lies more within the differing definitions of academic language across professional realms. She makes a strong argument that the education of bilingual learners will not be improved until there is increased communication between ESL practitioners and mainstream teachers.

Chisholm and Beckett (2003) also call for an integration of efforts across various fields and theories. In order to create a framework for quality teacher preparation for bilingual learners, they call for an integration of TESOL standards,

Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (Gardner & Hatch, 1989), and technology. They argue that when teacher preparation integrates these components, teachers will be equipped to provide their bilingual learners with an equitable education that supports learning differences and develops English language skills across the curriculum.

Another framework for teacher preparation is offered by Lucas, Villegas and Freedson-Gonzalez (2008) who argue that not enough attention is paid either in teacher preparation or K-12 classrooms to the linguistic needs of bilingual learners. Therefore, they call for "linguistically responsive teacher education" and frame that education in terms of three types of pedagogical expertise mainstream classroom teachers need: knowledge of the linguistic and academic backgrounds of students, understanding of the language demands of the classroom tasks students are expected to engage in, and the skills necessary to offer the appropriate scaffolding for bilingual learners to successfully participate in classroom tasks.

Along similar lines, de Jong and Harper (2005) assert that teaching bilingual learners is more than "just good teaching." Rather it requires that teacher preparation develop specific knowledge and skills among teachers. The framework they present is based on three dimensions: process, medium, and goals. The process dimension relates to the knowledge teachers need regarding the processes of second language acquisition and acculturation. Medium refers to the awareness of the role that culture and language play as media in teaching and learning, and the

dimension of goals requires that teachers set explicit goals to include linguistic and cultural diversity in curriculum and instruction.

These three frameworks for teacher preparation have an extensive focus on language, a necessary focus for teacher preparation programs interested in preparing teachers to work with bilingual learners. In fact, frameworks like that by Lucas et al. (2008) specifically aim to bring language to the forefront of teacher education for mainstream teachers concerned about bilingual learners as arguably not enough teachers are entering classrooms with the linguistic knowledge or language teaching skills necessary to support bilingual learners. However, as will be discussed in the critique section of this literature review, though a focus on language is necessary a nearly exclusive focus on language development is not sufficient for bilingual learners, who are often marginalized and discriminated against, to receive a quality education. Teacher preparation programs need to pay explicit attention to the sociopolitical and racialized contexts that institutions of education in the United States are embedded within *as well as* provide teacher candidates with the tools and skills necessary to successfully assist bilingual learners in strong academic language development.

Stevens (2009) takes such a critical approach and challenges the prominent current conceptualization of bilingual learners in educational policy and practice by asserting that discursive choices in policymaking and the pedagogical practices in educational research and classrooms position immigrant multilingual populations as deficient English language learners thus situating them as an underclass in so-

called developed nations. She argues that much of the current discourse and practice in policy and research pathologizes multilingual immigrant students through wide-spread, essentialized, and unilateral naming of various bilingual student populations as well as developing and prescribing equally unilateral, technical-based interventions on their behalf. In other words, the extensive diversity in bilingual learners populations across race, culture, language, class, religion, and national origin is too frequently reduced to overly simplistic notions of who students are and what kind of education they should have. Shifting the major question regarding the education of bilingual learners from whether language should be the focus of their education to “what kind of linguistic focus is needed, by whom, and how can that focus be mapped and manifested within social systems” (p. 12), Stevens rightly argues that the current pathologizing trends in policy and practice can potentially be interrupted.

In a similar challenge to the current conceptualizations of bilingual learners, Ngo (2008) asserts that the discourse of a culture clash between immigrant cultures and the dominant U.S. culture fixes the identities, cultures, and experiences of immigrant populations as static and unchanging. Her work shows how dominant representations of immigrant students create simplistic understandings that are often based on unsophisticated binaries like traditional versus modern cultural practices. After challenging this common conceptualization of immigrant youth as participants in a cultural clash, Ngo argues for educators, community members, and policymakers to pay close attention to the dominant discourses that are used to

describe and understand immigrant families in order to challenge the underlying assumptions and representations and provide a more equitable educational experience for immigrant youth.

In a similar vein, Gutiérrez and Orellana (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Orellana & Gutiérrez, 2006) challenge the genres of difference that are conceptualized in research regarding the education of bilingual learners. They argue that over the past several decades, studies about bilingual learners have followed a predictable pattern and research genre. First, studies tend to be contextualized with statistics about the changing U.S. demographic in order to make a case about the “problem” of bilingual learners. Then the “problem” is underscored with more data about the number of inexperienced and under-qualified teachers as well as the prevalence of bilingual learners in under-resourced schools. Though the authors argue that there is value in descriptive statistics as they can bring attention to issues of inequity, these same statistics can also promote imbalanced, deficit-oriented, and unsophisticated stories about bilingual learners as they usually only represent one aspect of a diverse ecology.

Gutiérrez and Orellana further argue that the design of studies, the focus of observations, and the data selected for analysis are often “flawed, incomplete, or one-dimensional, making it harder to challenge static, problematic, and racialized views of the practices and promise of English Learners” (p. 504). In order to complete their challenge to the dominant conceptualizations of research regarding bilingual learners, Orellana and Gutiérrez (2006) offer alternative methods of

researching bilingual learners in educational contexts by posing different questions. Though they offer several methods capable of changing the conceptualization of bilingual learners in educational research, one prominent suggestion is to shift the focus of research from the students to the place where they are educated. They fittingly argue that it is possible to break from deficit ideologies by changing the “problem” from being located on people to being located on places.

One theme of the conceptual scholarship is that the improvement of the education of bilingual learners and their teachers will come through collaboration and discussion across various academic fields (Valdés, 2004), increased advocacy (Herrera & Murry, 1999), and an integration of frameworks into teacher education supporting the development of language expertise (Chisholm & Beckett, 2003; de Jong & Harper, 2005; Lucas et al., 2008). Another theme of this literature is the need for critical consciousness among teachers and educational researchers in order to determine the kind of linguistic focus most appropriate for individual students (Stevens, 2009), disrupt the dominant discourses that marginalize immigrant populations (Ngo, 2008), and position research “problems” on places rather than people (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Orellana & Gutiérrez, 2006). When considered as a whole, the conceptual literature promotes a useful, integrated approach that emphasizes both language development and the sociopolitical issues embedded historically and contemporarily in the educational enterprise regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. Bilingual learners and their teachers need to develop linguistic expertise as well as a critical engagement

with issues of pathologization, essentialization, discrimination, marginalization, and oppression.

Empirical Scholarship on the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers

There are many empirical studies about the teaching of bilingual learners and the education of their teachers. There are also a number of policy studies about the policies at the state and national levels governing the work of educators and the experiences of bilingual learners. As a whole, this scholarship paints a picture of systemic failure in the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. For instance, among all of the policy analyses reviewed, only one highlights effective policies for supporting strong academic outcomes for bilingual learners (Fine, Jaff-Walkter, Pedraza, Futch, & Stoudt, 2007). Every other policy analysis documents a myriad of issues with current policy such as the creation of hostile environments for teachers (Arellano-Houchin, Flamenco, Merlos, & Segura, 2001; Valdez, 2001), bilingual learners being overlooked in schools and prematurely pushed into mainstream courses with unprepared teachers (Gándara, 2000; Harper & de Jong, 2009; Mora, 2000; Reeves, 2004), and the detrimental pressures of high stakes testing on both teachers and students (Alamillo & Viramontes, 2000; Wiley & Wright, 2004).

The empirical studies paint a similar picture about systemic failure. Though the research focusing on teacher education shows promising practices like teaching courses in Spanish (Minaya-Rowe, 2004) and supporting the entire teacher

education faculty in proactively preparing all teachers to work with bilingual learners (Meskill, 2005), overall the research documented contexts and practices in secondary schools is disheartening. Many teachers were found to have negative attitudes about teaching bilingual learners (Walker, Shafer, & Liams, 2004), to be unprepared to support their academic development (Li & Zhang, 2004), and to perpetually overlook bilingual learners within learning contexts (Reeves, 2009). Additionally, schools were found to segregate and marginalize (Valdés, 1998) as well as foster anxiety among bilingual learners (Pappamihel, 2001, 2002). Though some programs proved successful and supportive (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Short, 2002) as a whole, the reviewed scholarship suggests that isolated instances of accomplishment occur despite the prominent systemic barriers for bilingual learner success rather than because of widespread effective practice.

In order to thoroughly discuss this literature, first the research on teacher education practices will be reviewed. Then, a review of the research on teaching secondary bilingual learners will follow focusing on identity, attitudes and beliefs, and school contexts. Finally, the policy analyses will be reviewed looking at policy creation, evaluation, implementation, and/or effects of policy.

Research on Teacher Education Practices

The empirical research on teacher education practices focuses on teacher education faculty development (Meskill, 2005; O'Hara & Pritchard, 2008), instructional practices in courses (Minaya-Rowe, 2004; Wade, Fauske, & Thompson,

2008), changes in teacher candidates' beliefs and dispositions (Katz, 2000; Torok & Aguilar, 2000; Virtue, 2009), and the eventual practices of teacher education graduates (Bernhard, Diaz, & Allgood, 2005; de Oliveira & Athanases, 2007). Across this research, various teacher education practices are shown to be effective and the need for critically conscious work is also repeatedly called for.

Investigations on the professional development of teacher education faculty were conducted in two separate studies (Meskill, 2005; O'Hara & Pritchard, 2008). O'Hara & Pritchard (2008) studied teacher education faculty in order to evaluate the effectiveness of faculty training efforts regarding new courses specifically about teaching bilingual learners. Using an instrument designed to measure participant self-report on knowledge and use of information from the training, both pre- and post- surveys were completed by 38 teacher education faculty members. The authors found that overall the training was successful, mainly due to wide spread faculty buy-in. However, missing from this study is the voice of teacher candidates and graduates who may or may not have found the coursework helpful in their own practice. Additionally, relying only on the self-reports of faculty regarding the effects of the training limits how much actual change in practice and beliefs can be captured through the research. With this kind of approach it is entirely possible that minimal changes occurred after the training, and that faculty buy-in was more in the form of words than transformative action.

In contrast, Meskill (2005) accounted for the voice of teacher candidates in her research investigating teacher education faculty development, but in a more

comprehensive program called the “Training All Teachers” (TAT) project. TAT focused on helping School of Education faculty across all departments and disciplines integrate information on bilingual learners into all their courses. Through faculty questionnaires and surveys of over 100 graduate students who participated in TAT influenced courses, the outcomes and impact of the project were evaluated and determined to be worthwhile and effective. Meskill rightly argues that incorporating relevant information about working with bilingual learners across the professional educator curricula should be an area of emphasis.

A similar effort to the TAT project where all teacher education faculty received training and support integrating information about bilingual learners into their courses has been conducted at Boston College, the university site of research for this dissertation (Costa, McPhail, Smith, & Brisk, 2005). Teacher education faculty development efforts have a strong potential to improve curriculum and instruction in teacher preparation. However, careful attention must be paid to *both* the knowledge and skills necessary to develop language *as well as* the critical dispositions and engagement with oppressive issues like racism and linguicism as mentioned in the conceptual scholarship in order to avoid promoting inequitable practices.

Another aspect of teacher education that received empirical attention is the actual instructional practice in courses (Minaya-Rowe, 2004; Wade et al., 2008). Minaya-Rowe (2004) investigated an innovative approach to instructing pre-service teachers through a second language (Spanish) about teaching bilingual learners in

K-12 classrooms. She surveyed, with both ethnographic and quantitative data collection techniques, a group of fifteen master's degree students at the beginning of the course, the end of the course, and a year after the course was completed to better understand the teaching and learning processes that took place through participation in a teacher education course conducted only in Spanish. Through teaching the course in Spanish, the teacher candidates' second language (L2), effective sheltering instruction techniques could be modeled and teacher candidates could experience first hand the application of both theory and technique regarding language and content instruction. The building of teacher candidates' pedagogical content knowledge as well as the development of their L2 proficiencies is clearly important. However, there is not an emphasis in this study on developing the critical dispositions that are necessary to combat issues of oppression in schooling, an essential aspect of quality teacher preparation.

Wade, Fauske, and Thompson (2008) engaged in a self-study of a secondary teacher education course by conducting a discourse analysis on the dialogue from two online discussion groups examining a case study on teaching bilingual learners. Though the authors found some evidence of reflection, few of the students engaged in critical reflection where issues of power and oppression were actively interrogated and transformative action was sought. The authors argue, like Meskill (2005), that information regarding the successful education of bilingual learners needs to be infused throughout the teacher education curriculum in order for teacher candidates to develop not only the knowledge and skills necessary to teach

bilingual learners, but also the “ideological clarity” (Bartolomé, 2000) required to challenge inequitable systems and structures.

Additional self-studies were conducted looking at changes in teacher candidates’ beliefs and dispositions regarding teaching bilingual learners through semester long course work (Katz, 2000; Torok & Aguilar, 2000; Virtue, 2009). Torok and Aguilar (2000) administered three surveys collecting demographic data as well as beliefs about diversity and knowledge about multicultural education at both the beginning and end of a multicultural education course. Course work like journal entries, reflective papers and research projects were also collected throughout the semester and analyzed for this study. Both the qualitative and quantitative data showed that beliefs did change over the course of the semester in a positive direction. The authors also found that the most influential factor on changing views about language issues was the course requirement to engage in a context where English was not spoken. Though the experiential knowledge teacher candidates gained was determined valuable, the authors also emphasized the necessity of coupling such experiential learning with critical reflection in order to truly change beliefs and attitudes.

Similarly, Katz (2000) investigated the change in teacher candidates beliefs over the course of a semester by looking at various pieces of class work and reflections from 200 students who took a course on teaching bilingual learners in post-Proposition 227 California. She found that teacher candidates’ views on bilingual education did positively shift over the semester, but the extent of the shift

depended on students' initial beliefs at the onset of the course as well as on their personal experiences witnessing effective bilingual education practice in schools. Though she found it possible to shift the beliefs of teacher candidates, she also found the dearth of exemplary K-12 bilingual classrooms for teacher candidates to learn in as problematic.

Along the same lines, a final study investigating the changes in beliefs and attitudes of teacher candidates through participation in a teacher education course was conducted by Virtue (2009). He engaged in an action research self study on an inquiry project designed to help teacher candidates in his social studies methods course better learn how to work with bilingual learners. Teacher candidates worked in "ESOL rounds" where teaching interns participated in an orientation to the upcoming observation, observed in a host teacher's classroom, and finally reflected with the host teacher and university supervisor on what was observed. Virtue examined his field notes, journal reflections, online discussions of the rounds and rounds observation protocols discovering that "ESOL Rounds" were an effective method of helping pre-service teachers look beneath the surface of daily life in schools and find ways to better meet the needs of all the students in their classroom. Through self-study, these researchers (Katz, 2000; Torok & Aguilar, 2000; Virtue, 2009) present methods that are useful in helping teacher candidates "unlearn" issues of racism, classism, sexism, and linguisticism through teacher preparation courses.

One study focused on graduates of a program that was specifically geared towards developing teachers as advocates for equity (de Oliveira & Athanases, 2007). Through year-end surveys completed by more than 300 students/graduates over four years and five, three-hour focus groups of 5-10 graduates/teachers, the authors found that graduates were advocating for bilingual learners both at the classroom and institutional level. Another teacher education program was investigated by looking at its graduates through surveys, interviews and focus groups (Bernhard et al., 2005). This program focused on preparing teachers to conduct research and use research in their practice. The authors found that graduates of this teacher education program considered their training more useful than the state required professional development, were able to cite scientific research in collegial interactions, and developed “communities of practice” where they made connections with other educators interested in using scientific research in education.

Both of these studies suggest useful practices and emphases for teacher education programs to consider in preparing teachers to work with bilingual learners. However, both of these studies rely only on teacher discussion of classroom practice rather than on actual observation of graduates’ work in classrooms. This weakens both studies because teachers’ perceptions of their own practice may not be consistent with their actual practice in classrooms. In fact, in consideration of the hegemonic power of whiteness and white privilege, there is

almost certainly a gap between participant practice and report, but what remains uncertain is the effect of such a gap, especially on marginalized populations.

As a whole, the research on teacher education practices provides substantial insights into effective and innovative approaches. For instance, the research shows that teacher education faculty and their students benefit from professional development opportunities regarding the teaching of bilingual learners (Meskill, 2005; O'Hara & Pritchard, 2008) and from infusing information about teaching bilingual learners across the teacher preparation curriculum (Meskill, 2005). Additionally, innovative instructional practices like teaching courses in Spanish can substantially benefit teacher candidates (Minaya-Rowe, 2004). However, without a program-wide emphasis on and critical engagement with the issues of power, racism, and oppression bilingual learners face, teachers are unlikely to develop the critically reflective stance necessary for effective practice (Wade et al., 2008).

The literature also suggests that teacher candidates can benefit from participating in contexts where English is not exclusively spoken (Torok & Aguilar, 2000), participating in K-12 classrooms where effective bilingual programs are modeled (Katz, 2000), and joining in collaborative classroom observations structured with interactive discussions between teacher candidates, classroom teachers, and university supervisors both pre- and post-observation (Virtue, 2009). Finally, teacher preparation programs emphasizing advocacy for equity (de Oliveria & Athanases, 2007) and the use of research to support instruction (Bernhard, e al.,

2005) may be effective in influencing their graduates classroom practices and professional engagement across communities and forums.

Although this literature suggests some promising approaches, not all of the scholarship reviewed engages critically with issues of power, racism, and linguicism. As discussed in the conceptual literature, any promising and effective practice that is not coupled with critical reflection and engagement with discriminatory issues can perpetuate deficit practices and perceptions. Therefore, teacher education must focus on both the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively support the comprehensive academic development of bilingual learners as well as the development of a critical consciousness and engagement with various systemically oppressive issues.

Research on Teaching Secondary Bilingual Learners

Empirical studies about teaching secondary bilingual learners generally have one of three emphases: identity, attitudes and beliefs, and school contexts. Identity development is often explored in both the teacher development literature (e.g., Britzman, 1991; B. Olsen, 2008) as well as the adolescent development literature (e.g., Cole & Cole, 2001). Therefore, it is not surprising to find it as an area of focus within the literature reviewed. In the identity category some studies focus on teacher's identity (Liggett, 2008; Reeves, 2009; Yoon, 2007, 2008) and some focus on student identity development (Asher, 2008; Bashir-Ali, 2006; Harklau, 2000). Within the second category, the attitudes and beliefs of mainstream teachers

regarding teaching bilingual learners are explored (Expósito & Favela, 2003; J. Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Walker et al., 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). In addition, this category includes the attitudes of bilingual learners regarding English language use (Lutz, 2004; Mirón & Inda, 2004; A. Portes & Hao, 1998; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000) and the approaches of schools regarding student placement and treatment (Pappamihel, 2001, 2002; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Valdés, 1998).

Finally the category of school contexts covers topics like teaching practices (Bang, Suárez-Orozco, Pakes, & O'Connor, 2009; Ivey & Broaddus, 2007; McKeown & Gentilucci, 2007; Rolón-Dow, 2005; Spycher, 2007), quality of instruction (Cohen, 2007; Freeman, Freeman, & Mercuri, 2003; F. González, 1998, 2001; Hones, 2002, Li & Zhang, 2004), factors influencing academic success (Carhill, Suárez-Orozco, & Páez, 2008; P. Portes, 1999; Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009), and programs and demographics (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Hernandez, Denton, & Macartney, 2009; Short, 2002). Each category offers valuable insights into the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

Identity.

The following studies show the powerful influences both teachers' and students' identities have on the outcomes and practices of teaching secondary bilingual learners. Focusing on teacher racial identity development through the lens of CRT, Liggett (2008) studied six White English teachers working with bilingual learners from both rural and urban settings through interviews and observations. She discovered that participants constructed their conceptualizations of race and

racial discourse from their background experiences, societal influences, and teacher preparation. She also uncovered a tendency among her participants to minimize the negative racial comments that were made to bilingual learners at school. Liggett therefore recommends that teacher preparation courses actively work to prepare teachers to be able to engage with racial discourse in the classroom by examining such discourse at the individual, institutional, and cultural levels.

Drawing on positioning theory, three further studies looking at teacher identity come to similar conclusions about the power of teacher identity in affecting the educational opportunities and classroom engagement of bilingual learners (Reeves, 2009; Yoon, 2007, 2008). The two articles by Yoon (2007, 2008) draw on the same data collected over one semester through classroom observations of three middle school English language arts teachers. Though one article focuses only on two teachers and literacy events (Yoon, 2007), Yoon asserts through both analyses that teachers and how they identify and position themselves within classrooms, rather than methods, are the most important factor in determining the participation of bilingual learners in classroom activities.

For instance, one teacher, Mr. Brown, conducted a highly interactive and student-centered class, the kind of class that is often promoted in educational literature. However, because he did not position himself as a teacher of bilingual learners, hidden power mechanisms were at play in his class that actively excluded the participation of bilingual learners while promoting the hegemonic White cultural and linguistic norm. Yoon therefore argues that in teacher education,

methods and strategies should not be the only focus. Rather, teachers need to develop a culturally relevant pedagogy and identity that positions all teachers as teachers of bilingual learners and encourages the participation of all students in class. Yoon (2008) also offers specific justification for this dissertation by calling for research that examines the link between what is learned in teacher education about bilingual learners and how teachers position themselves towards bilingual learners in their classrooms.

Along the same lines, Reeves (2009) also found that teacher identity and positioning in the classroom affected bilingual learners' educational opportunities. Drawing from a larger mixed method study of secondary content teachers of bilingual learners, Reeves presents a case study of one teacher based on interviews, field notes, observations of teaching, and classroom artifacts like assignments, quizzes, and tests. The teacher investigated in this study positioned himself as a quality teacher for all students, but did not make any special efforts to support the bilingual learners in his classes, nor had he received any specific training to do such. Therefore, in order to support his own identity, he positioned bilingual learners in his classroom as "like any other student." By assigning this identity to bilingual learners, he could keep his own identity as a quality teacher for all students without actually working to differentiate instruction or proactively teach in culturally or linguistically responsive ways. Reeves's study shows the problem that ideologies and assumptions can play when teachers both position themselves and their

students in uncritical ways and calls for teacher education to increase teachers' awareness of identity issues.

Similar to teacher identity development, adolescent identity development is a critical aspect of investigation when considering the education of secondary bilingual learners. Three studies draw conclusions regarding the identity development of bilingual learners through qualitative research in various contexts (Asher, 2008; Bashir-Ali, 2006; Harklau, 2000). In each of these studies and each of these contexts, the identities of bilingual learners were affected by the representations ascribed to them either by themselves, their peers, their teachers or the schooling context itself.

Bashir-Ali (2006) conducted a year-long ethnographic study as a teacher researcher on one of her students, Maria, a 15 year old female 9th grader from Mexico who had been in the United States for about 2.5 years. Although Maria was "visibly Mexican", she told everyone that she was Black, denied knowing any Spanish, and spoke only in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) at school (p. 629). The dominant social group at her high school was composed of African American students who Maria socialized with exclusively and worked endlessly to hide her enrollment in ESL courses from. Maria also strongly resisted learning academic English. Her teachers were mostly unfamiliar with her background and did not understand the choices she was making based on social and linguistic power. Therefore, Bashir-Ali asserts that teachers need to understand the social

motivations that affect the racial and linguistic identities of bilingual learners like Maria.

Similarly, Asher (2008) calls for educators to learn about their students and avoid stereotypic representations of bilingual learners in order to recognize their developing hybrid identities. She examined the identity negotiation of 10 Indian-American high school students from two schools in New York City through in-depth interviews, observations at school, and a questionnaire eliciting demographic data. She found that the participants in her study negotiated multiple identities as hyphenated Americans who face contradictions at the fluid intersections of race, culture, class, and gender both at school and at home. Therefore, Asher argues for curriculum and instructional practices that reflect these dynamic processes and contexts that students engage in and within which their identities develop. She also suggests that teachers and students should work collaboratively to critically deconstruct stereotypes through close readings of texts and school curriculum.

Stereotypical representations play a large role in the ethnography that Harklau (2000) conducted following immigrant youth over one year during their last year of high school and into their first year in a community college. In high school, the students were positioned as stereotypical immigrants: hard working and determined. Though they were often stranded in lower track classes, their hard work paid off with good grades. However, when they entered community college, these same students were not considered proficient enough in English and were required to enter the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) track. These

classes were mainly geared toward international students who were sojourners in the United States learning English and gaining a post-secondary education.

In this context, the immigrant youth in the study went from being “good kids” to the “worst” because of their resistance to curriculum and instruction geared towards students who were newly arrived in the U.S. that did not take into consideration their extensive time as residents which afforded them different experiences in terms of language and culture. In one setting, the students embraced the stereotypes placed upon them and used those stereotypes for their academic advantage (at least as much as they could in lower-level classes). However, in another setting these same students resisted the stereotype of sojourner as it was not suitable to their already developed hybrid identities as immigrant Americans. This stereotype constrained their academic participation and deeply affected their learning opportunities.

The researchers effectively drew on qualitative methodologies and strong theoretical frames to conduct this reviewed scholarship on identity. Through the use of CRT, positioning, postcolonial, and feminist theories as well as the notion of representation, this collection of research provides rich localized descriptions of individual and collective instances and issues of identity development. Therefore it is capable of describing the powerful role identity plays in influencing practices and educational outcomes for bilingual learners and supports the notion that bilingual learners cannot be reduced to merely language learning levels (Asher, 2008; Bashir-Ali, 2006; Harklau, 2000; Reeves, 2009; Yoon, 2007, 2008).

The reviewed scholarship suggests that teachers learn about their students in order to avoid stereotypic representations of bilingual learners and to recognize as well as foster their developing hybrid identities (Asher, 2008; Harklau, 2000). It also asserts that teachers should develop an understanding of the social motivations that affect the racial and linguistic identities of bilingual learners (Bashir-Ali, 2006). Additionally, it calls for teacher education to help teachers critically examine their own identities and how they position themselves in classrooms relative to bilingual learners (Reeves, 2009; Yoon, 2007, 2008). Teacher education must also prepare teachers to examine their own racialized identities as well as the racial discourse they will inevitably encounter at the individual, institutional, and cultural level (Liggett, 2008). Finally, this scholarship recommends that teachers and students work together to critically deconstruct stereotypes through close readings of texts and school curriculum (Asher, 2008). As a whole this literature calls for a critical consciousness to be developed in teachers and students regarding issues of identity development and enactment.

Attitudes and Beliefs.

This next section reviews the research investigating students' and teachers' attitudes and beliefs as well as wider attitudes and beliefs affecting school contexts. The studies reported here investigated various aspects of attitudes and beliefs, such as the attitudes and beliefs of students regarding their own language usage and selection, the attitudes and beliefs of teachers about working with bilingual learners

and the attitudes and beliefs across larger school contexts for how they positioned and marginalized students.

Several studies investigated the attitudes and beliefs of mainstream teachers (Expósito & Favela, 2003; J. Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Walker et al., 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). Youngs and Youngs (2001) surveyed mainstream teachers in two junior high schools and one middle school within the same district (N=143) in order to determine the predictors of positive attitudes among mainstream teachers regarding working with bilingual learners. They found completion of foreign language or multicultural education courses, training in ESL, experiences in other countries, working with bilingual learners, and gender to predict positive attitudes toward bilingual learners. The authors argue that these predictors all relate to cultural diversity and therefore, teacher preparation programs need to provide teacher candidates with opportunities to engage with cultural diversity. Though these findings are consistent with other research suggesting the types of experiences teacher candidates benefit from (e.g., Lucas & Grinberg, 2008), it is problematic to make the leap between an expression of a positive attitude through self-report and culturally and linguistically responsive teaching practices in classrooms. Teachers with “positive attitudes” and “good intentions” without a critical consciousness can very easily perpetuate stereotypes and inequities based on issues of White privilege and normativity.

Along the same lines, Walker, Shafer, and Liams (2004) also draw the implication from their research that improved professional development and

teacher training focused on working with bilingual learners is needed to positively influence mainstream teacher attitudes and beliefs. Through a survey of K-12 mainstream teachers (N=422) and interviews with six language teaching specialists, all in the Midwestern United States, the authors found that overall teacher attitudes towards bilingual learners across all contexts surveyed tended to be neutral to strongly negative, a troubling finding considering the powerful role teachers play in promoting positive educational outcomes for bilingual learners.

Conducting a similar study using both survey (N=69) and interviews with 10 teachers, J. Lee and Oxelson (2006) focused on more specific attitudes and beliefs regarding students' heritage language maintenance in post-Proposition 227 California. Consistent with the previously reviewed studies, Lee and Oxelson found that teachers with specific training and experiences engaging with bilingual learners had more positive attitudes towards native language maintenance than their counterparts. However, an important factor to consider beyond the training, because in this study "training" was based on who had the BCLAD/CLAD certification (California's add-on certifications to prepare teachers to work with bilingual learners), is who self-selects to receive such certifications. The authors acknowledge this issue suggesting that further research is necessary about the entry characteristics of teacher candidates who chose to become prepared to work with bilingual learners and how recruiting efforts can target such potential educators.

A final study of mainstream teacher attitudes and beliefs draws on four ethnographies of novice teachers who critically examine their own assumptions and

strive for ideological clarity (Expósito & Favela, 2003). The authors argue that teachers who work with bilingual learners need to be critically reflective and examine how their beliefs towards culturally diverse families guide their practice. Drawing on the work of scholars like Bartolomé (2000) and Freire (2005), Expósito and Favela created a theoretical framework based on five themes that emerged from the literature related to educational equity and culturally diverse students: ideological clarity, ideology based on middle-class values, ideological baggage, asset-based education, and it only takes one person. Each of these themes was found throughout the ethnographies of the four novice teachers as they challenged their own ideologies and assumptions and worked for educational equity for bilingual learners. Though this research promotes critical reflection by teachers, it does not openly and explicitly critique racism, white privilege, white normativity or white dominance. Without such critiques, the power of this work is minimized.

The previous studies focused on teacher attitudes and beliefs regarding working with bilingual learners, but the following studies investigated bilingual learners attitudes, beliefs, and practices regarding language use. Investigations on the language use practices of secondary bilingual learners were conducted in six studies (Lutz, 2004; Mirón & Inda, 2004; A. Portes & Hao, 1998; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000; Villalva, 2006). Utilizing various research methodologies, these researchers came to several meaningful conclusions including the advantage biliterate bilingualism has on the educational attainment of Latino students.

Contrary to the messages often promoted in broader society and especially in the campaigns to pass the three successfully instituted English-only voter referenda, Mirón and Inda (2004), through their interviews with 12 bilingual learners from two high schools in Southern California, found that secondary bilingual learners have positive attitudes and beliefs regarding learning English for both the social and economic opportunities it affords. However, students also expressed a clear desire and motivation for maintaining their home languages. Because these students lived in transnational spaces where bilingualism was not just advantageous, but often a necessity allowing them to simultaneously occupy various cultural niches, these students expressed a strong commitment to bilingualism. Additionally, these students did not view their future to be confined to one national space. The authors conclude that with the experiences and desires of these bilingual learners, Proposition 227 is called into question as it rigidly defines bilingual learners only as American national subjects.

The findings of A. Portes and Hao (1998) who surveyed 5,000 second-generation immigrant students from various backgrounds in both South Florida and Southern California for patterns of language adaptation also call the premise of the three English-only voter referenda into question. A. Portes and Hao found that attitudes and beliefs regarding the preference for and use of English is nearly universal by second-generation immigrant youth. However, attitudes towards and the practice of heritage language maintenance varied widely among and within the different immigrant groups.

Considering this preference for many children of immigrants for English, Tseng and Fuligni (2000) looked at how language use among bilingual learners affects family relationships. They surveyed 6th, 8th, and 10th grade immigrant students (N=626) about their home language use and relationships with parents. Two years after the first survey was administered, students from the original group participated in the same survey about language use and family relationships (N=316). The authors found that adolescents who speak the same language as their parents report higher levels of family cohesion than students who do not speak the same language as their parents. Clearly, student attitudes, beliefs and practices regarding language use affect their home life.

In the same vein, Lutz (2004) found that student attitudes, beliefs and practices regarding language use also affect schooling outcomes. She used data from the restricted-use version of the National Education Longitudinal Survey that surveyed 25,000 students five times from 1988-2000 and looked only at Latino students who reported high levels of English proficiency. Drawing data from the 1988, 1990, 1992, and 1994 surveys (N=1616), she found that biliterate Latinos are significantly more likely to graduate from high school as well as enter college than their monolingual peers. This conclusion stands clearly in contrast to much of the bilingualism-as-deficit discourse that is found in educational contexts, which will be discussed more extensively in the critique and analysis section.

Though the conclusion is valuable to advocates for bilingualism and the research conducted to reach this conclusion was methodically rigorous, the framing

of the study in terms of four theoretical models regarding the education of bilingual learners is somewhat problematic. The four models termed assimilation, multiculturalism, the cognitive perspective, and segmented assimilation are described inconsistently and without building on research that fully supports the authors' assertions about the theories. A CRT perspective makes it clear that this theoretical glossing is silent about and therefore perpetuates dominant ideologies about whiteness and white privilege.

For instance, without acknowledging the widely different experiences and expectations for White, monolingual English speakers in becoming bilingual, the author draws on research about college placement of students who show interest in languages and study foreign languages in high school. Lutz states, "Because educators associate knowledge of two languages with academically focused students who have high attainment goals, bilingual students' interest in languages prior to high school may make them more likely than other students to be placed in college-track programs when they enter high school" (p. 99). There is no research suggesting that bilingual students from racial minorities and/or low-income backgrounds are more likely to be placed in college-track programs. Rather, there is extensive research showing that educators often view bilingualism in racial minorities as a deficit (e.g., Bratt, 2007; Harklau, 2000; Yoon, 2008). It is problematic to equate the elective bilingualism of White, economically privileged, English proficient students to the bilingualism, educational opportunities, and achievement for students from racial and linguistic minorities. This shortfall

notwithstanding, Lutz's analysis provides a powerful argument for the development of strong biliterate capabilities in bilingual learners in order to support academic achievement.

Additionally, two studies looking at language use attitudes, beliefs, and practices in bilingual learners focus on literacy practices (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Villalva, 2006). Both show through case study and ethnography how bilingual learners draw on multiple literacies when engaging in academic practices, some of which are hidden to educators who are unfamiliar with students' cultural and linguistic communities. Rubinstein-Ávila (2007) followed one of four focal students from the large scale Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation (LISA) study (several other studies reviewed herein draw from this extensive dataset) and used portraiture to analyze the experiences, perceptions, and literacy practices of a young woman who had immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic. She found that the literacy practices of bilingual learners are shaped by their participation in multiple communities as they also develop overlapping identities. Rubinstein-Ávila asserts that teachers need to build on immigrant youth's full repertoire of literacy practices and help bilingual learners understand how different things count as literacy in different contexts.

Similarly, Villalva (2006) investigated two case studies of two Latina bilingual learners in high school through a year-long research and writing project. From an ecological framework, the author shows the vast resources the participants drew upon to complete the major capstone research project required for high school

graduation. Because these skills and resources often differ from the traditional norm of the White, middle-class, monolingual student, the multiple literacies that the focal students drew upon were mostly invisible to their teachers.

The attitudes, beliefs, and practices of bilingual learners regarding language use clearly have an affect on their lives in both schooling and home contexts. However, the attitudes and beliefs schools have regarding the placement of bilingual learners in courses also plays a significant role in educational experiences and outcomes of bilingual learners. The attitudes and beliefs within a school regarding bilingual learners are evidenced through school practices and policies that might support and include bilingual learners across programs and curricula or segregate and marginalize them from their peers.

Valdés (1998) examined two case studies of two high school bilingual girls and showed how complex and political teaching and learning English can be. These girls remained in “ESL ghettos” and faced poor teaching and isolation from their native speaking peers. Valdés argues that there were two schools in one where the ESL students interacted only with their ESL peers and were completely segregated from their native-English speaking counterparts. This segregation of bilingual learners, according to Valdés, leads to a permanent underclass of students without access to high quality teaching and learning nor academic English. Though Valdés did not explicitly interrogate attitudes and beliefs found across members of the school community, her study exposed the results of negative attitudes and beliefs

within the wider school context in terms of programmatic options offered to bilingual learners and the outcomes of marginalization and segregation.

Similarly, Sharkey and Layzer (2000) also found that bilingual learners were frequently segregated into low-track classes and marginalized within mainstream contexts. Through a critically framed qualitative case study of one high school looking specifically at the teachers who had bilingual learners in their classroom over the course of six weeks, the authors found that bilingual learners felt safe in their ESL classes. However, outside of those classes students faced discrimination, peer-pressure, teasing, marginalization, and classes with low academic standards, findings that consistent with those of Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2008). The authors suggest many structural issues were causing such an inequitable education for bilingual learners in the investigated school, thus supporting the research in this dissertation that critically examines the structures and systems governing the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Additionally, this study shows how negative attitudes and beliefs about bilingual learners within student groups and mainstream contexts influence the educational experiences of bilingual learners.

The difference in bilingual learner experience in mainstream courses versus ESL classes were explicitly investigated by Pappamihel (2001, 2002). In her 2001 study, she surveyed 178 middle school students of Mexican decent and found that as students moved from ESL to mainstream classrooms, their worries shifted from academic concerns to peer interactional anxieties that appeared to cause more

stress in female students than male. In her 2002 study, she drew on the same data but also looked at focus groups, which provided more information about the student-student anxiety a lot of the bilingual learners faced, especially between Chicana/o and Mexican born students. Students in the focus groups suggested that teachers can help them with their anxiety in mainstream settings by allowing for a silent period, providing wait time, and using native language peers as resources.

Though both studies provide valuable insight into the experiences of bilingual learners in high schools, an issue with this work and the presented implications is that the problem with anxiety in mainstream contexts is situated on the students rather than the mainstream context. The author suggests that teachers and administrators should make an effort to identify highly-anxious students and then provide affective support for these students. Obviously, the affective support is valuable, but the kind of support mentioned is classroom specific and does not reach across the whole school community. The necessary changes to create safe environments for bilingual learners across mainstream contexts is a whole-school endeavor (as described in Brisk, 2006) involving attitude and belief change among students, teachers, parents, and administrators. The successful education of bilingual learners will never take place when their education is continually treated as an add-on with limited participants (in this case only students and teachers) rather than an adaptive process that the entire school community engages in. Additionally, as long as negative attitudes and beliefs about bilingual learners persist across the school context segregation and marginalization will persist.

The majority of the research looking at attitudes and beliefs utilized large-scale survey data. However, several studies analyzed qualitative data to investigate various instances and issues regarding attitudes and beliefs. As a whole, the research paints both a broad and deep picture of the issues and outcomes of various attitudes and beliefs that operate in schooling contexts regarding the education of bilingual learners. Utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, this research exposes the attitudes and beliefs of teachers and students and provides several valuable conclusions.

First, there is an issue with mainstream teachers' attitudes and beliefs about bilingual learners tending toward the negative with few teachers believing that they perform well academically in school and most teachers perceiving bilingual learners as coming from countries with inferior educational systems (Walker et al., 2004). Therefore, teacher education efforts need to focus on preparing teachers to work with bilingual learners by fostering positive attitudes and beliefs through relevant, successful experiences with cultural diversity (J. Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). As evidenced by Expósito and Favela's (2003) study, teachers who are given opportunities to engage with cultural diversity and are taught to examine their own assumptions while striving for ideological clarity actually continue to do so in their practice. However, whiteness and white privilege must also be critically examined while teachers engage with cultural diversity in order to disrupt the status quo perpetuation of white normativity.

Second, bilingual learners have strong attitudes and beliefs about the benefits of English acquisition (Mirón & Inda, 2004; A. Portes & Hao, 1998), but students in some immigrant groups also have strong attitudes and beliefs about native language maintenance (Mirón & Inda, 2004). The benefit of positive attitudes, beliefs, and practices of native language maintenance were found to include higher levels of family cohesion (Tseng & Fuligni, 2000) and improved educational outcomes in terms of graduate and college enrollment rates (Lutz, 2004). Additionally, bilingual learners were found to have positive attitudes and beliefs about multiple literacy practices that they then drew on in academic contexts (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Villalva, 2006).

However, an important note for teachers, researchers, and educators is how many of these practices were invisible to those unfamiliar with students' cultural and linguistic communities, thus limiting the opportunities for educators to build on those practices and welcome them into classroom contexts (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Villalva, 2006). Additionally, considering the schooling contexts in which these studies took place and the hundreds of learners each teacher worked with, the systemic issues of large-scale factory model high schools make culturally and linguistically relevant teaching excessively difficult for any teacher to effectively engage in. Also of value to note is the methods used in these studies where factors like home life are isolated and then correlated to motivation for English learning. From a critical perspective, this kind of reduction and correlation of factors is problematic because it strives to locate preferable practices within marginalized

groups. Rather than conducting research that permits marginalized groups to tell their own story from their own perspective, these types of studies frame populations in terms of dominant perceptions of best practice.

Third and finally, school contexts that are governed by negative attitudes and beliefs about bilingual learners can segregate and marginalize (Pappamihiel, 2001, 2002; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Valdés, 1998). However, a study to be discussed in a later section because of its focus on school level policies (Fine et al., 2007) exposes how positive attitudes and beliefs about bilingual learners across a school community can support excellent academic outcomes. Therefore, entire school communities including students, teachers, parents, and administrators need to critically examine the racialized content of the attitudes and beliefs that are governing the experiences of bilingual learners in order to reduce segregation into low-track classes as well as marginalization and ridicule within mainstream contexts.

School Contexts.

As seen in the studies already reviewed, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, assumptions and identities matter in teaching and learning, especially for bilingual learners and their teachers. However, the pedagogical practices of teachers matter as well. The following studies all investigated specific approaches in secondary classrooms with bilingual learners. Ivey and Broaddus (2007) conducted a formative experiment that investigated the literacy engagement of middle school adolescent Latina/o students who were just beginning to read, write, and speak

English. Over the course of one year, the researchers worked closely with a teacher in one classroom to implement and modify as necessary a literacy intervention based on assisting students in reading engagement. Through classroom observations, student interviews, debriefings with the teacher, and classroom artifacts like reading logs and student writing, the researchers determined that that intervention did have a positive effect on student engagement with reading. However, because of the heavy engagement of the researchers in implementing the intervention, it is not easily replicable in other classrooms. Though the actual intervention itself is difficult to replicate, the formative experiment model that is clearly described in the study is replicable and useful in various teaching, learning, and researching contexts.

Spycher (2007) investigated an approach to teaching academic writing to high school bilingual learners through a systemic functional linguistics (SFL) approach in her own classroom. By analyzing one student's first draft, the instructional approach utilized to help the student improve his writing, and then his final draft, the author found how the student improved his writing by establishing an authoritative stance as well as using references and conjunctions. Spycher admits that her investigation is limited as it does not look at the student's work over time and whether he continued to utilize the academic writing skills found in the final draft of the investigated project. However, she still emphasizes the value of teaching writing from an SFL perspective and suggests that teachers would benefit from well-conceived and implemented professional development on the topic.

Another study conducted by teacher researchers looked at a specific approach to assisting bilingual learners with reading comprehension, the think-aloud strategy (McKeown & Gentilucci, 2007). The authors conducted a pre- and post- test on 27 middle school aged bilingual learners in an English language development (ELD) course before and after one month of instruction related to using the think-aloud strategy and found differing results based on level of English proficiency. The authors conclude that the efficacy of strategies depends on the levels of English proficiency and that the instructional implications of this study suggest that teachers should focus on teaching vocabulary, reading fluency, and sentence structure to bilingual learners.

The interpretations and analysis of these findings are somewhat problematic. To begin, though there were differences in outcomes across the language proficiency levels, these variations did not follow a consistent pattern. Specifically, the students at the lowest and highest level of English proficiency did not show significant gains on the post-test, whereas the middle level did. The authors' explanation of these results suggest the efficacy of the think-aloud strategy depends on English proficiency level, but their interpretation overlooks other potential factors contributing to the variation in student gains such as educational backgrounds, reading skills, and individual dispositions of the students. Additionally, the assertion that teachers should focus primarily on vocabulary development, reading fluency, and sentence structure is not evidenced through the data nor the analysis conducted in this study. Even with these limitations, the

authors do offer a valuable conclusion suggesting that teachers should not consider all strategies equally effective for all students and apply them uniformly in instructing bilingual learners.

A study looking at teacher practices regarding bilingual learners draws on an extensive set of data from the LISA study (Bang et al., 2009). The Bang et al. study is a secondary analysis of the data gathered over the five years of LISA, a large, comprehensive study that collected data on recently arrived immigrant youth in seven public school districts across Massachusetts and California. Focusing on data attained through student interviews and behavior checklists that were completed by the students' teachers, the authors conducted hierarchical regression analyses to identify which factors contributed to both course understanding and grades for immigrant youth. The authors found that grades were largely determined by homework completion and level of English proficiency. However, course understandings, according to teacher evaluations, were mainly determined by students' behavior in-class.

The major implication of this research is that teachers should distinguish between effort and skill in both assigning grades and providing feedback to newcomer immigrant youth in order to help them fully develop all of the academic skills and understandings necessary to be successful in both high school and beyond. The authors admit several limitations to this study in terms of generalizability and the need for more research that determines what exact purposes and factors teachers consider when assigning grades. However, they do

not discuss in depth the variation in type, purpose, and structure of homework assignments across contexts. Homework was treated homogeneously in this study, which is problematic considering how significantly homework assignments can vary across classroom contexts. Additionally, no critique is offered of homework and other assignment practices as key institutional practices that sort and categorize student.

In a final study investigating teacher practices, Rolón-Dow (2005) argues that schools need to pay attention to how race/ethnicity and social class shape how students interpret caring both within and outside of school contexts. Framed by CRT and LatCrit, Rolón-Dow conducted a two year-long ethnography at a high school where she focused on the lives of nine Puerto-Rican girls who had experienced most, if not all, of their schooling in the United States. Through interviews with students and teachers, observations and student shadowing, the author found a disconnect between the practices and narratives of care told by teachers and way those practices and narratives were interpreted by students. Much of this disconnect was based on issues of white privilege and colorblind racism that many educators in the building were ignorant to. Clearly, the practices of teachers and how they are interpreted by students play a significant role in the creation of school contexts.

Another aspect of school context that was investigated in the reviewed scholarship is the learning opportunities created by quality of instruction (Cohen, 2007; Freeman et al., 2003; F. González, 1998, 2001; Hones, 2002; Li & Zhang,

2004). F. González (1998, 2001) calls for quality instruction that draws on the epistemologies and cultural experiences of bilingual learners in order to create more holistic educational policies and practices. In both of these studies, González analyzes research collected with eight young Mexicanas that draws from CRT and multidimensional feminist frames to show the complex identities and development of these young women growing up in multiple cultural worlds. In contrast to the many typical stereotypes about young Mexican women, the research participants positioned themselves as powerful. González calls for “braiding” various ways of teaching, learning, and knowing together in order to put cultural knowledge at the center of conversations around educational policies and practices.

González calls “a more careful study of education and the law to discern the racial discriminatory intent and policies against Mexicana/o, Chicana/o, Latina/o education and quality of life” (p. 653). She also suggests that discrimination towards Latinas/os often occurs by using language as a proxy for race. Though race and language are distinctly different constructs, the idea that language often functions as a proxy for race to support racial discrimination is growing in critical circles as racism and linguicism more frequently and consistently intersect. Therefore, studies like the one conducted for this dissertation strives to examine issues of racism and linguicism in the policy and practice of the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers as a response to González’s call for further research.

Two further studies argue for curriculum and instruction to draw on students' linguistic and cultural understandings in order to benefit bilingual learners both socially and academically (Freeman et al., 2003; Hones, 2002). Hones (2002) wrote dialogue journals with 50 bilingual learners across two high schools in order to examine the lives in and out of school for bilingual learners. He analyzed the dialogue journals then chose three students to focus on whom he then interviewed and shadowed at school. Hones found that bilingual learners generally did not have access to curriculum or instruction that critically examines the world and students' position within it.

Freeman et al. (2003) explored three case studies that presented three distinct types of older bilingual learners that teachers may encounter in secondary schools. Drawing from these case studies and research on working successfully with older bilingual learners who are struggling, the authors present four "keys" to quality instructional practices with bilingual learners. These keys include providing bilingual learners with access to a challenging, theme-based curriculum that draws on students' experiences, cultures, and languages. Students should also participate in collaborative activities that build academic English proficiencies and teachers should work to create confident students who both value school and themselves as learners. Though all of these things are important for quality instruction for bilingual learners, Hones' (2002) valuable emphasis on critically conscious educational practices is blatantly missing in the Freeman et al. (2003) study.

Two final studies examining quality of instruction for bilingual learners focus on reading instruction (Cohen, 2007; Li & Zhang, 2004). Li and Zhang (2004) asked the research question, “Why can’t Mei read?” and examined her schooling experiences by interviewing her teachers, her principal, her parents and Mei as well as analyzing the results of a reading assessment. Though Mei was 14 years old at the time of the research and had already been schooled in the United States for two years, Mei could not read in English because she had not received quality instruction due to the lack of collaboration and preparedness on behalf of the school. The authors conclude that teachers and schools that do not collaborate and have not received the proper training are not effective at helping bilingual learners develop strong language and literacy skills. Though this finding is consistent with other research (e.g., Lucas & Grinberg, 2008), the way Mei’s literacy is positioned only in terms of her English skills is problematic. Mei can read in her native language, but due to her struggles in reading English, the article asks, “Why can’t Mei read?” diminishing the literacy skills she does possess in Chinese.

Cohen (2007), on the other hand, analyzed a successful experience helping a secondary bilingual learner overcome reading difficulties through individualized reading instruction. During the course of a summer reading program where the author was a tutor, Mario, a struggling high school bilingual learner from Mexico, received individualized instruction focused on finding appropriate reading material that was both high interest and accessible. This effort helped Mario move his reading beyond decoding and improved his comprehension of texts, which in turn

improved his performance in school. Cohen followed up with Mario 15 months after they worked together and found that Mario's academic success across all subjects in school had dramatically improved. The author recognizes that many factors play into Mario's academic success, but that becoming a better reader certainly helped.

Though successful with Mario, this study makes some problematic assumptions about Mario's reading ability in Spanish. Because Mario finished 7th grade in Mexico, the author assumes Mario is a strong reader in Spanish. He then challenges the extensive research that suggests well-developed literacy skills in one language are associated with literacy in another language (Dressler & Kamil, 2006). However, he does not make any effort to establish the actual level of literacy Mario has in Spanish. Without establishing Mario's literacy in Spanish, the challenge the author launches at established research is unfounded.

Three studies drawing on large scale surveys attempted to uncover the factors affecting the academic success of secondary bilingual learners in which aspects of school context matter (Carhill et al., 2008; P. Portes, 1999; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Two of these studies draw from the same dataset, the LISA study described above (Carhill et al., 2008; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Carhill et al. (2008) describe the academic language proficiency of bilingual learners who have been in the United States for an average of seven years. The authors discovered that individual student differences partially explained the variation in proficiency over time, but the schools that students attended and the quality of education they received were important factors related to academic English proficiency.

Suárez-Orozco et al (2009) conducted a multiple regression analysis that shows the importance of supportive school-based relationships in the academic success of immigrant youth. Additionally, drawing on student and parental interviews, language assessment tests in both English and native languages, student surveys, and school achievement based on grades, two case studies were analyzed in order to interrogate the experiences of two students with very different academic trajectories. These two cases underscore the findings of the multiple regression analysis and emphasize the strong role school-based relationships play in supporting bilingual learners' academic achievement.

The final study looking at factors affecting student achievement using data from wide-scale surveys is from P. Portes (1999) who analyzed surveyed data on 4,288 second-generation 8th and 9th graders through the Youth Adaptation and Growth Questionnaires, an interview instrument that was developed and used in the Second Generation Project in Miami and San Diego. Portes found that community context matters for school achievement. Specifically he found that the highest achieving immigrant youth came from stronger, more established immigrant communities and the lowest achieving youth mainly came from immigrant groups that had the least amount of support, faced language difficulties in school and felt most unwelcomed by the mainstream.

One thing to note about this study is the use of standardized test scores in math and English to determine achievement. Though it is common practice, when discussing the educational achievement and practices of bilingual learners,

standardized test scores can be problematic measures. A more thorough discussion on this issue follows in the critique and analysis section of this literature review.

Within various school contexts, secondary bilingual learners in the United States are instructed through a myriad of programs. However, some bilingual learners have access to specific types of programs tailored to support improved academic performance. Two studies looked at such programs: newcomer programs (Short, 2002) and the Migrant Education Program (MEP) funded by the federal government (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009). Short (2002) investigated the small but growing number of newcomer programs in urban secondary contexts across the United States through a four year study. Surveys were returned from 115 programs that provided information about their program design, student demographics, instruction and assessment, program staffing and additional services. Short found that newcomer programs across the country do not all follow the same programmatic model, rather they tailor their courses, languages of instruction, staffing, length of enrollment, strategies for transition, and other services to specifically assist the student populations in their programs. However, across the various newcomer programs there were some consistencies like specific attention to the development of adolescent literacy skills, varied options for language support, well trained and carefully selected multilingual staff, flexibility in scheduling, and connections between family and school.

Most newcomer programs at the time of the study did not have evaluative measures in place nor data tracking mechanisms to follow students after exiting the

program. However, well-structured programs where the data were available exhibited impressive outcomes. Short found that because of their use of native language instruction, strong English language development programs, and expanded time (both afterschool and year round), some students in well run programs were able to advance two grade levels in one year. Such programs, through targeting newcomers, appear to be something many bilingual learners could benefit from, even those with longer times of residency as well as higher levels of academic English proficiency.

Another program with components that would potentially benefit the wider population of bilingual learners is the federally funded Migrant Education Program (MEP). Gibson and Hildalgo (2009) investigated the MEP in five California high schools and found the migrant students' academic success was in part due to the supplemental services they received through the program and most specifically to the assistance migrant resource teachers provided. A major source of success for the program was based on the holistic nature of the relationships the migrant teachers maintained with the students. The authors highlighted the various successes of the MEP program at the high schools in the study, however, they also emphasize that the program is not a panacea. Some teachers were more effective in their roles than others and reductions in funding are increasing the number of students each teacher needs to monitor. These issues notwithstanding, the authors make a strong argument for positive, effective mentors to assist migrant students

and other bilingual learners in successfully navigating secondary educational contexts.

Finally, a study investigating school contexts in terms of demographic composition was conducted by Hernandez et al. (2009). The authors did a secondary analysis of data from the Census 2000 and found the demographics of the student population in the United States to be rapidly changing requiring attention from teachers, school administrators, and public officials in order to meet the educational needs of the increasing number of immigrant youth. The authors argue that due to the dramatic increase in the number of immigrant youth in the country, their educational success matters to everyone, especially to the White baby boom generation throughout their retirement years. This use of interest convergence (Bell, 1980) is interesting as the education of an entire, large population of students is not valuable in and of itself, rather only in terms of how those students will support the dominant White majority as they age:

By the year 2030, when the baby boom generation born between 1946 and 1964 will be in the retirement ages, 72% of the elderly will be non-Hispanic Whites, compared with 56% for working-age adults, and 50% for children. As the predominantly White baby boomers reach retirement, they will increasingly depend for economic support on the productive activities and civic participation of working-age adults who are members of racial and ethnic minorities, and, in many cases, children of immigrants. To prepare these young people for lives as productive workers and engaged citizens, we need to pay more attention to creating conditions that will foster their educational success (p. 616).

Though the tactic of drawing support by focusing on the needs of the aging White population rather than on the needs of the bilingual learner population may be

somewhat effective in bringing attention to the inequitable outcomes of current educational practices, over the long run it may not inspire the kinds of efforts necessary to truly provide bilingual learners across the country with a quality education. When the attention and motivational focus is not centered on the students, the long-term outcomes potentially will not be as well.

The research on various aspects of school contexts offers several valuable conclusions. For instance, school-based relationships with adults can support strong student outcomes (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), programs that utilize native language instruction, provide strong English language development opportunities, and extend school hours can have impressive effects on student academic growth (Short, 2002), and quality of instruction is a major factor in levels of English language proficiency over time (Carhill et al., 2008). Additionally, not all teaching approaches are equally effective across the heterogeneous group of bilingual learners (McKeown & Gentilucci, 2007), differentiated instruction structured for individual students can support strong growth and development (Cohen, 2007) and culturally and linguistically responsive curriculum and instruction supports both academic and social growth among bilingual learners (Freeman et al., 2003; F. González, 1998, 2001; Hones, 2002). However, the literature also points out some serious issues requiring attention. School contexts are greatly influenced by issues of class and race (Rolón-Dow, 2005). Therefore, bilingual learners and their teachers need to be critically engaged

in examinations of various issues of racism, linguicism, and oppression within schooling contexts (Hones, 2002).

Policy Analyses Related to the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers

Many of the policy analyses reviewed here focus on the three state initiatives imposing restrictive language policies in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts in the early 2000's (e.g., de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; E. Johnson, 2005a; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000). However, other policies also receive attention in the literature, including No Child Left Behind (NCLB) (e.g., Lapayese, 2007), the ESOL consent decree in Florida (e.g., Harper & de Jong, 2009; Platt, Harper, & Mendoza, 2003), and state funding policies for bilingual learners programs (Baker & Markham, 2002). Each of the policy analyses reviewed here investigates some aspects of the creation, evaluation, implementation, and/or effects of policy.

Policy Creation.

Several of the reviewed policy analyses center on the creation of policy through voter referendums by examining the tactics and strategies utilized to support the passage of the initiatives (Bali, 2008; Cline, Necochea, & Rios, 2004; E. Johnson, 2005a, 2005b; L. Olsen, 2009). Additional analyses look at school level policy creation where ideologies and assumptions become de facto policy (Reeves, 2004) and where innovative school level policy creation challenges external policy pressures (Fine et al., 2007).

Though not all policy is created this way, voter referendums have played a significant role in the lives and experiences of bilingual learners and their teachers in the realm of policy creation over the past several years. Therefore, examinations of the successful passage of such initiatives are informative to both the field of educators concerned about the education of bilingual learners and for this dissertation situated within the restrictive language policy context imposed by the referendums. Focusing on Proposition 203 in Arizona, E. Johnson (2005a, 2005b) analyzed the media coverage of its passage through critical discourse analysis and metaphor analysis to show the rhetorical strategies used by the proponents of Proposition 203. He found several metaphors were used, including the metaphor of war to construct a context of violence and heroism. War was the most prominent analogy employed by the proponents of Proposition 203 to characterize themselves as a “heroic” military force working to battle the “evil” bilingual programs. He also found that bilingual education was portrayed as a failure and bilingual learners were situated as victims. Within the texts he analyzed he also discovered the ways that English was promoted as the key to the “American Dream.” These rhetorical strategies were obviously powerful as Proposition 203 successfully passed.

Cline et al. (2004) interrogated race-based propositions in California (including Proposition 227) and the methods supporters of these propositions used in order to successfully pass them. The methods include: capitalizing on fear and racism, naming deceptively, using a minority spokesperson, lying, getting help from the media, targeting one community of color, and framing the proposition in terms

of monetary cost. The authors call for educators and communities of color to collaborate in countering the legal and political attacks that utilize the tactics described above.

Also investigating how educational initiatives in California passed, or in other words, how policies were created, Bali (2008) analyzed exit polls from three education citizen initiatives in California (including Proposition 227). She discovered that voter ideology was critical to determining support for an education initiative while self-interest and collective assessments of national/state trends were also relevant. Bali also found that race was a major factor in how people vote on educational initiatives asserting that initiatives like Proposition 227 can not be considered race-neutral.

Over a decade after Proposition 227 passed in California, L. Olsen (2009) conducted a qualitative study on the passage of the initiative through historical records from the campaign, media coverage, and interviews. She concluded that Proposition 227 was an ideological battle in a historically broad and deep societal struggle over the role of public education in a diverse society. Though advocates for bilingual learners were unprepared for this battle, she asserts that lessons learned from the passage of Proposition 227 can provide an improved strategy and approach to supporting immigrant education. Rather than advocating from a framework of civil rights and a compensatory program, bilingual education advocates need to work to shift the immigration paradigm to prove the value of diversity through an additive and affirmative vision.

Also calling for an additive and affirmative vision of bilingual learners, though focused on the creation of school level policies is the work of Reeves (2004). She spent one year in four teachers' classrooms gathering information on their experiences with bilingual learners through interviews, observations, field notes, and document collection. She found that the school wide community endorsed a de facto policy of blindness towards linguistic diversity and therefore restricted access to course content and provided inaccurate assessment and grading procedures. This de facto school policy was based on a clear policy of equal treatment for all students.

Teachers acknowledged the inequities present for bilingual learners, but believed the inequities were both temporary and tolerable. This perspective was based on the idea that students would quickly learn English through being taught in English and then would have access to the educational opportunity that was only available at the school through English. Reeves challenges this contradiction and suggests that based on previous research, even when bilingual learners do learn English, inequity still persists. Therefore, she calls for a rethinking of the concept of educational opportunity and the de facto creation of school level policies that perpetuate inequity. She asserts that bilingual learners should not be forced to assimilate, rather allowed to access quality educational opportunities in a participatory way immediately upon school enrollment.

In the context of the various high stakes tests that bilingual learners are increasingly facing in English, one study shows the possibilities of school level policy

creation centered on more democratic, performance-based assessments (Fine et al., 2007). Through an ethnographic study looking at New York City high schools engaging in innovation for bilingual learners through improved instruction and assessment, the authors show the possibilities when school level policies are created to focus on inquiry-based teaching and learning, portfolios, student exhibitions, and collective community work as assessments. Each of the schools in the study only had bilingual learners and were incredibly successful thus exposing the power of positive programs and school level policy creation intended to engage and utilize the strengths of students, families, and communities.

Looking across these policy analyses, it is clear that ideology plays a fundamental role in all policy creation. From the rhetorical strategies that constructed a context of violence and heroism in the passage of Proposition 203 in Arizona (E. Johnson, 2005a, 2005b), to the use of fear, racism, and lies in order to pass Proposition 227 in California (Cline et al., 2004), it is clear that race and ideology significantly affect votes on citizen initiatives (Bali, 2008). Along these lines, L. Olsen (2009) calls for bilingual learner advocates to reframe the conversation from a focus on civil rights and compensatory programs to an emphasis on the exceptional value of diversity through an additive and affirmative vision. Fine et al., (2007) expose the power of such an additive and affirmative vision at the level of school policy creation while Reeves (2004) shows the negative consequences of a lack of it. Taken as a whole, the policy studies reviewed here underscore the power of ideology and exposes its role in policy creation.

Policy Evaluation.

A small number of the policy analyses reviewed here focused on policy evaluation. However, these evaluations looked at several different policies. Baker and Markham (2002) evaluated state funding policies for bilingual learner programs, Mora (2000) assessed Proposition 227 in California, and Wiley and W. Wright (2004) appraised historical as well as contemporary policies affecting the education of bilingual learners across the United States.

Though they investigated policies across the entire country, Baker and Markham (2002) focused on state funding policies regarding programs for bilingual learners. Using data from the National Center for Education Statistic Common Core of Data, the authors analyzed aid allocation practices across the states. They found that state funding policies to help local districts pay for the education of bilingual learners were often poorly conceived and applied as well as inadequate. They recommend that the policies of aid allocation for educating bilingual learners become more effectively monitored and openly discussed, that the amount of aid should be determined empirically, and that developing a set of frameworks to adapt funding policies for different state contexts would be helpful in achieving the goal of adequate services for bilingual learners.

Mora (2000) analyzed federal laws and judicial rulings from before and after the passage of Proposition 227 as well as the education code statute responding to Proposition 227. Her work exposed a mismatch between policy requirements and the research based knowledge foundation of the profession. She concludes that the

new law imposed by Proposition 227 in California merely transferred the responsibility for the education of bilingual learners away from bilingual teachers and language teaching specialists and onto less skilled monolingual and mainstream teachers.

Also analyzing restrictive language policies, but from a historical perspective is a study by Wiley and W. Wright (2004). The authors reviewed both historical and contemporary policies, ideologies, and educational prescriptions for bilingual learners and found that the current English-only and anti-bilingual education movements have nativist features that are similar to earlier restrictionist movements. Additionally, they determined that high-stakes testing is not improving the quality of teaching and learning for bilingual learners and appears to actually be having a negative effect.

None of the policy evaluations described above concluded that policies related to the education of bilingual learners and their teachers were effective. Rather, they documented ineffective funding policies and practices (Baker & Markham, 2002), a mismatch between policy and research-based best practice (Mora, 2000), and a history of policies with negative effects on bilingual learners that continues into the present day (Wiley & W. Wright, 2004). Clearly, bilingual learners in the United States have not had the benefit of consistently supportive policies that create equitable and high-quality educational opportunities.

Policy Implementation.

The policy analyses centered on policy implementation all focus at least partially on the difficulties and inconsistencies of implementing the three English-only language initiatives. Two studies examine the Arizona context (W. Wright, 2005a; 2005b), one looks at Massachusetts (de Jong & Harper, 2005) and five focus on California (Alamillo & Viramontes, 2000; Arellano-Houchin et al., 2001; Maxwell-Jolly, 2000; Palmer & E. García, 2000; Valdez, 2001). Though looking at differing contexts, the implementation of the restrictive policies as documented in the following studies was overall problematic and inconsistent.

W. Wright (2005a) analyzed policy documents, media coverage, and observations of policy-relevant events related to the implementation of AZ LEARNS (a statewide accountability system in Arizona that uses a local assessment as well as SAT-9 scores to categorize schools across five levels), Proposition 203 (the restrictive language initiative that passed in Arizona), and NCLB. He found that each policy both restricts and provides accommodations for bilingual learners. However, most of the accommodations for bilingual learners that are called for in each policy are nullified through the intersection and implementation of the three policies. Therefore, the situation for bilingual learners and their teachers in Arizona is extremely difficult and more restrictive than intended by any of the individual policies when all three are implemented.

Focusing solely on Proposition 203 through the framework of the political spectacle model, W. Wright (2005b) analyzed policy documents, media coverage,

and the words and actions of policy actors. He discovered the implementation of Proposition 203 to be political spectacle rather than effective policy action concerned with bilingual learners. Evidence of this political spectacle includes symbolic language, political stages, illusions of rationality, and a disconnect between means and ends. Overall, Wright's analyses (2005a; 2005b) uncover the ways implementation of policy can be more for political gain than for the benefit of students and how the implementation of multiple policies can have negative unintended consequences, especially for bilingual learners.

In order to investigate the implementation of Question 2 in Massachusetts, de Jong et al. (2005) interviewed district administrators from three middle-sized districts after the first year of implementing the new policies. The authors also examined documents from each district regarding policies specific to bilingual learners both before and after Question 2. This investigation uncovered that the three districts tried to minimize the impact of the change, but through different approaches. Additionally, the largest impact of the new law was discovered to be on transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs at the elementary level. One of the districts kept their TBE programs intact through the waiver provision of Question 2 while the other two moved to sheltered English immersion (SEI) models. The authors argue that such top-down reforms like Question 2 can have unpredictable effects because of the variation of local actors in implementing the reforms.

Maxwell-Jolly (2000) drew a similar conclusion, finding in her research that Proposition 227 in California added to the inconsistency that already existed

regarding programs for bilingual learners because the policy implementation responses varied so widely. She conducted interviews and observations across seven districts in order to investigate the influences on policy responses to Proposition 227 and found that the history of support for bilingual programs, staff attitudes towards primary language instruction, and the involvement as well as disposition of the community influenced district policy. District response to Proposition 227 set the overall tone, yet school level responses varied. Also, change was clearly evident at the classroom level, even within districts where there appeared to be no change.

Palmer and E. García (2000) exposed several key issues and struggles that schools and districts had while attempting to implement Proposition 227. Through interviews with principals and teachers, the authors explored the reactions of bilingual educators to the implementation of Proposition 227. The key issues the authors uncovered in their research included bilingual teachers feeling threatened by the law, lack of appropriate materials, disbanding of parental committees, students getting forced into all-English programs prematurely, principals gaining unprecedented control over programs, increasing numbers of students being indentified for Special Education, and struggles over interpretation of the new policies. The authors found that although many teachers and administrators were struggling under the restrictive policy, they were striving to serve their students as best as possible.

Investigating the second year of implementation for Proposition 227, Alamillo and Viramontes (2000) analyzed 77 teachers' perspectives gathered through interviews. The data revealed that in the second year of implementation, teachers continued to feel the effects of the top-down reform limiting their pedagogical choices in classrooms. However, high stakes testing, in addition to Proposition 227, had created a tense environment for teachers to work in. The authors also found that the second year of implementation is too early to tell whether Proposition 227 had been successful or not. They concluded that centralizing teachers' experiences inside classrooms and considering the intersection of multiple policies with classroom practice is key to understanding the challenges faced by educators in implementing school reform.

Valdez (2001) also documented the chaos and tension teachers felt in implementing Proposition 227. By conducting in-depth interviews with 20 Latina/o bilingual teachers from school districts in Southern California, she found that implementing Proposition 227 created chaos, uncertainty, and a hostile environment for bilingual education teachers. Valdez discovered two major trends in the experiences of the teachers interviewed. The first was that the passage of Proposition 227 increased tension between bilingual advocates and proponents of English-only approaches. The second trend was that the bilingual teachers resisted the new policies and found creative ways to still utilize native language instruction in the classroom, even though these efforts put both their jobs and mental well-being at risk. Valdez emphasized the fact that Propositions 227 did not diminish the

commitment these teachers had to bilingual education and that all educators and policymakers who support bilingual education need to collaborate and continue fighting for quality educational opportunities for bilingual learners.

A final study that examined the implementation of Proposition 227 was conducted by Arellano-Houchin et al. (2001). These teacher researchers interviewed 10 public school teachers across six schools and four districts and found that teachers were impacted by the passage of Proposition 227 for various reasons. These reasons included needing to change teaching strategies to accommodate the new policy, lacking sufficient training to assist teachers on implementing the initiative, and missing the necessary materials and resources to implement the new policy.

Overall, the policy studies reveal the inconsistency as well as the tensions and difficulties in the implementation of top down policies. For example, De Jong and Harper (2005) exposed the unpredictability of top down reform because of the variability of local actors. Maxwell-Jolly (2000) argued that Proposition 227 merely added to the already existing inconsistency in bilingual learners education through the widely varying policy implementation responses. Through discussions with teachers, researchers found that in implementing Proposition 227 teachers felt threatened and lacked appropriate materials and training, yet still found creative ways to utilize native language instruction in classrooms (Arellano-Houchin et al., 2001; Palmer & E. García, 2000; Valdez, 2001). Evidence was also documented regarding the negative effects various policies can have as they intersect (Alamillo &

Viramontes, 2000; W. Wright, 2005a). As a whole, these studies show the unintended consequences of top-down policy implementation as well as the way that classroom practice and teacher perspectives are key to reform. Policymakers would therefore benefit from creating policy in collaboration with teachers and other educators in order to overcome many if not all of the policy implementation issues documented in this section.

Policy Effects.

There were many studies about the effects of various policies regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Some of these examined the effects of the English-only initiatives generally (e.g., Galindo, 2004; Thompson, DiCerbo, Mahoney, & MacSwan, 2002), while other literature investigated the effects of the restrictive language policy on school contexts (Bratt, 2007), parents of bilingual learners (Baltodano, 2004; A. García, 2000), and teacher education (Cline & Necochea, 2004; Montaña, Ulanoff, Quintanar-Sarellana, & Aoki, 2005). However, the voter referenda were not the only focus of investigation in the policy analyses looking at policy effects. NCLB was interrogated (Lapayese, 2007) as were the intersections of state and federal policy in places like Texas and California (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009) as well as Florida (Harper & de Jong, 2009; Platt et al., 2003). Additionally, the effects of ESL course placement policies across the country were analyzed (Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, & Frisco, 2009). Finally, the effects of policy interrogated through retrospective investigations by MacGregor-Mendoza (2000)

and W. Wright (2004). As a whole, the reviewed studies document that the effects of the various policies under investigation are not positive for bilingual learners.

According to Galindo (2004) on August 20, 2000 the *New York Times* published an article on their front page with the headline “Increase in Test Scores Counters Dire Forecasts for Bilingual Ban” which spurred discussion about the effects of Proposition 227 across the nation. Galindo analyzed 29 editorials written in response to this article and found that the majority of the editorials approached the complex issues surrounding bilingual education simplistically and without a historical perspective. Additionally, the editorials largely presented the successful education of bilingual learners as merely based in learning English, ignoring the other aspects of a quality education for bilingual learners. However, the overwhelming support for Proposition 227 in the editorials from across the country was based on the test results from only two out of over 1,000 school districts in California. Additionally, these editorials represented the dominating values and assumptions about bilingual learners and their education that are contrary to what decades of educational research suggest.

Similarly, Thompson et al. (2002) tested the widespread claim discussed above that the effect of Proposition 227 was an increase in bilingual learner test scores. The authors investigated this claimed effect through an analysis of publically available data sources as well as a presentation of several validity concerns regarding the use of Stanford-9 achievement data to inform policy decisions regarding bilingual learners. This investigation uncovered several

concerns with the claim of positive policy effect. First, the scores of bilingual learners were not consistently and across all grade levels, catching up with their native-English speaking peers' scores. Second, a single academic achievement test administered in English does not have the capability to illustrate the success or failure of programs for bilingual learners. Therefore, the authors suggest it is imperative for assessments used to determine program quality be proven to be reliable measures capable of providing ample useful evidence for evaluation.

Along the same line, Goto-Butler, Orr, Gutiérrez, and Hakuta (2000) reviewed a number of analyses of SAT-9 scores (the scores used to declare success to Proposition 227) from 1998 to 2000 and found that scores for all students increased during this time, not just for bilingual learners. They also discovered that scores increased for most districts regardless of the type of program implemented to educate bilingual learners. Therefore, the authors assert that it is not possible to separate out the impact of Proposition 227 on these scores as multiple factors could explain these increases. Similar to Thompson et al. (2002), Goto-Butler et al. (2000) argue that the SAT-9 is not a valid measure to assess the progress of bilingual learners.

Drawing on data from various studies and sources, Gándara (2000) shows that the quick declaration of success for Proposition 227 is unfounded and actually troublesome. She found only a modest initial shift of students from bilingual programs to English-only classrooms and that overall Proposition 227 caused extensive inconsistency and variability in students' instruction. She also found that

Proposition 227 established a market for teachers to become certified in teaching English resulting in many teachers with minimal preparation tilting the demand away from well-qualified language teaching specialists. Finally, Gándara argues that coupled with high stakes testing and new curricular standards, Proposition 227 appears to be changing classroom pedagogy in negative ways with an overly extensive focus on test scores.

On a similar basis, Bratt (2007) also documented the negative effects of restrictive language policy (Proposition 203 in Arizona) through her research on the borderlands. She conducted research in a school where multiple unnecessary violent incidents occurred as a result of strict enforcement of English-only rules. Bratt argues that the restrictive policy imposed by Proposition 203 is promoting unnecessary disturbances rather than helping schools embrace linguistic diversity and use it as an asset to promote academic achievement.

Language restrictive policies have also been shown to affect the parents of bilingual learners. Though Proposition 227 was widely promoted as fulfilling the wishes of parents, A. García (2000) found that in the context of full disclosure, the most informed parents of bilingual learners continued to choose bilingual education for their students after Proposition 227 passed. She surveyed 296 parents in three districts that were geographically dispersed across California after Proposition 227 that all complied with the parent/guardian waiver provision and continued implementing bilingual programs. García found that informed parents did chose bilingual programs. Each district in this study provided detailed, accessible

information to parents regarding programmatic options and what the author considers models for how all districts should work to inform parents of the educational options their children have.

Similarly, Baltadano (2004) also conducted research on parents and discovered that over time, Proposition 227 affected the choices of parents regarding bilingual programs. Over three years in three Southern California schools (two elementary and one high school) through group dialogues with parents, open-ended questionnaires, individual interviews, classroom observations and discussions with bilingual teachers, Baltadano documented the responses many Latino parents had to Proposition 227 and how those responses shifted from indignation to ambivalence. She also found that the more proactively schools discouraged parents from signing waivers for their students to participate in bilingual programs, the more attitudes about bilingual education shifted in parents. Parents who at the onset of the study staunchly defended bilingual programs began talking exclusively about English language acquisition and their fears that their children would be discriminated against if they were not fully competent in English.

Researchers have also investigated the effects of Proposition 227 on teacher education in California (Montaño et al., 2005; Olivos & Sarmiento, 2006). These analyses focus on Senate Bill 2042 (SB 2042 is a bill that was passed in 1998 in order to provide a new system of teacher preparation in the state) and find that the law promotes insufficient standards and requirements to prepare high quality teachers to work with bilingual learners. Both Cline and Necochea (2004) and

Olivos and Sarmiento (2006) analyze the law and find a significant absence when it comes to mentioning and promoting bilingual education, biliteracy, or the certification of bilingual teachers. Cline and Necochea (2004) argue that teacher educators still need to find ways to prepare teachers to utilize native language instruction in classrooms even within the restrictive context created by both SB 2042 and Proposition 227.

In the same line, Montaña et al. (2005) investigated the effects of these two policies on teacher education by analyzing surveys from 28 teacher education faculty involved in bilingual teacher preparation and subject matter, program coordinators, and college deans from public and private universities throughout California. The authors also interviewed eight bilingual teacher educators to probe survey responses related to curricular and programmatic changes. They found that programs preparing bilingual teachers still exist in theory as they did before SB 2042, but changes have taken place in bilingual teacher education programs in the areas of program development, course content, and shifting attitudes related to bilingual education. They argue that many supporters of bilingual education contend that the SB 2042 standards were not adopted to be linguistically and culturally responsive to bilingual learners, but instead served to satisfy a few English-only ideologues on the California State Board of Education who were quite vocal against bilingual education. The authors call for the standards in SB 2042 to be changed in order to promote social justice, bilingualism, and multiculturalism in teacher education programs.

Cadiero-Kaplan and Rodríguez (2008) also analyze the effects of various policies on teacher education in California as well as describe advocacy efforts that successfully altered the standards in SB 2042. The authors examined the definition and expectations of a “highly qualified teacher” put forth in NCLB and found it to provide a generic approach to the education of bilingual learners. They also analyzed teacher credentialing practices in California and found several absences and issues with SB 2042. As a result of some advocacy efforts by educators concerned with these absences and issues, a bilingual workgroup was established that made recommendations to the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC). The recommendations made by the workgroup were approved of by the CCTC in 2008 and teacher preparation programs should have been able to improve their existing bilingual teacher preparation programs to meet the new standards in 2009. Because of this successful modification of policy due to educator advocacy, the authors call for continued advocacy, especially focusing on redefining the concept of highly qualified teacher to move beyond content knowledge to include process, pedagogy, and engagement with policy in order to be educationally responsive to bilingual learners.

From the perspective of teachers, Lapayese (2007) interrogates the effects of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the most recent reauthorization of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). She analyzed interviews and observations with five bilingual Latina/o teachers working in four schools in Southern California that were made up of predominantly Latina/o students. The

teachers in the study describe the effects of NCLB as exploitive of class as well as reiterative of English and White culture as superior. Framed in CRT and utilizing a critical race methodology, this study shows that language education is not a neutral process and how crucial decisions about enacting or undermining language policies are often made at the classroom level by teachers. Emphasizing the division between theory and practice in NCLB, Lapayese calls for teachers of bilingual learners to move beyond a focus on methods and strategies towards personal ideological clarity and the role of political agent.

Along different lines, Gándara and Rumberger (2009) through both historical analysis and secondary data analysis interrogate shifting federal policies that have resulted in inconsistent funding and directions for states working to educate bilingual learners. Additionally, the authors utilize demographic, achievement, and reclassification data from California and Texas to determine how language policies have shaped educational outcomes and opportunities for bilingual learners at both the federal and state level. In Texas where bilingual education is prevalent and students can be assessed in the statewide accountability system for several years in their native language, the authors found higher rates of reclassification of bilingual learners into fluent English status as well as higher achievement levels on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) than in California where bilingual education and native language assessments are not prevalent. The authors conclude that the federal government should fund a research agenda to provide

more guidance to states in determining how to raise the achievement of bilingual learners.

There are a couple of issues with this study. First, as will be discussed in more detail in the critique and analysis section, relying on test scores like those from the NAEP and other wide-scale assessments administered in English to show achievement for bilingual learners is highly problematic. Though some of the data utilized in this study was for native language assessments, which is positive, much of the test scores come from tests administered to bilingual learners in English. To an extent, the authors admit this, yet the research they present takes an uncritical stance to this issue. Second, considering the current federal approach to standardize education, retaining state rights in the education of bilingual learners may be more important to protect than to call for increased federal intervention. With current federal efforts like Race to the Top and a climate in Washington that fully supports standardization and the uncritical use of assessment data, local control and efforts are incredibly important to protect.

The effects of increased standardization were investigated by Harper and de Jong (2009) through an interrogation of federal and local policy. The authors conducted an analysis of national content standards and NCLB as well as developments within the field of ESL requiring all teachers to be teachers of bilingual learners. They discovered that in combination, these policy efforts minimize the linguistic and cultural diversity of bilingual learners and create an idealized, unrealistic norm for all students and teachers within mainstream

classrooms and curriculum. Drawing on three separate studies of Florida teachers participating in teacher education programs that “infuse” competencies related to teaching bilingual learners throughout the curriculum, the authors found that despite uses of progressive pedagogy and inclusive rhetoric, bilingual learners were marginalized in mainstream classrooms. Additionally, the expertise of ESL teachers was condensed into a generic set of teaching strategies considered appropriate for a wide range of learners. The authors argue that, “Like the metaphorical elephant that is physically present but systematically ignored, the educational needs of ELLs are overlooked in schools, and serious equity issues are raised through current inclusion practices” (p. 138).

A similar investigation by Platt et al. (2003) also documents the negative unintended effects of state level policies. They conducted a historical analysis on various policies of inclusion and separation as well as on the 1990 Florida ESOL Consent Decree. Though originally the result of grassroots advocacy from bilingual populations, the consent decree over the years has largely disrupted language support programs and increasingly moved bilingual learners into mainstream contexts. The authors also interviewed 29 administrators to learn about their views and practices in providing instructional programs for bilingual learners and their beliefs regarding the effectiveness of inclusion versus separation programs for bilingual learners. The administrators expressed both positive and negative feelings towards inclusion and separation. However, in the discussions with administrators, issues of equity for bilingual learners were not in the foreground. Additionally, the

specialized skills and nature of the ESL teaching profession were not explicitly valued by the administrators and therefore put into jeopardy. The authors argue that ESL professionals need to advocate for academic programs for bilingual learners that are academically rigorous, well integrated with the content and skills of academic disciplines, and capable of developing strong language skills for bilingual learners.

Along different lines, Callahan, Wilkinson, Muller, and Frisco (2009) conducted a large-scale analysis in order to determine the effects of school level ESL course placement policies. They used data from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement Study and the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health to explore ESL placement as a measure of how schools both process and label bilingual learners. They examined the data for 1,169 immigrant students attending high concentration immigrant schools and 514 attending low immigration concentration schools. As usual with this kind of analysis, the quality of instruction and variation between what it means to be placed in an ESL program in one context versus the next was not possible to account for, which the authors acknowledge. Nevertheless, the analysis did show that schools with higher concentrations of immigrant students have better success with ESL placement than schools with lower levels of immigrants. The authors assert that some of the negative effects of ESL placement may be due to the social and institutional marginalization of students into certain courses.

Finally, two studies interrogated the effects of restrictive language policies retrospectively and both found extensive negative effects (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; W. Wright, 2004). MacGregor-Mendoza (2000) found evidence of hostile school environments for bilingual learners in language restrictive policy contexts through a course project conducted in New Mexico. Students in her course were required to carry out a field research assignment interviewing 3-5 adult Spanish speakers about their school memories. Most informants reported being punished for infractions of English-only policies and speaking Spanish at school. Some of the punishments were physical like hand slapping with a ruler, but others were things like detention, a note home to parents, and extra homework. Several informants reported withdrawing from school and feeling shy, others became ashamed of Spanish, their family, and culture, and some even reported distancing themselves from Spanish and all it relates to entirely. For adolescent bilingual learners, these kinds of experiences must be traumatizing and difficult to digest during the identity finding years. As these two studies show, restrictive language policies have negative unintended consequences that do affect bilingual learner performance and engagement with school.

Similarly, W. Wright (2004) interviewed ten Cambodian participants who were all former students of the same district in Southern California to examine their educational experiences as bilingual learners. At the time the participants were in school, the district failed to comply with both federal and state policies meaning that most of the students were placed in English-only classrooms without teachers who

were certified to work with bilingual learners. By interviewing participants as adults long after their schooling experiences, Wright also documented the negative effects of an inadequate schooling on the participants into their adult lives. He concludes that poorly implemented English-only approaches do not provide a quality education to bilingual learners and may lead to negative effects for students over the long run.

As a whole, studies about the effects of various policies drew several important conclusions. First, success or failure of a policy is impossible to measure through one set of standardized test scores from an assessment administered in English (Galindo, 2004; Gándara, 2000; Goto-Butler et al., 2000; Thompson et al., 2002). Second, language restrictive policies have widespread negative effects, even if unintended, on school contexts (Bratt, 2007), students (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; W. Wright, 2004), parents (Baltodano, 2004; A. García, 2000), and teacher education (Cadiero-Kaplan & Rodríguez, 2008; Cline & Necochea, 2004; Montaña et al., 2005; Olivos & Sarmiento, 2006). Third, none of the policies reviewed for their effects found positive results for bilingual learners. The aggregate of this work suggests much more needs to be done to develop policies that positively support the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

Cross-cutting Analysis and Critique of the Empirical and Conceptual Research

Many studies about the education of bilingual learners are intended to challenge the myths and misconceptions about language acquisition and the

successful education of bilingual learners that dominate contemporary thought. Along these lines, a significant portion of the literature reviewed here explicitly challenged various hegemonic concepts. However, some of the reviewed research also participated in perpetuating unhelpful messages about the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. The following section teases out the places where the reviewed literature challenged and critiqued harmful dominant ideologies and where it participates in perpetuating them. In keeping with the theoretical lens of CRT , the following discussion is framed in terms of majoritarian stories and the ways in which the empirical research either challenges or promotes these stories.

As described in the theoretical framework section of this dissertation, majoritarian stories contain either overt or subtle messages promoting hegemonic values and ideologies. According to Liggett (2008), the tools creating these stories are the gradual and subtle practices that through repeated performance become so ingrained into peoples' lives that they go unnoticed and essentially become normalized. Liggett suggests that in order to recognize the complicated formation of our perceptions on race and culture (and relevant for this dissertation, language), it is imperative to identify and analyze majoritarian stories.

The following section analyzes, critiques, and discusses the reviewed scholarship in terms of the majoritarian stories that are both told and challenged and the counter-storytelling that takes place. This analysis looks not only at the larger majoritarian stories that are told, but also at the specific schooling practices

and relevant mechanisms that promote these stories. Because majoritarian stories are evidenced and promoted through various gradual and subtle practices (Liggett, 2008), those practices will be discussed as well as the majoritarian stories they are linked to. Given the research questions for this dissertation, the analysis and critique are organized by discussing the majoritarian stories that are predominantly related to race, culture, and language. Clearly, these categories interrelate and are not absolutely distinct. However, for the purpose of organization and a thorough understanding of the ways these three concepts are engaged with and challenged in the reviewed literature, separate discussions of each category is advantageous.

It is also important to note that majoritarian and counter-storytelling are not mutually exclusive. In other words, a study may both challenge and promote majoritarian stories simultaneously. Because majoritarian stories represent the dominant ideology of the day, it is often difficult—even for the critically conscious—to avoid promoting them. Therefore, the purpose of this analysis and critique is not to denigrate the work of fellow researchers, but rather to add to the existing discourse around these majoritarian stories and join in efforts to combat the hegemonic ideologies and assumptions that perpetuate the status quo.

Majoritarian Stories about Race

Though often discussed as a social construct (Parker & Lynn, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002a), there is no contemporary common agreement about the definition of race or racial categories, something that contributes to their complexity

and persistence (Omi & Winant, 1994). Omi and Winant suggest that even though it is tempting to consider race as an essence or something that is objective, solid, and static, there is also an opposite temptation: to view race as a mere illusion, or purely an ideological construct that would be eliminated with an ideal non-racist social order. Therefore, they call for a more middle of the road understanding where race is seen “as an unstable and ‘decentered’ complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle,” and they define race as “a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interest by referring to different types of human bodies” (p. 54). Omi and Winant also offer a useful description of racism based on these ideas about race, calling it projects that “create or reproduce structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race” (p. 71). With these definitions and understandings in mind, a discussion about the majoritarian story found and challenged in the reviewed literature regarding race is in order.

The most prominent majoritarian story, which is both conveyed and challenged in the literature reviewed here, is that race is not a relevant issue to the problems at hand. In other words, race does not need to be a central area of investigation or analysis because it simply is no longer a significant issue in the United States. A substantial portion of the reviewed studies made no mention of race or racism (e.g., Bernhard et al., 2005; Goto-Butler et al., 2000; Virtue, 2009), while several other studies mentioned race only in terms of the racial identities of research participants (e.g., Katz, 2000; Li & Zhang, 2004; Wade et al., 2008). From a CRT perspective where racialized experiences and practices are assumed to be

central and relevant to the perceptions and actions of *all* Americans, these silences, omissions, and de-emphases are problematic.

Additionally, given that 80% of bilingual learners in today's schools are students of color (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), it seems self-evident that researchers concerned with their education and also with the education of their teachers would have to acknowledge, challenge, analyze, and actively interrogate the racialized experiences and perceptions of both teachers and students. Bashir-Ali (2006) contends that "race, racial power dynamics, and subsequent conflicts are an unrecognized reality that touches our students deeply" (p. 630). Therefore, without explicit and regular acknowledgement, analysis, and discussion of this frequently unrecognized reality, teachers and educational researchers stand in danger of perpetuating the majoritarian story about race that asserts there is no story about race.

One of the reasons race and racism are so easy to overlook in the field of education, which is dominated by White educators (Hollins & Guzman, 2005) may have to do with white privilege or the "invisible package of unearned assets" available to Whites, but not to people of color (McIntosh, 1993, p. 31). These invisible assets perpetuate a racialized, oppressive institutional structure that those who benefit from it may not be consciously aware of. Additionally, as Flagg (1997) suggests, even when attempting to uncover issues of race and racism, White researchers may not be conscious of the hidden racial content in the criteria they employ in the decision making process. This is true even for those who do not hold

either overt or unconscious feelings of white supremacy, but impose white norms through practice and discourse without recognizing their tendency towards white normativity.

When educators guide their efforts by the invisible hegemonic white norm, their actions turn into vehicles for continued oppression and marginalization. Instances of White decision makers, especially teachers, perpetuating issues of racial inequity without realizing it were found in the reviewed literature. However, generally in these instances the researchers termed the researched educators “well-intentioned” (e.g., J. Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000).

Across the reviewed literature, when the term “well-intentioned” was coupled with evidence of inequitable outcomes, it rhetorically suggested that these educators and the outcomes their actions produced were not as bad as if the educators had done the same actions with malicious intent. These rhetorical choices purposefully avoid a confrontation with educators about the ways white privilege and norms color both their practice and the resulting inequitable, racialized outcomes. Therefore, when researchers make the rhetorical choice to discuss “intentions” rather than interrogate issues of white privilege, they are telling the majoritarian story about the insignificance of race.

Ladson-Billings (1998) calls for educational researchers using CRT to take positions that are unpopular, to proactively challenge the inequities plaguing our system and to face the danger and discomfort associated with such insurgency, especially because education is considered a “nice” field. Researchers would do well

to move away from tempering the harsh realities about the effects of educators' actions on the educational opportunities and outcomes for bilingual learners.

Though it may be difficult for some research participants to become aware of and some researchers to say, the harsh realities of both the intent and outcomes that are colored by white privilege and norms needs to be empirically documented.

Another component of the majoritarian story about the absence of race as a relevant issue is evidenced when teachers and educational researchers who have not explicitly interrogated issues of race, especially as they pertain to bilingual learners, view racism only as overt acts of prejudice. However, the research reviewed herein documented instances of racism that deeply affect the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

The passage of Proposition 227, an initiative titled "English for the Children," is not widely considered an act of racism because it was framed as a means of improving education for immigrant youth. However, a number of the studies I reviewed in the preceding section exposed the role racism played in passing the initiative and also revealed that the proposition imposed English-monolingual norms (Arellano-Houchin et al., 2001; Bali, 2008; Cline et al., 2004). Many of the policy researchers examining Proposition 227 revealed how the initiative utilized institutional structures already geared to favor Whites and thus maintained the status quo through publicly legitimating White racial hegemony (Cline et al., 2004). Other researchers discuss the way racism is institutionalized in U.S. schools arguing that White American students can eventually overcome educational missteps where

students of color often can not (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), showing how whiteness dominates the curriculum (Hones, 2002), exposing how racial sorting frequently occurs in high schools (Bashir-Ali, 2006; Expósito & Favela, 2003; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000), and revealing the way schools where the majority of students are not White are considered unsafe and academically unsuccessful by both White parents and educators (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007; Valdés, 1998).

The kind of racism that is prevalent in schools and classrooms today is fueled by a colorblind ideology that creates what Bonilla-Silva (2006) terms “racism without racists.” The majoritarian story suggesting that race is no longer a relevant issue in education or the larger society is derived from this colorblind ideology. It also plays into the contemporary hegemonic project titled “post-racialism,” which calls for a “retreat from race.” Here the argument is that because of racial progress (mainly signified by the election of Barack Obama), race-based remedies and decision making are no longer necessary (Cho, 2009). However, educational researchers, such as Mica Pollock, document the complex role race plays in everyday schooling practices, relationships, discourse, and outcomes (2004a, 2004b). In fact, she uses terms like “race wrestling,” “race bending,” and “colormuteness” to more precisely interrogate the racialized realities of schooling practices and how despite various silences in public spaces, most educational actors engage with race in one form or another.

Though racism in schools today may not look like the overt acts of racism and prejudice that were prevalent and often legally sanctioned before the Civil

Rights Movement, some of the research I reviewed shows that bilingual learners today experience various forms of racism and prejudice in schools, most often from teachers (F. González, 1998; MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). This suggests that colorblindness and post-racialism are ideologies that do not accurately reflect the racialized reality and experiences of bilingual learners in the United States today, but instead work to perpetuate the hegemonic power of white privilege.

Some of the research I reviewed documents that racist issues in the United States do not only fall along the Black/White divide, especially in terms of the experiences of immigrant populations. For example, some of the racialization that bilingual learners encounter comes from tensions and conflicts that exist among and between various immigrant groups. Though this racialization and discrimination may be drawn by issues of language, culture, and nationality, several studies showed that significant conflicts exist in some schools between Chicana/o students and their newly arrived peers from Mexico, or between Puerto Ricans and students from the Dominican Republic (F. González, 1998; Pappamihel, 2001, 2002; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007).

These racialized experiences and issues may be invisible and unfamiliar to teachers and researchers, yet are pivotal to the educational experiences of many bilingual learners and therefore need to be considered. In fact, De Olivera and Athanases (2007) contend that teachers need to be advocates for bilingual learners when issues of racism and linguicism arise in class and argue for a teacher education

that prepares teachers for such work. Though Gibson and Hidalgo (2009) rightly suggest that teachers from similar racial backgrounds as their students are better equipped to help bilingual learners deal with issues of racism, Ivey and Broaddus (2007) argue that White teachers can help bilingual learners deal with issues of racism by learning from the experiential knowledge of their students as well as from teacher colleagues who come from non-dominant backgrounds. However, this can also place an additional burden on students and colleagues to be guides for White teachers in navigating issues around racism and linguisticism.

Racism is an issue in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers and needs to be consistently addressed in the relevant scholarship. Educators and researchers concerned with the education of bilingual learners cannot overlook race as a major aspect of their schooling experiences and contribute to the perpetuation of the majoritarian story that there is no story about race. By including critically conscious discussions about race and racism across all research about bilingual learners and their teachers and more thoroughly investigating the institutionalized issues of racism many students face, research can tell a counter-story about the role race and racism play in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in an effort to transform oppressive structures and practices.

Majoritarian Stories About Culture

Culture is neither a fixed nor static entity and is associated with various aspects of identity and lived experiences (Yosso, 2005). Culture is “both carried by

individuals and created in moment-to-moment interactions with one another as they participate in (and reconstruct) cultural practices” (Nasir & Hand, 2006, p. 450). Therefore, culture is more than sets of rituals, beliefs, and fixed traits that are passively carried by humans; it is transformed and created through social interactions and thus perpetually fluid. Additionally, culture is a factor in everyone’s life, not just the lives of people from non-dominant populations.

From the position of white privilege, culture is often painted as the way “other” groups live, while overlooking the cultural tendencies and practices perpetuated through the hegemonic White, middle-class, standard-English, monolingual, culture and norms. Essentially, those in positions of power and privilege ascribe culture to “others” but fail to recognize their own cultural boundedness. For instance, Rolón-Dow (2005) conducted her research in a school that many of the teachers termed “multicultural,” yet found this to be merely a reflection of the ethnic diversity of the student population, not a description of the curriculum or instructional practices utilized at the school. This positioning of culture and multiculturalism on non-dominant populations is prevalent in educational settings where whiteness dominates and exposes the close relationship between race and culture. Therefore, this section will challenge traditional conversations about culture in educational contexts and analyze majoritarian stories about culture that both reflect the discussions about the home cultures of students as well as the dominant culture in the United States regarding educational practices.

A common majoritarian story both told and challenged in the reviewed literature is that difference is deficit. According to this story, variation from the hegemonic, White, middle-class, standard-English monolingual norm is often considered wrong, less valuable, and worth mocking. In his analysis of the media coverage of Proposition 203 in Arizona, E. Johnson (2005a) quoted Maria Mendoza, the chairwoman of the pro-Proposition 203 campaign as saying, “Why do they [bilingual education advocates] want to keep them [bilingual learners] as prisoners in their culture and their heritage?” (p. 81). Not only does this statement bear the message that languages other than English are inferior, is also draws a comparison between non-dominant cultures and prison, clearly pushing those cultures into the realm of perceived deficit. Meskill (2005) describes the majoritarian story of difference as deficit arguing that society and schools often interpret limited experience as limited ability. In such a context, students, families, and communities are blamed for students’ failure rather than the mainstream schooling efforts that are not supportive for those from diverse backgrounds.

A commonly discussed aspect of the difference is deficit majoritarian story is the mismatch between home and school cultures. Though an acknowledgement of the cultural disconnect that does exist is not inherently detrimental, the stereotypical assumptions about cultures, families, and parental practices that often come into play in the “cultural mismatch” discussions are (Asher, 2007). Much of reviewed scholarship challenges these assumptions in educational practices.

Ngo (2008) critiques the portrayal of immigrant cultures as backwards because they are traditional, patriarchal, rural or not on the same level as the highly modernized culture of the United States. These negative depictions of immigrant populations often determine the type of research that is conducted and educational practices that will be available to bilingual learners. In many instances, culture is blamed for low student achievement and seen as something that is fixed and unchanging. Orellana and Gutiérrez (2006) also challenge the “cultural mismatch” frame because it is often driven by asking members of non-dominant groups to adapt to dominant culture. Orellana and Gutiérrez call for culturally and linguistically sensitive methods of improving educational outcomes for bilingual learners by drawing on bilingual learners strengths and resources rather than focusing on their deficits.

Several of the reviewed studies also call for culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995b) in classrooms with bilingual learners as well as an additive approach to their education (e.g., de Oliveira & Athanases, 2007; Freeman et al., 2003; Minaya-Rowe, 2004). Therefore, teachers and teacher education faculty must learn how closely culture and language are linked (F. González, 2001), about the role they play in learning (O’Hara & Pritchard, 2008), and how they affect parental involvement in schools (Asher, 2007; Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

In the “cultural mismatch” discussions, the fluid and dynamic nature of culture can also become lost. For example, Harklau (2000) found, especially with

bilingual learners who had resided in the United States for a longer period of time, that the dualistic representations of culture (U.S. vs. “other”) prevalent in classrooms can make students feel trapped between two cultures, when in reality their identity and life experiences are closely linked to both. Though the “cultural mismatch” issues are generally much more complex than is often represented in schools, the research reviewed here suggests that newly arrived bilingual learners benefit from explicit instruction about American, school, and popular teenage culture (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Short, 2002). However, because of the history of using schools to force acculturation (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Wiley & W. Wright, 2004) and even “deculturize” (Spring, 2004) students from non-dominant populations, educators must participate in such work from a place of critical consciousness and affirmation of diversity. Additionally, some of the literature reviewed emphasized the critical role the social culture of a school plays in the lives of adolescent bilingual learners (Bashir-Ali, 2006). Researchers found that hostile social environments may cause anxiety and delay academic progression especially when bilingual learners face ridicule for their use of English (Pappamihiel, 2001, 2002; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007).

A major aspect of the difference-as-deficit majoritarian story blames students, parents, and communities for academic failure and suggests students need to adapt to schools and schools do not need to adapt to students. In the two reviewed conceptual studies by Gutiérrez and Orellana (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006; Orellana & Gutiérrez, 2006), they challenge this majoritarian story and call for

researchers to avoid promoting it by resituating research questions from people onto places. Arguing that by researching from frameworks that do not position people as problems, institutional practices, social processes, resources, and contexts can be analyzed and potentially altered to produce more equitable outcomes for bilingual learners. However, this is not yet common practice and the reviewed scholarship documented instances where educators positioned students as lazy, unwilling to learn English, and simply taking for granted the opportunities proved to them by schools (F. González, 2001), and their parents as unsupportive and uninterested in schooling (Bratt, 2007; Rolón-Dow, 2005).

Both the research conducted by Gibson and Hidalgo (2009) and Suárez-Orozco et al. (2009) provided evidence contradicting this false perception about parental disinterest showing that most immigrant parents place immense value on school and want their children to be academically successful. However, these studies also showed the struggles immigrant parents face in supporting their students' academic achievement, both in the form of communication and participation at school as well as in homework support at home. Though parents express great desire for the academic success of their children (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), schools often staunchly continue in "business as usual" practices expecting the parental involvement practices that were developed for rather homogenous, monolingual populations to continue to be sufficient for the increasingly heterogeneous and multilingual populations of today. This assimilationist perspective reigns and demands students, families, and communities

make accommodations rather than for schools, administrators and teachers to re-think institutionalized approaches that are clearly unsuccessful especially considering the current shift in student demographics (Hernandez et al., 2009).

A final aspect of the difference-as-deficit majoritarian story documented in some of the reviewed literature is focused on language. Yoon (2008) and Harklau (2000) found in their research that some teachers viewed native languages as a problem that students had to overcome and positioned bilingualism in terms of deficiency in English. However, Wiley and W. Wright (2004), Lutz (2004), and Bratt (2007) cited research exposing the prestige that accompanies the elective bilingualism of native English speaking students. This is an ironic contradiction that positions bilingualism as positive for those who are already fluent in English and negative for bilingual learners from non-dominant backgrounds, thus discrediting the value multilingualism intrinsically possesses (Brisk, 2006).

However, even the prestige of multilingualism is not distributed evenly across all race and language backgrounds. For instance, the multilingualism of a White native Albanian-speaking student is not interpreted or positioned similarly in terms of power and prestige as that of a dark-skinned native Spanish-speaking student. Language and race are often used to distribute power and privilege in complex ways. The majoritarian story of difference as deficit plays a significant role in that process.

As much of the reviewed research suggests, the negative effects that come from the difference as deficit majoritarian story significantly influence the learning

opportunities and outcomes of bilingual learners. However, another majoritarian story still persists—that of meritocracy as appropriate. Within this narrative, public schools are positioned as the great equalizers in this country providing equal opportunity for all students thus supporting meritocracy.

Yet much of the reviewed scholarship documents how the story of meritocracy is a myth. For example, Reeves (2004), investigated a school that views equal opportunity as treating all students exactly the same. Though massive inequities persist in student achievement and outcomes, many teachers continue to believe that a fair and equal education means treating all students the same. The research by Callahan et al. (2009) shows that course placement matters and effects student access to challenging, high quality academic curriculum as well as English language instruction. Valdés (1998) documented how bilingual learners are often segregated into a school within a school. Therefore, even when attending schools that are generally regarded as academically successful, bilingual learners who are segregated into lower track classes are not receiving the same quality of education nor opportunity as their peers.

Language of instruction is another issue in terms of meritocracy and schools providing equal opportunity for students. When students have no chance of understanding or accessing the curriculum and content of a course, how is their education equal to the education received by their English-speaking peers? The students in Rolón-Dow's (2005) study discussed the inequitable distribution of resources by comparing their school's appearance with that of a school serving

predominantly White students outside of the city. This inequity in resources forces the question: Are students in high-tech schools with extensive resources to support learning provided an equal opportunity to learn as students in schools where buildings are falling apart and fundamental resources like books are scant? The majoritarian story of meritocracy as appropriate overlooks many issues of inequity that fundamentally undermine any actualization of equality when it comes to schooling.

A significant component of the majoritarian story about the appropriateness of meritocracy is the positioning of standardized test scores as valuable information about the success of teaching and learning efforts that should be used to guide policy decisions. The reviewed literature took varying stances on this aspect of the majoritarian story about meritocracy. Some studies challenged the use of such data for policy decision making (e.g., Goto-Butler et al., 2000; Thompson et al., 2002), while others used standardized test score data in their analysis about the quality of education bilingual learners receive (Li & Zhang, 2004; Spycher, 2007).

In the context of teaching bilingual learners, assessments that have been created, normed, and validated for native-English speaking students will never be accurate measures of what bilingual learners, especially those at the lowest levels of English proficiency, know and can do. In a recently released report about bilingual learners in Massachusetts, a committee of educators and researchers appointed by the state Board of Education analyzed statewide data and found that students at the three lowest levels of English proficiency determined by the state (out of five levels)

were exceptionally unlikely to pass the statewide high-stakes test (ELL Subcommittee, 2010). The students at the two highest levels had a greater chance of passing the test, but still at a significantly lower rate than their native-English speaking peers. Essentially, the data offer the unremarkable findings that students have been correctly identified as bilingual learners and that with greater English proficiency comes greater chances of passing the high-stakes statewide test in English.

Despite the unsurprising findings, these results highlight two major issues with the majoritarian story about the value of standardized assessments. First, as was discussed in some of the reviewed literature regarding the education of bilingual learners (e.g., Goto-Butler et al., 2000; Thompson et al., 2002) the tests that are used across the United States to measure educational outcomes for accountability purposes are overwhelmingly inaccurate measures for bilingual learners. Regardless of this well-known issue, on occasion, researchers trying to support the education of bilingual learners draw on these test scores to paint a picture of their low achievement. For instance, Spycher (2007) discusses the so-called achievement gap between bilingual learners and their native English speaking peers as being well documented by the test scores on the California state-wide English language arts standardized test. Highlighting low scores as a cause for concern perpetuates the majoritarian story of meritocracy as appropriate and that such test scores actually mean something when it comes to the education of bilingual learners.

Another issue that the research in Massachusetts highlights is how pointless it is to look at the test scores of the entire aggregate of bilingual learners. Because the subgroup is composed of students who upon gaining proficiency will move out of the group, the scores will always remain low (Crawford, 2004). But beyond that, considering that across five levels of English proficiency only two of those levels have any chance of passing the test, what does an aggregate score about this widely diverse group of students actually explain? None of the reviewed scholarship challenged the use of aggregate scores for the subgroup of bilingual learners nor discussed the inherent issues with such practices.

The report in Massachusetts calls for the state and districts to rethink the use of data regarding bilingual learners and no longer look at test scores, drop-out rates, graduation rates or any other educational outcome indicator without disaggregating the data for bilingual learners by proficiency level (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010). Because this type of data was not available at the state level, a data case study was conducted on one Massachusetts district showing that the majority of drop-outs among bilingual learners in that district were actually those at the highest levels of English proficiency. Further investigation is necessary within that district in order to determine the reasons students at the higher levels of English proficiency were dropping out. However, disaggregating the data by language proficiency level is the first step in such an investigation. Disaggregated data about the bilingual learners subgroup is pivotal for policymaking and programmatic improvement, but is not predominantly available.

Because the reviewed scholarship did not address nor challenge this issue of data aggregation for bilingual learners, a change of practice is necessary. If researchers continue to draw on data from the entire aggregate of the bilingual learner subgroup as if it had something meaningful to explicate, the majoritarian story of meritocracy being appropriate will strongly persist. Bilingual learners are an incredibly diverse group with extensive assets and skills. Therefore, the current data conversation must be disrupted and altered in order to effectively portray those positive qualities. The aggregate scores of the bilingual learner subgroup will always offer a portrait of failure. However, disaggregated scores by proficiency level, length of residency, language background, educational background, and so forth can provide valuable information on both the students' accomplishments as well as areas for targeted program and policy improvement.

Majoritarian Stories about Language

Language is not composed of fixed codes, rather, the codes that make up language are fluid and situated in social practices (O. García, 2009). García calls the variation of use and form that language takes in the social practices that we perform *linguaging*. She argues that with language and linguaging firmly situated in the social and experiential, one must recognize, despite the psychological and linguistic components of language, “it is the social context in which it is used, and the wishes and power of its speakers, that determines its role—especially in schools” (p. 25).

The issues of power associated with language can promote instances of linguicism (Phillipson, 1992) or “language-based discrimination” (S. Wright & Bougie, 2007) where ideologies, institutions, and processes are used to legitimate and perpetuate unequal distributions of power and resources between groups defined by language (Phillipson, 1992). Much of the research reviewed described issues of linguicism and racism to be closely linked (MacGregor-Mendoza, 2000; Wiley & W. Wright, 2004) suggesting that language can be used as a proxy for race (E. Johnson, 2005b), that the English-Only movement is merely a way to mask racism behind discussions of equal opportunity and merit (Bratt, 2007), and that policies like NCLB hide racism and classism behind seemingly neutral discourse around the use of English in schools (Lapayese, 2007). Though potentially innocent appearing, especially from the position of white privilege, the majoritarian story about the position and value of the English language deeply affects the opportunities and quality of education bilingual learners receive. This story essentially says that English is really *all* that matters.

The English is *all* that matters majoritarian story is deeply ingrained in national narratives about immigrant assimilation and was also deeply ingrained in most of the scholarship I reviewed. This story was told in various ways by teachers (Reeves, 2004), community members (Galindo, 2004), and policy makers (L. Olsen, 2009) from the perspective that there is resistance by immigrant populations to learn English. Yet, Herrera and Murry (1999) report that, “In reality, English is spoken well or very well by 97% of U.S. natives and by 94% of the 32 million

speakers of other languages in the US” (p. 180). When the overwhelming majority of those presently residing on American soil do speak English well, the majoritarian story centralizing and highlighting the importance of English acquisition becomes less about promoting English as the language of opportunity and more focused on the targeted eradication of languages other than English in the public sphere.

Accompanying this majoritarian story is the following tale of immigrant ancestors from previous waves of immigration, “Poor hardworking European peasants, with great ingenuity and hard work, gladly give up their counterproductive Old World ways (including language, customs, and values) to become prosperous, proud, and loyal Americans” (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001, p. 37). The majoritarian story about the importance of English demands that immigrants “gladly give up their counterproductive Old World ways,” which includes languages other than English.

The reviewed scholarship largely challenged this majoritarian story showing that English is not *all* that matters. For instance, E. Johnson (2005a, 2005b) documented and critiqued how English was promoted through the Proposition 203 campaign in Arizona as good, liberating, superior, and a tool to escape oppression while the use of minority languages in the social realm was stigmatized. A. Portes and Hao (1998) challenged the demand for English monolingualism by describing the benefits of bilingualism both individually through improved cognitive achievement and collectively through national participation in the global economy. They also point out the previously mentioned contradiction where bilingualism is

sought after and promoted for those who are already fluent in English, but is actively prevented in those who come from language minority backgrounds.

Beyond the economically and politically unhelpful drive for English monolingualism promoted by this majoritarian story, within the mythical narrative of immigration that accompanies it, the racialized nature of immigration into the United States is overlooked. At a time when the majority of immigrants are people of color (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009), even when immigrants do adopt the language, customs, values, and culture of mainstream America, because of issues of race and white privilege, they cannot disappear into it (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Some of the reviewed scholarship documents the issues of racialization during immigration (F. González, 1998; Pappamihiel, 2001, 2002; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007). Nevertheless the majoritarian story prevails and dramatically affects the educational opportunities provided to children of immigration.

A significant component of the English-is-*all*-that-matters majoritarian story is that English is most efficiently and quickly learned in English-only contexts. This aspect of the majoritarian story both fits within the immigrant narrative described above and actively diminishes the opportunities to use languages other than English in the public sphere. Some teachers in Walker et al.'s (2004) study offered similar responses on the open-ended question section of their survey saying essentially, "My grandparents came to this country and did just fine learning English without any help." Arellano-Houchin et al. (2001) also documented comparable sentiments from their research participants, even from bilingual teachers, saying that the real

goal is for students to become fluent English speakers. Much of the reviewed literature challenges these notions and calls for native languages to be welcomed and utilized in classrooms (e.g., Lapayese, 2007; Valdés, 1998) and even calling the one-size-fits-all English-only approach to educating bilingual learners harmful (Cline et al., 2004). For instance, Bratt (2007) discusses how the pressure to write in English-only often prevents students from being able to fully express themselves and contributes to students feeling less capable.

Overwhelmingly, the reviewed scholarship challenged and attempted to disrupt the English-is-*all*-that-matters majoritarian story, especially the aspect of the story promoting English-only instructional practices. Many researchers disputed it by showing how this story played a significant role in the passage of the English-only Initiatives in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts (E. Johnson, 2005a, 2005b; L. Olsen, 2009; Wiley & W. Wright, 2004) and dominated discussions about bilingual education. Researchers documented how proponents of the language restrictive initiatives labeled bilingual education anti-English (Wiley & W. Wright, 2004), inhibiting to English language acquisition (Arellano-Houchin et al., 2001; E. Johnson, 2005a), a violation of student's rights to learn English (W. Wright, 2005b), and a money-making industry for self-serving educators (Galindo, 2004).

The campaigns promoting the English-only initiatives also had the following core messages about bilingual education according to L. Olsen (2009): bilingual education is divisive and has failed, parents are being denied opportunities to have their children learn English because students are trapped in bilingual programs, the

job of schools is to teach English—not home languages, and that learning a new language only takes a year if you are not held back from doing so. However, as E. Johnson (2005a) critiques, a major goal of many bilingual education programs that is hidden in these messages and the English-only-for-instruction component of the majoritarian story: to develop strong, effective, and valuable multilingualism and multiliteracy as well as provide immediate access for all students regardless of English proficiency to grade level academic content.

A major issue with the English is *all* that matters majoritarian story is the way the education of bilingual learners is essentialized to reductive, technical approaches to language acquisition. Gándara and Rumberger (2009) argue that the education of bilingual learners has been diminished through various policy and assessment maneuvers to almost solely focus on language, even though bilingual learners need to learn a great deal more than just English. One of the ways such a reduction has occurred is through the labels given to describe bilingual learners.

Across the reviewed literature many different labels were used to identify bilingual learners, though English language learner (ELL) was by far the most frequently used term. Overwhelmingly, the labels utilized in the reviewed literature are problematic. When bilingual learners are positioned and labeled according to their lack of English proficiency, the majoritarian story is told that the education of bilingual learners is solely about learning English. Therefore, labels like English learner, non-native English speaker, and so forth, promote a deficit ideology focused on the ever importance of English and suggest student deficit due to lack of

proficiency in it. Additionally, some labels for bilingual learners position them as “other” and tell the majoritarian story of difference as deficit. For example, the label “culturally and linguistically diverse,” “speakers of other languages,” and “language minorities” emphasize the “otherness” of bilingual learners in comparison to the perceived monolingual student norm and may contribute to the marginalization of bilingual learners who do not fit that norm.

The labels used to name such a large and diverse set of students affects the way the population is viewed by educators and policy makers and the types of language support programs created for their academic development (Brisk, 2006; O. García et al., 2008). Therefore, researchers and educators need to critically examine and carefully select the labels used to describe bilingual learners by focusing on what story those labels promote about the population.

Beyond reducing the focus of their education, labels can also essentialize bilingual learners into a falsely monolithic representation of what is in reality, an extremely heterogeneous group. Such essentialization is a common practice in oppressive contexts that is challenged throughout the reviewed literature. For instance, Freeman et al. (2003) critiqued the practice of giving bilingual learners from vastly different linguistic and educational backgrounds the exact same curriculum and learning opportunities. Bashir-Ali (2006) critically appraised the comment by a teacher in her school who falsely believed all bilingual learners were students of color and questioned why a White student was in an ESL class. Asher (2007) considered the homogeneous representations of immigrant youth and

immigrants in general that she heard from participants in her teacher education courses and how those views reify stereotypes, deny multiplicities, and essentialize complex transcultural identities. Reeves (2009) investigation of teacher identities exposes the issue of viewing of bilingual learners simplistically and how the positioning of students by educators greatly affects the education they receive. Depending on how educators position bilingual learners, they either take ownership of or dismiss responsibility for the teaching of bilingual learners.

In the reviewed research, significant numbers of teachers claimed that teaching bilingual learners is not the responsibility of mainstream teachers (Reeves, 2009; Walker et al., 2004; Yoon, 2007, 2008). Though the researchers critiqued this documented perspective, it is a belief that can be an outcome of the labels used to define the population as well as from the common Western concept of content areas and the distinct responsibilities teaching a particular content area entails. Valdés (2004) critiqued the separation of academic fields and documented how the division can prevent common understandings among professionals. She also argued that this partitioning creates boundaries within schools where ESL and mainstream teachers exist in two different worlds. Challenging the labels and rigid content distinctions, Carhill et al. (2008) and Valdés (1998) document how they can cause the segregation of bilingual learners from their native-English speaking peers. Reeves (2009) argues that it takes a whole school to successfully educate bilingual learners and that institutional representations of bilingual learners are pivotal for asserting whole school action as well as educational success.

Another tenet of the all-bilingual-learners-need-is-to-learn-English majoritarian story focuses on the knowledge base and skills of teachers of bilingual learners. If all bilingual learners need is to learn English, then all their teachers need is proficiency in English and the technical, interventionist practices that promote second language acquisition. The reviewed literature both promoted (e.g., Li & Zhang, 2004; O'Hara & Pritchard, 2008) and challenged (e.g., Expósito & Favela, 2003; Virtue, 2009) this aspect of the majoritarian story. When research focuses extensively and at times exclusively on the technical, intervention-based skills or strategies (e.g., KWL, Think-Pair-Share, using visuals, etc.) teachers need to develop to effectively teach English to bilingual learners, teachers are positioned as technicians who use particular intervention to fix English deficiencies in bilingual learners.

Stevens (2009) challenges this positioning by critiquing both technicism and individualism along with the way bilingual learners are often framed solely in terms of their need to develop particular English skills. She tells a counter-story by showing that bilingual learners need more than school-based literacies, an aspect of their education that is frequently overlooked because of the extensive focus on the development of discrete English skills. Moses (2000) offers a similar critique suggesting that a quality education for bilingual learners must promote self-determination as well as an authentic cultural identity, aspects of development that may be overlooked or made completely impossible by an extensive and exclusive focus on English development. Finally, de Jong and Harper (2005) suggest that

teaching bilingual learners requires technical skills and expertise *as well as* a critical awareness of one's attitudes towards students, their languages, cultures, and communities. Therefore, they argue that teaching bilingual learners is not "just good teaching" and requires more than discrete technical, intervention-based skills.

However, the English is *all* that matters majoritarian story supports the teaching bilingual learners is just good teaching narrative. From this perspective, any good teacher (who knows English) can teach English to bilingual learners without specialized training or skill, he or she must merely apply various useful strategies like using graphic organizers or pre-teaching key vocabulary before reading a text. Though there is a technical aspect to all teaching, including quality instruction for bilingual learners, these technical skills alone without cultural responsiveness and ideological clarity will not create the learning spaces necessary for all bilingual learners to succeed. Several researchers found evidence of this "just good teaching" paradigm in their studies (Harper & de Jong, 2009; Reeves, 2009; Walker et al., 2004) and call for a more complete understandings of what quality teaching for bilingual learners looks like.

Some of the reviewed literature explicitly challenged the English is *all* that matters majoritarian story by suggesting that quality education for bilingual learners is focused on much more than just English. They call for additive (Bratt, 2007; Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009), culturally and linguistically affirming approaches to education (Fine et al., 2007) by teachers who embrace pluralism (Hones, 2002), view the language resources of bilingual learners as assets (MacGregor-Mendoza,

2000; Rubinstein-Ávila, 2007), challenge dominant discourses and hegemonic powers (Asher, 2007; Hones, 2002; Lapayese, 2007), and teach with ideological clarity (Expósito & Favela, 2003; Olivos & Sarmiento, 2006). This kind of teaching is much more than technical, intervention-based work focused on the development of discrete English skills or “just good teaching.” Though several researchers call for this sort of teaching and teacher preparation, the reviewed literature overwhelmingly suggests that this kind of teaching is far from the norm of what most bilingual learners are experiencing in today’s schools (Bratt, 2007; Reeves, 2004, 2009; Walker et al., 2004; Yoon, 2007, 2008).

Conclusion

The majoritarian stories both promoted and challenged in the reviewed literature accurately describe current contemporary thought and practice relating to the concepts of race, culture, and language in schools. All teachers, students, administrators, researchers, parents, policymakers and community members concerned with the power of these stories and the effects they are having on bilingual learners need to actively engage in counter-story telling through careful critically conscious practice in research, teaching, and policy development. Without carefully investigating the way these stories play out in the schooling of bilingual learners and how we each may be contributing to their promotion, these powerful stories will remain strongly positioned to perpetuate inequitable schooling for youth from non-dominant backgrounds. This literature review and the critique and

analysis of the reviewed literature provides a starting point for all concerned about quality education for bilingual learners to begin on a path of critically reflective practice geared towards the deconstruction of hegemonic messages that negatively govern much of the learning opportunities for bilingual learners in secondary schools.

As a whole the reviewed literature exposes systemic failure regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. This literature also suggests that through engaged critical practice, the inequitable system can be transformed. This dissertation analyzes specific aspects of policy and practice in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in Massachusetts in terms of whether and how they perpetuate or challenge various majoritarian stories. My study is an effort to discover whether and how majoritarian stories play a role in the failure of the current education system to effectively educate bilingual learners and their teachers. Revealing racism and linguicism within the policies and practices of our educational system can contribute to potential systemic transformation.

CHAPTER THREE: Research Design

This dissertation is a critically oriented frame analysis coupled with a qualitative case study regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. As noted, this dissertation addresses the following research questions:

- What are the ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in state level policies regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers?
- What are the ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in the practice of a teacher candidate who is prepared to work with bilingual learners and the novice teacher she becomes?
- What are the relationships among these ideologies and assumptions?

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the state level policies in Massachusetts regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers as well as the practice and development of a teacher considered highly qualified by the standards of the state to work with bilingual learners. In so doing, the ultimate goal of the study is to provide insight into the ideologies and assumptions that guide the education policy as well as how those ideologies and assumptions relate to the ideologies and assumptions found within the practice of a teacher candidate/new teacher who participated in teacher education and K-12 classroom settings governed by the state policy. These goals are well suited to both frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Oliver & Johnston, 2000) and qualitative case study (Yin, 2008), especially when approached through the theoretical lens of CRT.

In his discussion about the value of interrogating ideologies, Gee (1996) suggests that theories ground beliefs, and beliefs lead to the actions that create our social worlds. Therefore, “ideologies simultaneously explain, often exonerate, and always partially create, in interaction with history and the material bases of society, the distribution of goods” (p. 21). Containing a similar assertion within the context of teaching and learning, Auerbach (1995) argues that power and domination may be invisible but “they permeate the fabric of classroom life” (p. 9). She asserts that the social order outside the classroom plays a significant role in the day-to-day decisions made by educators. Auerbach further suggests:

Pedagogical choices about curriculum development, content, materials, classroom processes, and language use, although appearing to be informed by apolitical professional considerations, are, in fact, inherently ideological in nature, with significant implications for learners' socioeconomic roles. Put simply, our choices as educators play a role in shaping students' choices (p. 9).

In addition, the choices of policy makers play a role in the choices of teacher educators and therefore in the experiences of teacher candidates/new teachers and their students, especially around issues of race, culture, and language. Further, as discussed in Chapter One, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), when first conceptualizing the term “institutional racism,” emphasized the role attitudes and beliefs, and therefore, ideologies, play in the perpetuation of racist outcomes and practices. For this reason, the ideologies and assumptions implicit in the policies governing educational practice in a language restrictive policy context are

important to investigate along with their relationships to the ideologies, assumptions, and practices of a teacher candidate/new teacher.

Frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Oliver & Johnston, 2000) examines the frames, or the “vehicles for larger systems of belief” (Jefferies, 2009, p. 27) that shape meaning to convey and promote messages, claims, grievances, proposals, and policy. Frames structure systems of representation in society by articulating discourses, ideas, or sets of shared beliefs (Tucker, 1998). Tucker further explains, “Yet many of these discourses are promoted by specific social interests that work to construct images of the world in which the dominance of particular groups, institutions and their ideas is legitimized and naturalized” (p. 144). Therefore, frame analysis considers how messages, including policy, are framed in order to examine the ideologies linked to such frames and how each frame “opens up and legitimizes certain avenues of action and closes off and delegitimizes others” (Coburn, 2006, p. 344). Frame analysis is a useful tool to investigate the ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language in state education policy through the lens of CRT for its effort to analyze ideologies as a communicative conduit.

In addition, the longitudinal qualitative case study provides necessary tools for investigating ideologies and assumptions within teacher candidate/new teacher practice. Yin (2008) cites Schramm (1971) saying, “The essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (p. 17). Case study is focused on illuminating decisions or sets of

decisions, and as Auerbach (1995) asserts, pedagogical choices are inherently ideological in nature. Thus interrogating the ideologies and assumptions of a teacher candidate/new teacher through longitudinal qualitative case study is an appropriate method to approach this research concerned with institutionalized racism and linguicism. The following provides a specific description of the data sources, participants, policy documents, and analysis plans for this dissertation. Both critically conscious frame analysis and case study analysis are elaborated in more detail in the final sections of this chapter.

Data Sources

The two related analyses in this dissertation draw on multiple data sources. The data sources for each of these analyses is explored below.

Policy Documents

The policy documents analyzed in this dissertation come from public websites such as <http://www.doe.mass.edu/> and <http://www.mass.gov/legis/laws/mgl/>. Table 3.1 lists the policy documents selected for analysis. In Massachusetts state policy the education of bilingual learners and their teachers is more restrictive than federal policy. Because of these unique state level restrictions on language policy in Massachusetts, I chose to focus on state level policy documents rather than to also include federal policy in this analysis.

Table 3.1. State Level Policy Document Data Sources

Massachusetts General Law	
Chapter 15	Department of Elementary and Secondary Education
Chapter 69	Powers and Duties of the Department of Education
Chapter 70	School Funds and State Aid for Public Schools
Chapter 70B	School Building Assistance Program
Chapter 71	Public Schools
Chapter 71A	Transitional Bilingual Education
Chapter 71B	Children with Special Needs
Chapter 72	School Registers and Returns
Chapter 76	School Attendance
Massachusetts General Law is publically available at: http://www.mass.gov/legis/laws/mgl/	
State Board of Education Approved Regulations	
603 CMR 1.00	Charter Schools
603 CMR 2.00	Underperforming schools and districts
603 CMR 3.00	Private Occupational Schools
603 CMR 4.00	Vocational Technical Education
603 CMR 5.00	Dispute Resolution Under Parental Notification Law
603 CMR 6.00	Teacher Quality Enhancement
603 CMR 7.00	Regulations for Educator Licensure and Preparation Program Approval
603 CMR 8.00	Kindergartens: Minimum School Age
603 CMR 10.00	School Finance and Accountability
603 CMR 13.00	Certification of Supervisors of Attendance
603 CMR 14.00	Education of English Learners Regulations
603 CMR 17.00	Racial Imbalance and Magnet School Programs
603 CMR 18.00	Program and Safety Standards for Approved Public or Private Day and Residential Special Education School Programs
603 CMR 23.00	Student Records
603 CMR 26.00	Access to Equal Educational Opportunity
603 CMR 27.00	Student Learning Time
603 CMR 28.00	Special Education Regulations
603 CMR 30.00	Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System and Standards for Competency Determination
603 CMR 31.00	Massachusetts Certificate of Mastery
603 CMR 33.00	Anti-Hazing Reporting
603 CMR 35.00	Evaluation of Teachers and Administrators
603 CMR 38.00	School Construction
603 CMR 41.00	Regional School Districts
603 CMR 44.00	Recertification

603 CMR 45.00	Agricultural High Schools
603 CMR 46.00	Physical Restraint
All state education regulations are available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/lawsregs/stateregs.html	
Policy Tools Created and Distributed by MA DESE	
Title	Description
Licensure Application Package	In March of 2006, the MA DESE released a Licensure Application Package with comprehensive information and checklists for all the requirements to become licensed to teach in MA. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/Educators/e_license.html?section=k12
English Language Proficiency Requirements for Teachers under Question 2: English Language Education in Public Schools	On March 27, 2003, the Commissioner of Education sent this memo out to superintendents of schools and charter school leaders describing the literacy and fluency requirements of teachers and how they demonstrate that proficiency under the new law. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/proficiencyreq.html
Updated Guidance on Qualifications for Teachers in Sheltered English Immersion Classrooms	On June 15, 2004, the Commissioner of Education sent this memo out to superintendents of schools, charter school leaders, educator preparation program providers, and other interested parties regarding the four category trainings established by the DESE to prepare content teachers to teach Sheltered English Immersion classes. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/guidance_laws.html
Coordinated Program Review Procedures: School District Information Package School Year 2008-2009	This document provides districts and schools with guidance for the preparation of the English Learner Education portion of the DESE Coordinated Program Review (CPR). It includes an overview of tasks to be completed and identifies the specific compliance standards to be addressed during the CPR. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/guidance_laws.html
Designation of LEP Students: School Year 2003-2004	On March 25, 2004 the Deputy Commissioner of Education sent this memo out to superintendents of schools and charter school leaders clarifying the criteria for identifying LEP students in Massachusetts. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/news04/0325lep.html
Identifying Limited English Proficient (LEP) Students (with Appendix)	Dated October 2004, this document on the DESE website provides the procedures for identifying new LEP students upon their enrollment in a school district

	including home language surveys. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/sei/identify lep.html
Waiver Requirements and Procedures	DESE description of waiver requirements and procedures based on G.L. c. 71A. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/guidance laws.html
Guide to Interpreting the 2006 MEPA reports	Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/guidance laws.html
Chapter 71a FAQs	Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/guidance laws.html
Guidelines for Agencies Providing Sheltered English Immersion Professional Development for Content Teachers of English Language Learners	From the DESE Office of Language Acquisition and Academic Achievement and put out in April of 2006. Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/profdev/sheltered.html
Requirements for the Participation of Students with Limited English Proficiency in State-Mandated Assessments	Available at: http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/guidance laws.html

All of the laws analyzed for this dissertation are from Part I of Massachusetts General Law titled “Administration of the Government.” My analysis includes nine entire chapters of General Law, specifically: Chapter 15 titled “Department of Elementary and Secondary Education,” Chapter 69 “Powers and Duties of the Department of Education,” Chapter 70 “School Funds and State Aid for Public Schools”, Chapter 70B “School Building Assistance Program,” Chapter 71 “Public Schools,” Chapter 71A “Transitional Bilingual Education”, Chapter 71B “Children with Special Needs,” Chapter 72 “School Registers and Returns,” and Chapter 76 “School Attendance.” I also analyzed 26 regulations as voted on by the Board of Education, and eleven policy documents (referred to as policy tools in this

dissertation) from the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) specifically related to the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

The chapters of law I analyzed served various purposes. Some of the chapters codify the relationship between various state agencies and entities as well as their powers and duties. For instance, Chapter 15 establishes the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (MA DESE)³, the Board of Education, various councils to the Board, and the Office of Educational Quality and Accountability. Chapter 69 defines the powers and duties of the DESE, including the specific powers and duties of the Commissioner of Education and the Board of Education. One chapter of the law oversees state funding of education (Chapter 70) and another chapter oversees public schools in general (Chapter 71). Only two student populations have specific chapters of law governing their education: bilingual learners (Chapter 71A) and children with special needs (Chapter 71B).

The regulations that govern public education at the state level, which have been voted on and approved by the Board of Education, vary in their significance for this study. Several regulations have no relevance to the purpose of this dissertation and were therefore not extensively analyzed. Some regulations have a basic relationship to the education of bilingual learners and their teachers because of

³ In this dissertation the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) will be consistently referred to as the MA DESE. The name of the department was recently changed from the Massachusetts Department of Education (MDOE) to DESE. Some of the documents analyzed and discussed in this chapter refer to the department as the MDOE. However, for clarity in this dissertation the department will be consistently called the MA DESE, even when discussing documents that refer to it as MDOE.

their governance over general aspects of the K-12 educational system. All regulations with relevance to this dissertation were analyzed, but those with a substantial role overseeing the education of bilingual learners and their teachers are the major area of focus in this analysis. For instance, regulation 603 CMR 14.00 titled “Education of English Learners” is directly pertinent to this analysis as is regulation 603 CMR 26.00, “Access to Equal Educational Opportunity.”

In a similar vein, the policy documents created as tools for implementation and oversight, which were selected for analysis in this dissertation, are all directly relevant to the purpose of this research. These policy tools cover topics such as the qualifications for teachers in Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) classrooms, criteria for identifying bilingual learners, clarifications in the change of law after the passage of Question 2, and the procedures for a MA DESE led review of district programs for bilingual learners.

The policy and policy tools I analyzed were created, regulated, and enforced by several entities. The laws were created by the state legislature and interpreted into regulations by the Board of Education, then implemented by the DESE. In the case of the policy documents analyzed, the law is the highest authority. Regulations interpret the law then policy tools are created for implementation and oversight.

Because all of the policies, policy tools, and documents I analyzed are from one state, Massachusetts, one might expect consistency from law to regulation to policy tool. However, this is not the case. As I point out throughout my analysis presented in Chapter Four, there are considerable contradictions and holes in this

body of policy. Some of these gaps and inconsistencies are so significant that they contribute to the instances of racism and linguicism existing in state policy.

Longitudinal Qualitative Case Study

This dissertation utilizes longitudinal qualitative data that were collected over the past several years for the larger Qualitative Case Studies (QCS) project, which is one of six studies in an evidence portfolio created to investigate empirically various aspects and impacts of participation in Boston College's (BC) teacher education program. In 2003, BC was chosen as one of 11 national sites to participate in the Carnegie Corporation of New York's multi-million dollar initiative titled "Teachers for a New Era" (TNE). TNE promoted three principles in an effort to fundamentally reform teacher education: respect for evidence, collaboration with arts and sciences, and teaching as a clinically-taught profession (for more information see, <http://www.teachersforanewera.org>). To develop instruments and conduct research in alignment with TNE's first principle, BC created an interdisciplinary research team, the Evidence Team (ET). Since the fall of 2006, I have been a member of that team as well as a researcher on the QCS project.

QCS is a longitudinal qualitative multiple case study following teacher candidates through their teacher preparation experience into their first few years of teaching. The project has followed a total of 22 participants for varying lengths of time depending on career trajectory and research cohort. The study was originally conceived as a two-year study to follow participants during their one-year teacher

preparation experience at BC and through their first year of teaching. However, due to the success of the project and quality of the data, the study is still underway today, now gathering data from two cohorts of participants in their third and fourth years of teaching, respectively. The QCS study provides ample data sources to provide the “thick descriptions” (Geertz, 1973) necessary to investigate the ideologies and assumptions within the practice of a teacher candidate/new teacher.

During the first year of the study, QCS researchers collected data on a cohort of 12 participants and during the second year of the study, data began to be collected on an additional cohort of 10 participants. I joined the QCS research team during its second year of data collection in order to act as one of the researchers collecting data on the second cohort of participants. This dissertation includes an analysis of the data I collected for one participant in that second cohort, Amanda Lee.⁴

Amanda was selected for an in-depth analysis in this dissertation because through her teacher education experiences, she met the criteria set-forth by the state to teach bilingual learners in an SEI classroom. Additionally, once she became licensed, she took the state mandated teacher licensure test that qualified her to receive an additional certification in English as a Second Language (ESL). Finally, Amanda was selected as a participant suitable for this analysis because she works in an urban setting with a large population of bilingual learners and teaches

⁴ All names of people and schools are pseudonyms in this dissertation in order to protect the anonymity of the participants and their school sites.

mainstream courses (i.e., not SEI or ESL courses). As a researcher interested in the experiences of bilingual learners in urban settings at all levels of English proficiency (not just those students who are designated LEP by the state), Amanda’s teaching context and teacher preparation background made her a suitable choice for in-depth exploration in this dissertation.

During Amanda’s first year of teaching, I spent additional time in her classroom observing her practice and speaking with the bilingual learners in her classes, a data collection strategy above and beyond the general QCS research design. I obtained the necessary institutional approval as well as parental consent and conducted multiple observations, 3 focus groups, and 5 individual interviews with students. An overview of the data I collected over the course of nearly four years regarding Amanda’s development as a teacher and analyzed for the research presented in Chapters Five and Six are listed in Table 3.2 and described in more detail in subsequent sections.

Table 3.2. Data Sources for Case Study Participant, Amanda Lee

Data Source	Description	Totals
Teacher Candidate/New Teacher Interviews	60-90 minute interviews with Amanda over 4 years (pre-service year and first 3 years of in-service teaching).	12
Teacher Candidate/New Teacher Observations	75-120 minute observations of Amanda in pre- and full-practicum classrooms as well as in first and third year of teaching including copies of assessment tasks and pupil work associated with each observation.	24
Teacher Inquiry Project and Other Teacher Education Coursework	1 Inquiry Project, plus 3 additional coursework projects and 6 lesson plans/units created for teacher education course assignments.	10

Auxiliary Interviews	15-40 minute interviews conducted in Spring of case study teacher's pre-service year (with cooperating teacher and university supervisor) and Spring of 1 st year (with an administrator, mentor, and individual interviews with 5 bilingual learners from two different classes as well as two focus groups with those 5 students and one focus group with 10 other students).	12
Classroom Assessment Tasks/Samples of Pupil Work	Assessment tasks and samples of pupil work from courses taught over the ~4 years of data collection.	~200
Fieldnotes	~30 pages worth of fieldnotes taken over the entire time of data collection	

Teacher Candidate/New Teacher Interviews.

Through a rigorous and collective process, the QCS team collaboratively developed the semi-structured interview protocols (See Appendix A) used to collect most of the interview data for this dissertation. Using a set of general questions and probes, the interview protocols provided a consistent structure for use across participants and researchers, but also allowed for flexibility to tailor probes and/or the pursuit of additional topics based on the experiences of the participants and the research interests of the individual researcher. This flexibility allowed me to ask questions relevant to the larger QCS study, but also consistently to interrogate about Amanda's experiences working with bilingual learners.

The process of designing an interview protocol began with the group collectively determining the overarching purpose of the interview. Then a subgroup of the QCS researchers created a draft interview protocol for the larger group to comment and suggest revisions on. After any necessary alterations were made to

the draft, a pilot interview was conducted with teacher candidates or classroom teachers who were similar to the participants in our study. Based on the pilot interview, improvements were made to the content and organization of the interview protocol. After these final recommendations for improvement were integrated into the interview protocol draft, a final interview protocol was presented to the entire QCS team and finalized only upon collective approval.

When I joined the QCS research team in 2006, this process had already been conducted for interviews one through six. In the following years, I participated in this process for interviews seven through twelve. Additionally, I am still participating on the team as data is still being collected. I have helped to create interviews thirteen and fourteen and will participate in the creation of any other interviews that will be developed. The following chart provides an overview of the various interview topics as well as the expected time of completion for each interview within the research design.

Table 3.3. Overview of QCS Interview Topics and Time of Completion

Interview	Topic	When Conducted
Year 1 of Data Collection (Pre-service Year)		
1	Educational background, program and teaching expectations	Summer (Beginning of teacher education program)
2	Pre-practicum experiences	November/December
3	Teacher education and A&S coursework	Early January
4	Full-practicum experiences	March/April
5	Assessment and pupil learning	May
6	General program experience, expectations for how it will influence teaching, and future plans	August (End of teacher education program)
Year 2 of Data Collection (1st Year of Teaching)		

7	General experiences as first-year teacher, mentoring and induction	November
8	Pupil learning, assessment, and social justice	February/March
9	Overview of first year, future plans, reflection on preliminary research findings concerning pupil learning and social justice	May/June
Year 3 of Data Collection (2nd Year of Teaching)		
10	Differences between the first and second year of teaching, pupil learning and social justice	November - January
11	Big picture perceptions of the role as teacher and completion of a longitudinal teacher growth chart	May/June
Year 4 of Data Collection (3rd Year of Teaching)		
12	Differences between second and third year of teaching, and overall satisfaction with teaching as well as retention	November - January

Teacher Candidate/New Teacher Observations.

The QCS research design included multiple observations during the participants' pre-service year and first year of teaching. Because the study was originally conceived as a two year study, there were no plans to observe participants in their second and third year of teaching. However, as data gathering continued, the team decided to return to the participant's classrooms and record our observations again. For this reason, my data sources include multiple observations in Amanda's pre-service and first year of teaching, no observations in her second year of teaching and two observations towards the end of her third year of teaching (See Table 3.4. for dates and descriptions of each observation).

Table 3.4. Descriptions and Dates of Observations of Amanda Lee

Date	Type of Observation	What Observed
Year 1 of Data Collection (Pre-Service Year of Teaching)		
11/08/06	QCS Observation 1*	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Analysis of Poem: "The Death of the Ball Turret Gunner" (2 classes)
03/19/07	QCS Observation 2	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Tone in <i>On the Beach</i> (2 classes)
04/05/07	QCS Observation 3	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Semi-colons in Martin Luther King Jr.'s writing (2 classes)
04/23/07	QCS Observation 4	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Note Taking Skills (2 classes)
04/30/07	QCS Observation 5	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Scavenger Hunt on <i>On the Beach</i> (2 classes)
Year 2 of Data Collection (1st Year of Teaching)		
10/19/07	QCS Observation 6	Writing (9 th Grade) Storyboards on <i>Monster</i>
		Writing (10 th Grade) Writing Portfolios
11/15/07	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Theme in <i>Of Mice and Men</i>
11/16/07	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Persuasive Essays for <i>Of Mice and Men</i> Unit
01/28/08	QCS Observation 7	Writing (10 th Grade) Class Expectations and Rules with New Students on First Day of New Semester (2 classes)
02/04/08	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Steps of Writing Process
		Writing (9 th Grade) Reading Strategies
03/03/08	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Introduction to <i>Of Mice and Men</i> Unit
03/13/08	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Themes in <i>Of Mice and Men</i>
03/14/08	Observation	Writing (9 th Grade) Book Talks
03/28/08	Observation	Writing (9 th Grade) Characterization in <i>Monster</i>
04/01/08	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade)

		Introduction to Non-Fiction
04/07/08	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Letters to the Editor
04/11/08	QCS Observation 8	Writing (9 th Grade) Mock Trial (Part 1)
		Writing (10 th Grade) Introduction to <i>House on Mango Street</i>
04/13/08	Observation	Writing (9 th Grade) Mock Trial (Part 2)
05/14/08	QCS Observation 9	Writing (9 th Grade) Writing Memoirs
		Writing (10 th Grade) Publishing Party for Prose Poems and Vignettes
05/20/08	Observation	Writing (10 th Grade) Short Story "Where are you going...?"
05/28/08	Observation	Writing (9 th Grade) Reading Aloud Memoirs to Partner
Year 4 of Data Collection (3rd Year of Teaching)		
04/26/10	QCS Observation 10	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Introduction to Unit on Island of Hispaniola (2 classes)
05/24/10	QCS Observation 11	Humanities 4 (12 th Grade) Socratic Seminar on torture (2 classes)

*QCS Observation designates an observation conducted according to the general research design for QCS. All other observations were conducted above and beyond the QCS research design.

In addition to the interview protocols, the QCS research team developed a full observation protocol that drew on some existing instruments (See Appendix C for QCS Observation Protocol as well as a complete listing of attributions) as well as our interests in issues around social justice in order to capture teaching practices, pupil learning, and issues of social justice within classroom and school contexts. QCS researchers compiled observation notes, categorized the data into a chronology of events, wrote a script of the events, and initiated analysis of the observation by providing an overview of the content of the lesson, pedagogical approaches,

opportunities to learn, pupil learning and assessment, social justice and classroom environment. Within each QCS observation protocol, we also record demographic data about the school, chart the layout of the classroom and student distribution in it, and rate the classroom and school resources. I used this protocol for the observations I conducted for the QCS project. However, for the additional observations I conducted, I did not use the observation protocol but simply scripted what I observed, paying special attention to the bilingual learners in the classroom.

Teacher Education Coursework.

During Amanda’s pre-service year, she shared with me some of the coursework from her teacher education classes. Overall, I collected four major course assignments from her and five lesson plans/units she wrote as course assignments and one lesson plan she wrote to support her work in her practicum. Most of the coursework I collected from Amanda did not yet have professor feedback. However, the coursework she gave me from her “Teaching Bilingual Learners” course did. The following chart provides a description of the work collected and analyzed from Amanda’s teacher education courses.

Table 3.5. Amanda Lee’s Teacher Education Coursework

Date	Course	Title	Description
Course Assignments			
10/03/06	Inquiry Seminar	Autobiography of Learning	Reflection on Amanda’s prior educational experiences and philosophy of teaching
12/11/06	Literary Theory and Classroom Pedagogy	Graduate Laboratory	Description of practicum school and classroom context and reflection on a lesson taught there (same lesson

			observed on 11/08/06 for QCS Observation 1)
05/01/07	Inquiry Seminar	Inquiry Paper: "What happens to the quality of my students' expository writing when I introduce a MEAL graphic organizer?"	Capstone project for teacher education program requiring the collection and analysis of data regarding teaching practices
End of Spring 07	Teaching Bilingual Learners	Content Area Handbook	Handbook Amanda created with two of her peers to provide guidance to other secondary English teachers on how to support bilingual learners in a sheltered content or SEI classroom
Lesson Plans and Units			
10/16/06	Literary Theory and Classroom Pedagogy	"The Crucible" and McCarthyism: A Mini-Unit	Four lesson unit with the essential question: "What does it mean to read critically and how do you do it? Why does point of view matter? How does looking at a text through a historical lens alter one's perception of a text?"
11/29/06	Literacy and Assessment	Humanities Unit Plan: Part 1 of <i>Black Boy</i>	Plans for a three week unit on <i>Black Boy</i> with three complete lesson plans addressing the essential question: "How can literacy be power?"
12/11/06	Secondary English Language Arts Methods	The Power of Literacy: Part 1 of <i>Black Boy</i>	Same as Humanities Unit Plan: Part 1 of <i>Black Boy</i> but with slightly different narrative introducing the unit.
01/10/07	Practicum	Book Club Lesson 4: <i>Bridge Over the River Kwai</i>	Lesson plan for a lesson taught in her practicum placement addressing the overarching question: "Why/How are stereotypes harmful?"
04/27/07	Teaching Bilingual Learners	Critical Thinking about the Morality of Lying in <i>The Giver</i>	Single lesson plan using the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) to discuss the morality of lying.

05/07/07	Teaching Bilingual Learners	Creating Rough Draft for a Persuasive Essay	Single lesson plan using the SIOP to discuss the structure of a persuasive essay.
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Auxiliary Interviews.

The QCS research design included interviews with the research participants (as described above) as well as with their cooperating teacher and supervisor during their practicum experiences. Towards the end of their first year of teaching, we also conducted interviews with a mentor identified as influential by the participant and with an administrator familiar with the participant’s work. All of these interview were conducted according to the collaboratively developed interview protocols (see Appendix A for interview protocols). In addition to these interviews, I spoke with several of Amanda’s bilingual students during her first year of teaching (see Appendix B for the interview protocol used with students).

My discussions with the bilingual learners in Amanda’s class centered around their coursework and related to my observations. I conducted three focus groups and five individual interviews with bilingual learners from both her 9th and 10th grade courses. The first focus group was with about 10 students, both bilingual learners and monolingual speakers of English and occurred during the fall semester of Amanda’s first year of teaching. This focus group experience served as more of a pilot focus group and informed my approach for the other two focus groups, which took place during the spring semester of her first year of teaching.

During Amanda’s first year of teaching, her courses were only one semester long, so my data collection activities were concentrated in the second semester when I could spend more time with the same students across the whole semester (I did not have full approval for this additional data collection work until later in the fall semester). In the spring semester I had a focus group with three students from Amanda’s 9th grade writing class and second focus group with two students from her 10th grade writing class. All of these students were bilingual learners, were not designated as LEP by the state or district, and had spent the majority of their schooling life in the United States. Table 3.6. lists information about each of these bilingual learners.

Table 3.6. Bilingual Learner Participants

Name	Language Background
9th Graders	
Yoletta	Haitian Creole
Maria	Spanish
Ramon	Spanish
10th Graders	
Luis	Spanish
Ana	Spanish

Samples of Classroom Assessment Tasks/Pupil Work.

As part of QCS interviews five and eight through eleven, participants shared entire class samples of pupil work on a specific assessment and discussed this work during the interviews. Across each of these interviews, participants were asked similar questions regarding the creation and choice of assessment and pupil outcomes on these assessments. Additionally, whenever possible, assessment tasks

and class sets of pupil work were collected for the observations conducted. I collected assessment tasks and samples of pupil work for both the QCS observations I conducted and my own additional observations resulting in a substantial amount of classroom artifacts related to my observations of Amanda's classroom practice.

Data Analysis

This dissertation utilizes two forms of analysis for the two distinct types of data collected and analyzed. First, I conducted a critically conscious frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Oliver & Johnston, 2000) of state policy documents regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. The results of this analysis are detailed in Chapter Four. Then I conducted a critically conscious case study (Yin, 2008) of the longitudinal data described above. The results of this analysis are detailed in Chapters Five and Six. In Chapter Seven the findings of both the frame analysis and the longitudinal case study are discussed to establish the relationships among the ideologies and assumptions found in the frame analysis and case study. A more complete description of each of these analyses follows.

Frame Analysis

Frame analysis is a methodology termed and first discussed in Erving Goffman's now classic book, *Frame Analysis* (1974), which has been used across many fields of social science research including communication and media studies (e.g., de Souza, 2007; Entman, 1993; Lewis, 1999; Tilley & Cokley, 2005; Tucker, 1998), psychiatry (e.g., Ribeiro & Bastos, 2005), political science and policy studies

(e.g., Bustelo & Verloo, 2006; Callaghan & Schnell, 2009; Rein & Schön, 1993, Rein & Schön, 1996; Triandafyllidou & Fotiou, 1998), social movement studies (e.g., Benford, 1997; Benford & Snow, 2000; Johnston, 1995; Oliver & Johnston, 2000; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986), sociology (e.g., Fisher, 1997) and education (e.g., Camicia, 2008, 2009; Coburn, 2006; Davies, 1999, 2002; Pick, 2006, 2008; Puriola, 2002; Stevens, 2008).

As described earlier, frames are used to shape meanings and to convey and promote messages as well as policy. Bateson (1972) offers a useful metaphor for clarifying the concept of frames saying, “The frame around a picture, if we consider this frame as a message intended to order or organize the perception of the viewer, says, ‘Attend to what is within and do not attend to what is outside’” (p. 187). All message makers (or framers) use cultural resources like beliefs, ideologies, values, and myths in order to frame a message that legitimates, motivates, and persuades (Davies, 2002) by deliberately choosing what is contained within the frame and what is not. Therefore, frame analysis looks at frames as methods of interrogating beliefs, ideologies, values, and myths by both noting which of these resources are drawn on to create the frame as well as which of these cultural resources are not utilized. Stone (2002), in her effort to provide an effective method of policy analysis, supports this type of analysis by calling for close attention to how problems are defined within policy by investigating the use of symbols, numbers, causes, interests, and decisions.

In any text, the way the content is framed shapes meaning and determines what is to be included and excluded from the document. However, a particular frame does not automatically dictate the message of the text, nor its underlying ideologies. For instance, a text could be framed in terms of language rights and highlight the power and privilege of English to convey an assimilationist message about language rights as access to English proficiency. Content regarding the value of multilingualism would be deliberately excluded from a text framing language rights in this manner in order to focus attention on the intended message—language rights as a right to English proficiency.

However, a different text that also frames its content in terms of language rights could highlight the social, cognitive, economic, and cultural benefits of multilingualism to communicate a multicultural and pluralistic message about the value of linguistic diversity and proficiency. This framing of language rights deliberately excludes content focused on the benefits of English monolingualism in order to center attention on the intended message—language rights as a right to proficiency in multiple languages. The salient point here is that a frame itself does not construct meaning. However, the way issues are framed focuses attention on particular content in ways that shape meaning and convey messages to readers and audiences. What is communicated by any text is determined by what is included and excluded, how content is framed, and which ideologies are weaved into the document.

The policy document data sources were read closely multiple times in order to begin the frame analysis process of identifying the frames employed in the policy documents then examining the underlying ideologies and messages conveyed through the way the policy is framed. The order in which policy documents were read was deliberate to examine the flow from law to regulation to policy tool. While reading each document multiple times, I wrote extensive notes focusing on aspects of the policy documents like problem definition, participants, diagnosed causes, moral judgments, suggested remedies, and omissions (Bustelo & Verloo, 2006; Entman, 1993). Through continued reading of the policy documents and extensive analysis of my notes paying close attention to the concepts of race, culture, and language, two frames (that will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four) were found to be consistently utilized across the policy documents to shape meaning and convey messages about the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

Once the two frames (educational quality and educational equality) were pinpointed, the ideologies that were utilized to frame the message(s) about race, culture, and language within and across the policy documents were recorded then analyzed through the CRT lens paying specific attention to majoritarian stories and counter-storytelling. This analysis process exposed the utilized frames in the policy documents and allowed for the interrogation of the ideologies and assumptions that were drawn on to create those frames within the various analyzed policies as well as across them.

Case Study Analysis

The analysis of Amanda Lee's data for this dissertation research was conducted with what Stevenson (2004) terms an "interpretive paradigm of inquiry" thus enabling:

In-depth information to be revealed about the specific context as well as the intentions, organization and processes surrounding, for example, the implementation of an innovative policy change, educational program or activity, usually by focusing on the unique understandings and experiences of the individuals involved (p. 43).

Through this interpretive paradigm of inquiry, the analysis of Amanda's case study data revealed some poignant absences and the presence of significant power issues that dramatically affected her development as a teacher of bilingual learners over time (see Chapters 5 and 6).

In addition to this interpretive paradigm of inquiry, the analysis conducted on Amanda's case study data was critically conscious and sought to transform inequitable practices through an "ideological critique of dominant social patterns," that raises "consciousness about the conditions of oppression" (Stevenson, 2004, p. 45). While this work was not participatory or action oriented, through the analysis conducted, various systemic issues in the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers were exposed and can now become the targets for transformative action.

Stake (2000) calls the type of study I conducted on Amanda's data an "instrumental case study," where a case is "examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization" (p. 437). He further explains:

The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else. The case still is looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but all because this helps the researcher to pursue the external interest (p. 437).

In the analysis of Amanda's case, my external interest focused on the systems and structures she was participating in and how those systems either supported or limited her development into a quality teacher of bilingual learners over time as well as perpetuated institutionalized racism and linguicism. Therefore, this analysis is an instrumental case study, where the development of Amanda overtime is instrumental in illustrating various successes and failures of the systems of education that prepare teachers, support teachers, and within which teachers work and how those systems either perpetuate or disrupt institutional racism and linguicism.

In terms of my analysis process, I followed Yin's (2008) suggestion to "play" with my data. Through multiple readings of all of the data collected regarding Amanda's development over time, I played with my data. The first reading was chronological where I read and took extensive notes on all data collected from the first piece collected to the last, most recent piece collected⁵. The next reading of the data was by data source, looking at all interviews, observations, teacher education coursework, assessment tasks and pupil work, as well as fieldnotes together. The final reading of the data took place by looking at data sources that related to one

⁵ Data collection with Amanda is still ongoing and some data were collected while I was engaged with this analysis. Therefore, depending on the time of data collection, some of the most recent data may not have been included in all of the readings as it was not yet collected.

another. For instance, QCS Observation 1 connects to Amanda's Graduate Laboratory assignment and QCS Interview 2 because in both her course assignment and the interview she discussed the lesson I observed her teach. Similarly, in QCS Interview 2 Amanda discussed her experiences teaching a lesson she gave me the lesson plan for (*Bridge Over the River Kwai*) and in my fieldnotes about QCS Interview 3, more information regarding this lesson is recorded.

With each reading, my original notes were modified, re-organized, and refined in order to narrow in on the prominent themes in the data. Because of my research questions and their critical focus on race, culture, and language, I then analyzed my more than 200 pages of notes looking for instances where ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language were evident. Then, I analyzed the instances where ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language were evident to establish the assertions and arguments presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

The structure of this analysis was created in order to ensure attention was paid to "the major conceptual responsibilities of the qualitative case researcher" (Stake, 2000, p. 448). The case was bounded through my conceptualization of the object of study as Amanda's interactions with various educational systems over time, especially in her development as a teacher of bilingual learners. I selected and emphasized my research question focusing on the ideologies and assumptions evident in practice about race, culture, and language. Through my multiple readings and layered analysis, I sought patterns in the data and triangulated my key

observations for interpretation. During the course of this analysis, I also pursued alternative interpretations and by adhering to these major conceptual responsibilities, I was able to develop assertions about my case of study.

Conclusion

This dissertation strives to critically engage with issues of institutionalized racism and linguicism regarding the education of bilingual learners and the preparation of their teachers. Willis and colleagues (2008) describe the need for the kind of research herein saying:

Institutional structures and disciplinary practices sustain race/ethnic, class, gender, and linguistic oppression. Collins (2003) reminds us that “whether we benefit or not, we all live within institutions that reproduce race, class and gender oppression” (p. 339). As language and literacy researchers and educators, we are all part of the process, and potentially, the solution (p. 65).

The research questions, theoretical frame, and research design of this dissertation are all motivated by an understanding that as an educational researcher and educator, I am part of the processes and institutional structures that reproduce oppression. This research is motivated by a wish to change these processes and participate in finding and enacting transformative solutions to issues of racism and linguicism. The critical nature of this dissertation asks, “What’s the matter here?” in order to challenge the perpetuation of educational inequities for bilingual learners and their teachers. This dissertation aims to participate in the disruption of the perpetuation of educational inequity and strives to empirically suggest alternative

practices and policies capable of transforming the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

CHAPTER FOUR: Linguicism and Racism: Powerful Issues in Massachusetts State Policy Regarding the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers

According to Patricia Hill Collins (2009), public disdain is often cast on the systems and structures that support marginalized groups. When this occurs, seemingly colorblind policies are utilized to target and dismantle vital programs in the battle against inequity. For example, during the 1960's and 1970's when historically oppressed groups like women and African Americans became eligible for the government benefits that had long been enjoyed by others, elite groups attacked various public institutions, such as welfare programs and affirmative action, which offered such support. Collins calls this strategy "brilliant" and points out that elite groups can advance their oppressive agenda and maintain social dominance while also avoiding charges of racism, sexism, or any other form of discrimination by attacking public institutions offering the most support to marginalized populations.

In Massachusetts a similarly "brilliant" strategy was successfully applied in an effort to dismantle the public institution of bilingual education, which is intended to create effective learning opportunities for bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency. No one program will ever be the panacea for all bilingual learners in every educational context. However, bilingual education, when well conceived and implemented, can effectively build strong academic content knowledge while also promoting English language development (Brisk, 2006;

Crawford & Krashen, 2007). Despite its potential, promise, and documented effectiveness, bilingual education became severely restricted in Massachusetts after “Question 2,” a voter referendum dubbed “English for the Children,” passed in November of 2002.

While the debate regarding bilingual education both nationally and in Massachusetts has always centered on the virtues of various program models, research on the education of bilingual learners suggests that multiple factors, not just specific programs, contribute to successful academic outcomes, including school-based relationships with adults (Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Pimentel, & Martin, 2009) and quality curriculum and instruction that is culturally and linguistically responsive (F. González, 1998, 2001; Hones, 2002). Program models like bilingual education are never guaranteed to provide all the required factors for success. In fact, in Massachusetts prior to the passage of Question 2, when bilingual education was the state mandate, not all bilingual education programs were of high quality nor contained the elements of effective instruction described above. However, these scattered inefficiencies were falsely interpreted by many as inherent failures in bilingual education program models in general rather than as implementation and quality issues (Brisk, 2006).

Therefore, the Massachusetts debate around Question 2 focused narrowly on the utilization of native languages in the bilingual education model rather than on the resources and supports necessary to provide a quality education for bilingual learners in all contexts. There is strong research-based evidence supporting the use

of native languages in classrooms and indicating the value of effectively implemented bilingual education programs (Curiel, Rosenthal, & Richek, 1986; Ramírez, 1992; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Additionally, Proctor, August, Carlo, and Barr (2010) make a valuable assertion about the extended value and purpose of strong bilingual programs:

Educational programming must move away from the instrumental views of Spanish instruction where Spanish helps only insofar as it promotes English. Language maintenance models, where graduation from high school indicates that students are proficient enough to apply and be accepted to Latin American and U.S. universities alike, must become commonplace if the U.S. educational system is to produce linguistically and culturally proficient students who can represent the genuine heterogeneity of 21st century America (p. 92).

Despite the clear value of multilingualism in the 21st century, bilingual education was targeted, and wide-spread public mistrust of bilingual programs was created in Massachusetts through a successful campaign that used as justification all of the majoritarian stories (e.g., English is *all* that matters, difference is deficit, meritocracy is appropriate, and there is no story about race), which are identified and described in Chapter Two. Ultimately, through a popular vote on the 2002 referendum, bilingual education was severely limited and was replaced in Massachusetts with an English-only, one-size-fits-all approach to educating bilingual learners.

This chapter presents a frame analysis of Massachusetts laws, regulations, and policy tools related to the education of bilingual learners and their teachers that became official policy after Question 2 was passed. My analysis suggests that even though current policy in Massachusetts regarding the education of bilingual learners

and their teachers is framed in terms of the overarching goals of educational quality and equality, in reality it substantively sanctions inequitable practices. As mentioned in Chapter One, according to recent analyses of both state-wide and district level data, bilingual learners in Massachusetts are dropping out at alarming rates and graduating at the lowest rates of any student subgroup in the state (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010; Tung et al., 2009). Certainly there are many factors contributing to the poor educational outcomes of many bilingual learners in Massachusetts. However, my analysis demonstrates that racism and linguicism (or language-based discrimination) towards bilingual learners are legally sanctioned in Massachusetts public schools as a consequence of state policy, thus contributing to educational disparities.

Despite the fact that some people assert we live in “colorblind” or “post-racial” times, it is a premise of critical race theory (CRT) that our society continues to be highly racialized. Powell (2009) describes racialization as a “set of practices, cultural norms, and institutional arrangements that are both reflective of and simultaneously help to create and maintain racialized outcomes in society” (p. 785). He further emphasizes that racialization is a set of processes that are both historical and cultural and therefore do not have one meaning across all times and locations. In fact, he argues that racialization is dynamic and constantly changing due to its interactions with varying socio-political environments. According to Powell, racialization processes are highly contested and can be thought of as direct responses to contemporary collective thoughts and actions. Therefore, in a highly

racialized society where racialization processes are closely linked to contemporary collective thoughts and actions, racism and its relationship to dominant narratives are important to tease out.

Currently in the United States, the majoritarian stories identified and described in Chapter Two represent what we as a society collectively do and think. These stories play a significant role in current racialization processes, and are instances of the intersection of racism and linguicism towards bilingual learners, a population that is predominately students of color (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Much of collective contemporary thought and action is linguicist and racist. For instance, current Alabama gubernatorial candidate Tim James stated in a commercial, “This is Alabama. We speak English. If you want to live here, learn it” (James, 2010). He then declared that when he becomes governor the state will no longer offer driver’s license tests in languages other than English. Similarly, Arizona recently passed an immigration law through which language and race will become targeted indicators for police suspicions of the undocumented status of any person. The contemporary racialization process is multifaceted and seeped with complex content, but as the above examples demonstrate, it is especially laden with issues around language and race.

For bilingual learners, issues around racism are persistently tied to issues around language discrimination. Lippi-Green (2006) points out the significance of language-based discrimination, or linguicism, as well as its socially accepted, prevalent, and to some extent invisible nature saying, “Most would be surprised (if

not shocked) at an employer or teacher who turned away an individual on the basis of skin color; most would find nothing unusual or wrong with a teacher of Puerto Rican students who sees her students as a problem to be solved” (p. 292). Along similar lines, most would not see the racial content in a teachers’ negative actions towards, or perceptions of, her Puerto Rican students, nor acknowledge how that racial content intersects with language discrimination. Additionally, the racial content and language-based discrimination present in Massachusetts state policy, which explicitly constructs bilingual learners as problems to be solved, are not readily obvious to most.

In the case of the passage of Question 2 in Massachusetts, racism and linguicism played significant roles. In fact, Collins (2009) argues that the dismantling of public-sector institutions is always highly racially-charged, saying “racial politics have framed social welfare policies such as Social Security, unemployment compensation, and services to poor children and families since their inception in the 1930’s” (p. 21). The attack on bilingual education was similarly racially charged in Massachusetts where over 84% of bilingual learners come from non-White populations (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010). However, the racial content and outcomes of the initiative are not necessarily apparent to many educators and citizens. They require closer scrutiny.

Winter (2008) explains how such racial content plays a significant role in the shaping of public opinion as well as why it often remains hidden. He suggests that public perceptions about race and gender are often implicitly drawn on by policy

actors in order to mobilize prejudice and create a basis for public opinion, even on issues seemingly unrelated to race and gender. In this manner, majoritarian stories can be promoted and prejudiced public opinion mobilized while remaining predominantly hidden beneath feel-good rhetoric and catchy slogans that appear neutral, objective, reasonable, and fair (e.g. “English for the children”). However, behind these “common sense” ideas lay racism, linguisticism, and other issues of oppression (Bali, 2008; Lapayese, 2007).

The English-Only movement in the United States is an example of how so-called “common sense” ideas may appear neutral or objective but actually draw on race issues to promote racist policy. The movement promotes English as the official language of the United States and operates from the assumption that newcomers resist learning English and that this resistance is a threat to national unity and cohesion. However, the explicit racist beliefs of those participating in the movement were uncovered through the results of an internal survey conducted in 1988 within “U.S. English,” an organization founded to promote English-only policies. The survey asked members of U.S. English about their reasons for supporting the group. The following statement was cited by forty-two percent of the group: “I wanted America to stand strong and not cave in to Hispanics who shouldn’t be here” (Crawford, 2004, p. 135).

Two of the major tenets of CRT challenge this kind of racially motivated movement explicitly calling for recognition that “racism is endemic to American life,” as well as skepticism towards “claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness,

and meritocracy” (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993, p. 6). In a society where everyone is racialized and situated differently in terms of power and privilege based on that racialization, there can be no neutrality or objectivity. Therefore, “common sense” ideas, catchy political slogans, and seemingly neutral policies must always be deeply interrogated for their racial content and potential to promote oppression and marginalization.

Though the word racism today is often associated with individual overt acts of prejudice, like those common during the Jim Crow era, contemporary racism is significantly less overt and to some, invisible. Along these lines, Delgado and Stefancic (1997b) highlight the historical invisibility of contemporary racism:

The racism of other times and places does stand out, does strike us as glaringly and appallingly wrong. But this happens only decades or centuries later; we acquiesce in today’s version with little realization that it is wrong, that a later generation will ask “How could they?” about *us* (pp. 176-177).

The difference between the face of contemporary racism and the appearance of racism during the historical past plays a significant role in both its current invisibility and social acceptedness (Powell, 2009). It is also the reason that current racialization processes are normalized and exist largely unnoticed.

My analysis in this chapter is an effort to bring the majoritarian stories as well as the intersection of racism and linguicism in state level education policy regarding bilingual learners and their teachers out of obscurity and into clear view. As this chapter argues, legally sanctioned racism and linguicism are institutionalized

and codified through Massachusetts state policy. The first step in fighting these instances of racism and linguicism is exposure.

The Framing of the Education of Secondary Bilingual Learners and their Teachers in Massachusetts State Policy

Within Massachusetts state policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers, policy content is framed by two intersecting and overarching goals of educational quality and equality. These frames and their intersections are described in this section. Based on what is located inside and outside of these frames as well as how they are interrelated, certain powerful messages about educational quality and equality are conveyed that are imbued with various ideologies. These messages and the ideologies that underlie them are also defined and discussed in this section. Finally, this section showcases the findings of my analysis, which reveals how language and race-based discrimination is legally sanctioned by Massachusetts state policy governing the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers.

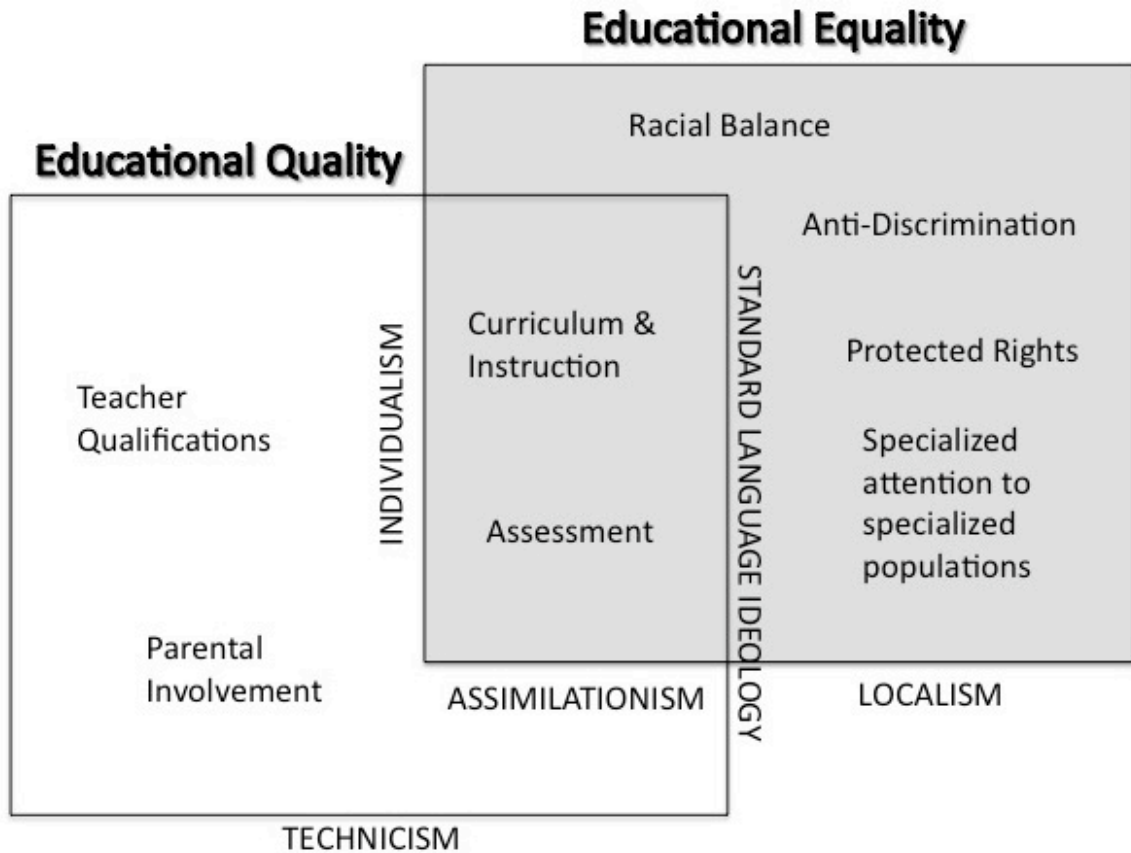
As discussed in detail in Chapter Three, frame analysis (Goffman, 1974; Oliver & Johnston, 2000) is a method of examining the discursive tools used to shape meaning and convey messages in various documents. The messages that are communicated through written materials such as laws, regulations, or policy tools are deliberately crafted and framed in order to “select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation,

and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

Therefore, frames in policy texts serve to both deliberately include and exclude particular content in order to shape messages about policy problems and solutions.

As this analysis shows, Massachusetts state policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers is framed in terms of the broad goals of educational quality and educational equality; this focuses attention on specific messages and common ideologies. Figure 4.1 “Frames of Massachusetts State Policy Regarding the Education of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers” is a visual representation of the major frames in Massachusetts state policy. This figure depicts two frames as well as the topics discussed within each frame. The various topics in state policy that are framed in terms of educational quality and equality (e.g., curriculum and instruction, assessment, parental involvement, and racial balance) convey certain messages about the education of bilingual learners and their teachers by drawing on the ideologies (which will be thoroughly defined and discussed in a later section) listed around the outside of each frame.

Figure 4.1. Frames of Massachusetts State Policy Regarding the Education of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers



As shown in Figure 4.1, the two major frames found in Massachusetts state policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers overlap. Curriculum and instruction as well as assessment are topics that are framed in terms of both educational quality and equality. Additionally, the ideologies of individualism, assimilationism, and standard language ideology underlie both frames. Technicism is the distinguishing ideology within the educational quality frame and localism in the educational equality frame.

The topics contained in the two frames above are discussed within state policy in a manner that sends particular messages about educational quality and

equality from the perspective of the ideologies listed in Figure 4.1. For instance, state policy regarding teacher qualifications makes it clear that quality teachers are knowledgeable content experts who are fluent and literate in English and are capable of transmitting both their content and language knowledge to all their students through the application of various pedagogical strategies. This message, which focuses on educational quality in terms of teacher qualifications, is technicist and imbued with standard language ideology. This is discussed in detail in a later section.

It is important to note that the frames of educational quality and equality are not explicit features of state policy documents. Rather, my point here is that Massachusetts policy documents frame the issues regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in ways that deliberately include and exclude certain topics and questions for the purpose of strategic communication. Another important feature of frame analysis is the identification of the ideologies underlying the various messages conveyed throughout the documents.

Ideologies Infused Throughout the Educational Quality and Equality Frames

Though the concept of ideology enjoys no consistent definition across various forums (Gerring, 1997), in this analysis an ideology is understood as a “system of ideas which couple understanding of how the world works with ethical, moral, and normative principles that guide personal and collective action” (Oliver &

Johnston, 2000, p. 44). From this perspective, ideologies are complex, deeply held, directors of action.

Before the educational quality and equality frames can be dissected and thoroughly discussed, clear definitions of the five employed ideologies are necessary. To discuss assimilationism, I draw heavily on the work of human geographer Caroline Nagel (2002, 2009) who suggests that assimilation is “more than observable patterns of similarity or dissimilarity” (Nagel, 2009, p. 403). She argues that assimilation “signifies observable, material processes of accommodation of and conformity to dominant norms” (Nagel, 2002, p. 259). However, the dominant norms—as well as the assimilationist push for sameness and conformity by all groups to those norms—are fluid, shifting, and socially constructed in order to both deliberately include and exclude various groups from participation in the mainstream (Nagel, 2002, 2009).

The goal of assimilation targets new immigrants pushing for them to change their language and culture in order to be seamlessly absorbed into mainstream America (Tardy, 2009). From the perspective of assimilationism, the burden of change rests on newcomers and requires no structural or systemic alterations on behalf of mainstream groups and institutions (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002). It is assumed from this perspective that the strength and unity of the country are sacrificed when newcomers are unwilling to assimilate. Additionally, learning the language of power and dominance (English in the case of the United States) is fundamental to assimilation and should occur as rapidly as possible. Essentially, the

assimilationist ideology “values the preservation of the status quo by newcomers” (Tardy, 2009, p. 281).

Another ideology that underlies the educational quality and equality frames in Massachusetts policy is individualism. Within the ideology of individualism, the individual is of primary importance and has various natural rights, freedoms, and responsibilities. In educational discourse, individualism generally values the responsibilities of the individual for social mobility (Wiley & Lukes, 1996) as well as individual development, opportunities, and agency (Noyes, 2008).

Sleeter (2000) discusses the individualistic perspective that many teacher candidates have saying, “As students progressed through the teacher education program, they maintained the view that achievement differences result from individual effort and home values” (p. 212). English (2009) further describes this individualistic perspective within educational discourse saying, “Equal opportunity and merit are represented as the sole determinants of students’ success: Individual actions produce individual consequences” (p. 498). Sleeter (2000) and English (2009) both critique individualism, asserting that this ideology veils systemic and structural issues of discrimination and inequity and perpetuates the myth of meritocracy.

An additional ideology underlying both the educational quality and equality frames is “standard language ideology” which is “a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogeneous spoken language which is imposed from above, and which

takes as its model the written language. The most salient feature is the goal of suppression of variation of all kinds” (Lippi-Green, 1994, p. 166).

Lippi-Green (1994, 2006) argues that standard language ideology is introduced in schools, promoted by the media, and supported by the corporate sector. She argues that it is not surprising to find many people who do not recognize spoken language as having systematic, structured, and inherent variation. Along the same lines, many people do not recognize that any sort of a national language standard is nothing more than an abstraction due to the systematic, structured, and inherent variation in spoken language. What she does find surprising, if not deeply disturbing, is that many democratically minded people who consider themselves free of prejudice and fair minded, “hold tenaciously to a standard ideology which attempts to justify restriction of individuality and rejection of the other” (Lippi-Green, 1994, p. 170). The dominance of standard language ideology across multiple forums is consistent and troubling because of the ways this ideology rejects language variation.

Standard language ideology depends on a narrow notion of what language is and how it is used. O. García (2009) argues that, “Language is truly a social notion that cannot be defined without reference to its speakers and the context in which it is used” (p. 25). However, standard language ideology promotes a restricted concept of language proficiency and accuracy that dismisses the reality of the social and fluid nature of language as well as the inherent variation in language across differing contexts. It also privileges academic or “standard” language by

marginalizing and suppressing “non-standard” varieties including assorted dialects, creoles, and accents.

Along similar lines, the ideology of technicism has an extremely narrow view of teaching and learning as merely a technical endeavor. Education from the perspective of technicism is the practice of teachers transmitting their knowledge of discrete subjects to students through the use of effective teaching strategies.

Halliday (1998) defines technicism as “the notion that good teaching is equivalent to efficient performance which achieves ends that are prescribed for teachers” (p. 597). He further explains, “For technicists, general theories can be set out to guide particular practices. Practical development is amoral and describable in a mechanistic way through criteria of performance” (p. 597).

Though technicism claims amorality, as Stevens (2009) illustrates, this ideology often positions non-dominant students as deficient and then prescribes a series of “positivistically measurable interventions” intended to remediate the apparent deficit (p. 11). Bartolomé (1994) critiques the technicist perspective, naming it a “methods fetish” and calls instead for a “humanizing pedagogy that respects and uses the reality, history, and perspectives of students as an integral part of educational practice” (p. 173). The mechanistic, transmission-focused nature of education from the perspective of technicism stands in direct contrast to an education that flexibly builds on students’ backgrounds, perspectives, languages, and cultures.

The final ideology underlying Massachusetts state policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers is localism. From the perspective of localism, decision-making power should rest with local communities and individuals (Parvin, 2009). Localists argue that a more direct form of democracy foregrounds local decision-making and “bridge[s] the gap between the people and the politicians that work on their behalf” (p. 351). Cowling (2005) discusses the distribution of governmental control as an important value in localism that attempts to increase both education and political participation.

A common critique of localism is addressed by Parvin (2009) who emphasizes the importance of centralized decision-making in order to protect “minority groups from the tyranny of the majority” (p. 353). Cline, Necochea, and Rios (2004) expose how the localist distribution of power in terms of voter referenda on state propositions create a “tyranny of the majority” and severely limit minority group rights. The passage of Question 2 and its sister referenda in California and Arizona are examples of the affects of localism. Interestingly, in the case of Arizona and Massachusetts, the financial backer and promoter of these referenda, a businessman from California, was not local, yet utilized the localist voter referenda process to assert his political power across the country.

The five ideologies defined above underlie Massachusetts state policy and thus help to frame the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in terms of educational quality and equality. Additionally, these five ideologies, by promoting certain values, assumptions, and perspectives about educational quality and

equality, convey particular messages. The sum total of what exists in state policy, including its underlying ideologies and the various messages about educational quality and equality for bilingual learners and their teachers, actually promotes race and language based discrimination. As is demonstrated below, state policy creates a discriminatory system that promotes linguisticism and racism in Massachusetts classrooms and schools.

The Educational Quality Frame

Chapter 69 in Massachusetts General Law begins as follows:

It is hereby declared to be a paramount goal of the commonwealth to provide a public education system of sufficient quality to extend to all children including a limited English proficient student...and also, including a school age child with a disability...the opportunity to reach their full potential and to lead lives as participants in the political and social life of the commonwealth as contributors to its economy (M.G.L.c.69§1).

This declaration of “sufficient quality” for “all children,” including bilingual learners, as a “paramount goal” exemplifies how an educational quality frame is constructed in Massachusetts policy. State policy regarding curriculum and instruction, teacher qualifications, assessment, and parental involvement are all framed in terms of educational quality in an effort to create and maintain a system of education that is of “sufficient quality” for “all children.” Policies communicate various messages about what a quality education for bilingual learners and their teachers should look like. In the following sections, the contents of state policy that are framed in terms of educational quality are individually examined by topic in order to expose how state policy sanctions linguisticism and racism.

Curriculum and Instruction

Across state policy the topic of curriculum and instruction is framed in terms of educational quality. Here the message is that a quality education for bilingual learners only occurs in English, is standards-based, supports both English language development and grade level content knowledge, and should be accessible to all bilingual learners. Additionally, there is a clear message that the outcome of a quality education for bilingual learners is the rapid acquisition of English in order for bilingual students to be quickly absorbed into school districts' general programs. These messages clearly reflect assimilationism, technicism, and standard language ideology as discussed in detail in the following sections.

English-Only, Sheltered English Immersion, and Same Standards.

In state law and policy, there are specific provisions governing the curriculum and instruction of bilingual learners. For instance, Chapter 71A states, "All children in Massachusetts public schools shall be taught English by being taught in English and all children shall be placed in English language classrooms" (M.G.L.c.71A§4). It further declares that, "English learners shall be educated through sheltered English immersion during a temporary transition period not normally intended to exceed one school year" (M.G.L.c.71A§4). Finally, this provision is also made regarding the curriculum and instruction of bilingual learners: "English learners in any program shall be taught to the same academic standards and curriculum frameworks as all students, and shall be provided the

same opportunities to master such standards and frameworks as other students” (M.G.L.c.71A§7).

These three provisions call for bilingual learners to be taught only in English through “sheltered English immersion” (SEI) for one year to the same standards and curriculum frameworks as all other students. The concept of “sameness” regarding the standards and curriculum for bilingual learners in relation to other students promotes assimilation and is a point of overlap between the educational quality and equality frames. As is discussed in later sections, the framing of educational equality in Massachusetts state policy is dominated by the concept of equality as sameness. In state policy framed in terms of educational quality regarding curriculum and instruction as well as assessment, this concept of equality as sameness is also prominent. Therefore, policy regarding curriculum and instruction and assessment is framed both in terms of educational quality and educational equality and represents a point of overlap between the two frames.

The requirement to teach English through the specific approach of SEI that only occurs in English and should not last longer than a year is imbued with standard language ideology that both privileges English and sends the message that learning English is a rapidly occurring transmissionist endeavor. According to state law, bilingual learners only require a short amount of time in English learning environments to acquire the language skills necessary for academic success in the mainstream.

Because of the way the above provisions in the law have been both interpreted and ignored in subsequent regulation and oversight, legally sanctioned discrimination against bilingual learners in Massachusetts has been codified into policy. This is a major issue that structures discrimination in Massachusetts policy in defining and specifying what SEI is and how it is implemented in classrooms.

Chapter 71A provides the following definition:

“Sheltered English immersion” means an English language acquisition process for young children in which nearly all classroom instruction is in English but with the curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language. Books and instruction materials are in English and all reading, writing, and subject matter are taught in English. Although teachers may use a minimal amount of the child’s native language when necessary, no subject matter shall be taught in any language other than English, and children in this program learn to read and write solely in English. This educational methodology represents the standard definition of “sheltered English” or “structured English” found in educational literature (M.G.L.c.71A§2).

The only aspect of SEI from this definition that can clearly be implemented relates to the language of instruction. SEI is to be in English. However, this information regarding SEI curriculum and instruction is not enough to guide school leaders and teachers in designing programs and classroom practice to provide bilingual learners with a quality education.

Massachusetts law is vague in defining SEI and there are no State Board of Education approved regulations that provide further definition or guidance regarding the creation and implementation of SEI. Additionally, across state policies, conflicting labels are used to describe SEI. For example SEI is called a type of instruction in Massachusetts law (M.G.L.c.71A). In one policy tool, it is referred to

as a kind of classroom (Driscoll, 2004) and in another policy tool it is called a program (MA DESE, 2008). Such inconsistencies ensure confusion and variation in implementation. In addition to the lack of clarification of what SEI is, neither state law nor State Board of Education approved regulation specify what qualifications a teacher needs in order to teach in an SEI classroom or what instruction within that classroom or program should look like.

Despite lack of attention in the law, the DESE does address these issues within some of its policy tools. For instance, the Chapter 71A Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) document released in the summer of 2003 by the DESE defines the elements of an effective SEI classroom as, “In effective sheltered English immersion classrooms, instruction and curriculum are designed to permit active engagement by LEP [Limited English Proficient] students throughout the school day” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 7). The document then goes on to describe the need for language and content objectives, frequent opportunities for bilingual learners to interact, discuss, and apply new language and content in English, methods of making content comprehensible, and vocabulary instruction. The majority of these recommendations come directly from the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2008).

While everything this document suggests represents useful approaches to working with bilingual learners, it is problematic that the explicit stated purpose of SEI instruction is student engagement rather than English language development and academic content learning gains. Additionally, the definition of SEI in this

document reduces the acquisition of English as a second language to vocabulary development only calling for “instruction that emphasizes English vocabulary by combining the teaching of vocabulary and the teaching of content” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 7). The descriptors of SEI supplied in the Chapter 71A FAQs document are insufficient to ensure quality curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners because mastery of academic English is more than vocabulary acquisition and grade level content gains require more than the active engagement of bilingual learners.

The most explicit definition of SEI is provided in the Coordinated Program Review (CPR) Procedures document, which is an information package that provides guidance to districts in preparation of the DESE conducted review of bilingual learner programs (MA DESE, 2008). In this document, SEI is defined as a program that ensures the progress of bilingual learners in “developing listening comprehension, speaking, reading, and writing in English, and in meeting academic standards by providing instruction in the two components of SEI. They are 1) English as a Second Language/English Language Development, and 2) sheltered content” (p. 2, emphasis in the original). This definition requires explicit attention by school districts to the development of both content knowledge and English language proficiencies for bilingual learners. However, the paragraphs that follow this statement establish a method of providing such instruction only for “students who have, at least, an intermediate level of English proficiency” (p. 3).

The CPR Procedures document suggests that ESL instruction should help bilingual learners “‘catch up’ to their student peers who are proficient in English”

and must be part of all academic programs for bilingual learners (p. 3). Next, the document defines sheltered content instruction as “approaches, strategies and methodology that make the content of the lesson more comprehensible to students who are not yet proficient in English” (p. 3). Then the stipulation is made that this kind of instruction is designed *only* for bilingual learners who have at least an *intermediate* level of English proficiency.

If as described above, SEI is composed of both ESL and sheltered content instruction, but sheltered content instruction is designed only for students at the intermediate level of English proficiency, what happens to students at the beginning levels of English proficiency? How can beginning level bilingual learners be “taught to the same academic standards and curriculum frameworks as all students” (M.G.L.c.71A§7) when the state mandated program (SEI) is not designed to provide access to academic content learning for beginning bilingual learners?

State policy does not contain anything specifying how and from whom beginning level bilingual learners should learn academic subjects. Yet, given the way state policy frames curriculum and instruction in terms of educational quality, the message is conveyed that SEI provides quality curriculum and instruction so that all bilingual learners will be able to meet the same academic standards as their native English speaking peers. However, the reality is that beginning level bilingual learners are discriminated against due to the absence of a quality program designed to support their mastery of grade-level academic content.

In fact, it appears that the state of Massachusetts may be in violation of federal law. In 1974 the Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols*:

Basic English skills are at the very core of what the public schools teach. Imposition of a requirement that, before a child can effectively participate in the educational program, he must already have acquired those basic skills is to make a mockery of public education. We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experience totally incomprehensible and in no way meaningful (*Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563, 1974).

Even though Chapter 71A of state law calls SEI “curriculum and presentation designed for children who are learning the language” (M.G.L.c.71A§2), as SEI has been regulated and implemented in Massachusetts, it is only for bilingual learners who have “at least, an intermediate level of English proficiency” (MA DESE, 2008, p. 3). It appears that the protections offered through *Lau v. Nichols* to bilingual learners, especially those at the lowest levels of English proficiency, are being denied to bilingual learners in Massachusetts.

In various places across the policy tools, the federal regulation is cited that allows for programs for bilingual learners to “temporarily emphasize English over other subjects...by focusing first on the development of English language skills and then later providing students with compensatory and supplemental education to remedy deficiencies in other content areas that they may develop during this period” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 17). However, recent research in Massachusetts shows that most bilingual learners in the commonwealth require more than five years to gain the level of English proficiency necessary to enter mainstream programs (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010). Though this research does not clarify the amount of time

required for beginning level bilingual learners to reach intermediate levels of English proficiency and therefore have access to sheltered content instruction, it is a concern that not a single policy document specifies a method for supplementing the academic content instruction of bilingual learners who have received a temporary emphasis on English. This absence is another clear instance of legally sanctioned discrimination against bilingual learners, especially those at the lowest levels of English proficiency.

The issue of how to teach grade level content to students who are not yet proficient in academic English is one of the main arguments for the use of native language instruction and bilingual education techniques (Brisk, 2006; Crawford & Krashen, 2007; Curiel, Rosenthal, & Richek, 1986; Ramírez, 1992; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Thomas & Collier, 2002). However, the implementation of Massachusetts state law severely restricts districts and teachers from using languages other than English in classrooms.

In Chapter 71A allows for languages other than English to be used in “Foreign language classes for children who already know English, 2-way bilingual programs for students in kindergarten through grade 12 and special education programs for physically or mentally impaired students” (M.G.L.c.71A§4). In the first two programs listed retaining the opportunity to use languages other than English in the classroom, a substantial portion of the students participating in those classrooms must be students who already speak English at high levels of English proficiency. Except in the case of physically or mentally impaired students, the

opportunity to use languages other than English in the classroom, according to this provision in law, is tied to benefitting and promoting multilingualism in proficient speakers of English rather than in promoting strong academic outcomes for students still learning English.

Pertinent to this analysis focused on the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers, Chapter 71A allows some flexibility for schools serving children over the age 10. The law defines the option for a “parental exception waiver” to be applied if:

The child is age 10 years or older, and it is the informed belief of the school principal and educational staff that an alternate course of educational study would be better suited to the child’s overall educational progress and rapid acquisition of basic English language skills (M.G.L.c.71A§5).

Despite these limited flexibilities written into the law (for dual-language programs and “parent exception waivers” for programs at the secondary level), SEI has become the default program for bilingual learners in Massachusetts. According to a recent report, 94.2% of bilingual learners in programs for “ELLs” in Massachusetts are in SEI programs with only 3.3% in TBE programs and 2.4% in 2-way or dual language programs (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010). Clearly these limited opportunities for schools and districts to utilize languages other than English in the classroom in support of bilingual learners academic development in both English and grade level content are not being utilized substantially across the state and the content of the law focusing on English only instruction through SEI has received the most attention.

The prominent and explicit content of state law (e.g., English shall be taught in English through SEI and to the same academic standards and curriculum frameworks as for all students) may seem reasonable if one believes that teaching is a technical endeavor and if one views the purpose of education as assimilation to a common standard. However, regardless of the particular ideologies underlying state policy, the rhetorical promises of the law to teach bilingual learners to the same academic standards and curriculum frameworks as their native English speaking peers through English-only instruction are inconsistent with what is defined for practical application. This discrepancy between the rhetoric of state policy and the actual implementation of it results in language-based discrimination against bilingual learners.

By emphasizing English language development over any other aspect of curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners, as well as insisting that instruction only occur in English and that students rapidly “catch-up” to their native English speaking grade level peers, Massachusetts state policy clearly reflects the majoritarian stories of “difference is deficit” and “English is *all* that matters.” The prevalence and wide acceptance of these stories create significant opportunities for racism and linguicism against bilingual learners in Massachusetts public schools by limiting the educational opportunities of bilingual learners as well as ignoring the extensive linguistic and cultural strengths they bring to classroom settings.

It is very important to note that the way Massachusetts state policy frames curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners in terms of educational quality

stands in stark contrast to the way extensive research defines quality curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two illustrates how restrictive language policies, like those governing curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners in Massachusetts, create a hostile environment for students and teachers (e.g., Arellano-Houchin, Flamenco, Merlos, & Segura, 2001; Valdez, 2001). English-only policies were also shown to create frequent opportunities for school personnel to overlook bilingual learners and prematurely push them into mainstream courses with unprepared teachers (e.g., Gándara, 2000; Harper & de Jong, 2009; Mora, 2000, Reeves, 2004).

In contrast, the literature reviewed in Chapter Two demonstrates the value of culturally and linguistically responsive educational approaches that build on students' strengths while ensuring both academic English mastery as well as strong grade level content knowledge (e.g., Expósito & Favela, 2003; Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; F. González, 1998, 2001). These research-based aspects of quality curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners are not included in the content of Massachusetts state policy. Their absence is a result of the fact that the ideologies of assimilationism, technicism, and standard language ideology drive the content of state policy regarding curriculum and instruction. When these ideologies are operating, a quality education for bilingual learners looks substantively different from the quality education suggested by empirical research. This gap between research-based best practices and current state policy in Massachusetts limits the

educational opportunities of bilingual learners and legally sanctions race and language-based discrimination.

Successful Bilingual Learners.

Another message regarding curriculum and instruction that is conveyed through the frame of educational quality is that bilingual learners need to quickly acquire English skills in order to be absorbed into “the district’s mainstream educational program” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 10). An “English learner” is defined in the law as “a child who does not speak English or whose native language is not English, and who is not currently able to perform ordinary classroom work in English” (M.G.L.c.71A§2). Additionally, the law asserts that bilingual learners should move into English language mainstream classrooms and no longer be classified as English learners once they “acquire a good working knowledge of English and are able to do regular school work in English” (M.G.L.c.71A§4).

This positioning of bilingual learners as English-deficient and in need of English remediation is consistent across the policy tools and regulations and clearly conveys the majoritarian stories of difference as deficit and English is all that matters. Even the description of the purpose of ESL instruction focuses on “catching-up” bilingual learners to their native speaking peers (MA DESE, 2008, p. 3). Bilingual learners are thus framed as a problem of English deficiency that can quickly be solved through technicist, assimilationist approaches that support standard language ideology and the rapid acquisition of English.

Framing bilingual learners in terms of English deficiency and as a problem to be solved is problematic for multiple reasons. First, the meanings communicated about “speaking English,” having a “good working knowledge of English” and being able to “perform ordinary classroom work in English,” paint a monolithic and simplistic picture of language acquisition and attainment. These simplistic understandings of what it means to know a language that guide the content of state policy overlook the complexity of the language forms that dominate secondary classrooms. Even bilingual learners who are no longer identified as English language learners may still benefit from explicit language instruction in order to master the complex, intricate language forms found in the different academic disciplines; this is illustrated in Chapters Five and Six. The narrow understanding of language development in state policy limits the learning opportunities of both bilingual learners and their teachers to minimal and potentially insufficient conceptions of English proficiency.

Second, even when bilingual learners do reach high levels of academic English proficiency, the limited understandings of language use contained in state policy overlook critical aspects of literacy for the success of bilingual learners outside of schooling environments. Along these lines, Stevens (2009) critiques such unidimensional understandings of language use and acquisition by illustrating the multiliteracies adolescent bilingual learners often utilize both in and out of schooling contexts and how a student may be literate for schooling purposes, “but not for critically engaging with her life realities” (p. 7). The narrow conceptions of

language use promoted in state policy limits the opportunities for bilingual learners and their teachers to engage with the critical multiliteracies necessary for success across various forums.

Third, the way state policy positions bilingual learners only in terms of English deficiency makes it difficult for educators and administrators to see the linguistic skills and strengths bilingual learners have. For instance, the multiliteracies bilingual learners might be engaging with as potential interpreters and language brokers for their parents or other family members and friends may not be visible in schooling contexts. Rubinstein-Ávila (2007) found that many teachers did not know that one of their bilingual learners interpreted for her parents, nor did they perceive of that bilingual learner as having the English competency necessary to be able to perform such tasks. When bilingual learners are positioned only in terms of narrow conceptions of what it means to know English, many of their abilities, strengths, and accomplishments become both invisible and marginalized in instructional contexts. An improved policy would recognize and create strong learning opportunities for bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency rather than focus exclusively on limited conceptions of English language development for what the state terms “English learners.”

Fourth, with such a limited understanding of the language students should acquire and with bilingual learners positioned only in terms of English language deficiency, state level policy describes bilingual learners as a problem to be solved rather than as students with qualities and strengths that can enhance the learning

communities they join. Stevens (2009) critiques this tendency by educational policymakers and researchers suggesting that by constructing bilingual learners as merely in need of language instruction, their “pathology may be remedied through achievement on test scores” (p. 7). But ultimately an education focused narrowly on limited conceptions of language acquisition that is measured through standardized test scores “will do little to help these populations understand well the interplay among self, institution, and society” (p. 7). The educational quality of the instruction a bilingual learner can receive when all that is emphasized is their technical mastery of standard English is severely limited. However, Massachusetts state policy frames the impact of educational quality for bilingual learners entirely in terms of limited levels of English acquisition.

Positioning bilingual learners as merely deficient in English has been critiqued in various ways across the research literature. Valdés (1998) and MacGregor-Mendoza (2000) discuss how language remediation can be utilized as a tool for segregation, creating a school within a school that marginalizes and limits academic growth opportunities. Wiley and W. Wright (2004) and E. Johnson (2005a, 2005b) show how the push for linguistic assimilation, as communicated in Massachusetts state policy, has generally been a method of social control through deculturation for the purpose of subordination and assimilation.

In contrast, researchers such as Expósito and Favela (2003) and Gándara and Rumberger (2009) argue for an additive approach to teaching bilingual learners that builds on their strengths, assets, and linguistic abilities while also pushing both

higher levels of English language development and academic content mastery. Clearly a bilingual learner is much more than a student needing to quickly master English. Unfortunately, Massachusetts state policy consistently constructs bilingual learners as merely English-deficient and defines their success entirely in terms of limited levels of English acquisition thus supporting the majoritarian stories of difference as deficit and English as all that matters. By framing bilingual learners in this way, state policy creates substantial opportunities for linguistic and racist practices in schools across the state.

Standards-Based Curriculum.

An important aspect of the educational quality frame is standards-based curriculum for all students including bilingual learners. According to state law, the standards established at each grade level should “set high expectations of student performance,” be similar to the “competencies and knowledge possessed by typical students in the most educationally advanced nations,” and “be expressed in terms which lend themselves to objective measurement” (M.G.L.c.69§1D). Due to the way standards have widely been constructed across the U.S. limiting the representation of knowledge traditions of minority groups and promoting white normativity, the use of standards themselves often promotes assimilationist ideals in terms of aiming for a sameness across students’ groups at each grade level. This is problematic for bilingual learners because of their multicultural and linguistic backgrounds and the way state policy requires the same high expectations of student performance across all student populations that overlook the linguistic and cultural challenges bilingual

learners face in classrooms where the use of their native languages for instructional purposes is restricted. This sets the stage for issues of racism and linguicism by holding bilingual learners to the same standards as their native English speaking peers in a context that does not actually provide the necessary supports for bilingual learner success.

Additionally, state policy regarding standards is another point of overlap between the educational quality and equality frames for their shared individualist perspective. For example, the law calls for standards to “inculcate respect for the cultural, ethnic and racial diversity of the commonwealth and for the contributions made by diverse cultural, ethnic, and racial groups to the life of the commonwealth” (M.G.L.c.69§1D). The law further states that, “Academic standards shall be designed to avoid perpetuating gender, cultural, ethnic or racial stereotypes. The academic standards shall reflect sensitivity to different learning styles and impediments to learning” (M.G.L.c.69§1D). Obviously, these provisions in state law are important for the education of bilingual learners and their teachers and could positively impact state curriculum practices.

Unfortunately, these statements are the only place in Massachusetts state policy where respect for cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity is called for regarding academic standards. This is not codified in regulations nor found in the policy tools and therefore relies on individual efforts at inculcating respect rather than systemically planned programs and policies that support standards stemming from various epistemologies, cultural practices, and lived experiences. Further, the law

calls only for standards that respect cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity leaving out any attention to diversity in language. This absence of explicit protection for linguistic diversity is another area of overlap between the educational quality and equality frame and will be discussed in greater depth in the sections describing the educational equality frame.

Finally, this instance of calling for grade-level standards to respect racial diversity is the only place in the content of state policy framed in terms of educational quality that even mentions race. This limited discussion of race in terms of educational quality conveys the majoritarian story that there is no story about race. According to state policy, colorblind practices and policies are all that is necessary to ensure educational quality for bilingual learners and their teachers. However, substantial research suggests that colorblind policies and practices contribute extensively to the lack of access many non-White populations have to a quality education (e.g., Gillborn, 2005; J. González, 2007; Howard, 2008).

Teacher Qualifications

There is substantial state policy regarding the qualifications of teachers that is framed in terms of educational quality. As previously mentioned, policy concerning teacher qualifications sends the message that quality teachers are knowledgeable content experts who are fluent and literate in English and are capable of transmitting both their content and language knowledge to all their students through the application of various pedagogical strategies. According to

state policy, to become a teacher of record, a person must have minimum levels of content knowledge and either have completed an approved teacher training program, or be in the process of completing one. For example, Chapter 71, section 38G deals primarily with the initial certification of teachers and their subsequent professional development in an effort to ensure quality teaching and learning in Massachusetts classrooms.

At the minimum, this law establishes that a teacher must hold a bachelor's degree from an accredited college or university with a relevant major for their instructional field, pass standardized tests to demonstrate their communication and literacy skills as well as content knowledge and expertise in the applicable area, and "be of sound moral character" (M.G.L.c.71§38G). A person meeting these requirements may become the teacher of record in a classroom within a district offering an approved provisional educator preparation program. Otherwise, teachers initially entering the classroom must meet the above requirements as well as "satisfactorily complete a board of education approved teacher preparation program" (M.G.L.c.71§38G).

These requirements that utilize standardized tests as a major portion of determining who is fit to teach operate from the perspective of standard language ideology and technicism. The practice of using teacher tests for quality control of new teachers has been examined and critiqued across multiple research paradigms and methodologies and has been consistently demonstrated to be an ineffective method of determining teacher competency (e.g., Buddin & Zamarro, 2009;

Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Dudley-Marling, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2001; Goldhaber, 2007). Teacher tests for licensure have also been shown to have higher passing rates for White teachers than for their peers from minority backgrounds (Hood & Parker, 1991; Latham, Gitomer, & Ziomek, 1999) and therefore serve as an additional gatekeeper preventing more minorities and non-native speakers of English from entering teaching (Barnes-Johnson, 2008).

The board approved regulations governing licensure, 603 CMR 7.00 titled “Regulations for Educator Licensure and Preparation Program Approval,” define the qualifications necessary to become a teacher of record beyond just the teacher tests. This document defines the various standards and qualifications for all teachers and all licenses, including the requirements for ESL and Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) licensure.

603 CMR 7.00 repeatedly specifies additional requirements and assurances regarding the licensure of teachers to work with children with special needs. However, little specific attention is paid to the qualifications of teachers who work with bilingual learners, even for ESL and TBE licensed teachers. For instance, section 7.04 (4) defines the specific requirements for field-based experiences qualifying teachers for an initial license. There are detailed regulations regarding the number of hours and exact locations of field-placements for teachers of students with both moderate and severe disabilities. However, bilingual learners are not mentioned once in this entire section, nor do any requirements stipulate that

teacher candidates must work in field-placements where bilingual learners are present.

Again the absence of attention in state policy regarding teacher qualifications and the field work necessary to provide teacher candidates with essential experiences working with bilingual learners stands in sharp contrast to empirical research. Research on teacher education for bilingual learners has documented a clear need for quality teachers of bilingual learners to have extensive experiences working with bilingual students in order to effectively support their language and academic content development in classrooms (e.g., Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008, Youngs & Youngs, 2001). Though state policy regarding teacher qualifications is framed in terms of educational quality, the significant absence of policy regulating fieldwork with bilingual learners means that many teachers may lack essential preparation experiences, thus limiting their ability to effectively support bilingual learners in classrooms.

The absence of another important aspect of teacher qualifications is also problematic. Though research on teaching bilingual learners has documented the various linguistic challenges each content area uniquely presents, especially for students still developing their language proficiencies in English (e.g., Bruna, Vann, & Escudero, 2007; Schleppegrell, 2004; W. Wright & Li, 2008), none of the subject matter knowledge requirements listed in section 7.06 call for teacher expertise in the academic language of their content. Language in secondary classrooms is used in very complex ways, yet usually exists as an invisible force in assessment and

instruction (Zwiers, 2008). Teacher expertise regarding the language demands of classroom tasks and specific content areas is fundamental to supporting a quality education for bilingual learners (Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Maxwell-Jolly, Gándara, & Benavidez, 2007). However, no specific regulations exist in state policy requiring teacher knowledge about academic language. This glaring absence across the description of the various secondary level content area licenses stands in direct contrast to one of the professed purposes of the document, specifically to “prepare educators to help all students achieve” (603 CMR 7.01 (1) (f)). Massachusetts state policy makes no request that secondary content area teachers have the linguistic knowledge about their subject necessary to help bilingual learners achieve.

The only licensure for secondary teachers that addresses language acquisition is the ESL license of which the TBE license is a part. The requirements for an ESL license focus extensively on the technical skills for teaching and assessing language, but do not mention anything about the qualities of effective teachers of bilingual learners suggested by research such as cultural responsiveness (e.g., Bernhard, Diaz, & Allgood, 2005; Ivey & Broaddus, 2007; Liggett, 2008), advocacy abilities (e.g., Bartolomé, 2002; de Oliveira & Athanases, 2007), or ideological clarity (e.g., Asher, 2008; Bartolomé, 2004; Expósito & Favela, 2003). Once again, the content of state policy stands in contrast to empirical research. In this case, state policy imbued with technicism and standard language ideology limits the requirements for teacher licensure in ways that contradict what research has established as effective, quality teaching. As mentioned before, within this contrast

is discrimination. Why should teacher qualifications for bilingual learners not reflect extensive research-based knowledge?

In addition to law and regulation, several of the policy tools also included descriptions of various qualifications for teachers of bilingual learners. For instance, in June of 2004, the Commissioner of Education sent a memo out to school leaders across the commonwealth that defines the skills and knowledge SEI teachers need to have in order to work with bilingual learners in sheltered content classrooms (Driscoll, 2004). This memo marked the creation of the professional development program now implemented in Massachusetts in order to prepare content teachers to work with bilingual learners in sheltered content classrooms. The program consists of training in four distinct areas called “category trainings.” Within this memo, each of the four category trainings is defined in terms of content and duration. A follow up document released by the DESE in April 2006 titled “Guidelines for Agencies Providing Sheltered English Immersion Professional Development for Content Teachers of English Language Learners” updated some of the category 4 training requirements and is the standard under which the state now operates (MA DESE, 2006). However, it is important to note that these trainings do not lead to an additional license or official endorsement from the state for teachers who complete them. These are merely recommendations put forth by the MA DESE and do not have legislative mandate or the force of regulation behind them.

The first category training (suggested to last 10-15 hours) covers the topic of second language learning and teaching. The second category training instructs

teachers about sheltering content through the application of specific strategies and requires between 30 and 40 hours to complete. The category three training instructs teachers on how to assess bilingual learners English speaking and listening skills and should last 8-10 hours. The final category training covers reading and writing in sheltered content classrooms (suggested time for category four training is 15-20 hours). According to the standards put forth in the memo and DESE guidelines, an SEI teacher can be trained in as little as 63 contact hours. With extensive research showing the complexities, difficulties, and challenges of learning to be an effective teacher of bilingual learners (e.g., Lucas & Grinberg, 2008), it is unlikely that these short and limited trainings can truly support the necessary teacher learning and growth for actual effective practice with bilingual learners. (See also Chapters Five and Six for further discussion of this issue and a demonstration of how insufficient these limited trainings truly are.)

The content description of each category training is exceptionally brief and predominantly focused on the technical, strategy-based skills a teacher of bilingual learners can use in classrooms. For instance, the outcomes of category 4 are listed as:

- Teacher plans and implements appropriate reading activities in sheltered content classrooms for Limited English Proficient students who are at different levels of English language proficiency.
- Teacher incorporates strategies for vocabulary development in lesson planning and delivery in sheltered content classes.
- Teacher plans and delivers writing instruction and activities appropriate for Limited English Proficiency students who are at different levels of English language proficiency (MA DESE, 2006, p. 12).

These outcomes are technician in their exclusive focus on strategy implementation. They also promote a limited view of language development that exclusively focuses on vocabulary instruction. The incredibly complex and difficult tasks of reading and writing in specific content areas are reduced to “activities” that teachers can learn in 15-20 hours then implement in their classrooms. The content of this training is intended to focus on limited technical outcomes and a narrow view of language development that only include vocabulary acquisition is insufficient to develop quality teachers of bilingual learners. In fact, the requirements of all four category trainings are woefully inadequate to prepare effective teachers of bilingual learners according to the research literature (e.g., Lucas & Grinberg, 2008). Similar to the requirements set forth in licensure regulations regarding an ESL license, the qualities of effective teachers of bilingual learners suggested by research such as cultural responsiveness (e.g., Bernhard et al., 2005; Ivey & Broaddus, 2007; Liggett, 2008), advocacy abilities (e.g., Bartolomé, 2002; de Oliveira & Athanases, 2007), or ideological clarity (e.g., Asher, 2008; Bartolomé, 2004; Expósito & Favela, 2003) are not addressed in the suggested content of the four category trainings.

Additionally, because the trainings are primarily technical and focus extensively on teaching activities and strategies, teaching bilingual learners can easily be perceived as “just good teaching,” the kind of teaching that is appropriate for all students. This is a dangerous perception that has been heavily critiqued for its misunderstandings of the second language acquisition process as well as the

substantial knowledge, skills, and experiences a quality teacher of bilingual learners should have (de Jong & Harper, 2008; Harper, de Jong, & Platt, 2008).

Across all of the Massachusetts regulations and policy tools regarding teacher qualifications, the requirement that teachers be fluent in English and be literate is prominent and consistent. It should be noted that these requirements focus on having a knowledge of English, but not about English form or structure. Chapter 71A stipulates that all teaching personnel in English language classrooms, the classrooms where the law demands bilingual learners be placed, are “fluent and literate in English” (M.G.L.c.71A§2). In this chapter of law entirely dedicated to the education of bilingual learners, no other specific requirements are stated regarding the qualifications of teachers of bilingual learners. Therefore, according to state law, the qualification of utmost and only distinguishing importance for a teacher working with bilingual learners is his or her own fluency and literacy in English. Once again state policy conveys the majoritarian story that English is all that matters by positioning English fluency and literacy as the teacher qualification of greatest importance for working with bilingual learners.

A focus on only English fluency and literacy in teachers assumes that a knower and user of standard English can easily transmit that knowledge to others. Additionally, the extensive focus on English fluency and literacy creates legally sanctioned language based discrimination against the non-native or non-standard English speaking teacher as the methods for determining fluency and literacy are flawed.

Teacher literacy in English must be proven through the possession of a teaching license, by earning a passing score on the Communication and Literacy Skills portion of the Massachusetts Tests for Educator Licensure (MTEL), or by earning a Bachelor's degree from a college or university where the language of instruction was English. These methods of proving literacy advantage native-English speakers and attempt to ensure the mastery of standard English by teachers of bilingual learners. While to some these methods of determining fluency appear sufficient and reasonable for teachers of bilingual learners, they do not ensure that teachers of bilingual learners have knowledge about English in the various content areas, about how English is structured, or about other languages, these are the fundamental knowledge bases necessary for linguistically responsive teaching (Lucas et al., 2008). Additionally, as previously mentioned, teacher tests often privilege White test takers and can serve as a tool of discrimination against non-dominant populations (Barnes-Johnson, 2008; Hood & Parker, 1991).

In addition to the opportunities for discrimination in determinations of English literacy in teachers, the requirements for proving fluency are similarly problematic. In the policy documents, fluency is defined "as having oral proficiency in English that consists of comprehension and production. Production is defined as accurate and efficient oral communication using appropriate pronunciation, intonation, grammar, and vocabulary in an interactive professional context" (Driscoll, 2004, p. 4). While this definition of fluency can be a source of discrimination against a candidate who speaks with a non-standard accent in the

hiring process, the policy documents focus exclusively on how to determine the fluency of teachers already working in schools.

The main method of determining fluency is through evaluations conducted by the teacher's supervisor, principal, superintendent or charter school leader, all of whom may or may not have any background in oral language assessment or second language acquisition. This method of determining whether or not a teacher is fluent relies on the ability and willingness of the individual administrator to share some of the burden of communication with speakers using non-standard varieties of English. Lippi-Green (2006) points out that "the social space between two speakers is not neutral" and explains the distribution of communicative burden:

When native speakers of USA English are confronted by an accent that is foreign to them or with a variety of English they dislike, they must first decide whether or not they are going to accept their responsibility in the act of communication. What can be demonstrated again and again is this: members of the dominant language groups feel perfectly empowered to reject their portion of the burden and to demand that a person with an accent (that is, an accent that differs from their own accent) carry a disproportionate amount of the responsibility in the communicative act. On the other hand, even when there are real impediments to understanding—a bad telephone line, a crowded and noisy room—speakers make special efforts to understand those toward whom they are well disposed (p. 298).

The standard language ideology that underlies this policy empowers administrators to target speakers of non-standard varieties of English for discrimination by resting all authority for fluency determination on their shoulders. Under these policies, the variety of English spoken by the teacher can be and has been used as an excuse for termination, masking the unwillingness of the evaluator to engage in

communication with non-standard English speakers, which promotes language-based discrimination against teachers.

These policies regarding English fluency and literacy cost many former bilingual teachers their jobs after Question 2 became policy in Massachusetts in 2002 (“School Committee of Lowell vs. Phanna Kem Robishaw,” 2010; Vaishnav, 2003). This was a significant loss of experienced teachers who came from similar backgrounds as the students they worked with and could easily communicate with parents as well as build connections in their communities. Currently, in fact, Massachusetts has an extreme shortage of teachers that the state deems qualified to work with bilingual learners amounting to nearly one in four bilingual learners receiving little to no ESL instruction on a weekly basis (MA DESE, 2009). Therefore, the language discrimination established in Massachusetts policy has had extensive harmful impacts on both teachers and students alike.

Language as a method of discrimination in the workplace is not unusual, especially when employing the standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 2006). Though the policy around determining fluency may appear neutral and objective, the opportunity for supervisors and administrators to terminate qualified teachers based on their accent when speaking English is a significant opening to perpetuate issues of linguicism and racism. In fact, under a similar law in Arizona, the state is putting renewed pressure on schools to fire or reassign teachers who speak with an accent so they are no longer working in classrooms with students who are labeled LEP (Jordan, 2010).

Standard language ideology is based on the belief that there is only one kind of English that students should be exposed to in classrooms. This ignores the benefit to both students and teachers that results from communicating across various language differences. The intensive emphasis on English literacy and fluency in quality teachers for bilingual learners reflects the majoritarian story that English is all that matters and creates an active and open opportunity for linguistic and racial discrimination to occur in teacher hiring and firing practices.

Parental Involvement

State policy regarding parental involvement is almost exclusively related to parental access to information in a language they know and understand (e.g., M.G.L.c.71§32A). This is consistent from law to regulation to policy tool. For example, Regulation 603 CMR 14.00 requires that information be shared with parents regarding student placement and English proficiency level. Similarly, policy tools from the DESE such as the Frequently Asked Questions regarding Chapter 71A, require that school communications are “to the maximum extent possible written in a language understandable to the parents and legal guardians of such students” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 11). Across the policy documents, the topic of parental involvement is framed in terms of supporting educational quality.

Here the message about parental involvement has fundamentally to do with the distribution of responsibility for educational quality between parents and schools. Essentially, state policy suggests that schools’ responsibilities end with the

sharing of information in a language that is understandable to parents. Parents are then responsible to individually engage with the school and with their children's education at the level they feel necessary. Additionally, parents are expected to assimilate to the expectations and processes of the school on their own. This kind of responsibility sharing is consistent with the ideologies of individualism and assimilationism. However, it overlooks the necessity of structures and supports specifically designed to engage parents of students from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds in order to facilitate the active participation of parents in their students' education.

When Question 2 passed, a provision was added to state law titled "Community-based English tutoring" which states, "the state shall encourage family members and others to provide personal English language tutoring to such children as are English learners" (M.G.L.c.71A§8). In this section of state law, it also states how that five million dollars, subject to appropriation, shall be spent:

For the purpose of providing funding for free or subsidized programs of adult English language instruction to parents or other members of the community who pledge to provide personal English language tutoring to Massachusetts school children who are English learners (M.G.L.c.71A§8).

While this may appear a positive method to support parental involvement in the education of bilingual learners, it should be noted that this is an assimilationist approach imbued with standard language ideology. In addition, this stipulation never became anything but words on a page. Over the years, the five millions dollars was never appropriated by the legislature. Despite the implicit message that

families and parents needed to be speaking English at home, which promotes the majoritarian story of English as *all* that matters, this type of tutoring program is not powerful enough to provide the necessary supports for parents of bilingual learners to play an active role in the education of their children.

Missing from state policy regarding parental involvement are the effective supports and structures necessary for the consistent involvement of the parents of bilingual learners. The research literature reviewed in Chapter Two extensively discusses the “mismatch” between home and school cultures (e.g., Harklau, 2000; Ngo, 2008) and suggests that language and cultural issues can greatly affect parental involvement in schools (Asher, 2007; Gibson & Hidalgo, 2009; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). When state policy defines parental involvement from the perspective of individualism, assimilationism, and standard language ideology, the cultural and linguistic barriers affecting parental involvement are overlooked and there is an additional burden on parents, which must be individually overcome in order to participate in their students’ education. Additionally, this approach to parental involvement allows schools to feel like they have done their duty to involve parents rather than evaluate and alter any ineffective practices or policies at the school or district level.

Though the licensure regulations require that teachers assess “the significance of student differences in home experience, background knowledge, learning skills, learning pace, and proficiency in the English language for learning the curriculum at hand” (603 CMR. 7.08), parents are nowhere discussed in any of

the laws, regulations, or policy tools as collaborators or holders of knowledge that could potentially be beneficial to schools, teachers, and classrooms. Schools are responsible only for providing information about various school functions and activities in a language parents understand; then the individual parent can engage with the school as they wish.

Parental support and involvement in the education of bilingual learners is important, but difficult to facilitate in a non-supportive policy environment. The absence of state policy supporting active parental involvement for the parents of bilingual learners creates opportunities for discrimination and marginalization of bilingual learners and their families. Because of the individualistic and assimilationist policy, the burden of involvement rests entirely on the parents.

Assessment

The topic of assessment is discussed in state policy as a method to support educational quality for bilingual learners. In fact, the law states:

To ensure that the educational progress of all students in learning English together with other academic subjects is properly monitored, a standardized, nationally-normed written test of academic subject matter given in English shall be administered at least once each year to all public schoolchildren in grades 2 and higher who are English learners” (M.G.L.c.71A§7).

According to state policy, quality assessments for bilingual learners are standardized, nationally-normed, and administered in English to ensure the educational progress of bilingual learners in both English language development and academic content. This technicist message that promotes standard language

ideology is consistent across state policy and supports the majoritarian story of English being all that matters, but has a major flaw.

Standardized tests administered in English cannot monitor educational quality for bilingual learners (Goto-Butler, Orr, Gutiérrez, & Hakuta, 2000; Thompson, DiCerbo, Mahoney, & MacSwan, 2002). Abedi and Lord (2001) show how the language of assessments can actually stand in the way of bilingual learners expressing their content knowledge. In fact, they state, “Although there is no evidence to suggest that the basic abilities of ELL students are different from the non-ELL students, the achievement differences between ELL and non-ELL students are pronounced” (p. 220). Tests that are standardized and nationally-normed are created for native speakers of English. It is unreasonable to expect a student who is by definition “not currently able to perform ordinary classroom work in English” (M.G.L.c.71A§2) to achieve at any meaningful level on a test created for their native English speaking peers.

Recent research in Massachusetts has shown that bilingual learners at the three lowest levels of English proficiency, as determined by the Massachusetts English Proficiency Assessment (MEPA), have little to no chance of passing any of the content areas standardized assessments in English (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010). It is impossible to monitor content knowledge development through standardized assessments in a language of which students do not yet have sufficient mastery. Yet Massachusetts law requires this and demands the collection and analysis of meaningless test data that paint a picture of bilingual learners as persistent failures.

Bilingual learners should not be expected to perform well on these tests, but they should be developing academic content knowledge and skills while they are learning English. However, the state does not have a method of assessing academic content skills for bilingual learners who are still developing their academic English proficiencies and therefore creates another issue of language discrimination.

Massachusetts law promotes a technical view of language that is easily measurable and assessed through standardized tests in English that are normed on native-English speakers. What is overlooked in state policy is the functional, complex nature of language use and what O. García (2009) calls “*linguaging*.” Language is not merely a package of words and grammar that exists as an entity and is easily transmitted, mastered, and assessed. Language is functional for communication and places diverse demands on speakers and listeners in various contexts. Therefore, all people’s “*linguaging*” practices are context specific, fluid, and dynamic. Language is not just a technical skill or discrete knowledge that is easily transferred. “*Linguaging*” demands extensive skills and expertise in evaluating context to select appropriate and effective methods of facilitating communication. Therefore, the combination of technicism and standard language ideology severely limits understandings of language use and acquisition and in this case, assessment.

The Educational Equality Frame

The second major frame that is constructed in Massachusetts policy documents is the educational equality frame. Topics in state policy like racial balance in schools, anti-discrimination, protected rights, and specialized attention for specialized populations are framed in terms of educational equality. Additionally, as discussed earlier, topics such as curriculum and instruction and assessment are framed in terms of both educational quality and equality and represent an overlap of the two frames. The framing of these topics in terms of educational equality conveys various messages about educational equality anchored in assimilationism, individualism, standard language ideology, and localism.

One of the major features of this frame is the inconsistency between the rhetoric of equality and the absence of policies, regulations, and oversight to actually ensure the kind of equality called for. Much of the frame is established through equality rhetoric, but not enough is done to codify that rhetoric into implementable regulations and practices that could actually ensure equality.

This inconsistency in state policy between the rhetoric of the law and the strength of the policies and regulations to actually put that rhetoric into practice creates legally sanctioned opportunities for linguisticism and racism. This is true especially in consideration of the way equality is constructed across state policy. Crenshaw (1988), one of the legal scholars who began the CRT movement, defined two views of equality: the expansive and the restrictive view. In the expansive view of equality, results, outcomes, and consequences are of utmost importance in order

to eradicate the conditions of subordination. In the restrictive view of equality, outcomes are downplayed and equality is treated as a process. Crenshaw states, “The primary objective of antidiscrimination law, according to this vision [the restrictive view of equality], is to prevent future wrongdoing rather than to redress present manifestations of past injustice” (p. 1342). She further describes the restrictive view of equality as banning only certain kinds of oppression in situations where the interests of others are not “overly burdened” (p. 1342).

Massachusetts policy represents a restrictive vision of equality that severely limits what the policies can accomplish in terms of supporting genuinely equitable outcomes. An expansive view of equality would create significantly different policy with substantive possibilities for actual equality in outcome. The restrictive view of educational equality that frames Massachusetts policy is discussed below.

Racial Balance

As a remnant of the school desegregation era in Massachusetts, state law and policy pays frequent and clear attention to the issue of racial imbalance in schools. However, because state policy has a restrictive view of equality and is also excessively individualistic and localist, it is not powerful enough to actually balance the public schools of Massachusetts racially.

The law states, “It is hereby declared to be the policy of the commonwealth to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of

racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools” (M.G.L.c.71§37C). Racial imbalance is defined within the law as “the condition of a public school in which more than fifty percent of the pupils attending such school are non-White” (M.G.L.c.71§37D). Chapter 76 of general law discusses how school committees may “adopt a plan for attendance at its schools by any child who resides in another city, town, or regional school district in which racial imbalance exists in public school” (M.G.L.c.76§12A). Further in the section it states that as school committees adopt plans for accepting non-resident students, they may not “discriminate in the admission of any child on the basis of race, color, religious creed, national origin, sex, age, sexual orientation, ancestry, athletic performance, physical handicap, special need or academic performance or proficiency in the English language” (M.G.L.c.76§12B).

Though the Board of Education has established an advisory council on racial imbalance, little else is currently being done through regulation or the policy tools to combat racial imbalance. In fact, Massachusetts maintains significant racial imbalance in its public schools as do many other states across the nation (Logan, Oakley, & Sowell, 2003; Orfield, Frankenberg, & C. Lee, 2003). This racial imbalance exists in spite of the law requiring racial balance due to its restrictive view of equality and its individualistic and localist approaches. Additionally, though state policy explicitly discusses the topic of racial imbalance, the outcome of this policy is extensive racial imbalance in schools and therefore promotes the majoritarian story claiming there is no story about race. To counter the majoritarian story about the

unimportance of race, state policy would need to take an expansive view of equality and create policies ensuring racial balance in actual outcome.

In terms of the education of bilingual learners, traditional racial categories may not be useful in designing and implementing strong programs. For instance, students who are classified as African American or Black by the school district can come from widely varying linguistic and cultural backgrounds, such as Kenya in contrast to Haiti. Programs for bilingual learners cannot be populated based on common racial classifications and need to take student culture and language into consideration when determining placements. However, because the majority of bilingual learners are students of color and are educated in racially imbalanced schools, this provision of state law certainly would affect bilingual learners were it to be powerful enough to influence school placements.

State policy encourages school committees to individually and locally deal with issues of racial imbalance. School committees are also provided with the legal opportunities to enact plans promoting racial balance. Despite these features of state policy, the State Board of Education and DESE have little power to ensure that schools in Massachusetts are balanced racially.

The State Board of Education may withhold approval and state aid for school construction due to lack of action by school committees in striving for racial balance (M.G.L.c.15). However, the supreme judicial and superior court have jurisdiction over this withholding of funds and can overturn the State Board's decision (M.G.L.c.15§1). Essentially these policies leave the individual choice regarding

racial imbalance issues to local school committees, and there is little oversight or motivation from any other governing entities to implement serious action in order to achieve racial balance in schools.

When racial balance is legally sanctioned but dependent on local choices and individualistic responses, discriminatory practices are inevitable. Due to the historical and contemporary racialization processes in our country that support and promote white privilege, local choices made by predominantly White decision makers will most likely perpetuate racial inequity. This helps explain the contemporary racial imbalance and intense segregation that are prevalent across Massachusetts schools today (Logan et al., 2003). Though the law contains the rhetoric of equality, the way it is framed in terms of individual and local choices by school committees nullifies any of the power that the rhetoric could potentially yield. In practice, schools are heavily racially segregated despite the lofty equality rhetoric about racial balance.

Another issue constricting the power of state level racial balance policies is the 2007 U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1 et al.*, and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education et al.* cases. These cases explored the issue of whether school district student assignment policies that considered race were in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The district plans under question were struck down by the Court, but the complex Court

decision did not rule out all methods of race-conscious school assignment policies.

Orfield et al. (2008) explain the Court's decision and its implications:

Under the Court's ruling, school districts still retain the ability of using more narrowly tailored race-conscious plans to further what a majority of the justices agreed was a compelling governmental interest to create racially diverse schools and avoid the harms of racial isolation that interfere with equal educational opportunities for students. [Yet], by limiting the most common voluntarily-adopted methods for created racially diverse schools at a time when resegregation is increasing in our nation, the Court's decision will greatly impact the ability of school districts to achieve the educational and social benefits of a diverse learning environment and create conditions for equal learning and opportunity for all students (p. 97).

The Court ruling in concert with the rather impotent state policy already in place in Massachusetts, limits the opportunity for racial balance to actually be achieved across the commonwealth and represents a restrictive view of equality.

In terms of educational equality for bilingual learners, racial imbalance is a serious issue. Marginalization and segregation, both within and across various school contexts, are prominent barriers to educational equality for bilingual learners (Alim, 2005; Valdés, 1998). Additionally, research has also shown the benefit of race-conscious school assignment policies in combating racial imbalance as well as the extensive academic benefits to all students attending racially balanced schools (Orfield et al., 2008). However, as long as policies attempting to battle racial imbalance that are derived from the ideologies of individualism and localism are in place, little progress can be made to fight the segregation and marginalization.

Specialized Attention to Specialized Populations

Some of Massachusetts policy is framed in terms of educational equality and focuses on specialized attention for specialized populations. The message sent by this policy suggests that a need exists for various populations to receive specialized attention under certain circumstances. From a grant program established by the Board to support basic skills remediation (M.G.L.c.15§52) to the requirement that the Board provide “technical assistance, curriculum, materials, consultants, support services and other services to schools and school districts, to encourage programs for gifted and talented students” (M.G.L.c.69§1B), attention across state law is paid to various groups in an effort to ensure equality for those groups.

In the case of school funding, state policy frames educational equality not only from the perspective of individualism, but also from localism. The law states, “It is the intent of the general court, subject to appropriation, to assure fair and adequate minimum per student funding for public schools in the commonwealth by defining a foundation budget and a standard of local funding effort applicable to every city and town in the commonwealth” (M.G.L.c.70§1). The foundation budget as set forth in Chapter 70 is a complex formula for local entities to use in determining the amount of school aid coming from the state. Several factors weigh into the amount of money allocated per child as well as the number of teachers allotted to teach various populations.

The level of enrollment of bilingual learners plays a significant role in determining the amount of state aid to local cities and districts. For the fiscal year

2007 budget, a major overhaul of the Chapter 70 state school aid was conducted and increased the foundation budget increment for bilingual learners by \$50 per student. As a point of comparison, the increment of increase for low-income students was \$25 per student. However, there is no requirement anywhere in the law or in the regulations or policy tools that the additional aid coming to cities, schools, and districts must be used to support bilingual learner programs. In fact the law explicitly states, “Except as required by General Law, each school district may determine how to allocate any funds appropriated for the support of public schools without regard to the categories employed in calculating the foundation budget” (M.G.L.c.70§8). There is currently no General Law requiring that funding be channeled to bilingual learner programs even though there are laws requiring the adequate funding of Special Education programs (M.G.L.c.71B). Without legal protections, the funding necessary and originally allocated for support of strong bilingual learner programs may actually be used for other school purposes.

Though Chapter 70 rhetorically calls for “fair and adequate funding,” equality in funding outcome rests on local, individual decision makers. By rhetorically framing educational equality at the state level, but then legally structuring its implementation on the individual choices of local entities, inequity is inevitable.

Across state policy regarding specialized attention to certain populations is a serious contradiction imbued with individualism and localism. By allocating more money per bilingual learner, the law assumes that it costs more to teach bilingual learners. However, this assumption is not supported by regulation or policy levers

that ensure the additional money is spent on actually educating bilingual learners. Essentially, state policy incentivizes the identification of bilingual learners but not the monetary investment in their quality education.

In addition to the inconsistencies, problems with Massachusetts policy's approach to educational equality can be seen through a comparison of the law supporting the special education population versus the law supporting bilingual learners. Students with special needs and bilingual learners are the only two populations with an entire chapter of General Law dedicated to regulating their education (M.G.L.c.71A and M.G.L.c.71B). These two populations are also often mentioned in other chapters of law and singled out to receive attention and opportunities that are equal to those of their regular education peers (e.g., M.G.L.c.69§1). However, when the legal protections of the special education population are compared with those of the bilingual learner population, there are significant differences in length, reach, and assurances.

While it is impossible to know exactly why these discrepancies exist, it is easy to wonder whether the lack of ensured protections for bilingual learners comes from the common perception of bilingual learners as "alien," "illegal," "undocumented," or "invaders." This is, of course, a false perception. The majority of bilingual learners were born in the United States. In fact, Goldenberg (2008) reported that 76% of bilingual learners who were identified as ELL in the elementary grades were born in the U.S., as were 56% of middle and high school bilingual learners classified as LEP. Despite the majority of bilingual learners being

citizens of the United States, their lack of protections in the law in comparison with their special education peers is worth noting.

Chapter 71B regarding the education of students with special needs is at least four times as long as Chapter 71A regarding the education of bilingual learners. The policies regarding the education of students with special needs do not draw on the ideologies of individualism and localism. The policies are clearly structured, defined, and tightly regulated at all levels ensuring various protections for the populations across multiple contexts. They do not rely on local discretion or individual decisions and represent a more expansive view of equality than the policies in place for bilingual learners. The policies for students with special needs stands in direct contrast to the policies for bilingual learners where individual, local decision makers are given unprecedented power in making funding and placement decisions. The individualistic and localist framing of educational equality for bilingual learners contrasts with the way educational equality is framed for students with special needs. My point here in no way suggests that students with special needs should not have the protections and affordances they currently have under the law. However, my point is to make it clear that this is another instance of discrimination codified into law.

Various Rights Explicitly Protected by State Policy

Protection of various rights for specialized groups is frequently addressed across state policy and framed in terms of educational equality while derived from

individualism, assimilationism, and standard language ideology. The content of state policy regarding protected rights has important inclusions and exclusions that limit the rights of bilingual learners and their parents.

Again, the rights of the special education population are more carefully guarded in law than are the rights of bilingual learners. For instance, Chapter 71 demands that school districts hold at minimum an annual workshop “on the rights of students and their parents and guardians under the special education laws of the commonwealth and the federal government” (M.G.L.c.71§1C). However, no such provision exists about holding workshops on the rights of bilingual learners and their parents, nor about how parents of bilingual learners who have also been identified for special education would participate in those workshops. This is a serious exclusion of protected rights from state policy permeated with individualism and assimilationism. From an assimilationist and individualist perspective, bilingual learners and their families rather than schools bear the burden of navigating their way into and through the school community and classrooms.

Another assimilationist aspect of state policy that also promotes standard language ideology describes the protected rights of students to have access to English instruction. Chapter 71A opens with a declaration that explicitly expresses the right bilingual learners have to English-only instruction. This sends the message that bilingual learners have the right to learn standard English in order to rapidly

assimilate and “participate in the American Dream of economic and social advancement” (M.G.L.c.71A§1).

The rights of bilingual learners are further discussed and framed in terms of educational equality throughout the regulations and policy tools. Chapter 71A FAQs document says that it is a student’s right to have access to language support services as long as the student cannot “participate meaningfully in the district’s mainstream educational program” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 10). This document also discusses the right bilingual learners have to “meaningful access to the educational program” (p. 17), but does not explicitly provide a plan for how that should happen in English-only contexts, especially for beginning level bilingual learners.

Parental rights are also framed in terms of educational equality within state policy. State policy gives parents the rights to sign waivers in order to put their bilingual learners in a transitional bilingual education (TBE) program or to sue districts and teachers who do not comply with the English-only requirements of state law (M.G.L.c.71A). Chapter 71A FAQs states, “Section 5 of G.L.c.71A provides for waivers for individual students under certain conditions if the parent annually applies for the waiver by visiting the student’s school and providing written informed consent” (MA DESE, 2003, p. 5, emphasis in the original). The document further clarifies the strong language in General Law, specifically, “The parent or legal guardian of any school child shall have legal standing to sue for enforcement of the provisions of this chapter” (M.G.L.c.71A§6). Chapter 71A FAQs explains that under board approved regulations (603 CMR 14.06), “parents of English learners must

exhaust an administrative process on the local and state level before they may sue teachers and other school officials for enforcement under G.L.c.71A” (p. 15).

While it is entirely reasonable for parents to need to exhaust administrative processes in order to sue for the rights they were given in General Law, the administrative process put forth by the board approved regulations (603 CMR 14.06) requires extensive writing in English on behalf of the parent with no offered supports for parents to participate in the process who do not have either the English nor the literacy skills necessary for the task. Individual parents must navigate this process on their own without support from schools. It is an individualistic choice to utilize this right to sue and an individualistic process to engage in if a parent chooses to exercise this right.

Regardless of the position one has towards English-only laws and the right parents have to sue in order to enforce those laws, it is evident through the individualistic aspects of state policy regarding parental rights that this right to sue is more of a rhetorical promise than a practical right in application. Once again the rhetoric promoting equality is merely words rather than codified and implementable practice.

Anti-Discrimination

Anti-discrimination is a major topic in state policy, especially in the chapters of law discussing charter schools’ admissions policies. In addition, extensive regulations have been approved by the board titled “Access to Equal Educational

Opportunity” (603 CMR 26.00) that explicitly address various issues of discrimination in general school admissions practices, admission to courses of study, career and educational guidance, curricula, extra-curricular activities, etc.

Despite the protections against discrimination defined in these regulations, consistently across this document, specific language protections for students are left out. For instance, the regulations state:

603 CMR 26.00 is promulgated to insure that the public schools of the Commonwealth do not discriminate against students on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, national origin or sexual orientation and that all students have equal rights of access and equal enjoyment of the opportunities, advantages, and privileges and courses of study at such schools (603 CMR 26.01 (1)).

The noticeable absence of language in the list of areas by which students may not be discriminated against (race, color, sex, religion, national origin, and sexual orientation are the consistent targets of protection against discrimination in these regulations) structures legally sanctioned language discrimination in state policy. Beyond the omission of language from the list of targets of protection, “equal access and equal enjoyment of the opportunities, advantages, and privileges and courses of study at such schools” is routinely denied bilingual learners based on issues surrounding language, as explained below.

The law requires that bilingual learners only receive instruction in English, but it does not explain how those who are not yet proficient in academic English are supposed to have “equal access and equal enjoyment of the opportunities, advantages, and privileges and courses of study” when those are only conducted in

English. Although the regulations and policy tools routinely discuss the need for guidance counselors and information about school activities to be available to bilingual learners in a language they can understand (see MA DESE, 2008), there is no provision for curriculum and instruction to be offered in a comprehensible language. In fact, except in the case of dual-language instruction, there is an explicit prohibition of native language instruction.

What this suggests is that although the content of state policy is framed in terms of educational equality, this is little more than rhetoric. Saying that bilingual learners should have equal access is not the same as actually creating the policies and structures necessary to provide it. The absence of policy ensuring “equal access and equal enjoyment of the opportunities, advantages, and privileges and courses of study” is further evidence of a restrictive view of educational equality and creates extensive opportunity for language-based discrimination.

This kind of linguisticism is also explicitly written into state regulations (603 CMR 26.00). As mentioned above, 603 CMR 26.00 is about “Access to Equal Educational Opportunity.” Throughout the document, issues of language are both explicitly discussed and deliberately left out. Under the topics of school admissions as well as admissions to courses of study, there are specific provisions to protect bilingual learners from being discriminated against based on their level of English ability. However, the same protections are not in place under the sections on career and educational guidance, curriculum, and extra-curricular activities. With regard to these aspects of schooling, language is not listed as an area in which schools may

not discriminate even though it is listed in other regulations in the document. This is tantamount to legally and state sanctioned language-based discrimination.

For instance, in the section on curricula, the regulation states, “All public school systems shall, through their curricula, encourage respect for the human and civil rights of all individuals regardless of race, color, sex, religion, national origin or sexual orientation” (603 CMR 26.05 (1)). In a state where languages other than English are only to be used in classrooms where students already know English (M.G.L.c.71A§4) (except in the case of dual-language programs), there is no explicit regulation demanding that curricula inculcate respect for languages other than English. This is problematic and helps to position students who speak and whose identities are closely tied to those languages other than English as legally sanctioned targets of discrimination.

Some may argue that protections based on “national origin” include protections for issues around language. However this argument does not stand with regard to these regulations where race, color, sex, religion, national origin or sexual orientation, are routinely listed, and occasionally “limited English-speaking ability” is listed as well (603 CMR 26.03 (4)). Listing language as an area where protecting students against discrimination is explicitly necessary in the same list as national origin suggests that the two are not the same. Additionally, the deliberate presence and absence of anti-discrimination regulations concerning language and bilingual learners, based on language, structures language-based discrimination into state policy.

The anti-discrimination content of state policy reflects individualistic, assimilationist, and standard language ideologies. From the perspective of assimilationism and standard language ideology, bilingual learners simply need to learn English as rapidly as possible and therefore do not require extensive protections against discrimination because of their linguistic background or level of English proficiency. The burden of responsibility to assimilate and learn English is on students as well as their fault if they do not assimilate and learn English quickly enough. Additionally, bilingual learners are individually protected against discrimination in some circumstances but not in others. In fact, in some cases, because the individual bilingual learners have not mastered the standard language, discrimination against them is sanctioned in state policy.

Conclusion

As this frame analysis demonstrates, the seemingly colorblind policies in Massachusetts regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers are anything but colorblind. Although state policy is framed in terms of the broad goals of educational quality and equality, it is also imbued with the ideologies of localism, technicism, individualism, assimilationism, and standard language ideology. Additionally, the rhetorical promises in the body of state policy are not possible to meet within the restrictions and provisions of that same policy.

Powell (2009) calls for an understanding of what “our institutions and policies are in fact doing, not what we want or hope for them to do” (p. 802). The

rhetorical sentiments espoused in Massachusetts General Law do not reflect the reality of the policies as they are regulated and implemented in practice. This mismatch generates many sites for potential discrimination based on language as well as race that need serious change. As the policies currently stand, neither educational quality nor equality is provided for bilingual learners or their teachers. Policy makers and the educational community need to work together to create and implement policies that will actually provide educational quality and equality for bilingual learners rather than simply call for these goals on paper but in actuality promote detrimental majoritarian stories and ideologies.

The content of state policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers is framed in terms of both educational quality and educational equality as I have shown throughout this chapter. It is clear that state policy implicitly and explicitly promotes the four majoritarian stories identified in Chapter Two (there is no story about race, difference is deficit, meritocracy is appropriate, and English is *all* that matters). As my review of the literature showed, a quality teacher of bilingual learners is culturally and linguistically responsive, strives for ideological clarity, and advocates on behalf of their students and themselves regarding quality educational opportunities for bilingual learners. Teachers who measure up to these criteria would not subscribe to or promote in their practice the majoritarian stories commonly conveyed about bilingual learners. Rather, their classrooms and pedagogy would reflect a counter-story to the majoritarian stories of difference as deficit, English is *all* that matters, and the appropriateness of

meritocracy. Additionally, through their efforts for ideological clarity and advocacy, these teachers would counter the idea that there is no story about race by challenging current racialization processes and disrupting patterns of white normativity in schooling practice. These goals are important, however, in Massachusetts, teachers must work in a policy environment that consistently conveys these very majoritarian stories. This raises many questions about what the practice of an individual teacher, particularly a new teacher might look like in such a conflicting policy context.

CHAPTER FIVE: Educational Systems Dominated by Whiteness: Limiting the Educational Opportunities of Bilingual Learners and their Teachers

Gillborn (2005) conducted a policy analysis through the lens of CRT on educational policy in England and came to the conclusion that “education policy is an act of white supremacy” (p. 498). He argued, “the racist outcomes of contemporary policy may not be coldly calculated but they are far from accidental” (p. 499). From my analysis presented in Chapter Four, it appears that education policy regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in Massachusetts can also be regarded as an act of white supremacy and that the racist and linguistic aspects of the policy are far too consistent and pervasive to be accidental. Now as we move to the longitudinal qualitative case study of a teacher prepared to work with bilingual learners, the role of white supremacy as well as institutionalized racism and linguistic continues to be stark.

While the term “white supremacy” generally conjures images of radical extremist groups, the way the term is understood within CRT scholarship is much more expansive. Ansley (1997) discussed white supremacy as follows:

I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious and unconscious ideas of white supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic, and cultural system in which Whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings (p. 592).

In this sense, white supremacy is a term that encompasses issues of white privilege, white dominance, and white normativity. From the positioning of bilingual learners as English deficient to insisting their teachers use un-accented standard English, Massachusetts state policy promotes white supremacy and institutionalized racism and linguicism predominantly through white normativity. By white normativity I mean what Kubota and Lin (2006) define in terms of how “Whiteness exerts its power as an invisible and unmarked norm against which all Others are racially and culturally defined, marked, and made inferior” (p. 483).

CRT scholars have done extensive work “concerning the impact of white normativity on institutions of learning, the use of education as an instrument of white supremacy, and the role race plays in determining the very social and political structures of American life” (Curry, 2008, p. 35). The analyses presented in this dissertation contribute to such scholarship. Through both critical policy analysis and longitudinal qualitative case study in this dissertation, the impact of white normativity on the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in Massachusetts is exposed for how it operationalizes discrimination.

The analysis presented in this chapter and in Chapter Six expose the powerful role white normativity plays in multiple contemporary educational systems. This chapter explores the experiences before and during the pre-service teacher preparation year for one teacher candidate, Amanda Lee. Chapter Six analyzes the same teacher’s experiences during her first three years of teaching. While the data collected and analyzed for these two chapters centers around

Amanda and her experiences developing as a teacher over time, the most salient issues have to do with the systems and structures that governed her education across her life experiences. Therefore, the focus of this chapter and the next is not on Amanda per se, but on the systemic issues that play out in her education over time regarding race, culture, and language and the education of bilingual learners.

A Youth Dominated by Whiteness

Amanda joined the teacher education program at Boston College just months after graduating from a prestigious private college with a bachelor's degree in English. She was eager to become a quality teacher in urban schools and expressed a sincere interest in learning to support bilingual learners effectively. Like every teacher entering a teacher education program, Amanda had a back-story that influenced her ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language over time.

Amanda's Family Background

Amanda's father is White, American and an anthropologist. Her mother is from Taiwan and an artist. Her parents, who met when her father was working on a project in Taiwan, are no longer married. Because her parents were actually living in Nepal at the time, Amanda was born in Taiwan where her Amanda's mother preferred to give birth in her home country with her family. Amanda's father was working in the Peace Corps in Nepal for the first several years of her life. Her younger brother, and only other sibling, was also born in Taiwan during that time.

Amanda lived in Nepal and attended Nepalese pre-school until she was four and a half years old when she moved to the U.S. with her family.

When she is with her family Amanda speaks some Mandarin, but English is her dominant language. She also speaks some Spanish that she learned from spending a month and a half in Costa Rica with her father. However, Amanda considers her first language Nepali, though she can no longer speak or understand it after losing it rather quickly upon moving to the U.S.

The transition to the U.S. from Nepal was very difficult for Amanda. As an assignment for a course in her teacher education program, Amanda wrote an Autobiography of Learning and talked about the pain of this early transition:

I do not remember much about my childhood in Nepal, but I do remember coming to the States and feeling very isolated by my peers in school. I have sharp, painful memories of my classmates ridiculing the clothes my mom picked out for me and grimacing at the food that I ate because it was different from theirs. I often sat alone and watched kids play games at recess because I was too shy to join them. I also remember wanting to change my name to Helene (my middle name) because none of the teachers could pronounce [Amanda's real name is Chinese, Amanda is the pseudonym that she chose for herself for this research] the way it was supposed to be pronounced in Chinese (pp. 1-2).

Amanda also discusses how being biracial made her “aware of being ‘the outsider’ from a very young age” (p. 1).

One of the earliest experiences Amanda remembers about race has to do with her bi-racial background. On a day with beautiful weather, Amanda and her younger brother were walking home from elementary school when their father came by and offered to give them a ride the rest of the way home. Because of the

nice weather, the two children turned down the offer. However, Amanda's father continued to drive near them in the car and chat with the children as they walked. Suddenly, a van pulled up behind Amanda's father and called to the children asking if the man was bothering them. Amanda was confused about who the stranger was talking about and asked, "You mean my dad?" The stranger said that the man in the car in front of him did not look like Amanda's father and asked if he should call the police. Amanda assured the stranger that the man in the car was in fact her father and that there was no reason to call the police.

This experience perplexed Amanda for a long time. She did not understand why the stranger did not know that her father was her father and eventually realized it was because the man in the van did not think that Amanda and her father looked alike. After describing this story in her Autobiography of Learning assignment, Amanda wrote:

Race has always been a complicated and fascinating issue for me because, even though my dad is White, people usually assume that my race is Asian. However, whenever I visited my mom's side of the family in Taiwan, people would assume that I was American, which basically meant White. When I was younger, I sometimes felt pressure to "choose" one race, but then I would realize that the choice was not up to me. The choice was up to how society wanted to view me. Paradoxically, I grew up with the sense of being included in and excluded from many social groups at the same time (Autobiography of Learning, p. 3).

Amanda's unique family background and experiences with race, culture, and language were permeated with multiple issues of white normativity and dominance. From a young age, Amanda was forced into various positions as both an insider and outsider depending on the context she was in. Her experiences living in and among

multiple cultures, languages, and races both with her transnational upbringing, but also within her own home and family, helped her develop an appreciation for and understanding of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and some of the complex issues around race. However, because of the power of white normativity, her unique multicultural, multilingual, and multiracial background was perceived negatively by her peers, which persistently pushed Amanda to “choose” an identity.

Wildman (1997) critiques the role whiteness plays in othering those, like Amanda, from multilingual and multicultural backgrounds stating:

Belonging is everything, belonging is defined as sameness and in not being the other. This empty value in assimilation reveals why a multicultural perspective, one that honors difference and does not require assimilation, is so important. It is an incredible strength to be bi- or tri-lingual, to understand more cultures than just the dominant one. These real advantages possessed by Latinas/os [and Amanda] are used by the dominant culture as disadvantages. This is a crime (p. 325).

This “crime” that Wildman describes was frequently committed against Amanda during her youth. Eventually, because of her experiences with this “crime,” she realized that the way she is classified in society based on race, culture, and language is not for her to decide. It is the power of white privilege, white dominance, and white normativity that determines “how society wanted to view” Amanda. This powerful force of whiteness played a significant and marginalizing role in Amanda’s educational experiences during her K-12 years.

Amanda's Experience of K-12 Schooling

In recounting her K-12 schooling experiences to me during our first interview, which was conducted at the beginning of her teacher education program, Amanda said, "I think I was probably the only minority in a classroom until 6th grade" (Interview 1, p. 7). Amanda lived in a wealthy, predominately White suburb of a large Northeastern metropolitan urban center in the United States and described her early schooling experiences as rather painful socially. She was mocked for bringing rice or chopsticks to school and felt that it was difficult to find people to relate to until her middle school years. It was in middle school that Amanda remembers first having strong friendships "with a few of my peers, most of whom were social outcasts like me" (Autobiography of Learning, p. 5). A major social change occurred for Amanda in 8th grade when a Cantonese American girl who became her best friend, Hillary, moved to her town. Amanda said:

I was immediately drawn to her because she seemed to have such a strong sense of who she was. She grew up in a community that was primarily Asian America, which meant that most of her peers dressed, ate and talked the same way that she did. I envied her and admired her at the same time. For the first time, I had someone with whom I could share my Chinese culture. Hillary helped me find a part of my identity that I had tried to hide from my peers in elementary school in order to fit in (Autobiography of Learning, p. 5).

Finally having a close friend who understood where she was coming from proved to be a powerful turning point for Amanda. In fact, Amanda's descriptions of her experiences in high school were substantially more positive than her descriptions of her experiences in elementary and middle school. Overall, however,

she described her schooling experiences as stressful and full of pressure. In her *Autobiography of Learning* she stated:

School is such an important part of my life that I can barely remember the days when I was not in school. It is also a part of my life that I have taken for granted because many of my school years were unpleasant and stressful. The pressure to do well mostly came from my parents, especially my mom, who wanted me to be a “straight A” student. My teachers also pressured me because the schools in my town had a reputation for doing well on standardized tests. I even felt pressure from being in competition with my peers. I came to associate school with stress, and it wasn’t until college that I started to associate school with success and learning (p. 1).

One major source of pressure and stress for Amanda was her struggle to understand the material in her math classes. From an early age she found this embarrassing because her cousins in Taiwan were so good at math. She even said,

I think the reason I never asked my teacher for help was that I felt ashamed that I was not excelling in math like my cousins were. I had somehow internalized the stereotype that Asians were supposed to be good at math, so I felt like a failure since I could not live up to that “standard.” One thing I never questioned was why my teacher didn’t give me extra help when he saw that I was failing. Perhaps he, too, believed the stereotype (*Autobiography of Learning*, pp. 3-4).

Because of Amanda’s struggles in math, her mother drilled her in math exercises when she came home from school, starting as early as fourth grade. Amanda hated it and was frustrated that her mother was pushing her so hard to improve in math.

Amanda described the pressure she felt from her mother and recognized the cultural content within that pressure. She mentioned that her father did not play a major role in her elementary education because of his frequent work related travels:

I sometimes wonder whether my elementary years would have been easier if my dad had been around to explain to my mom that schools in America don’t pressure and drill kids the way that Taiwanese schools do. My dad certainly

made my high school years easier by convincing my mom that the amount of pressure she put on me was unhealthy and unproductive (Autobiography of Learning, p. 4).

Amanda recognized the different cultures and perspectives her parents came from, especially in comparison to her friends at the Saturday Chinese language school she attended. Amanda said,

In an attempt to expose me to my Chinese heritage, my parents sent me to a Chinese language school every Saturday until I was in seventh grade. Like me, many of the kids there were forced to be there, and I felt empathy for them because they were pressured to do well in school as I was. However, I felt somewhat privileged above the kids whose parents were both immigrants because my dad was able to help my mom bridge the “cultural gap” that she and many other immigrants face (pp. 4-5).

Amanda indicated that she felt “privilege” from having a White, American father who could provide a cultural bridge in comparison to her peers at the Saturday Chinese school that mainly came from homes with two immigrant parents. Though Amanda named this difference in terms of culture, which is certainly an important part of the gap she described, the whiteness that privileged her in comparison to her peers is important to note as well.

It appears that white normativity and whiteness played a significant as well as marginalizing role in the K-12 educational experiences Amanda recounted to me and in her teacher education course assignments. For example, Amanda and her best friend Hillary did a lot of activities together in high school, including being co-presidents of the Asian American Culture Club, a club she also participated in during her college years. However, she discussed the frequent criticism the club received:

A lot of people who were not Asian would tell me, well the one thing, the one criticism I have is this group is pretty cliquey. And you know it's, you don't, you feel like an outsider if you're not the same race if you don't speak the same language, eat the same food. I mean, you just feel not welcome. And so I would let—I have always wanted to try to find a way to like bridge this cultural gap and make it so that you know people do feel welcome. I don't know if we really succeeded with that in high school. We certainly didn't do a good job in college in that particular club (Interview 1, pp. 7-8).

Because of the substantial amount of time during Amanda's youth that she felt she was an outsider, it appears that this criticism of her club was not something she was comfortable with. Therefore, she worked to try to make her club a welcoming place for all regardless of language, culture, or race.

However, the white normativity that marginalized and pushed Amanda to outsider status for so many years is also the same white normativity that justified critiques of her Asian American Culture Club. The criticism of Amanda's club that, "you feel like an outsider if you're not the same race if you don't speak the same language, eat the same food. I mean, you just feel not welcome" is a perfect description of Amanda's own educational experiences. From peers mocking her for her clothes to her use of chopsticks during school lunch, Amanda was frequently exposed to the majoritarian story that difference is deficit, and she suffered as an outsider for many years because of it. The invisible, yet powerful and discriminatory nature of white normativity is evidenced here. Tellingly, Amanda's outsider status within the mainstream was normalized, unchallenged, and accepted, but a White person's outsider status within her Asian American Culture Club was positioned as an issue.

Wildman and Davis (1997) addressed this issue of white normativity as experienced by Amanda saying:

The characteristics and attributes of those who are privileged group members are described as societal norms—as the way things are and as what is normal in society. This normalization of privilege means that members of society are judged, and succeed or fail, measured against the characteristics that are held by those privileged. The privileged characteristic is the norm; those who stand outside are the aberrant or “alternative” (p. 316).

They further explain that “privilege is not visible to its holder; it is merely there, a part of the world, a way of life, simply the way things are” (p. 316). This kind of privilege and white normativity appears to have consistently otherized and marginalized Amanda throughout her K-12 educational experiences.

In her school experiences, Amanda had what she described as an “experience with explicit racism” from her 8th grade math teacher. She explained that her teacher had little patience for students who were unable to master the material at his pace. However, she was struggling so she decided to stay after school for help with fractions. She wrote in her autobiography about the experience:

I explained to him that I didn’t understand the material on the next test, and I asked whether he would stay for a few minutes to give me a review session. He simply laughed and said, ‘Aren’t Asians supposed to be good at math?’ His comment hurt and angered me because it brought back the memories of fourth grade when I had internalized that stereotype. Needless to say, I did not do well on the next test. My experience with [8th grade math teacher] taught me that teachers’ biases and expectations can play a very significant role in how well students perform (p. 6).

Her struggles in math class continued even to her senior year when she tried to take an honors statistics course. After the teacher realized that Amanda would need extra help with the course, she told Amanda to transfer out of the class because she,

the teacher, was not willing to spend extra time on helping Amanda get through the class. When Amanda recalled this experience to me she expressed her regret for not getting the chance to be in that class and to at least try to succeed in it. She said she would have rather tried and failed the course than to be taken out of it. She also wished that her parents would have been more involved at the school and fought the decision her teacher had made. She felt that other parents would have fought for their student to stay in the course and she wished her parents had done that for her.

Amanda's persistent battles with math content and instructors marginalized her. As she mentioned, Amanda was stereotyped as the "model minority" student who should be good at math and she internalized this predominant stereotype (Ngo, 2008; Asher 2007, 2008). When she was not good at math, or more accurately, when math did not come easily to her, this stereotype got in the way of Amanda getting the kind of help she needed to actually succeed. In this sense, the stereotypes that position Amanda in terms of math ability because of her perceived race, also limited Amanda's educational opportunities.

The most influential course Amanda took in high school was a race relations course. She said it was so significant to her because she had never before experienced an open forum for discussing race at her high school. Amanda called race at her high school "the big elephant in the room" (Interview 1, p. 8). In her *Autobiography of Learning* she wrote more about race at her high school:

Although my school addressed the topic of racism in a broad way, few people would come right out and talk about their own prejudices. Racism certainly existed at my school, but it was the subtle kind of racism that people tried not to talk about, like the fact that so few minorities were tracked into honors courses. There were so few minorities in my town that we had a bussing system which brought Black and Hispanic kids from Urbanville [a nearby large city] to my school. If it had not been for this bussing system, I never would have made any Black or Hispanic friends until college. A few of the kids from Urbanville would tell me how hard it was to be bused into the suburbs because they were neither accepted by their peers at school nor by their peers in Urbanville. I empathized with this sense of being caught in between two worlds and feeling isolated because that had been my experience in elementary school (p. 6).

She also offered further description of her race relations course:

In my senior year of high school I took an unforgettable “Race Relations” class that inspired me to become more active about and more aware of civil rights and institutionalized racism. That class was the most emotional and powerful class that I had ever taken in high school—it not only made me want to learn more, but also to take action against the injustices of the world. The discussions that we had in class made everyone, including myself, come to terms with their biases and prejudices (p. 7).

Amanda’s English course in high school was another powerful experience for her that centered around race, culture, and language. In our first interview, she talked about the first teacher she ever had who herself was a minority and how that teacher brought social justice topics into the curriculum:

I had a teacher in -- very inspiring teacher in high school who she was I think half Japanese-American and she talked about the Internment Camps through reading a book called “Farewell to Manzanar”. And that was so powerful for me because she was the first minority teacher I had ever had and I felt like I could relate to her and I never even heard about that Internment before this class so that was so -- felt powerful, engaging for me....As a minority student in a pretty White neighborhood (Interview 1, p. 1).

Amanda proclaimed this experience to be so powerful for three reasons: having a minority teacher for the first time, feeling like she could relate to her teacher, and

engaging with an often untold aspect of American history. Each of these reasons posed challenges to white normativity in Amanda's schooling experiences and helped her find a place in the classroom and curriculum.

Working with a minority teacher for the first time gave Amanda the chance actually to relate to a teacher in a way she never had before with any of her White teachers. Additionally, this teacher addressed important social justice issues through her curriculum that Amanda had never heard about before but found powerful to discuss. Because Amanda described this experience as singular and inspiring, it appears that it was not the norm. From Amanda's descriptions of her K-12 schooling experiences, it appears that they were dominated by white normativity and a curriculum that perpetuated whiteness. However, on occasion, as in the race relations course and the English course taught by a minority teacher, she did experience challenges to white normativity that were meaningful to Amanda.

In terms of language, Amanda also had some strong learning experiences in her K-12 years. She started taking Latin in the 7th grade and felt that by learning Latin she also learned English grammar. She said, "For some reason I hadn't learned all this stuff in elementary school and I don't know if it was that I forgot or I just wasn't taught but it certainly didn't stick up here" (Interview 1, p. 12). Though she did not discuss her experiences with Latin as powerful or as inspirational as her high school English or race relations course, she did talk about the value she found in learning English grammar as well as other languages. She said, "It's amazing how much culture you can get through language because it's not just words I think. It's

like how you say things. And, you know, how to be polite. And so languages, I think, are really important” (Interview 1, p. 12). Her commitment to and love of languages persisted across the case study data.

Amanda discussed and recalled the first educational systems and structures she encountered as a child during her teacher education program. As this section demonstrated, these systems were governed by whiteness. They operated from a position of white normativity to perpetuate white privilege and domination. The whiteness that governed Amanda’s early educational experiences marginalized her, silenced her in the classroom and curriculum, and essentialized her into dominant stereotypes. As a bilingual learner herself, Amanda’s experiences in her youth expose a problematic system that perpetuates damaging majoritarian stories and positions bilingual learners, especially those like Amanda who are not in need of “English remediation,” as invisible in the classroom and curriculum.

Amanda’s Experiences in College

Amanda majored in English at a prominent and prestigious university in another east-coast urban center. She chose the school for both its urban location and its smaller size compared to the other larger urban universities she had applied to. Additionally, Amanda selected this university because she wanted to go somewhere that was different from where she grew up and was away from home. The urban location of Amanda’s undergraduate institution ended up being a major factor for choosing it. She wanted to learn more about the city and was intrigued by

the concentration of African-Americans in the area and hoped to learn more about their culture and literature.

A significant experience for Amanda in college was working for a tutoring program for low-income students in the city. It was a paid, work-study position that helped fund her education, but was also a valuable experience in her decision to become a teacher. She said of her work in this program, “That was when it clicked for me because I started it my junior year and finished up my senior year. And it clicked to me that I was like this is what I could see myself doing for a long time” (Interview 1, p. 4).

Amanda’s involvement in the program went above and beyond the regular duties of a tutor. After one year of tutoring in the program, she started a student organization at her university to mentor the students, above and beyond what the tutoring program already offered. She organized a campus tour for students and took them on a fieldtrip to a local museum. The night before the fieldtrip, Amanda called parents to let them know about the fieldtrip and to make sure they knew where their kids were going. This experience talking to parents surprised her because she found out how many of the students she worked with were often on their own and did not have adults keeping tabs on their whereabouts. About this experience with parents, she said:

I mean the parents—I don’t blame them because the parents have full-time jobs and they can’t keep tabs on their kids all the time but I personally was like well, even if your parent doesn’t care, I still want them to know where you are. So I think that like I think the parents really appreciated me taking the time to do that instead of just you know I think that builds up a level of

trust rather than just taking—Hey, I’m going to take your kid to this museum and you’re not going to know about it (Interview 1, pp. 5-6).

This experience reaching out to parents was replicated in her teaching and signifies a very strong position Amanda maintained about the role of parents in schooling. Consistently through her actions and statements, she expressed a belief in the value of collaborating with parents. However, she did not always have successful experiences with parents and sometimes was baffled at how parents did not see her as a collaborative partner (Interview 12). This may be related to unexamined racial and cultural content, which is explored in Chapter Six.

Overall Amanda felt she benefitted significantly from participating in this tutoring program. In her Autobiography of Learning assignment she wrote about how much she benefitted from getting to know the students. She wrote:

The more I got to know the students, the more I understood how essential it was for me to be a committed part of their lives. They were used to people coming in and out of their lives without much notice, so it meant a great deal to them that I showed up every week, rain or shine. It always amazed me how much motivation and determination the students had for learning and striving to do better, despite the challenges they faced at their poorly funded schools. The relationships I developed with my students was certainly not a one-way street. I benefited from them as much as they benefited from me—by teaching them the power of knowledge, they taught me how the very nature of schools is political. Schools have power structures and inequalities as much as any other system in our country. Public schools are especially tied to politics because they are dependent on property taxes for funding. My heart almost broke when my students told me that they had to share outdated textbooks with their classmates because their schools didn’t have enough money to buy new ones. I believe this is truly unjust and contradictory to the values of liberty and equality that America stands for...By the end of my two years at [tutoring program], I decided that it was not enough for me to be aware of injustices. I had to *do* something about them (pp. 7-8).

Amanda learned a great deal about educational inequity by working in the tutoring program and hearing about the poorly resourced schools her students attended. It appears that her work in this program brought a level of awareness and indignation about the inequitable situation for urban, low-income, and predominantly youth of color, which she felt compelled to combat.

Not only did her work in this tutoring program inspire her to become a teacher, but Amanda also experienced a change in her perspective about teaching itself. She indicated that before working in the tutoring program, she felt that “teachers were an authority in the classroom and that students were supposed to take notes on everything the teacher had to say” (Autobiography of Learning, p. 8). However, after working in the program, her perspective shifted. “My view of teaching changed to the idea that the relationship between teacher and students is more of a partnership than a hierarchy because teachers can learn from students as much as students can learn from teachers” (p. 8).

Entering teacher education with this perspective, Amanda was well primed to learn how to engage in classroom practices that truly support the development of learning partnerships between teachers and students. However, this is where the disjointed system of teacher education failed Amanda. Amanda came to teacher education with a foundation that could have been built on to create a critical stance towards racism and linguicism and engage in discussions that de-construct whiteness in society and the classroom. She was eager to see transformative teaching modeled for her, the kind where students and teachers truly are partners

in learning. She was also thirsty for opportunities to teach for social justice and alter the inequitable status quo, especially for bilingual learners. Unfortunately, as discussed in the following sections, because of the inconsistencies and disconnects in the teacher education program she participated in, the extent to which Amanda could learn to challenge inequitable systemic practices governed by white normativity that sanction discrimination was severely limited.

Teacher Education for Social Justice: The Limitations of a Disjointed Program

In my first interview with Amanda she said, “I guess the main focus that I’m looking for as a teacher is social justice” (Interview 1, p. 2). In fact, she chose to become certified as a teacher at Boston College because of its explicit social justice mission. This mission is expressed in the program in various ways, but is also explicitly stated on each course syllabus as part of five developmental themes (promoting social justice, constructing knowledge, inquiring into practice, accommodating diversity and collaborating with others). For promoting social justice, every syllabus reads, “At BC, we see teaching as an activity with political dimensions, and we see all educators as responsible for challenging inequities in the social order and working with others to establish a more just society.” This definition of teaching for social justice was consistent with Amanda’s perspective as well as her personal goals for becoming a teacher.

However, an expressed commitment to teaching for social justice does not equal an anti-racist teacher education or a critically conscious position that might

significantly disrupt the inequitable status quo. Additionally, according to multiple interviews with Amanda, it does not appear that a consistent vision of teaching for social justice was discussed or implemented across Amanda's teacher education coursework. She found a couple of her courses to strongly integrate critical issues and model teaching for social justice, but did not describe such teaching as taking place across all her courses (Interviews 3 & 6).

In addition to the mixed experiences across Amanda's teacher education coursework, as the following sections show, the vision for effective teaching Amanda created through her teacher education coursework and previous life experiences, was substantively different from what was modeled for her in her practicum placement. This disconnect limited Amanda's opportunities to learn to teach in ways that she felt would be effective. This is not to argue that Amanda gained no benefit from her teacher preparation, or that there were not successful components of it. Rather, the dramatic distance between the teacher education course material and her practicum placement as well as the inconsistencies and lack of critical, anti-racist curriculum and content within her teacher education coursework weakened the reach of her preparation to support Amanda in truly teaching for social justice. Essentially, Amanda's experiences of the teacher preparation program were too weak and inconsistent to effectively battle institutionalized racism and linguisticism and therefore perpetuated them.

School Context for Amanda's Practicum Experiences

Amanda spent both her pre- and full-practicum experiences in the same classroom with the same teacher at the same school. She described Valley Academy in her Inquiry Paper saying:

On my first day of student teaching at I distinctly remember the headmaster telling a group of teachers that the goal of the school is to promote three Rs: Rigor, Relevance, and Relationships. It did not occur to me at the time, but upon further reflection, I feel that the three Rs fit well with the school's mission statement:

"[Valley Academy] will be a diverse community of life long learners, always striving to better themselves for themselves and this community. Our students will be future leaders who have flourished and will continue to flourish with each new educational and professional experience ([Valley Academy] Mission statement packet)."

On their website, [Valley Academy] also add that "one feels...warmth and a sense of belonging" when walking into the "Hall of Flags," which is the main lobby where students gather between classes to talk and stop by their lockers. This area is called the "Hall of Flags" because it is surrounded by at least a dozen flags which represent the different nations that the student body comes from—Haiti, Cape Verde, Albania, the Dominican Republic, etc. Having worked with students, teachers and administrators at [Valley Academy] for about seven months, I feel that the school's website and mission statement do not reflect the level of dissatisfaction that students and teachers feel. The students I have spoken with or interviewed say that they often feel disrespected by teachers and administrators. The teachers I have talked to say that there is a lack of communication between themselves, students, and administrators. Yet, the one thing that almost everyone can agree on is that [Valley Academy] is a safe school because the administration is very strict about suspending students for violence (Inquiry Paper, p. 1).

My interactions with Amanda across her pre-service year support her assertions that there were high levels of dissatisfaction across most of the school community. Amanda's practicum placement was in a struggling school that could not model the kind of teaching and learning Amanda entered her teacher education program striving to internalize. Amanda critiqued many of the things she witnessed and

experienced at Valley Academy throughout her practicum placement, but did not have a critical mentor, a role her university supervisor could have played, to help push her critiques to challenge institutionalized racism and linguicism within classroom policies and practices.

A major failure of Amanda's teacher education began with her placement in a struggling school context where, according to Amanda, dissatisfaction reigned across all populations in the community. It is not an inherent failure of teacher education when student teachers are placed in such contexts. However, practicum placements in less-than-ideal contexts tend not to be effective in supporting the development of transformative teachers, especially when those placements are not coupled with the critical mentorship and extensive support necessary for teacher candidates to discover and create methods of participation in transformative processes to alter oppressive environments. Left alone, teacher candidates often struggle to critique the prejudices, biases, and attitudes that are present in such placements without structured support (Bollin, 2007; Wade, Fauske, & Thompson, 2008).

Despite the "Hall of Flags," bilingual learners at Valley Academy were largely an invisible population. In fact, the public information disseminated by the school about their student population during Amanda's time at Valley Academy did not include any information regarding the number of students who spoke languages other than English. Additionally, the school reported not having any students designated as "ELL." I spoke with Amanda about this and she mentioned seeing a

list of roughly 30 students whom she thought were designated as “ELL.” Through our conversation, she decided that they might actually have been designated as “FLEP” which stands for Formerly Limited English Proficient.

Regardless of the various official designations or lack of them, Amanda emphasized that there were a lot of bilingual learners in her classroom and “there’s certainly linguistic needs there...I’ve noticed parts of speech are still an issue and they’re seniors so that’s going to be, that worries me because they’re going to college and, they definitely need to know that” (Interview 4, p. 3). Amanda was concerned about the bilingual learners she worked with and recognized substantial linguistic need, but did not work with a cooperating teacher who engaged in the kind of teaching that the research reviewed in Chapter Two suggests is necessary for quality learning opportunities for bilingual learners. Additionally, race was never addressed in his classroom as affecting either him or his students or their educational outcomes. In fact, as the following section demonstrates, Amanda’s cooperating teacher modeled the kind of teaching that is criticized in most of the literature on effective teaching for bilingual learners. Also, through his uncritical and deficit-oriented classroom policies and practices, Amanda’s cooperating teacher essentially supported the perpetuation of institutionalized racism and linguicism.

Amanda’s Cooperating Teacher.

From our first conversation about her cooperating teacher, Mr. Jones, Amanda made several critiques of his classroom and practice. She began by evaluating the book selections he made for his 12th grade humanities course. Mr.

Jones had the freedom to select the books read in class from a large selection of books owned by the school. The first book he selected was *All Quiet on the Western Front*, which Amanda scrutinized for its lack of minorities or women within the book (other than a French prostitute). The next book he selected was *Bridge Over the River Kwai*, which Amanda discovered was, “on the list of top ten most banned books because it’s very racist” (Interview 2, p. 7). She was surprised that Mr. Jones would choose the book because he was aware of its racist content, particularly against Asians. This concerned Amanda because while they were reading the book, Mr. Jones did not engage in any critical discussions about the racist aspects of the book, which in the end actually promoted those ideas to students. Amanda found it problematic that certain terms were uncritically introduced into the classroom space because the “author...calls the Japanese people ‘yellow baboons,’ ‘Japs’ and my teacher still uses the word ‘Oriental,’ which many people would find backward” (Interview 2, p. 7).

Amanda explained how her views of inequality dramatically differed from the views of her cooperating teacher. In fact, she said that her professors had talked about the myth of meritocracy and that she also believed meritocracy was a myth.

However, Mr. Jones had a very different perspective:

And when I brought this up to him it’s very hard for him to understand because he thinks he got ahead on his own with nobody’s help and that’s very true. I’m sure he was very hard working. But at the same time he doesn’t think that there’s other factors that got him to where he is today. So I feel like that’s a problem because he’s totally ignoring the fact that when he blames other students for not turning in their work or not getting into college or whatever, I think what he’s doing is ignoring the fact that he has privilege

and they have certain disadvantages. And whether they be class or race or whatever (Interview 2, p. 7).

Amanda saw inequity as a systemic issue whereas Mr. Jones perceived inequity as an outcome of individual effort. This perspective that Amanda expressed is important to note because it appears that her efforts to understand meritocracy as a myth and challenge it were not supported over time and her critical stance on meritocracy could not be sustained. Chapter Six addresses the majoritarian story suggesting the appropriateness of meritocracy and how it was evident in Amanda's practice. It appears that Amanda's perspective on meritocracy changed as she developed as a teacher.

Despite the differences between Amanda and Mr. Jones, Amanda was respectful and eager to learn what she could from him, mainly about establishing classroom routines and procedures. However, she felt he needed to choose texts that "more represent who he's teaching" (Interview 2, p. 7). She noticed that the students were not reading his selected books and felt the disengagement was a result of boredom with texts that were disconnected from their lives. She also perceived that Mr. Jones subtly favored certain students, particularly White males, over other students. To Amanda, this favoring was obvious and was evidence of racism in the classroom. Therefore, within this practicum placement she felt like she ran into a wall in terms of teaching for social justice, mainly because her cooperating teacher proactively censored her opportunities to talk about issues of inequity in the classroom. She said:

He doesn't even like when I bring up political issues, like, Bush or Hurricane Katrina. Like, we, I mean I tried to do that in one of my classes, like, the Iraq War and when students would say bad things about the war, he really didn't like that. And so I just, I was kind of taken back like, what am I supposed to do now? (Interview 2, p. 8).

She also witnessed Mr. Jones saying inappropriate, offensive things:

The very first week of school, this is, this just blew my mind, because it's just very ignorant and I had handed [Mr. Jones] a piece of paper, a student had written their homework very sloppily, and what he said to me, I think he said it very, you know, innocently, not realizing how bad it sounded but he said, "These students, they write like Chinamen." And I looked at him, because he really, I don't think he even realized, that I'm half Chinese, and then he looked at me, he looked really kind of embarrassed and he was like, "Oh, that's just a figure of speech, you know, don't worry about that". I was, like, okay, well, do you know what Chinese looks like? And he had no idea what, like, he realized that what he was saying was kind of like saying that's Greek to me. And it's just very offensive. And especially because, not even just because I'm part Asian, that's not even the issue. Because I still think even if he said the n-word or whatever, regardless I would still be offended. And so I just kind of had to, with him, I just kind of had to try to see as many good points as I can in order to work with him and not be angry (Interview 2, p. 8).

In a teacher education program intended to prepare teachers to teach for social justice, it is unclear how there could be any benefit to placing Amanda in a classroom with such a cooperating teacher for her practicum experiences. It is often difficult to find excellent practicum placements for teacher candidates where they can witness effective, transformative, and progressive teaching practices in action (Katz, 2000). When an effective, critical, anti-racist classroom placement is not an option, what can programs do to support teacher candidates and ensure strong, transformative learning possibilities for pre-service teachers?

When teacher candidates are working in oppressive classrooms, they could be supported in critical examinations of the practice they are witnessing and

potentially engaging in themselves. With proper mentorship, Amanda could have been supported in this less-than-ideal practicum placement to further push her critiques on issues of race, culture, and language. Teacher candidates often need and benefit greatly from such critical examinations (Bollin, 2007; Wade, Fauske, & Thompson, 2008).

However, Amanda did not experience the kind of critically conscious, anti-racist mentorship necessary to become a critically engaged educator capable of disrupting systemic practices that perpetuate racism and linguicism. Amanda was left to fend for herself in a setting where her attempts at teaching for social justice were curtailed. The system of teacher education, through its inconsistencies and lack of critical mentorship failed to provide Amanda with the learning opportunities she could have substantially benefitted from. In fact, Amanda lamented not having a cooperating teacher who could model teaching for social justice. She considered it a serious weakness of Mr. Jones that he did not promote equity in the classroom and wished she worked with a teacher who could have modeled more equitable teaching for her.

Amanda also felt that her teaching philosophy, and that of Mr. Jones, and her professors at BC did not match. Amanda felt that her philosophy of teaching was substantively different from Mr. Jones's because she was about "introducing multicultural curriculum and just talking more about politics and just social activism type stuff" (Interview 2, p. 13). When I asked her if Mr. Jones's teaching philosophies were similar to those of her BC professors she flat out said no. Despite some

critiques of her BC coursework, Amanda felt more aligned with the perspective of her professors than that of her cooperating teacher. She did not understand why she was placed in this classroom with this teacher, but tried to make the best out of the frustrating situation. She said, “To be honest, the whole social justice thing, it’s really hard, I think, to incorporate that into an every day type of thing. I almost feel like when I’m around my teacher I feel like I’m beating a dead horse because he doesn’t think it’s an issue. I think he thinks racial problems got solved in the 60’s” (Interview 2, p. 25).

Similarly, when I asked if Amanda’s teaching philosophy was similar to her supervisor’s, she responded that she did not know. She felt her supervisor always tried to be neutral and not get involved with the conflicts Amanda faced with Mr. Jones. Although Amanda’s practicum supervisor could have played an essential mentoring role, helping Amanda critically examine her practicum placement experiences, instead she took a hands-off approach. Generally, the role Amanda’s supervisor played was to ensure that Amanda completed all of the practicum requirements. Though Amanda and her fellow teacher candidates who worked with the same supervisor met weekly to engage in what the teacher education program called “quality conversations,” Amanda said, “I think the real quality conversations went on when she [the supervisor] left” (Interview 2, p. 18).

The absence of critically conscious mentorship coupled with the daily presence of a cooperating teacher who taught from a deficit perspective about students, Amanda was bound to be influenced by this environment and move away

from some of the ideals with which she entered the teacher preparation program. For instance, when I asked Amanda how Mr. Jones had helped her to learn about pupil learning, she said that he helped her understand that her students came from varying backgrounds and that she had to change her expectations. She said:

He's helped me in the sense that he says that students come from backgrounds where their families might not be so supportive of them going to college or they might not have the money or whatever so I think he understands the fact that the students aren't all coming from privileged backgrounds and, and he, in that sense I think he realizes that there sometimes are outside factors that affect pupil learning and he's definitely tried to stress that fact. He constantly says, this is not the suburbs, you can't have the same expectations. And, at first I tried to have as high expectations as I could but then I realized, maybe I was being a little unrealistic. So he made me realize that, some of the things I was expecting were probably unrealistic because, like, I went straight for higher order thinking, like, analysis and synthesis as opposed to starting with comprehension, which is one thing he stresses a lot (Interview 2, p. 15).

While it is true that her practicum classroom full of students from diverse racial, language, cultural, and economic backgrounds was not the same as a predominately White, middle-class classroom in the suburbs, it is troubling that Amanda was mentored into the perspective that because of those differences, higher expectations for student learning were unrealistic. Rather than learning to teach in innovative, student-centered, culturally and linguistically responsive ways that supported high levels of pupil learning and engagement, Amanda was taught to lower her expectations of student performance. Clearly, this was a serious failure of the teacher education program, which perpetuated the inequitable status quo for students from non-dominant backgrounds.

Amanda herself felt that she should not have been placed in her practicum classroom. She said, "I don't think that they should, BC should use him as a cooperating teacher again, not that I had the worst experience but I just don't think he is the right person for this kind of job" (Interview 4, p. 15). Because of her professionalism and eagerness to turn every situation into a learning experience, Amanda maintained a positive relationship with both Mr. Jones and her supervisor. However, they were not the right people to support Amanda in becoming the teacher she sought to become.

Amanda's Students.

Despite her placement with a cooperating teacher who did not model for Amanda the type of teaching practice she was striving to develop, a positive aspect of her practicum experiences was the kind of relationships she was able to develop with students. She believed it was important to get to know her students and have strong, respectful relationships with them. She felt that she learned a great deal from her students and said:

I think my students have made me realize that it's really good to be a good listener and just, as long as I'm prepared to hear what they want to tell me. Sometimes I'm not prepared. But some students often times will say, oh, this is why I haven't been doing well and there's nothing I can really do to help out their family situation but just, being an extra ear to listen to them, I think that has really helped me realize that teaching is not just content, it's really also addressing, their emotional needs and their, not just mental needs, they have, like if they can't concentrate because they're tired and all that other stuff or they're stressed out about, boyfriend girlfriend situations, all that stuff contributes to how well they're going to behave in class and, and all that stuff. So I think they really taught me to be a better listener (Interview 2, p. 23).

This perspective is consistent with CRT and an argument for a different vision of teaching and learning in classrooms that includes and is centered around students' experiences, perspectives, and voices. It appears that in some aspect of her teacher education experience, she was supported in developing strong relationships with students. However, with critical mentorship focused on agitating issues of linguisticism and racism through classroom policy and practice, this perspective could have been pushed even further for Amanda to investigate the prominent classroom structures, practices, and arrangements that created barriers to achievement for students with personal problems and issues that disengaged them from traditional educational spaces.

I asked Amanda about the pressures her students faced, and she mentioned issues both inside and outside of school. For instance, some of her students had recently lost loved ones, and others were trying to figure out what was next for them after high school. Amanda also told a story about one student who lost her temper when she was joking with Mr. Jones. The student became angry with Mr. Jones and swiped all of the papers Amanda had painstakingly organized and laid out on Mr. Jones's desk at the front of the room onto the floor. That student was suspended for the rest of the day. Amanda said:

It's just behaviors like that that I think are kind of...there must be underlying emotional problems that students are going through to cause such anger. And I've seen these outbursts happen with students very unexpectedly and I'm not sure what's going on all the time but usually I try not to take it personally because I know there must be something going on at home. Like, one student her grades significantly dropped after she moved out of her parent's house because there was some issues with her father and her

stepmother and so she moved to her aunt's place and the guidance counselors told me [female student] been acting kind of weird recently and I said, yes, she's been a lot more rude to me, she's been just kind of off and not herself. So they said, oh, well this is what's going on at home. So I think that a lot of the issues at school kind of, kind of stem from what's going on at home and so a lot of things, I don't know why they're struggling, or what they're struggling with all the time. Oh, another thing that happened, one of my students got pregnant. So, and then another one didn't have a home number for a while because I had spent a lot of time calling every single parent that I could get the number of, of, like, 60 of my students and that took a while but this one girl I couldn't get her number because her step dad, or, no, her real dad I guess, was abusing her and her mother so they literally slept at a shelter for, like a battered women's shelter, for a couple months, you know, two or three and she had so many absences for second and third term because of that. She couldn't really get her work done when she was at a shelter so, just, that's just like a taste, I guess of some of the things my students are going through right now. So I can't even image school pressures on top of social and emotional pressures. It's a lot to deal with (Interview 4, p. 4-5).

The kinds of issues in students' lives that Amanda described above are likely the reasons for disengagement with the curriculum and school contexts (Knaus, 2009).

What would happen if in school, students, and teachers had an opportunity to collaboratively and critically investigate these very real and pressing issues in students' lives?

In the quote above Amanda cited personal encounters her students were having with sexuality, violence, and poverty. How could a 12th grade humanities class be conceived of differently to allow for critical investigations of these issues of personal relevance to students? Amanda clearly had empathy for the individual issues that her students faced, but she had never participated in a classroom where those topics were openly addressed, critiqued, and interrogated for their effects on students both inside and outside of the classroom. A coherent and critically

conscious teacher education experience could have created opportunities for Amanda to examine ways to structure classrooms differently around collaborative inquiry that privilege student voice and cultural perspectives.

Students often brought up various issues about race and other topics that appear to be relevant to their personal lives in class discussions. For instance, in Observation 5, the class was discussing an article they had read about how people are more concerned about superficial media and the tabloids than the fact that our country was at war. Amanda asked for students' perspectives on this topic and one Latina female said, "It's White, rich teenagers," suggesting that White, rich teenagers were the ones with this superficial focus on the media and tabloids. Amanda responded to the student's comment calling it a generalization and stereotype and then moved on in the conversation about how the general population was not concerned about or paying attention to the current war. The Latina female responded to Amanda's remarks by saying, "I'm racist," a statement Amanda ignored.

From a CRT perspective, this was a missed teachable moment to discuss why the student perceived White, rich teenagers to have a superficial focus on the media and tabloids. Why might that be? What are the reasons for this student's perceptions of White, rich teenagers? Where does that perspective come from? Is it justifiable? Is it in fact racist? Across my observations in Amanda's classroom, students made racial comments, similar to the instance described above, either in social interactions with their peers or in class discussions regarding course content.

Persistently these situations were missed teachable moments for both Amanda and her students.

During the *Death of a Salesman* unit, Amanda brought in lyrics to various songs for her students to analyze as part of their discussion surrounding the American Dream. One of her students, a White male, took issue with some of the songs she picked because he felt that some of the artists were racist against White people. He asked Amanda why she picked racist singers to focus on in class, a sentiment she found surprising. So she pulled him aside to better understand his perspective about the artists she included in her unit and described her conversation with him in one of our interviews:

Amanda: I was like can you like explain what you meant by that because I'm really concerned that you feel this way. Because I really don't want to make you feel left out in any way. I didn't choose Black artists so that you would feel like you're feelings were not represented or whatever. And so he kind of -- He was kind of surprised that I took it that seriously. And so he was like "Oh, no, no, no, I didn't mean it like that." He was like, "It's not a big deal." It's just that I think that they've said like racist things before so I don't really agree with that. But I don't think he necessarily had a problem with their music. I think he just didn't like the fact that they as people have said those things. So that was the only.

Kara: Were you aware of this? Like of things that they've said?

Amanda: I was aware that Kanye West had said like during the Katrina incident he was like George Bush doesn't like Black people. That was the only racial thing I've ever really explicitly heard and Lauryn Hill I've never read anything about her saying racist things but I've heard from secondhand rumors from friends, I've heard that she has in the past like said racist things against Whites in particular (Interview 5, p. 4).

Obviously, the students in Amanda's practicum classroom were aware of various contemporary racial issues and contentions and had thoughts and opinions they

were eager to express about these perceptions. However, Amanda did not have the necessary tools to critically navigate these discussions, a situation Liggett (2008) found was common in secondary classrooms with bilingual learners. Unfortunately, this meant missed opportunities for collaborative investigations with students around the issues they found relevant in the world. Additionally, in the case of this White male, it meant another missed teachable moment to discuss issues around white supremacy, white privilege, white normativity, and white dominance.

Amanda felt that her students played an essential role in her learning how to teach. She said, “Students, in terms of shaping what I do, are really the sole reason I’m there. I want to know everything about them” (Interview 2, p. 19). However, it is clear that the context she worked in also played a major role in shaping some initial deficit perspectives of her students and their backgrounds. When I asked Amanda to describe the experiences her students were having in school, she made a statement about parents and students’ home lives that suggests a deficit perspective wherein student achievement in school is determined by factors outside of school.

She said:

I think the ones that enjoy it [school] have parents that want them to do well in school and succeed. And the ones that don’t enjoy it generally, like, from what I’ve heard, they don’t have stable home lives and so they’re working two jobs, whatever. So, I think just the amount of outside forces on them really affects how they’re doing in school. Like, if they’re not getting enough sleep they’ll be falling asleep in class and a number of occasions someone has apologized to me for falling asleep in class because they were working two jobs. So, I can’t blame them for that. Like, maybe their family needs money. So I guess in that sense I think external factors really affect who is performing well, who’s not (Interview 2, p. 20).

Amanda's perspective here shows empathy for various life challenges students face, but also essentially says that in order to do well in school, students have to have a certain kind of life outside of school hours. There is extensive research showing the effects of poverty and other out-of-school factors on school achievement (e.g., Berliner, 2006, 2009; Rothstein, 2004) and it is a serious issue all educators need to grapple with. However, Amanda seemed to be developing a perspective that limited what she perceived as possible within a classroom because of the deficits she saw in students' home lives. Through her experiences in her practicum placement, Amanda was taught to accept a limitation on what she could accomplish as a teacher because many of her students led challenging lives outside of school. Rather than learning to disrupt school practices that privilege students with certain life experiences over others and perpetuate inequitable outcomes based on out-of-school factors, Amanda's resigned to the status quo. Could a more critically oriented placement, mentor, and/or teacher education coursework have prevented Amanda from this resignation?

Despite some of the limited perspectives Amanda adopted from her practicum context, she did maintain critiques on various practices that limited student opportunity. As mentioned before, Amanda expressed disapproval of the curriculum her students did not appear to be interested in. Also, when I asked how students would describe their experience at her school, she said that many of them would say they were treated as more immature than they felt they were. She then critiqued the punishments, increasing suspensions for various infractions, the

administration dispensed to students throughout the year (Interview 4). Amanda cared deeply for her students and advocated for their best interests. Unfortunately, she was forced to do this on her own without critical mentorship targeted at challenging racist and linguicist policies and practices and therefore was limited in what she was able to accomplish.

Despite the limitations of her practicum placement, Amanda was still able to accomplish a great deal in terms of building relationships with students. While her personality and personal interest in engaging with teaching as a partnership with students certainly affected her ability to develop strong relationships with students, it appears she was also supported in this in some aspects of her teacher preparation. She said at the end of her teacher education experiences that she felt most prepared “for how to build positive relationship with families and I guess students on a one on one basis. I think I also feel prepared to work with ELL students. Maybe not most prepared, but for sure I feel more prepared than I do with a few other things” (Interview 6, p. 5).

Amanda’s Teaching Practice

Amanda took great pride in her teaching practice and worked extremely hard to create learning opportunities for her students that would be engaging and push them to higher levels of thinking. Her work was complimented by both Mr. Jones and her supervisor as high quality and representative of her extensive dedication (CT and Supervisory Interviews). Amanda truly was very successful in many ways.

However, because of her practicum placement and some limitations in what her teacher education courses offered, Amanda's success mostly remained within the realm of traditional teaching practices that were unexamined for their relationship to whiteness and the perpetuation of white normativity, linguisticism, and racism.

General Lesson Plans and Teaching Practice.

One of the first complete units Amanda wrote for her teacher education coursework was for the book *Black Boy* and focused on issues around racism, literacy, and power. This unit exposes Amanda's commitment to critically engaged teaching by attempting to explore serious and complex issues of power and oppression. However, despite this commitment, the *Black Boy* unit plan contained ideas about meritocracy as reasonable through its expressed intention to inspire students to develop literacy in order to have access to power. She wrote:

My overall goal is to empower my students by teaching them that literacy is power...Many of my students do not seem to be aware that they do not have access to multiple forms of literacy. And few if any of my students have engaged in critical literacy. My hope is that reading *Black Boy* will help students to realize the importance of literacy in their lives (Lesson Plan for *Black Boy*, p. 2).

Amanda's lesson plan promotes the "literacy myth" or "the idea that literacy leads inevitably to a long list of 'good' things" (Gee, 1996, p. 42) without paying explicit attention to the way literacy and schooling predominantly work to "solidify the social hierarchy, empower elites, and ensure that the people lower on the hierarchy accept the values, norms and beliefs of the elites, even when it is not in their self-interest or group interest to do so" (p. 36). Because it does not critique systems of

power that privilege certain people over others and create various inequitable outcomes and institutions, Amanda's lesson only begins to scratch at the surface of the issues she wants to explore in terms of literacy, racism, and power.

Again it appears that Amanda would have greatly benefitted from a critically conscious mentor to help her examine her work for its various messages and inconsistencies and push Amanda to another level of criticality capable of agitating powerful issues of racism and linguisticism. This mentor could have pointed out to Amanda that her conversations about race within this unit were inconsistent. For instance, Amanda's explicit definition of racism written in one of the unit's lesson plans comes from E. Lee, Menkart, and Okazawa-Rey (1998). They define racism as:

Racial prejudice and discrimination that are supported by institutional power and authority. The critical element that differentiates racism from prejudice and discrimination is the use of institutional power and authority to support prejudices and enforce discriminatory behaviors in systematic ways with far-reaching outcomes and effects. In the United States, racism is based on the ideology of White (European) supremacy and is used to the advantage of White people and the disadvantage of people of color (*Black Boy* Unit Plan, p. 4).

Though Amanda cites this as the definition of racism utilized for the unit, she also critiques it within the unit for not including racism from people of color towards White people or racism within groups of people of color. In her lesson plan, she wrote:

I will put the Enid Lee definition of racism (see materials) on an overhead projector. I will ask the class whether they agree with this definition of racism because it says that racism is "used to the advantage of White people and the disadvantage of people of color" but it does not say that racism can also be used by people of color against Whites or by people of color against each other. Then I will mention that the book we are about to read (*Black*

Boy) has scenes where Blacks are being racist to people of other races (for example, Black boys harass a store owned by a Jewish family). However, the difference between racism toward Whites and racism toward Blacks in the novel is that the Whites are supported by institutions (such as schools and employment), which means that racism would have a less negative effect on them than it would on Blacks. It is important to learn about the concept of racism before reading *Black Boy* because it will help us understand the political and social significance of race in his life (*Black Boy* Unit Plan, p. 3).

Obviously Amanda has a keen perception of the realities of race relations in the country and her critique could be the foundation of a meaningful discussion about current racialization processes with her students. However, through her critique of the definition of racism by E. Lee, Menkart, and Okazawa-Rey (1998), it appears that she views racism as individual acts of prejudice and discrimination, while also recognizing differing levels of institutional power. Yet racism in reality is much more than individual acts of prejudice and discrimination that affects Black and Whites differently due to their access to institutional power. Missing from Amanda's discussion about racism is a critique of white supremacy, privilege, normativity, and dominance. It appears that though Amanda certainly explored and discussed racism, she did not have a fully developed theory about racism due to the inconsistencies in her description above. Could she have been pushed to deeper levels of thinking about racism through engaged critical conversations across her teacher education experiences?

Rather, it appears that Amanda's teacher education experiences, especially in her practicum placement, actually curtailed her critical examinations. For instance, Amanda wrote and actually taught a lesson plan for the book *Bridge Over the River*

Kwai that focused on various aspects of identity and the role identity plays in stereotypes. In the lesson plan she wrote, “I would like them to come to the conclusion that stereotypes are harmful because they take away people’s identity and individuality by assuming that everyone from a particular group is the same” (*Bridge Over the River Kwai* Lesson Plan, p. 1). She taught this lesson right before one of my interviews with her and described it as incredibly successful and a lesson she was really proud of. However, she also explained how throughout the unit on this book, Mr. Jones taught from an uncritical stance towards the stereotypes presented in the book, essentially proactively countering what she was trying to accomplish with her contributions to the unit. Quite understandably, this was very frustrating to Amanda. She said:

I started teaching the book clubs for the first two weeks, we started two weeks ago and then he decided, because I wasn’t here this week he would take over this week. And so from what I had been doing I could see that he completely disregarded all the time that I had spent talking about stereotypes, because the students have no problem saying things like “Jap” and one of the students said “Chink”. I was just, like, I need to take these students, the students that say this aside and let them know, not in front of the whole class and I did this with one student, saying that’s not respectful in any kind of setting and so for him to go and then in the class refer to the east west divide as “Orientals” versus “Europeans” is just, it just totally went against what I had been trying to do and so that was really frustrating and very noteworthy because it just kind of personified the fact that he says to me that he wants to promote critical thinking, like, he said this a number of times, but his version of critical thinking is different than my version. I think his version is more like comprehension, and getting them to ask questions about the text but not necessarily the power structures in the text. And I think maybe some students, I know some students have learning disabilities, some of them aren’t ready for going beyond comprehension, but those that are I think would really benefit from talking about stereotypes and things of that nature. So, I guess the reason that lesson was so noteworthy is the fact that he had gone against a lot of things that he told me that he was going to

do. And so I guess I was just kind of disappointed because to me that's a little bit like betraying my trust in him (Interview 2, pp. 9-10).

Another unit that Amanda taught, the *Death of a Salesman* unit, attempted to critically engage students around various issues by exploring perceptions about the American Dream. She began the unit by looking at what she called "different kinds of dreams" where they watched a clip of Martin Luther King Jr. giving his "I Have a Dream" speech and compared it to the traditional version of the American Dream. Throughout the unit they inspected different versions of the American Dream and what makes it so hard to realize.

Because she taught in a 12th grade humanities class, Amanda incorporated both English language arts and history into this unit. Her main focus in terms of the history portion was patterns of housing segregation. She said,

The Federal Housing Association gave all these mortgages to mostly White veterans and, of course, they were giving mortgages to African American veterans as well but they were highly discouraged from living in these new, like, Levittown was one of the places I think in Pittsburgh maybe. I think there was one in New York. They were opening all these little suburb towns and so this totally changed the urban landscape basically of, this very much transformed the urban landscape of our country is what happened after World War II in terms of housing regulations and laws and block busting and red lining, all that stuff that we see the legacy of it today. There's still somewhat red lining going on. They send in, I mean, we had a little discussion about how they send in people to be fake house buyers or fake prospective renters or whatever to different realtors and there's a clear, clear picture about the realtor biases because they'll take certain families to certain neighborhoods and not to others. And it so it just goes to show that there's still a lot of discrimination in the housing market. And so a lot of people say that the segregation is even getting worse. And is always obviously really, really interesting to me so I decided to share a little bit of that historical knowledge with my students because that's something I felt that I could sort of impart in them (Interview 4, pp. 11-12).

I asked Amanda if Mr. Jones was OK with her having these kinds of discussions in class during this unit and she said that he usually leaves the classroom when she teaches, but recently had been coming back because of some student behavior issues. She said:

For the first time ever I had to give seven detentions in one class period because there was throwing of paper and it was like, it was to the point where, it wasn't just like a little piece of paper, it was, like, big balls of paper being thrown across the room. One of them almost hit my leg and that was the last straw. And so I was like, all right, guys, because people after, afterwards students told me, Miss, I couldn't concentrate because of this and I was really upset because obviously if that distraction is making it so that students can't learn then it's pretty serious. So I had to give those that punishment. So that was why my, for one block, my B Block, which is huge that my CT started coming in more and just sitting there to kind of regulate the behavior. But, yes, he wasn't there that day that I talked about -- And I almost was relieved because I don't, I almost didn't want to have him there because I felt like I would sensor myself more. Like I wouldn't, I try not to talk about racial issues very much when he's in the room because I just feel uncomfortable with it. Like, I just know his, his background and I know he's kind of conservative so I just don't like crossing that line when he's in the room. So I've noticed, like, I tend to sensor myself about racial issues when he's in the room (Interview 4, pp. 12-13).

This quote from Amanda exposes two major issues. First, her practicum placement was a space where Amanda sometimes felt censored in conducting important conversations around race with her students. Second, Amanda was in a context where student behavior issues were prominent. However, because of her placement in a classroom where the teacher conducted schooling along traditional educational norms based on white normativity, Amanda had no mentor to help her investigate issues in the classroom, like student behavior, for their racial content.

Knaus (2009) describes many instances of student misbehavior in classrooms as acts of resistance towards the system of education that is dominated by whiteness and silences student voices and experiences. Although Amanda expressed an explicit desire in her Autobiography of Learning assignment to teach as a partner with her students, her teacher education experiences did not provide Amanda with the opportunity to engage in critical examinations of student behavior or to develop the kind of partnerships she originally declared as effective and desirable for her own teaching.

An area where Amanda proactively wished for more mentoring was in assessment creation. Mr. Jones once advised her to download a test from the Sparknotes website rather than write one herself as that was his common practice (Interview 4). Amanda expressed having no interest in using Sparknotes's tests as her assessment and wished for more support in that aspect of her development as a teacher from her teacher education courses. She said:

For me I think the major gap in the coursework is trying to figure out how to give assessments to test the appropriate knowledge and especially within like the amount of time we have because if we're trying to cover a certain amount of curriculum it's really hard for me to assess and then go back and review what they didn't know. Because we're supposed to be using assessments not just to figure out what they know but then to inform our practice and our instruction and go back and relearn stuff that we didn't cover in depth. And that's really hard when you have to get through a lot of material, I've discovered. And so you either sacrifice you know reading a couple books or you really go in depth and to be honest because they didn't like the book so much I don't see that it's necessary to go back and review the entire book because they really didn't want to read it in the first place. And you know I didn't really enjoy reading it and so how can I expect them to enjoy it. So there's certain things that I you know I just have to move on with. But I guess really for you know for me to be really prepared as a teacher I think assessments are like a totally essential thing to just

go over. Even practice making them. I think we did a lot of practice making lesson plans which is really good but not enough practice with assessments. So that is the biggest gap for me (Interview 3, p. 15).

Amanda touched on multiple important issues here while calling for more support in learning to balance curriculum and time demands as well as issues around lack of student engagement. Amanda would have benefitted from opportunities to critically examine assessment practices within classrooms and across schooling contexts for how they sort, label, and in many cases limit student achievement and thus participate in institutionalized racism and linguisticism. Uncritical assessment practices play a significant role in the perpetuation of educational inequity, especially for bilingual learners (Goto-Butler, Orr, Gutiérrez, & Hakuta, 2000; Thompson, DiCerbo, Mahoney, & MacSwan, 2002). The gap in Amanda's coursework regarding assessments includes an absence of essential critical examinations.

Because of the lack of critical mentorship and coursework in developing assessment practices, Amanda developed grading practices on her own and even borrowed some from her cooperating teacher. I asked her what she did to maintain high expectations for all students and she talked about how she learned from Mr. Jones to be more lenient in her grading for students on Individual Educational Plans (IEPs). She said, "I believe that everybody can achieve to the best of their ability as long as they have the resources and motivation...I try to keep high expectations while at the same time being more lenient toward students that I feel are trying hard but I don't think they should be punished for having learning disabilities"

(Interview 5, p. 24). The research I reviewed in Chapter Two touched on the issues this kind of grading practice creates for bilingual learners. In one study where teachers utilized lenient grading practices based on effort rather than outcome, bilingual high school graduates who were considered high performing in high school, tested into the ESL track at the college level. This caused serious motivation and achievement issues for several of the students and showed that their high school work had not adequately prepared the students to move into higher education (Harklau, 2000).

In her teacher education experiences, Amanda lacked the opportunity to explore effective methods of assessment that pushed all her students to higher levels of performance and did not merely work to sort, label, and fail students. Amanda certainly improved on the modeled practices in her practicum placement, but should have been pushed to examine the limitations of traditional notions of assessment and grading practices in order to gain a perspective on how to assist students in attaining high levels of achievement while accounting for their various differences in learning styles as well as language and cultural backgrounds.

During our fifth interview together, Amanda brought and discussed samples of student work on the final assessment for the *Death of a Salesman* unit. We specifically talked about papers that Amanda considered examples of high, medium, and low pupil performances on the assessment. Here is an excerpt from the essay Amanda discussed as “high” that was written by a bilingual learner in her course:

My view of the American Dream and Willy's view of the American dream are very different. Willy says "I'm fat...I know that" (Miller 24) and "Bernard is not well liked" (Miller 20). These quotes prove that he doesn't care about education and that he thinks being good looking and known by everyone will get him somewhere and will help him achieve his dream which is to be a very rich salesman but what he doesn't know is that without an education and hard work he is not going anywhere. He needs a good education and from education comes respect which is what a salesman should always have, not being cute and popular. However popularity will come after you succeed because you meet people along the way. This is why my view of the American Dream is hard work and education. That will achieve all your goals and overcome your barriers.

In response to this paragraph, Amanda wrote, "good point," "good advice," and "nice linking sentence." According to Amanda's inquiry project, student performance on the *Death of a Salesman* essay dramatically improved from the level of performance in their previous essays. This was the result of deliberate and extensive work in class to improve the structures of paragraphs in student writing and help students integrate quotes from the text into their own writing. However, despite this improvement, student writing was still at low levels in consideration of the writing expectations placed on a first year college student. The sample above that Amanda considered "high" has many issues, including quotations that do not prove the point the student is attempting to make, run-on sentences, the use of colloquial language, and an illogical (at least from the traditional Western academic standpoint) flow of ideas. Unfortunately, it appears that high performers in Amanda's class would be considered low in many other contexts, especially post-secondary classrooms.

While Amanda often found her bilingual learners to perform at some of the highest levels in her classes, it appears she did not have the necessary skills to work

collaboratively with students to investigate the various issues around power associated with race, culture, and language and then to use those investigations as a springboard towards navigating and mastering various language and literacy demands across multiple contexts. This kind of education was discussed in the literature reviewed in Chapter Two as fundamentally necessary, especially for bilingual learners, in order for students to critically examine the world in which they live and how they are positioned within it (Asher, 2008; Hones, 2002). The literature reviewed in Chapter Two also established the importance of both culturally and linguistically responsive teaching practices (Freeman & Freeman, 2003; F. González, 1998, 2001; Hones, 2002; Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008). Despite some assistance through her coursework, Amanda was largely left to develop her teaching practices on her own without essential mentorship in discovering what culturally and linguistically responsive practices would look like in actual practice and how such teaching could challenge institutionalized racism and linguisticism in the classroom.

Teaching Bilingual Learners.

Despite minimal mentorship in teaching bilingual learners, especially in her practicum placement, Amanda integrated some aspects of language learning in her curriculum. In every observation I conducted over the course of Amanda's pre-service year, she explicitly taught new vocabulary words. This work also improved in quality over time because it expanded to include explicit discussions about parts of speech. She also conducted various grammar lessons throughout the year

beginning with a grammar activity based on lyrics from popular hip-hop songs. She did this because, “I just wanted to make grammar relevant to them and say you need to know how to speak in a certain way regardless of what career you choose” (Interview 2, p. 2). With critical mentorship focused on interrogating racism and linguicism in classroom policy and practice, Amanda could have pushed this work to another level and investigated with her students the various forms language takes in different contexts and how language forms combine in context to create and assert power. It appears that her teacher education experiences did not push her to engage in pedagogical practice that interrogated the contextual nature of language and the varying power it enjoys across particular situations.

In one lesson I observed, Amanda used samples of Martin Luther King Jr.’s writing to teach students about the use of semicolons. First the class looked at how semicolons were used in his writing. Then they practiced inserting semicolons into samples of Martin Luther King Jr.’s writing where Amanda had removed the semicolons. Then they worked on inserting semicolons into their own writing. At the end of the class, Amanda collected exit tickets from students that were supposed to answer the question, “Why did King use a semicolon here instead of a stronger period or a weaker comma?” and provide an example of a sentence they wrote using a semicolon (Observation 3, p. 2). This is a lesson in which students appeared to be engaged and to follow the lesson. Overwhelmingly (~12/16), however, the students did not use semicolons correctly on their exit tickets nor did they give a clear sense

of when, why, or how semicolons should be used. Here are some examples of student exit tickets:

Student A-2 (Bilingual Learner, Albanian)

I think that Dr. King uses semicolons instead of periods and commas because he tries to connect his ideas in a powerful way.

Sentence using semicolon:

He had never seen her so angry before; so uncontrollable with her anger.

Student A-3

I think that he used a semicolon because he want people to feel what he's saying.

I had a friend name Ben. He was a good rat; he never chew on anything of mine.

Student A-4

1. He uses semicolons to get his point across and to tell the reader what he is talking about and he wants you to feel it and to get into it.

The police want to lock me up; so I wont be successful in life.

Student A-5 (Bilingual Learner, Spanish)

He used a semicolon, because he wanted to get his point across and wanted it to be read, and when read the reader can pay attention to it.

With the presence of the guardian angels – the boston polic force felt betrayed.

The guardian angels need to leave; in order for the community to live in peace. They haven't done their job.

I give up!

Through these exit tickets, it is clear that students still needed substantial help in mastering the use of semicolons and that there were various issues in academic writing for the students from multiple language backgrounds as well as for students who spoke a non-standard variety of English. Who was mentoring Amanda in learning to see language beyond vocabulary, spelling, and grammar, for its

iterations, associations, and implications in terms of power structures for both her and her students?

Towards the end of Amanda's teacher education experience, she took the two courses that qualified her for three of the four category trainings necessary to become an SEI teacher in Massachusetts. She also completed the training in oral assessment to qualify for the final category. While the courses she engaged in actually go far beyond the category training requirements in content, it appears that they were still insufficient to support her in developing linguistically responsive teaching practices, due in part to the gap between her coursework and the practicum placement where quality teaching for bilingual learners was not modeled or expected.

I analyzed her coursework from the teacher education course titled "Teaching Bilingual Learners" and it appears that Amanda left that course with inadequate understandings of effective instruction for bilingual learners. As part of my data collection, I obtained three of her course assignments—two lesson plans and a "content area notebook", all of them with grades and her instructor's feedback. As a former instructor of this course myself, I am intimately familiar with the course goals and materials. A major goal of the course is for teacher candidates to become language-based content teachers and infuse explicit language instruction through their teaching of academic content. In order to accomplish this, teacher candidates write extensive lesson plans infused with the features of a culturally and linguistically responsive lesson capable of supporting and promoting strong content

and academic English outcomes for bilingual learners at various levels of English proficiency. The course instructor is supposed to grade these lesson plans carefully using a common rubric and demand that teacher candidates rewrite the lesson as many times as necessary in order to ensure the mastery of the various concepts and practices that help develop strong language based content learning for bilingual learners. Missing from this assignment is a critical investigation of classroom practices and policies for their racial content and how they might be perpetuating racism and linguicism in the education of bilingual learners, which is a critical absence. However, the absence of what Amanda did create in that class versus what was expected is also important to consider.

One of Amanda's lesson plans was for the book, *The Giver*; overall this was a good lesson plan. However, there were two essential pieces missing. She did not have an adequate language objective (an explicit instructional objective utilized by teachers of bilingual learners to ensure that every content lesson includes language development, exploration, and support) nor any form of assessment. Both language objectives and effective assessments are considered fundamental pieces within the grading rubric for this lesson plan assignment, yet Amanda received a grade of 100%.

On her second lesson plan for the course, Amanda received a grade of 27/30 though it was substantially less effective in terms of supporting language and content learning for bilingual learners. In fact, her lesson plan appears to be a write-up of work she did in her practicum classroom for her inquiry project without

specific consideration for building on the assets and abilities of bilingual learners while pushing them and their peers to higher levels of language and content proficiency. By the standards of the rubric for the assignment, this lesson plan is insufficient, yet the course professor, an adjunct instructor, did not point out those insufficiencies and mentor Amanda in improving her practice to truly become a language-based content teacher. This was a missed teachable moment for Amanda's instructor to push her to become more linguistically responsive in practice. Additionally, these courses on teaching bilingual learners were not powerful enough to support Amanda in becoming an agitator of linguicist and racist practices in secondary classrooms with bilingual learners. In fact, it appears that the critical absence of discussions around race, as well as the insufficient support in Amanda's development as a culturally and linguistically responsive teacher maintained her unconscious endorsement of the linguicist and racist practices that dominate classroom practice and policy.

Classroom Management.

A common feature across my observations of Amanda's teaching during her pre-service year were classes with substantial noise and movement. Amanda generally approached the times when the noise and movement were uncomfortable to her by asking for students to be "respectful." For instance, in my fourth observation, the students were discussing their journal entries about the recent campus shootings at Virginia Tech. Several students wanted to share their thoughts, but there was still a lot of noise in the class during the discussion. Amanda was

trying to hear one student's ideas but due to the noise level in the room, she could not. So she said, "I would like to hear [name of student], so please be respectful" (Observation 4, p. 7). This kind of request for respect and respectful behavior was Amanda's most consistently used approach to attempting to quiet the class. However, in this case and many others I observed it rarely succeeded.

In my fifth observation Amanda said to the class, "GUYS. I'm talking and I would like a little respect. I'm not even asking for a lot. Just a little." After she said this, a student in the front of the class started joking about the song, R-E-S-P-E-C-T. Amanda agreed with the student that she needed that song. Another student then said, "Shhhhh. I want to hear what she is saying." However, the noise level did not actually go down, and Amanda continued on with the lesson. Students in the front of the room started singing as well as snapping their fingers and dancing in their seats (Observation 5, p. 19). Both of these examples show that Amanda's approach was ineffective in accomplishing her desired student response, quiet listening and engagement. This problem continued into her first three years of teaching and will be explored in detail in Chapter Six.

Social Justice

Amanda had the opportunity to observe other teachers at the school where she was a practicum student. In our second interview during her teacher education year, she described one teacher as both an example of teaching for social justice and her favorite teacher that she had observed so far. The teacher was a Black woman

who connected “To Kill A Mockingbird” with the overrepresentation of African Americans in the current prison system and the role race plays in this issue.

Amanda said:

She also talked about the role of race in the prison system and, is, do we have a fair justice system and, so, that got students thinking, well a lot of the students are very strong minded about that. They’re saying no, you know, everyone’s racist and then there are those that have absolutely no opinion, they say, oh, I don’t really care about these issues, the government. So it really just runs the gamut in terms of student responses in that class (Interview 2, p. 24).

From this quote, it appears that this teacher engaged more closely in the type of teaching that Amanda was interested in mastering herself. I have always wondered, why was Amanda not a student teacher in this classroom?

Despite the limitations in Amanda’s practicum placement, she felt that she was incorporating teaching for social justice into her class everyday, but wished that she could have seen more models of it for a point of comparison to her own work and attempts. She said:

I guess for me, I think that I’ve made an effort to incorporate teaching for social justice into what I do. I do try to treat students fairly, respectfully and give them as much of my time as I can and I feel like brining that history element into it...during the *Death of a Salesman* thing where we talked about how segregation had started. I feel like, just letting them know that there are kind of injustices out there and that, when, many of them who come from either linguistic minority backgrounds or, they may be immigrants, they’re going to have to deal with the housing market as we all are and I felt like that was one really great breakthrough for me was being able to talk about the fact that they should be prepared, to face some kinds of discrimination when they’re looking for housing. I think everyone probably does to a certain extent. And so I felt like that, for me, was, was a great moment, where I was able to incorporate some social justice issues. And I guess at the school, I haven’t really done a lot of observing this semester, to be honest I haven’t. I think I’ve only, I don’t even know if I’ve observed one class this whole

semester. So I don't even feel like I have enough of a comparison to other teachers. I mean, I know my own CT, like, his classes, I don't feel like are incorporating much social justice. I think it's kind of going against it sometimes" (Interview 4, p. 26).

Amanda called it a "really great breakthrough" that she was able to talk to her students about issues surrounding housing discrimination. Certainly this information is important and useful to students. However, Amanda approached this issue from the position of a tacit acceptance of discrimination. Rather than interrogating the system that perpetuates discriminatory practices in the housing market and how the institution might be altered, Amanda strived to prepare her students to face discrimination. Considering the context Amanda was working in where conversations like this one were usually proactively curtailed, this kind of discussion was a breakthrough and a success for Amanda. However, imagine what Amanda could have done if she had worked daily with a critical ally and mentor who interrogated issues caused by institutionalized racism and linguicism with Amanda. Imagine also what this meant for her students. Rather than engaging in a curriculum that supported them in critically exploring the world they lived in and how they were positioned within it as well as proactively challenging various forms of discrimination, students were taught to tacitly accept discriminatory practices.

In Amanda's practicum school, there was a Black male graduate of BC whom she often talked with and got advice from. She felt he was an example of teaching for social justice because his "texts are often very Afro-centric, you know, and he, his whole lesson plans are usually based around the idea of oppression and things like

that so I think that he of all the teachers I've observed is definitely on the target in terms of social justice" (Interview 4, p. 26). This teacher also planned an assembly at the school for Martin Luther King Jr. Day and helped students prepare various meaningful presentations like a recitation of Tupac's poem "The Rose Grows Out of Concrete" and a performance of the Black National Anthem.

Amanda felt that this teacher was on target in the kind of work he was doing and that he did it so well because he was very knowledgeable. However, Amanda also noted that he was not completely supported by the administration at his school. She said, "Unfortunately my principal is not so excited about [the class], he wants to have, instead of a business elective he would like to teach a, an African American studies elective, just as a literature course and my principal, is not a fan of that. Like he'd rather focus on business. So that just kind of shows you the kind of the priorities at the school" (Interview 4, p. 27). This is a common problem where teachers striving to engage in innovative and critically conscious curriculum and teaching practices are stifled by administrators and others within the schooling context. This is why it is necessary for teacher candidates and teachers to build strong collaborative relationships with allies who can help support critically engaged practices that target issues of racism and linguisticism, even within unsupportive schooling contexts.

I asked Mr. Jones how relevant teaching for social justice was in his classroom and at the school. He said,

Oh I think that's very relevant. It's obviously in the world today, you know, is very much involved with social justice and what's fair for everyone and I think taking that into the classroom this idea of justice is extremely important so that the youngsters feel that they're not being treated unfairly or that we're all in the same situation and hopefully all get the same idea that we're in it for every kid and hopefully we treat everybody fairly. Doesn't always work but that's a major consideration I think (Interview with CT, p. 1).

From this quote, it appears that Mr. Jones's idea of teaching for social justice is about "treating everybody fairly." From a CRT perspective, a focus on fairness is dangerous because it is often constructed through the lens of white normativity and used to marginalize students of color.

Before she began her first year teaching, I asked Amanda about her ideas on teaching for social justice. She said that her ideas of teaching for social justice had changed since she started the program. She said:

I think from the very beginning it has changed. Like in the beginning I believe that it was teaching about power and inequality and trying to improve student's lives by giving them an education and that would lead to them going to college, etc., etc. But I think my view of what social justice is maybe has change a little bit because I think it's, since I tried to become more open minded I realize I can't define what justice is or inequality is for my students. I kind of would like them to come up with their own definitions of it and because I don't think it's something -- Social justice is something you can't really define until you kind of like realize what injustice is and then you know what other ways you can -- I don't know if fix is the right word but fix injustice and kind of fight against it and so I guess for me I guess it's a lot easier to right now to define what injustice is and inequality is than to define social justice because I think good teaching really if you're helping students learn and improve themselves I think that in itself can be social justice. You know the everyday tasks that you do to help a student read better or write better I think those can all really add up to improve their lives. And so I guess my idea of social justice has just kind of become more broadly encompassing like anything that I can do to improve their chances in life and give them access to resources is in my point of view part of social justice and teaching for it. So whether that means bringing them to a museum you know

that they've never been to or showing them a book that they might like to read, I think all those things can kind of accumulate to be something that will you know will help them out. And yeah, I think that that's kind of one way that my definition has sort of changed" (Interview 6, pp. 9-10).

Amanda's beliefs about teaching for social justice, after spending an entire year in a context where she was not supported in teaching for social justice the way she originally intended to, changed in the direction of becoming more individualistic and meritocratic. Her changed perspective about teaching for social justice also no longer focused on battling systemic inequity directly. Rather it was about providing individual students with access to knowledge. This is a common outlook on social justice that is limited from the perspective of CRT. Without challenging power structures, whiteness, and the way certain knowledges are privileged over others, teaching for social justice that uncritically promotes access to knowledge will never be powerful enough to battle inequitable systems.

Amanda further explained how her practicum experiences affected her views on teaching for social justice:

I think my pre and full prac have given me a more grounded idea of social justice. So before, during the summer before my practicum I was thinking, I'm going to be able to take students to all these great places and bring in like speakers and do all these great things for them and then I kind of got there and I was like plopped into a situation where you're not given a lump sum of money to say, "Here, take them and show them the world." You're given like a pencil and a paper and you're like what am I going to do with an overhead projector? You're given kind of bare minimum and I kind of had to realize I need to come back to earth and realize that I can't necessarily like do everything I want to do but I can find ways to bring in conversations about race or gender inequality or hurricane Katrina was one issue we talked about. Politics was certainly an issue that came about especially whenever...we talked about moral issues such as the Virginia Tech shooting. The students I talked with were so incredibly, felt so strongly about Bush and

every time his name was mentioned it was like there was a riot in the classroom. They would all say really awful things about him and I couldn't insert my own opinion because it just wouldn't be right. You know? But I also knew the way my teacher felt about being a Republican and I didn't want to offend him in any way. So that for me like it was hard because I felt like I had to censor some of the conversations whenever they got too leftist. And so I hope that I can try to keep up some sense of like neutrality in all of the discussions I have. I know sometimes I get really excited and I start inserting my opinion and then I'm like, 'Okay, wait, I can't do that anymore.' Because that's -- I don't want to brainwash them (Interview 6, p. 10).

Because of the practicum placement she had, Amanda viewed having a space of neutrality as more important than an opportunity to challenge student thinking and push different issues. Obviously, some of this neutrality was forced on her by the fact that she was a student teacher and essentially a guest in another teacher's classroom. However, her ability to engage in difficult discussions in class was influenced by a new found fear of "brainwashing" that was instilled in her by her cooperating teacher and contrasted with the kinds of conversations Amanda claimed she wanted to have with her students at the outset of her teacher education program (Interview 1). Her new perspective of teacher neutrality ignores how a teacher's silence in a classroom can also send powerful messages to students and is therefore never actually neutral.

CRT challenges this perspective of perceived neutrality and objectivity outright because it simply does not exist. CRT asserts that all people are influenced by their racialized life experiences and therefore are never neutral. Rather than a so-called neutral and objective space, a classroom could be a learning ground for students to express their different opinions, hear the perspectives of others

(including their teachers), and learn to participate in conversations focused on understanding one another rather than on which perspective is right. A critically conscious classroom that proactively challenges racism and linguisticism could be a place of open identity ownership where both teachers and students model effective democratic conversations across differences.

Working with Mr. Jones pushed her into a position where the need for “objectivity” and “neutrality” were uppermost. However, Amanda’s original goals in becoming a teacher who challenges power structures and inequities cannot be met from this position of so-called neutrality and objectivity. If Amanda had been given opportunities to become comfortable with her own perspectives and to integrate her ideas into the learning space without forcing them on her students, she would be a lot closer to the teacher she originally set out to be.

In her teacher education program, Amanda did have models of this kind of teaching in some of her professors. She felt that they taught for social justice and practiced what they preached. She said:

They really tried to have the kind of discussions in class about, just being honest about what goes on in the classroom and sometimes teachers would say things that really shouldn’t be said in the classroom and [methods class professor] would awkwardly tell them, “Well, have you thought about why this might not be the right way to approach a situation?” Often times teachers in my class would give anecdotes of what they would do in a situation and [methods class professor] would have to be like, “Well this isn’t really just. This isn’t really the right thing to do. Think about what is the right thing to do and so we’d have class discussions about that.” And I think [instructor of literacy and assessment class] for sure, she was just an amazing person in general and like she was a teacher herself, so she could like bring her own experiences into the classroom and tells us you know like how important it is to treat like every student as an individual and not try to make

assumptions about where they're coming from. I just found her to be a great role model. Both of them were great role models for me in terms of teaching for social justice" (Interview 6, p. 11).

This quote is interesting because Amanda admired her professors for taking a strong position on what is right and just, but Amanda herself did not feel she could do that without brainwashing her students. Some of Amanda's positions on teaching for social justice in her classroom could be a result of the restraints she had as a student teacher in a classroom where that kind of teaching was not welcome. However, the way teaching for social justice was modeled for Amanda by some of her professors in the teacher education program contrasts with the view Mr. Jones promoted in her practicum placement. And in the end, Amanda expressed a stronger alignment with Mr. Jones's approach of being "neutral" and "objective" than she did with taking a stance in the classroom that is openly against various forms of injustice and inequity.

Another important thing to note about the quote above is how strong the individualism discourse is even in her teacher education program regarding teaching for social justice. The American education system is so fundamentally individualistic and meritocratic that it is difficult for any teacher to move away from that perception. This powerful majoritarian story is problematic because it promotes individualistic meritocracy rather than a perspective that interrogates group-related inequities and reveals institutionalized issues of racism and linguisticism.

When I asked Amanda whether her expectations regarding learning to teach for social justice had been met in the program she said, “I think that there’s always more that could be done. I mean it’s really hard to say like how well professors did because I think they all did a really fantastic job of teaching me what they did in terms of social justice and I think like I said there’s always more that could be done” (Interview 6, p. 13). She then specifically talked about how she wished she had been better prepared to work with students who are on IEPs. This was a consistent criticism that Amanda had of the program. She did not feel she was prepared to work effectively with students who had special needs and to differentiate instruction to support their learning.

Conclusion

Amanda’s experience of the teacher education program was one where coursework was inconsistent and the practicum placement promoted linguistic and racist practices. Despite this, Amanda critiqued various issues, individually challenged the issues of inequity she witnessed, and developed her skills as a teacher. However, despite her hard work, she did not leave her teacher preparation program equipped with the allies and experiences necessary to work with others to challenge systemic inequity, especially in terms of institutionalized racism and linguisticism. Instead, Amanda’s experience in the program was disjointed and too weak to support her in developing teaching practices and policies that consistently and powerfully disrupt the inequitable status quo. She was forced to navigate and

survive within complex systems of power on her own, which primed her for individualistic work only capable of assisting individual students rather than to be an agent and ally of systemic change.

Amanda interrogated issues around race, culture, and language in the classroom and society in general through the lessons that she planned and taught. However, because Amanda was not supported or mentored by either Mr. Jones or her supervisor in critically conscious investigations that explicitly challenged inequity, there were limits to how deeply she could interrogate these issues in actual practice. In fact, her practicum placement appeared to severely limit Amanda's critical engagement with various issues around race, culture, and language and essentially perpetuated the racist and linguistic status quo through her teaching.

Additionally, through both her experiences in the teacher education courses and her practicum placement, Amanda continued to develop a perspective of teaching and learning that was primarily individualistic and meritocratic. Amanda's teacher education experiences did not push her into critical examinations of race, culture, and language to a deeper and more complex level and left her to build her own bridges between the occasional critically oriented discussions in her teacher education courses and an extremely uncritical practicum placement.

A system of teacher education wherein critical theory and practices are not taught consistently in courses and are distant from the actual practice teacher candidates witness and emulate in their fieldwork experiences will never be able to

meaningfully challenge the status quo (Sleeter, 2008). A coherent teacher preparation program is necessary to prepare teachers committed to social justice and teaching bilingual learners, equipped with strong models, partners, and contexts where transformative work can actually happen that disrupts institutional practices perpetuating racism and linguicism. Through teacher preparation, teacher candidates need to learn to take a strong stance against white normativity, white dominance, and white privilege. Teacher candidates must learn to be actively engaged in changing classroom practices based on white normativity, white dominance, and white privilege in schools in order to affect the power systems graduates enter when they leave the program.

Amanda was eager to engage in teaching as a political act and was severely limited in what she could accomplish because of a much less than ideal practicum placement and a lack of critical mentorship. She was not supported in understanding and challenging the power issues and inequities she witnessed around race, culture, and language. Unfortunately, Amanda's teacher education experiences failed to offer her the powerful tools necessary to become the partner to her students who teaches for social justice she entered the program desiring to become.

CHAPTER SIX: Endorsing and Challenging Majoritarian Stories about Race, Culture, and Language in Practice: Amanda's First Three Years of Teaching

As noted in Chapter One, Love (2004) defines majoritarian stories as “the description of events as told by members of dominant/majority groups, accompanied by the values and beliefs that justify the actions taken by dominants to insure their dominant position” (pp. 228-229). He further details features of majoritarian stories saying:

Specific tools used in the construction of majoritarian stories serve to obscure white privilege and cause it to appear as normal, natural, and ordinary. These tools include such devices as fostering invisibility, making assumptions of what is normative and universal, promoting the perspective that schools are neutral and apolitical, promoting the myth of meritocracy, endorsing the notion that there is equal educational opportunity for all, referencing dominants as “people” while “othering” subordinates (Delgado, 1995; Solórzano, 1977; Yosso, 2002). Not only do these tools obscure white privilege, they also obscure the ways people of color are subordinated by the rules, policies, and everyday procedures of organizational and institutional life. Typically, majoritarian stories are constructed so that responsibility for their own subordination falls on the subordinated people (p. 229).

Majoritarian stories obscure the way whiteness subordinates people of color and perpetuates inequity. Therefore, explicit analyses of the majoritarian stories that are implicit or explicit in educational practice and policy are necessary to expose systemic issues of inequity.

In Chapter Two, I analyzed research on the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers to identify four common majoritarian stories regarding their education—there is no story about race, difference is deficit, meritocracy is

appropriate, and English is *all* that matters. In Chapter Four, I established the prevalence of these majoritarian stories in Massachusetts state policy, which legally sanctions linguisticism and racism, and responded to my research question regarding ideologies and assumptions in state policy. In Chapter Five, I demonstrated that an incoherent and mixed teacher preparation experience was not powerful enough to provide one teacher candidate, Amanda Lee, with the tools and allies necessary to consistently challenge the four identified majoritarian stories as well as institutionalized racism and linguisticism. Considering the policy context she worked in and her teacher preparation, this chapter presents the not surprising finding that these same majoritarian stories also shaped and were reflected in Amanda's practice during her first three years of teaching.

Chapter Five partially answered my second research question about ideologies and assumption in practice. This chapter continues to investigate that question as well as my third research question inquiring into the relationship among ideologies and assumptions in policy and practice. As this chapter demonstrates, Amanda's ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language, as evidenced in her practice, both challenged and endorsed the majoritarian stories of there is no story about race, difference is deficit, meritocracy is appropriate, and English is *all* that matters. While the fact that Amanda both endorsed and challenged these common majoritarian stories is interesting, the purpose of this chapter is not solely to examine her practice for whether she countered these stories or promoted them. Rather this chapter seeks to answer

fundamental questions about why and how this matters. That is, why and how does it matter if a teacher of secondary bilingual learners, who worked in a policy context that strongly endorsed common majoritarian stories, promoted or challenged those stories in her own practice?

In this chapter, I argue that if these common majoritarian stories are continually promoted through policy and practice then inequity in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers will persist as will institutionalized racism and linguicism. The analysis presented in this chapter focuses on one teacher working in one school. Obviously, her ideologies and assumptions as evidenced through her practice are not representative of all teachers in their first three years of teaching. However, focusing on Amanda provides revealing insights into what are often considered “best practices” as well as the institutional arrangements that perpetuate racism and linguicism in policy and practice. Amanda is deemed highly qualified by the state of Massachusetts to work with bilingual learners in both SEI and ESL classrooms. She graduated from a prominent, nationally recognized teacher education program and as one participant in a larger study examining the outcomes and influence of teacher education on twenty-two participants (see descriptions of QCS in Chapter Three), Amanda has widely been recognized by the larger research team as an exemplar and a success (McQuillan et al., 2009; Cochran-Smith et al., 2010), however, from the perspective of “good teaching” versus the perspective of good teaching for bilingual learners. Therefore, examining the ideologies and assumptions evidenced in her practice, the practice of a teacher

widely deemed effective, during her first three years of teaching is valuable for establishing better policies and practices to support improve outcomes for both bilingual learners and their teachers as well as to agitate the power of institutionalized racism and linguicism.

In order to explore Amanda's ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language and how she either endorsed or challenged the four majoritarian stories, this chapter takes up central issues related to race, difference, merit, and English by examining each majoritarian story individually. First, a brief introduction to the school context where Amanda spent her first three years of teaching is presented.

Highland High School

After graduating from her teacher education program certified as a secondary English teacher and meeting all of the qualifications to teach sheltered English immersion (SEI) in the state of Massachusetts, Amanda accepted a teaching position at Highland High School (HHS), a small, urban high school, which opened in 2005 and was housed in the same building complex as the school where she completed her student teaching. During her first year, Amanda taught semester-long writing courses to 9th and 10th graders, and in her second and third years she taught 12th grade humanities as well as a visual arts elective. Similar to her practicum school, the school Amanda entered as a first year teacher was plagued by low levels of student performance and serious inequities in student outcomes.

Amanda described Highland High School as “pretty racially diverse,” but later qualified that as “one-sided diversity. More Black and Hispanics and fewer White and Asian students” (Interview 7, p. 1). However, in terms of socioeconomic status, she said there was not as much diversity. Amanda reported that, “90% of the kids receive free or reduced price lunch” (Interview 7, p.1). Publically available enrollment data for the 2009-2010 school year confirm her definition of one-sided diversity, and show that the substantial majority of the students at Highland High School, some 80%, came from low-income backgrounds. A small portion of the population at Highland High was designated as Limited English Proficient (LEP) (under 10%), while some 20% was labeled as special education and more than 30% spoke a language other than English at home (MA DESE, 2010). However, these descriptive data only present a partial picture of Highland High School.

Many of the students attending Highland High School came from multilingual backgrounds, but according to the assistant headmaster, Highland High School did not have any designated SEI classrooms. In a brief conversation I had with him while I was visiting HHS to observe Amanda (QCS Observation 7), he told me that because the school had so few students designated as LEP, those bilingual learners were integrated into the mainstream program at the school and received after-school support where necessary. Therefore, HHS actually did even less to support bilingual learners designated as LEP than was required by the state level policy analyzed in Chapter Four, policy that was shown to legally sanction linguistic and racism.

While the school wide data available do not represent how bilingual learners at HHS performed academically overall⁶, Amanda talked about low levels of academic achievement across the school context. Near the beginning of her first year at HHS, Amanda mentioned a faculty meeting where they explored student achievement data and found that 52% of the students in the school had at least one “F” on their progress reports (Interview 7, p. 10). Additionally, the MA DESE data website reported a graduation rate of around 70%.

However, during Amanda’s time at HHS, the school went from not meeting Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) goals for two years in a row (2006 and 2007) in English language arts to making AYP for two years in a row (2008 and 2009) in English language arts. In 2009, HHS also made AYP required progress for Mathematics for the first time in the school’s existence. While AYP calculations are limited in terms of capturing student learning and growth, especially for bilingual learners, it is important to note these changes because they represent the school’s improved standing over time in terms of high-stakes accountability systems.

During Amanda’s first three years of teaching at HHS, she saw many of her fellow teachers come and go. In fact, the high teacher turnover at her school was a major concern to Amanda and a frequent topic of discussion in our interviews. At

⁶ The state only reports data on bilingual learners who are labeled Limited English Proficient (LEP) or Formerly Limited English Proficient (FLEP). Bilingual learners who are no longer labeled LEP and have not been for over three years are not included in LEP or FLEP data presentations. Additionally, the LEP student subgroup at HHS is so small that, MCAS scores, which are both invalid and unreliable to measure bilingual learner performance anyway, were not reported.

the end of her first year, Amanda said about her principal and the teacher turnover rate:

To me it seems like he wants as much control as possible. He already has a lot based on the fact that the turnover rate has been, first year 50%, second year 30%, this year will be 30 as well. So every year, by the time, people who were freshman when the school first started probably will see a whole, 100% new staff by the time they're seniors. And I just do not think that that's a positive thing for students. I mean, I would love to see some very experienced faculty to serve as role models and guidance and I feel like there's so few really "exemplary" teachers that are, have taught for more than five years at this school (Interview 8, p. 6).

Amanda felt the high teacher turnover rate and various control issues between the principal and the faculty were major areas of concern. However, overtime, it appears that the teacher turnover rate began to improve. Between her second and third year of teaching, 60% of the teachers stayed. During her third year of teaching she said, "I do feel like we're kind of heading toward a more stable school model" (Interview 12, p. 8). She mentioned that the school appeared to be investing more in teachers because it was retaining more of them. She said, "I think the teachers at my school are in general very equitable and they're very caring of their kids and I think that my school tries to invest in teachers who are caring and would put students at the center of learning" (Interview 12, p. 32).

Despite working with faculty she mostly admired and felt were dedicated to students, Amanda found working at HHS at times frustrating because of a constant division between the faculty and administration. During her third year of teaching she described this division to me in the following interaction:

Amanda: And it [division between faculty and administration] often unfortunately is race based. Like all of the African American teachers except for one side with the administration. And well I'd say maybe except for two. We do have a pretty diverse group of teachers. I'd say we have four African American teachers, one Cape Verdean teacher. And two of those African American teachers are kind of neutral. They don't really side with the administration or not. And then the other three definitely do and are constantly going out with them after school. There's always camaraderie between then and then all the other teachers are pretty much in the same boat.

Kara: That's interesting.

Amanda: Yeah, so I feel like the majority of the staff doesn't necessarily side with the administration 100%. We may on the surface but as a whole I think we all see a lot of problems with the leadership at the school.

Kara: Yeah. Do you want to talk about some of those problems or do you feel like it's the same stuff we've talked about before?

Amanda: I feel like a lot of it is the same stuff. The same lack of trust, micromanagement, undermining teachers. Yeah. I think it's really the same stuff I've been seeing for two years (Interview 12, p. 40).

The relationship Amanda had with her colleagues and the administration were important aspects of her experiences as a teacher at HHS for her first three years of teaching. However, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide an in-depth analysis of those relationships and issues. Where some of these issues appear to affect Amanda's practice, they will be discussed in the sections below.

While Amanda often felt micromanaged and undermined by the administration, she also had substantial curricular autonomy in her classroom and extensive support from mentors during her first year of teaching. Amanda's autonomy in the classroom is discussed in more detail in a later section, but her

experience with mentors is pertinent to explore in-depth here because of its powerful role in Amanda's development as a teacher.

During her first year of teaching, Amanda had three official mentors: a writing coach to aid her in teaching writing, a new teacher developer to support her growth in teaching practices generally, and a humanities mentor to assist her in aligning her work with the newly implemented humanities curriculum. Amanda found working with her writing coach and new teacher developer to be extremely helpful, but did not find as much benefit from her work with the humanities curriculum coach. At the end of her first year, she felt that "the school has provided me with a lot of opportunities for mentorship and support" (Interview 9, p. 29). At the end of her second year of teaching, Amanda said, "I think the mentoring has been just invaluable. I think that I would not have survived my first year without mentors" (Interview 11, p. 13).

Across our interviews, Amanda spoke specifically about what she gained from working with her various mentors, especially her writing coach, Claire, and new teacher developer, Roger. About her writing coach, Amanda said, "She's taught me a lot of strategies for teaching writing that are really effective and...we did a lot of curriculum writing this year and...writing a curriculum was pretty new to me so she helped me with that" (Interview 9, p. 29). Amanda's writing coach spent a lot of time with Amanda during her first year of teaching and was the mentor that Amanda suggested I interview because of her extensive work in supporting Amanda.

They had a very strong working relationship and Amanda benefitted greatly from her support.

Amanda also benefitted from working with Roger, her new teacher developer. She felt that he was a substantial support in her development of classroom management techniques (Interview 9) and that his extra set of eyes in her classroom helped her be a more reflective teacher. In fact, at the end of her second year of teaching, I asked her what kind of support she would most like to have going into her third year and she said:

Well I think I would like something similar to the way that Roger was in my classroom. He was just a passive observer. He was not there to criticize or anything like that. He was just there to observe and tell me as objectively as he could what he saw and we would together kind of come up with goals from his observations. Because he could tell me like if I was calling on certain students more than others and he could tell me things that I wasn't really seeing myself. And I haven't really gained that perspective this year because I really haven't had anybody except for Adam Wallace [assistant principal] come in and observe me this year. So it's been really different I guess not having that second eye (Interview 11, p. 16).

Amanda appreciated the opportunity to reflect on her work with a mentor who was not responsible for evaluating her and could help her develop as a teacher as well as support her to feel good about the work she was doing. At the end of her second year of teaching, she said:

I'd say that the mentors I had my first year probably were most helpful to me in terms of becoming the best teacher I could be, especially Roger and Claire, who I've mentioned before were really, really supportive of me and they gave me a lot of positive feedback because I was always really critical of myself and I still am and so having somebody tell me that I'm not like doing a horrible job is even if like they're not — Even if they're being a little bit too generous. Even if I'm not great all the time, even if like they're just saying nice things to boost my confidence, I think that that helps me stay positive

because I'm pretty good at criticizing myself I'd say so I feel like people who can boost me up a little bit and make me feel like I need to keep going and just stay positive as much as I can I think that really motivates me to be a better teacher is the positive feedback (Interview 11, p. 49).

Clearly, Amanda benefitted greatly from having supportive mentors to work closely with.

However, she only had these mentors during her first year of teaching. She felt strongly that she would have benefitted from continued mentorship. In fact, she linked her growth as a teacher with her mentorship and said:

I would say the most important years for a teacher are the first three and I feel like if mentoring stops after the first year, the growth stops too. And so I think it's super important that second and third year teachers don't get ignored and that they also get mentoring (Interview 11, p. 14).

Later in the same interview, she spoke more about mentoring and referenced a public lecture by Linda Darling-Hammond that Amanda had attended and said:

Linda Darling-Hammond was right on target when she said when she came to BC and she talked about how other countries have mentors for teachers even up through their fifth year. I feel like that's why it's working for them because teachers are getting support and they're getting that needed reflection. And when you're isolated and no one is observing you, you can do a lot of things wrong and not realize it. So I mean even having an intern next year will probably be like some sense of reflection and perspective but she's not going to be able to give me the kind of like mentorship that I need (Interview 11, p. 52-53).

Amanda's desire for continued mentorship after her first year of teaching was not met. In fact, during her second year of teaching, Amanda already worked as a cooperating teacher for a teacher candidate from her own urban teacher education program at BC, and in her third year of teaching, she was a cooperating teacher for a teacher candidate in a program at another local university.

Amanda enjoyed working with both of the teacher candidates and liked the opportunity for collaboration. However, she did not feel capable of providing them with the kind of mentorship they needed. At the end of her second year of teaching and first year with a teacher candidate in her classroom, she said:

I felt sort of inadequate to be a mentor this year. I felt like I needed more support because I just felt like I was as a second-year teacher, I'd be doing a disservice to mentoring somebody who's never seen an experienced teacher teach before (Interview 11, p. 16).

Amanda took great pride in her work and found benefit from collaborative opportunities, especially with her mentors who helped her develop her practice. Unfortunately, these supports only were available to Amanda during her first year of teaching and then she quickly was put into the role of mentor as cooperating teacher herself. Additionally, it does not appear that any of her mentors critically engaged with Amanda in disrupting institutionalized racism and linguicism. Though these mentors played a powerful role in Amanda's development, they supported Amanda in teaching practices that were uncritical in terms of issues of racism and linguicism in classroom policy and practice.

At Highland High School Amanda felt her mentors were excellent supports but she still faced some challenges in terms of working in a context where divisions existed between faculty and administration and where student achievement was a struggle. Within this context Amanda strove to be an effective teacher and support student learning. And within this context various assumptions and ideologies that

both challenge and promote the four common majoritarian stories regarding the education of bilingual learners were evident in Amanda's practice.

Amanda both endorsed and challenged the four common majoritarian stories about the education of bilingual learners through her practice. Considering the policy and school context she worked in and her teacher preparation, it is not surprising that Amanda at times promoted these majoritarian stories and therefore perpetuated issues of institutionalized racism and linguicism. However, she also challenged these damaging majoritarian stories, though never to the level powerful enough to agitate the racist and linguicist status quo. While the concepts of either challenging or endorsing majoritarian stories suggests a distinct binary, this analysis demonstrates that Amanda's endorsements and challenges were actually exceptionally complex and varied in degree of challenge and endorsement. For this reason, it is difficult to identify a consistent ideological stance in Amanda's practice. In fact, as is discussed in the following sections, Amanda faced many tensions between various ideologies.

In contrast to Massachusetts state policy that is permeated consistently with individualism, assimilationism, technicism, localism, and standard language ideology, Amanda's practice was much more complex and nuanced in terms of ideological stance. As might be expected from any teacher, or human being for that matter, Amanda's practice evidenced various ideologies, even some that contrasted and contradicted each other. In terms of the ideologies discussed in Chapter Four, Amanda most consistently subscribed to individualism in her practice. However, as

described below, she also showed varying levels of endorsement of a colorblind ideology and pluralism. Her ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language, the tensions they created, the degree to which her practice endorsed or challenged the four majoritarian stories of focus in this dissertation, and the role institutionalized racism and linguicism played in her classroom are investigated below.

Majoritarian Story #1: There is no Story about Race

As noted in Chapter Two, in a field dominated by White educators (Hollins & Guzman, 2005), white norms are frequently imposed through practice and discourse even by those who do not hold either overt or unconscious feelings of white supremacy. Rather when educators' efforts (sometimes even those who are not White) are shaped by the invisible hegemonic white norm, their practice turns into vehicles for continued oppression and marginalization of students of color. In terms of bilingual learners in Massachusetts, over 80% of bilingual learners are students of color (ELL Sub-Committee, 2010). Therefore, racist and linguicist educational practices dominated by whiteness have the potential to marginalize and oppress bilingual learners in classrooms. When this occurs a colorblind ideology or "post-racialism" are at play and convey the majoritarian story that there is no story about race.

In other words, this majoritarian story asserts that race does not need to be a central area of investigation, analysis, or discussion in classroom practice, policy, or

research because it simply is no longer a significant issue in the United States. However, considering the racialization processes that all in the United States are still subjected to, race must be a relevant area of emphasis across educational policy and practice. The prevalent silences, omissions, and de-emphases on race are problematic because they convey the majoritarian story that there is no story about race. Without explicit and regular acknowledgement, analysis, and discussion about race and white privilege, this frequently unrecognized reality of classroom practices based on white normativity communicates the majoritarian story insisting there is no story about race and perpetuates institutionalized racism.

Amanda's practice during her first three years of teaching did not suggest either an explicit endorsement or a consistent challenge to the majoritarian story that there is no story about race in her classroom. Her personal relationship to this story was complex because Amanda was biracial with both a Taiwanese and White American background. The way this story played out in her classroom was also complex, given instances of various levels of both endorsement and challenge. However, as will be illustrated in the following sections, overall, Amanda's challenges to the majoritarian story that there is no story about race were not sufficient to counter the power of white normativity or institutionalized racism and linguicism in her classroom. Further, the way this story was endorsed in Amanda's practice greatly affected the education her bilingual learners received as well as her own development as their teacher, thus exposing the power of these stories and their relationship to institutionalized racism and linguicism.

Race in the Curriculum

Amanda often integrated issues related to social justice and oppression including discussions on racism into the content of the curriculum. She seemed to operate from the assumption that race and racism were among important topics to be addressed in the curriculum. By including racism as a topic to explore, Amanda challenged the majoritarian story suggesting that there is no story about race to a certain extent. Additionally, her students frequently inserted questions, concerns, and ideas about racism and race into classroom discussions and interactions in ways that challenged the idea that there is no story about race in the United States today. In their curricular investigations and classroom discussions, both Amanda and her students seemed to operate from an assumption that race and racism were important topics to explore and discuss.

However, what kind of story about race did they end up telling? Classroom discussions about race do not inherently provide students with the opportunity to examine the racialization processes at play and how these processes perpetuate white privilege or institutionalized racism. Such critical investigations are important for supporting the quality education of bilingual learners (Hones, 2002) and are necessary for students to challenge how racialization processes might marginalize or privilege. But these discussions were not common in Amanda's classroom. Despite Amanda's desire and efforts to explore issues of race and racism through a multicultural curriculum, these explorations were not critically conscious or personally relevant to students and therefore too weak to agitate issues of racism

and linguisticism in her classroom policies and practices as well as in the lives of her students.

During Amanda's first year, she was a writing teacher for 9th and 10th grade. Her 9th grade course curriculum was a pre-packaged curriculum titled "Ramp It Up," which she did not have any flexibility to deviate from. However, she did have substantial autonomy that year in determining the curriculum for her 10th grade courses. It was expected that she align her 10th grade writing curriculum with the 10th grade humanities curriculum, but within that framework of the 10th grade humanities curricular topics. Therefore, she was able to select books, create assignments and essentially create the curriculum she wanted to engage in with her 10th grade students. In her second and third years, she was a humanities teacher for the 12th graders and also had substantial flexibility to select texts and areas of focus in the curriculum. Overall, Amanda had considerable flexibility in her curriculum and consistently chose to address various issues she found important in terms of social justice, including racism.

Amanda indicated that when the 10th grade humanities classes were learning about the Great Depression, Amanda did a unit with her 10th graders on the book *Of Mice and Men*. When the humanities classes were learning about Jim Crow and the 1920's and 1930's, Amanda taught a Harlem Renaissance unit. She talked about making connections between her 10th grade writing course and 10th grade humanities with the Harlem Renaissance unit and said, "It certainly thematically fit well and I could also refer to, well, in this poem we're reading about the Harlem

Renaissance, what can you use from your background knowledge in humanities class about racism and slavery?" (Interview 8, p. 15). Her essential questions for the Harlem Renaissance unit were "How do we confront racism?," "What are the legacies of history?," "How do you deal with discrimination?," and "What are the in and out groups in society?" (Interview 8, p. 15). Her final assessment for the unit was for students to answer one of the essential questions of the unit by analyzing a poem. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to observe this unit or collect student work from it, but Amanda spoke about the unit positively. Clearly, these essential questions and an assessment specifically addressing them were strong efforts on Amanda's behalf to bring discussions around racism into the curriculum.

Another unit she taught during her first year also discussed issues around race. Her *House on Mango Street* unit had the essential questions, "Is America accepting of immigrants? How do you know?," and "How can we build a society that's accepting of differences and treats everyone fairly?" (Interview 9, p. 13).

Amanda said about this unit and those essential questions:

So with those ideas in mind I wanted to give students a background on the book, which I did and a background on the author so that they understood the time period was the 1970's and portraying the injustices the immigrants faced a lot of times, especially Mexican Americans and racism was a factor in her story and one reason I chose it because it fit the essential question so well. The vignettes were mostly about men oppressing women or Whites suppressing immigrants. So those two ideas tied in really well with the questions (Interview 9, p. 13).

During this unit, Amanda also brought in an article by Pat Buchanan, which was “extremely racist.” She said, “It was a perfect article to explain that side of America, the side that doesn’t accept immigrants” (Interview 9, p. 13).

I observed the day the class read the article and saw the varied reactions of the students where some agreed with Pat Buchanan and others were outraged. In fact one Black female said that she agreed with the article and asked, “Am I racist?” Amanda told the student, “You’re not racist.” Another student, a Latino male chimed in and said, “You just don’t like my kind” (Observation 8). This interaction occurred in a friendly tone and actually turned into the Latino male teasingly saying to the Black female that he would not go to a social event where she was planning to be because she did not like immigrants. He then commented that immigrants should rule the world.

It is noteworthy that Amanda labeled the article from Pat Buchanan “extremely racist,” but when her student agreed with it and asked if that made her racist, Amanda said no. What is the difference? What does it mean to be racist? Does it matter that Pat Buchanan is a White male and the student who agreed with his ideas is a Black female? Further, who can talk about racial issues? When and with whom are such conversations acceptable? What role does power and white privilege play in determining this? Also, what racialized role does Amanda, a biracial White/Asian American, play in a classroom with students who are predominately Black and Latino? Has anyone ever assisted her in interrogating her racialization and how it affects her relationship and perspective of her students?

Has she ever been supported to engage in difficult conversations about race and racism with her students? While it is commendable that Amanda's classroom was most often a space where students could express differing opinions without hostility, it appears that further interrogation into the concept of racism, what it means to be racist, and current racialization processes would be beneficial for both Amanda and her students. Additionally, though Amanda brought discussions and interrogations around racism into the curriculum, it appeared that those examinations remained distant from Amanda and her student's personal lives.

Amanda shared an incident that exemplifies such distance that occurred in her third year. After an episode of domestic abuse between two popular singers, Rihanna and Chris Brown, Amanda said,

You'd be shocked at how many of my students hate Rihanna and sided with Chris Brown. You'd be shocked at how many of my students were like, Rihanna deserved it. And I was horrified. I banned that topic from being talked about during class because I was like you guys are so messed up right now (Interview 12, p. 42).

I asked Amanda if she had addressed any of these issues in her curriculum or through any of the books that they read and she said:

I mean "The Rape of Nanking" talks about rape a lot and rape toward woman. I think the kids are pretty horrified by that. They see a clear right and wrong and they understand that there's a line to be drawn. They have no problem calling each other the "B" word or using words like that but they do have a problem when it comes to physically acting out on those words like treating someone like a "B" word. So I don't know. I feel like we've talked about it in class but it's very different when I hear them talking about Chris Brown because they see that as more like their peers as something they can judge on their own level whereas "The Rape of Nanking" happened in the past and they see that as a different incident. They don't really see the connection between that and the gender issues that they have in school. So I guess it

hasn't really come up in a direct way. Maybe more indirectly (Interview 12, p. 43).

It is likely that Amanda and her students would have benefitted from more critical discussions about contemporary issues of injustice that seemed so clear when they were distant in time and space, but become complex and difficult to consider when they were closer and more personal. The students needed help to draw connections between violence against women in multiple contexts and to have nuanced conversations about what the implications are of that violence, what racial content exists within it, and the ramifications, presence, and methods of avoiding violence in their own personal lives.

While Amanda's frustration with her students accepting a public incident of violence against a prominent woman is understandable, she also missed a very teachable moment to engage with students about complex issues that potentially affect Amanda's students in different ways than they affect Amanda. It would have been worth considering why some of her students have this perspective and where it came from. It would be worth talking with students about the role current racialization processes play in the creation of such perspectives and the role culture, class, and gender play as well as how these varying perspectives affect instances of violence in students' personal lives. A critical race pedagogy could make these kinds of student perspectives in the classroom and curricular content central in order to support high levels of academic engagement and achievement through collaborative

investigations into topics of personal relevance and interest to students (Knaus, 2009).

Amanda's efforts to bring discussions around race and other issues of social justice into the curriculum were certainly beyond what many new teachers would be expected to do. However, these efforts were limited in their reach due to various tensions Amanda encountered in terms of her ideologies and assumptions about race. For instance, during her entire three years of teaching at HHS, Amanda was frustrated by Cassandra, a Black female teacher. During Amanda's first year, Cassandra was an intern and a teacher candidate at BC and was assigned to support Amanda in her writing classes. Amanda found the experience frustrating. She felt that Cassandra was unprofessional and so difficult to work with that in order to avoid co-teaching with her during her second year of teaching, Amanda offered to change her teaching assignment and moved to teach 12th grade humanities (Interview 9).

After Cassandra graduated from her teacher education program, she became a full-time teacher at HHS and worked with Amber, a White female teacher. Amanda commented on their work together:

The things that the co-teacher with Cassandra has had to put up with this year has just been really sad for me to see because it's sort of like it's almost like reverse racism. Like Cassandra is the co-teacher with a White woman and Cassandra is constantly telling her you can't relate to these students because you're White. And they can't relate to you and that's what makes Cassandra a better teacher supposedly is that she can relate to them through her race. And she's constantly talking about how Blacks and Hispanic are oppressed and how Whites are the oppressors all the time and it's never a balanced sort of viewpoint (Interview 11, p. 4)

While my knowledge of issues between Cassandra and Amber is limited to Amanda's comments, her perspective reveals some of her stance about the concept of racism. For instance, the idea of "reverse racism" shows a lack of understanding of the historical and institutional aspects of contemporary racism, its connection to power, and how racism is different than individual acts of prejudice. Additionally, in terms of contemporary racism, there is no such thing as a balanced viewpoint. All viewpoints are racialized and influenced by the power and privilege the racialization processes grant and withhold.

As is clear from many of her curricular choices, Amanda assumes that race and racism are important topics of discussion in the classroom. However, it appears that her stance on race and racism is somewhat inconsistent. There seems to be tensions and conflicts between Amanda's stance on racism as an issue and her resistance to the idea that Blacks and Latinos are oppressed and Whites stand to benefit from that oppression. Additionally, the role the varying racialization processes that Amanda, Amber, and Cassandra have experienced in life do not appear to be points of consideration in the issues and frustrations the three have with each other. Certainly, Amanda was race-conscious in her curriculum, but the extent of her curricular work around race was potentially influenced by colorblind or post-racial ideologies that minimize the effects of whiteness, white privilege, and white normativity in issues around race and racism.

However, Amanda did not display a blanket endorsement of whiteness. In fact, Amanda did challenge white normativity in the curriculum. At the end of her second year of teaching, she commented to me about the heavily Eurocentric nature of the 12th grade humanities curriculum and because she felt it presented a limited view of the world and did not engage with the life experiences and backgrounds of her students expressed her plans to change it (Interview 11). During her 3rd year she did change the curriculum, including the books, “The Rape of Nanking,” which takes place in China, “Things Fall Apart,” which takes place in Nigeria and “In the Time of Butterflies,” which takes place in the Dominican Republic (Observation 4/26/10). This is an important challenge to the pervasiveness of whiteness in the curriculum by offering active counter-stories to the majoritarian story that there is no story about race. However, challenging whiteness in the curriculum was not consistent across all of her practice.

I observed Amanda teaching the book *Of Mice and Men* for the second time during the second semester of her first year of teaching. During my observation, Amanda opened the unit with a carousel type of activity where students visited posters around the room containing various images from the Great Depression and recorded their impressions by writing in the blank spaces provided on the posters. Across the posters, students commented on the various instances of whiteness they saw displayed. On the poster with a picture of all White migrant workers, for example, one student wrote that White people wanted the farm jobs that the slaves had and commented, “It was bad.” On a poster with a picture of a school, a student

asked why there were only White children in the picture. The only pictures where Black people were present were the pictures on the poster illustrating segregation and Jim Crow.

Based solely on the perspective of the pictures presented in this activity, Amanda framed the Great Depression as an economic problem for Whites and a segregation problem for Blacks. Could the racial content of the Great Depression extend beyond such simplifications? The Langston Hughes poem cited in Chapter One asks, “What’s the matter here?” regarding promises made by the federal government through the New Deal and their lack of fulfillment, especially in communities of color. In fact, scholars from various fields have argued that the New Deal was highly racialized and provided explicit support for racial inequities in outcome and practice (e.g., Kropp, 2002; Linder, 1987; Massey, 2009).

While it may not have been Amanda’s purpose in teaching the book, *Of Mice and Men*, to interrogate racism during the Great Depression beyond Jim Crow and segregation, it certainly appears that her students had an interest in the various instances of whiteness they saw displayed in the posters. Amanda seemed to operate under the assumption that race and racism were important issues to discuss in the curriculum, however, these topics were at times approached from an uncritical perspective towards whiteness, as in this activity about the Great Depression. Such classroom practices perpetuate white privilege and perspectives through the curriculum. However, Amanda and her students in their classroom discussions do not blanketly promote the majoritarian story that there is no story

about race. Yet, it appears that the story about race that they did promote varied in perspective between Amanda and her students.

The substantial majority of my observations over time included students mentioning some aspect of race or racism in either the class discussion or their interactions with each other, regardless of the curriculum content of the class being observed. Some examples of this were discussed in Chapter Five, which analyzed Amanda's pre-service year of teaching, but there were also many instances across her first three years of teaching. These interactions about race varied from students calling each other racist (Observation 5/28/08) to pointing out that a girl character in a story was "mad naïve" and a "clueless White chick" (Observation 5/20/08) to suggesting to a fellow student that the term "Hispanic" "is the degrading name for us. The right one is Latino" (Observation 4/26/10).

Clearly Amanda and her students did not completely subscribe to the majoritarian story that race is insignificant. Race and racism were important topics of exploration to both Amanda and her students. However, beyond some challenges to the majoritarian story about the irrelevance of race, what is the story about race that Amanda and her students were promoting? It appears that though Amanda and her students were race-conscious, the conversations they had about race were not a critically conscious feature of the classroom powerful enough to disrupt instances of institutionalized racism in schooling. While these discussions about race are important, merely mentioning race and discussing racism from a perspective that is

uncritical of white privilege is not enough to disrupt the marginalizing practices and inequitable issues contemporary racism supports.

An instance of a discussion requiring more critically oriented attention to issues around race occurred during Amanda's second year of teaching. She spoke with me about her experiences teaching the book *Fast Food Nation* and said:

We actually just had a discussion about this the other day and they were saying how they noticed there's a lot more fast food places in urban areas and they always wondered why. They were like, why is it that they decide to come to urban areas? Is it because there are kids who are more likely to eat fast food maybe because their parents can't cook for them? Is it, does it have something to do with the education level? When you look around at [wealthy suburb where we were conducting our interview] are there, in this common right here, we don't see any, I don't see McDonalds. I don't see Kentucky Fried Chicken. But if I go to [lower income part of city where Amanda works] I certainly will. So we talked a lot about class and race and what it has to do with basically social justice and we also wrote, I had them write a letter to either, I gave them a choice, you could either write to the president or a local politician about the, basically the injustices of the meat packing industry. Like, there's one chapter in "Fast Food Nation," I don't know if you've read it. It's how incredibly horrific the conditions are for the workers who are often powerless because they are illegal immigrants sometimes and so they're afraid to lose their jobs. So if they lose a finger, they're not going to go and report it because the companies don't want to look bad. So they try to hide those things. And so after we read that chapter a lot of kids wrote very poignant letters that explained why they didn't think it was fair that workers had to be treated this way and how they didn't know that workers were treated this way (Interview 10, pp. 22-23).

There are many positive aspects to engaging in the kind of classroom conversations Amanda described above. However, in the above quote when she discussed fast food restaurants being predominantly located in urban areas, she positioned the blame for their presence on the people in those communities by discussing their education level and whether parents cook for their children or not. She did not

mention that the predominance of fast food restaurants in low-income communities of color also has to do with systemic and institutionalized racism where impoverished communities of color become targets of the fast food industry focusing on selling cheap food. The major question about reasons for the presence of fast food restaurants should be focused on those institutions and entities with considerable power to determine locations, rather than on the oppressed communities and marginalized populations they exploit.

While it is important that Amanda opened the doors in her curriculum to conversations regarding racism and other oppressive issues, these conversations needed to be elevated to a different level of criticality about white privilege and the reality of racism in both schooling practices and her students' lives. To more completely challenge the majoritarian story that race is unimportant, the conversations about race, racism, and other issues of social justice needed to be more closely related to the students' own personal lives and experiences both inside and outside of school.

For bilingual learners, critically conscious explorations around race, racism, and the racialization process in the curriculum are necessary to help create culturally and linguistically responsive classrooms capable of supporting students in examining the "interplay among self, institution, and society" (Stevens, 2009, p. 7). In other words, bilingual learners benefit from opportunities to examine issues of power based on various forms of oppression in order to critically engage with issues in their own lives. In the education of bilingual learners, the majoritarian story that

there is no story about race needs to be challenged through curriculum that not only discusses racism and issues about race, but proactively critiques white privilege and institutionalized racism and linguisticism and brings those discussions into the personal sphere of relevance to students' everyday lives.

Racial Content in Classroom Management

Some of the biggest difficulties Amanda faced during her first three years of teaching had to do with classroom management issues. However, during her pre-service year, this was not the case. She told me that classroom management was the least of her worries. She said, "I think the students, I really commend them for being so patient with me because I really didn't have many behavior problems at all and I mean, considering how much information I was throwing at them I thought that was really great that they were trying to pay attention" (Interview 2, p. 3). In the following interview still during her pre-service year, I asked her if classroom management was the most important thing to learn about teaching and she said that it is not. She said:

The most important thing? No. I think that it's very important but I think that if you can be engaging and respectful and just generally a fun teacher, I think classroom management issues will go way down if everybody is involved in what's going on. I think classroom management issues are problem if students are bored and if they don't feel respected I think that those are the two main scenarios where I see classroom management happening more frequently. So I actually I have to disagree with that (Interview 3, p. 6).

Despite these expressed beliefs, classroom management was the source of many of the difficulties she faced during her first three years of teaching.

It appears that her perspective on classroom management changed dramatically. In an interview during her first year of teaching, Amanda described her view of classroom management. She said:

I try to see it as a system of rewards and consequences so, this is actually one thing that I did with my homeroom. I was having trouble controlling them, like, they would walk in late, they would sit on the tables, they would have their cell phones out, I was having all sorts of issues with my homeroom kids and I sat down, I drew up a contract with them and I said, these are all the things that I've been noticing that are going on. You're going to get a check minus each time you do this and you will get a check plus every time you do this, which is, reading quietly, doing your homework, helping another student. So I had them each sign it, everyone had to sign it and I had some resistance but I called parents, I told the administrators, and so I got everyone to sign it and I said, now, if you get fewer than three check minuses per week you can come to a pizza party at the end of the month. We've had two pizza parties so far and I've noticed a big change in the behavior of my freshman. And it wasn't, as sad as this is to say, it's kind of like training a pet. Because pets, they love when you give them a treat, but if you make them do something before you give them a treat it's like, all right, now they learn, okay, I need to do this to get this. I think it's literally, it's like the same thing with kids, it's not about whether they like me or not. They're going to misbehave whether they like me or not. So it's really about what do I offer them as a reward and a consequence. It's, like, that's, I mean, yes, that's kind of the way I look at it (Interview 8, p. 43).

This definition of classroom management as controlling student behavior contrasts substantially with the opinion she expressed during her pre-service year—that students act out when they are bored and unengaged. It appears that through the various experiences Amanda had during both her pre-service year and once she began teaching, her perspective became progressively less critical and more aligned with traditional schooling practices based on white normativity where certain behaviors were shunned and others expected. The practices of schooling and the behaviors students are expected to exhibit at school are based on White, middle-

class, monolingual English norms and can therefore be tools that marginalize students who do not fit those “norms.”

During Amanda’s pre-service year, she approached classroom management from the assumption that behavior issues in class should be curtailed through engaging curriculum and respectful practices. However, during her first year of teaching, Amanda approached classroom management from the assumption that behavior issues should be controlled with the appropriate rewards and consequences. Amanda’s classroom management assumptions became less critically oriented over time and also promoted some of the common majoritarian stories regarding the education of bilingual learners as well racism and linguisticism. In this section, the way her classroom management approach endorsed the majoritarian story that there is no story about race will be explored. In the following section on the majoritarian story about difference is deficit, more issues in classroom management are explored for their cultural content and endorsement of that story.

A substantive example of Amanda’s colorblind ideological approach to classroom management, evidence of institutionalized racism, comes from an observation of one of her first days of class with new groups of students. During Amanda’s first year of teaching, the courses she taught lasted only half of the year. This meant that in January, Amanda had the opportunity to start again with a new group of students as well as to re-teach the courses she had already taught once. Because of the severe difficulties she had during the first half of the school year with

student behavior, Amanda made a deliberate effort to begin the new half of the year differently with increased expectations and consequences for various student behaviors. I observed her on this first day of the new term and witnessed how she set-up her classroom with her new set of students (QCS Observation 7).

She spent a great deal of time preparing for this first day of class with one of her mentors, Roger, the new teacher developer. They moved furniture in the room, put different items on the walls and planned exactly how Amanda would begin the semester (Interview 8). During that first day of class, students engaged in an activity to determine what kind of learner they were (e.g., auditory, visual, kinesthetic, etc.) and then participated in a group activity with similar learners to solve a problem together from the perspective of their learning style. After this activity, Amanda went over the syllabus for the course and her expectations for the classroom. She laid out very clear rules and directions by covering all of the different expectations she had for student behavior. She was firm about the consequences for not following classroom rules.

In both of the classes that I observed, students commented that they felt like they were in jail (Observation 7). Amanda responded to one student and said, "Well it's a pretty nice jail!" Clearly this stern approach to classroom management positioned her as the absolute authority in the classroom and stands in conflict to her desire that she expressed at the beginning of her teacher education program to become a partner to her students (Autobiography of Learning Assignment). In her course assignment, Amanda said that she did not see the classroom as a hierarchy,

but as a place to collaboratively learn with her students. After just one semester of teaching, she adopted this dramatically contrasting approach.

On that first day of class, Amanda continued to describe her expectations and explained that the bottom line for her class was respect and if respect was not happening, then learning will not happen either. She said, “I take this class very seriously and I expect you to too” (Observation 7, p. 9). One of the rules she listed was, “No putting your head down on the desk. No one wants to sleep in class because then you aren’t learning” (Observation 7, p. 9). After Amanda made that statement, a girl scoffed at the statement by coughing. As Amanda finished describing all of the rules for her class she said, “I want you to know that you do have a voice in this class so if you do have any ideas, please let me know so we can plan a fieldtrip” (Observation 7, p. 9).

Then Amanda began to share more about herself by introducing students to her own bi-racial, multicultural background and spoke about how different schooling was in China versus the United States. Amanda talked about the high-stakes pressures in the schooling system in China where grades were public and students sit in their classroom seats based on their class ranking with the highest performing students in the front and the lowest performing in the back. Some students engaged with Amanda and asked questions about why China’s school system had certain features. One student responded to the strict, high-pressure schooling system Amanda was describing and said that she would drop-out. Amanda countered her statement and suggested that Chinese students do not drop

out because, "Schooling is so important or else you would be working in the field" (Observation 7, p.9).

Another student asked if they had to pay for school in China and Amanda replied:

It's not like here where the government subsidizes your public school. It's not like here where you get to go to school for "free" [Amanda made the quotation signs with her hands in the air as she says "free"] -- your parents pay taxes, and that's how we get money for schools in Boston. Why is it that so many people drop out of free schools but in other countries where the school isn't good, and they have to pay -- they don't drop out? It's a matter of attitude (Observation 7, p. 9).

Soon after this discussion completed, the class was over and students left for their next class.

It's worth looking closely at this first day of class, when Amanda established clear expectations for rules and student behavior. She operated from the assumption that classroom management is control based on rewards and consequences and created structures to establish the rewards and consequences she believed would help control student behavior. However, despite these efforts made on the first day of class, Amanda consistently faced behavior issues her courses.

Behavior issues continued through her first three years of teaching. In fact, at the end of her second year of teaching she said, "I still feel even though my classroom management has gotten better, I still feel insecure about that aspect of it, I still feel like I'm just too nice sometimes and I need to learn to be more firm" (Interview 11, p. 27). Additionally, in observations during her third year of

teaching, I saw consistent issues with classroom management, where markers were thrown across the room, classes were frequently disrupted by various student outbursts, and Amanda repeatedly attempted to get Tyler, a student who often disrupted class, to quiet down by saying, “Seriously? How old are you?” (Observation 4/26/10). It appears that operating under the assumption that classroom management is control through rewards and consequences did not create the kind of collaborative classroom environment Amanda originally intended to work within. Nor did it create a consistently engaging learning environment for her bilingual learners or other students in her classes, a situation that was clearly frustrating.

Additionally, on the first day of class described above, she began to reinforce stereotypes that might lead students to reject what they could view as a demeaning education. For instance, in her comparisons of the Chinese educational system with that of the U.S., she perpetuated the stereotype that students who drop out of school just have a bad attitude and do not appreciate the “good” education being offered them. This perspective promotes a colorblind version of the difference is deficit majoritarian story where the problem is placed on the drop-outs rather than on the system. The drop-outs do not have the right attitude and therefore drop-out from a “good” system. However, might there be some other explanations for a serious drop-out problem that affects students of color at a much higher rate than White students? Might there be another explanation for why bilingual learners who are labeled LEP in the state of Massachusetts have the highest drop-out rate of any

other subgroup? Might institutionalized racism and linguistic play a role in the drop-out problem?

Knaus (2009) argues that critical race theory applied in the secondary classroom “dramatically shifts the nature and scope of schooling for students of color in urban schools” (p. 133). He argues that

Understanding how to foster critical voice in students provides educators the tools to create engaging classrooms, and acknowledges the intense emotional experiences that students bring (from home contexts) to the classroom. Without such acknowledgement at the core of schooling, educators are likely to reinforce the very stereotypes that lead students to reject what they often see as demeaning education (p. 133).

While Amanda was committed to her students (as is discussed in detail in a later section), she operated under assumptions and ideologies about race that limited opportunities to foster critical voice in students and create engaging classrooms. Rather, her classroom management techniques attempted to establish her as the authority in the classroom to control students. Students were told they had a voice in the classroom by asking for suggestions for a fieldtrip that never ended up happening, but they were shown that their voices were secondary to the rules established by the school and teacher.

Amanda’s approach to classroom management was not unique among teachers and clearly was supported by her school and district as Roger, her new teacher developer, collaborated with her to establish her management style. However, this approach was never consistently effective. In her first year she attempted to control students by rewarding good behavior with a pizza party, an

unsustainable practice that lost its influence over time and was expensive (Interview 8). During her third year she expressed that she was baffled with her classroom management issues and that she and her student teacher had tried every intervention they could think of to get students to behave and nothing worked (Interview 12). Amanda has continued over the years with the same approach based on the assumption that classroom management was about control through rewards and consequences, but perhaps there are other ways to curtail disruptions in class?

By assuming that classroom management was about control through rewards and consequences, Amanda participated uncritically in classroom practices that “obscure white privilege...[and] the ways people of color are subordinated by the rules, policies, and everyday procedures of organizational and institutional life” (Love, 2004, p. 229). This approach to classroom management participates in conveying the majoritarian story that there is no story about race within schooling practices that are actually based on white normativity and institutionalized racism. Although Amanda discussed issues around race and racism in her curriculum, she engaged with classroom management practices from an uncritical stance towards their racial content and outcomes.

In a system of education established and perpetuated around white normativity, there is always a story about race. In terms of Amanda’s classroom management practice, the racial content of various pedagogical and management practices was unexamined and therefore communicated that race was not relevant

in the way her classroom was structured and students were positioned within it. The endorsement of the majoritarian story claiming that race does not matter significantly affected the learning opportunities Amanda was able to provide her bilingual learners. This endorsement also created difficulties for Amanda as she was often frustrated and felt disrespected by her students because of their behavior (this will be discussed in-depth in the following section). Clearly, endorsements and challenges of the majoritarian story claiming there is no story about race in terms of classroom practice and curriculum impacted the experiences of both Amanda and her bilingual learners. However, it appears that a more consistent challenge to this story could have improved classroom engagement and supported higher levels of student learning as well as challenged issues of racism and linguicism in Amanda's classroom.

Majoritarian Story #2: Difference is Deficit

The majoritarian story of "difference is deficit" reflects the idea that variation from a, White, middle-class, standard-English, monolingual norm is problematic. Loaded with cultural assumptions, a predominant aspect of this story in the education of bilingual learners is the assumed mismatch between home and school cultures. While an acknowledgement of a cultural disconnect that may exist is not inherently detrimental, stereotypical assumptions about cultures, students, families, and parental practices that often underlie the "cultural mismatch" discussions are (Asher, 2007). Amanda substantially countered this majoritarian story, but also

endorsed it through various classroom practices. The following sections explore these endorsements and challenges as well as their relevance to the experiences of bilingual learners in her classroom.

Relationship with Students

A cultural assumption about teaching that Amanda often displayed in her practice was that it is important to have a kind, caring relationship with students. Amanda appeared to have positive relationships with many of her students. During Observation 7, several students came in to Amanda's classroom between periods and hugged her and told her how much they missed being in her class. In Observation 8, Amanda gave her students homemade pie to celebrate their hard work for the third term of school. During her third year of teaching, I observed her practicing Spanish with a couple of students while she also answered their questions about her recent trip to the Dominican Republic (Observation 4/26/10).

Consistently, Amanda displayed a desire for positive relationships with her students and in most cases she appeared to have them. She wrote about this in her inquiry paper during her teacher preparation and said, "By being open minded and accepting of all kinds of diversity, I feel that I can make my classroom a safe and welcoming place for any group of students" (Inquiry Paper, p. 12). She assumed the importance good relationships with students and operated from the perspective of pluralist individualism, which allowed her to challenge the majoritarian story of difference is deficit in terms of how she perceived and engaged with her students.

Amanda felt strongly about supporting individualism from the perspective that each student should be embraced for who they are and not preemptively stereotyped.

During her first year of teaching, she had a student who became so angry in class about an assignment that Amanda had given him (to write a personal memoir) that he hit a large window in her classroom so hard, it shattered (Interview 9). She said that the student “had a violent reaction to how frustrated he was by this assignment” (Interview 9, p. 5). While it would have been easy for Amanda to become angry with this student and seek to punish him for the violent disruption of her class, she shared with me her concern for the student and her regret at not having approached the situation differently. She said:

I created an alternative assignment for him where he would write a fictional story so he didn't have to recall any painful memories and he did create a fictional story and read that to the little girl he was paired with instead of reading a memoir. I should've, I wish I had done that in the beginning to salvage his hand and the window. But I really didn't, I mean, that was a learning experience for me too...just make sure I keep in mind students' feelings and take them seriously when they say that they're crazy (Interview 9, p. 6).

Amanda demonstrated her belief in the value of positive relationships with students by working so closely with this student and trying to help him rather than position his violent response to her assignment as deficit and a problem in her classroom.

I asked Amanda during her second year of teaching what made a good teacher. She said:

In addition to content knowledge and proper certifications I feel like student, I mean I feel like teachers need to have compassion for their students. They need to be able to understand where they're coming from and understand their own biases before entering the classroom. I also feel like teachers need

to be willing to listen to many different perspectives that they hear not only in their school but also from teachers. I mean also from students because I feel like the best teachers are the reflective teachers. For example this year one thing I tried to do to be reflective was I gave an end-of-the-year, course survey in which I asked students things like what was your favorite unit that we studied and why? What was your least favorite and why? And what have you learned this year? What is the most important thing you've learned this year? Things like that to try and glean like you know what things that actually students took away from my course and what they didn't and to try and change the course and make it more interesting. So I feel like those are some of the things that would make a really good teacher. I guess let's see. I'm trying to think of all the characteristics. There's a lot. So I guess trying to be as fair as possible not just because we tend to favor the well-behaved students but just to try to not do that and to try to be as fair in terms of grading as possible and to be really respectful of students no matter what even if they're not respectful back I think it's the teacher's role to maintain a respectful and happy environment no matter what is going on around you which is pretty challenging but I do think it's like the sign of a good teacher is someone who can always remain calm and respectful and to be able to build trust with students. I think that it takes a lot for students to trust someone who they don't know that well and to trust that they're teaching them the right things. So I think trust is another good characteristic. I don't know. I guess I could go on and on but I guess those are for me the most important parts of being a good teacher (Interview 11, p. 11).

While at times Amanda faced some challenging relationships with students, she sincerely sought to and successfully did create many positive, caring relationships with her students. She appeared to develop especially positive relationships with many of her bilingual learners. She often commented about how bilingual learners were the highest performing students in her class and specifically discussed positive relationships with many of them.

For instance, Amanda really enjoyed working with a Latino bilingual learner named Jesus. She first taught him as a 10th grader and really inspired him to engage with more creative writing. He did not always come to class and when he did, he

often was very quiet and did not actively participate. Despite these behaviors that might be perceived as deficit, Amanda developed a strong relationship with him that appeared to truly support his academic development.

One of the most successful classes I observed Amanda teach was when Jesus shared some of his writing during a publishing party with his peers. The class had just completed a unit on *House on Mango Street* and had imitated the text by writing vignettes and prose poems to describe some of their own life experiences. The following is his prose poem:

My Name

My name ascends from the grave of my late uncle. My name descends from the heavens. My name was giving to me by a women sobbing at the death of an older brother at his wake. The pain encrypted in my name will never disappear like oil stains. Memories are projected every time my name is mentioned.

My name I know puts fear in the hearts of certain people and if my name shall die it will bring tears to the hearts of many people. My name is like a drug to a certain female. She knows I'm bad, she knows I'm wrong but she still can't get enough.

My name isn't only dark because an angel is one of god's sons. My name rings like church bells in a positive vibe. I say I won't tell the dirt engraved under the fingernails of my name, because I've done 180 to bail and give my name a change. No change like quarters no I rather not be known as the riot starter but the one who puts in the order. My name is a recording of my life, no camcorder.

Both Amanda and his classmates loved Jesus's work. At the end of the publishing party, one of his classmates requested the opportunity to read this piece again and over time people continued to speak about the quality of this prose poem (Interview with Ana).

Additionally, at the end of Amanda's first year of teaching she said about Jesus:

He's the one student all year that's given me a lot of gratification because he was like, "Before your class I thought I'd given up on writing. I really didn't like it and you've made me see how excited I am to start writing again. You really inspired me to keep writing and make it better" (Interview 9, p. 18).

Clearly Amanda and Jesus had a positive relationship. However, this was not enough to prevent Jesus from dropping out of school before he graduated. When I visited Amanda's classes during her third year of teaching, I noticed his name on one of her rosters. I inquired about him and she told me that despite him being roughly her most favorite person in the world, she was unable to convince him to stay in high school. She said that he just could not handle being at Highland High School anymore and desperately wanted out. She believed he was attending night classes to get his GED.

In my interviews with Amanda during her second and third years of teaching, she described other strong relationships with bilingual learners from all over the world, even some who had only recently arrived from various countries. She appeared to truly enjoy working with bilingual learners and appreciated the effort she saw many of them put into her class. Despite the success of many of the bilingual learners in her class, several still struggled and as described in a later section, many did not have the language or writing skills necessary to advance into post-secondary contexts.

There are several other examples of Amanda actually countering the idea of difference as deficit through her relationships with students. For example, during her second year of teaching, Amanda and I were speaking about a unit they had completed and what she would do differently for her students if she had the chance to do it over again. She spoke about some of her students who were frequently absent and said:

I feel like it would have been better for them if I had reached out more and had been able to get them caught up faster. And that's often the case with a lot of students. I just don't get to them in time and then, and then they fall further and further behind until it's too late for them to catch up. And so I feel like just targeting those kids early on and making sure that they know that I'm watching out for them is something I would've done differently (Interview 10, p. 32).

It would be easy for a teacher to treat student absences like the students problem, but Amanda sincerely wanted to support all her students in their academic success, even the ones who were frequently absent.

However, this was often a challenge, especially with students who acted out in class and engaged in disruptive behaviors. During her first year of teaching she spoke about ways that she felt students at her school manipulated teachers and administrators to get what they wanted (Interview 8). She often talked about the difficulties with the whole grade of students she taught during her first and third years of teaching. They were such a challenging group for her that she spoke in inconsistent ways with the ideas presented above about compassion towards students and doing whatever she could to support them. In fact, about that group of students, she said, "If you come to my school, I think you'd be horrified by some of

these kids. Horrified. I mean you've already seen some of them. Just really quite disturbing, unleashing these monsters on the world" (Interview 12, p. 43). This is such an unusual statement for Amanda to make that it appears to signify an incredibly difficult situation in her classroom as well as a tension she faced in truly embracing students.

Despite Amanda's clear devotion to her students and effort to develop strong relationships with them, she still encountered frustrating instances that challenged her cultural assumption about positive relationships with students and at times promoted the majoritarian story that difference is deficit. It is not surprising that Amanda both challenged and promoted the majoritarian story of difference is deficit about her students merely because of the tensions inherent in her devotion to students that contrasted and contradicted her frustration with their classroom behaviors.

Cultural Concept of Respect

Respect was consistently a central concept in Amanda's classroom management practice. In her course syllabus distributed to her new students on the first day of class during the second semester of her first year of teaching, she listed the classroom and community rules, which were also displayed on a poster at the front of the room, specifically, "Respect your teacher, your classmates, your environment and yourself" (Course syllabus, p. 1). During her first year of teaching,

she felt that her freshman students had more respect for her than her sophomores.

She said:

In general, the freshman seem to have more respect for me because, I think, they're younger, they're new to the school so they can easily be manipulated and swayed to follow the rules. And I feel like they're more apt to listen to me and take my advice (Interview 7, p. 12).

Here Amanda defined respect for the teacher as following the class and school rules.

Could this perspective about respect, at times, be in conflict with her students' perspectives on respect? Does respect for your teacher, your classmates, your environment and yourself look the same to everyone? For instance, might a student who feels marginalized by a system of schooling that is based on white normativity and institutionalized racism and linguicism view respect for themselves as acting against the teachers and other school leaders who represent and perpetuate the system the student is oppressed by?

Some researchers have explored culturally laden concepts in schooling practices and how teachers and students may perceive these ideas very differently depending on cultural background. Pappamihiel (2004) explored expressions of "care" in a multicultural pre-school setting and found that teachers' expressions of care were not always interpreted as such by their students. Similarly, Rolón-Dow (2005) also explored the concept of "care" in a high school setting and found significantly differing perceptions among teachers and students. While the concept of "care" is not the same as the concept of "respect," they are both heavily laden with cultural understandings that may not be consistent across various groups of people.

Amanda's assumptions about respect operated from a certain cultural perspective that may not have been aligned with the perspective of her students. During her first year of teaching she expressed both disillusionment and confusion regarding student behavior. She said:

Part of the reason maybe I was disillusioned is because my current boyfriend, he grew up in an urban school. He went to [local urban school in neighboring district]. He was born and raised in [town nearby] and I would come home and I'd tell him these stories about the kids I was teaching and a lot of times they'd be behavior problems and so his perspective, having been in an urban school was like, well, they're just lazy. He's not a teacher, so his perspective is like, they're lazy, they're unmotivated, they don't want to be there, blah, blah, blah and he was like, I saw the same kids at my school. So I guess, maybe I've become more cynical sort of about students treatment of teachers because I feel like, why shouldn't they respect us? I still question, why do I care more about their education than they do? I still find myself wondering, why are they hurting themselves by wasting class time, misbehaving, because I feel like maybe it's just the fact that they're kids and they don't, they can't see into the future as much as I can. They don't realize the ramifications of their actions now will have on college, like, getting into college and so as much as I try to tell them I think it's still hard for them to see two years from now what will they be doing (Interview 7, pp. 20-21).

Amanda did not understand why students behaved in ways that she felt were disrespectful towards teachers and "hurt themselves by wasting class time." Her assumptions about these student behaviors positioned the students who engaged in them as deficit and a problem in the classroom. However, it is worth raising questions about the notions of respect held by students. What did it mean to them to be respectful, especially to themselves? Might they have a different perspective than Amanda? Could there be some racial content in the differing perspectives?

Amanda's interpretation of student behaviors represents the majoritarian stories suggesting that race is not an issue in the classroom and that difference is a

problem. However, the student behaviors Amanda struggled with could also be interpreted differently. Knaus (2009) titled his piece on applied critical race pedagogy, “Shut Up and Listen” as a message to educators to change the ways of doing school and actually listen to what students are saying through their words and actions. Behavior issues in class, lashing out at teachers, students having bad days, these are all examples of behaviors educators might learn to interpret differently, especially in terms of critically conscious investigations of institutional power and privilege based on race, culture, and language.

Rather than approaching these behaviors from the perspective of a colorblind ideology where race is presumed inconsequential in classroom interactions, or that student difference from White, middle-class, monolingual norms is deficit, the racial and cultural content of student (mis)behaviors should be interrogated, for how “people of color are subordinated by the rules, policies, and everyday procedures of organizational and institutional life” (Love, 2004, p. 229). Rather than positioning the problem on the students for their difference and apparent disrespect, educators could position the problem on a system of education that is clearly not working for them. Open challenges to the difference is deficit majoritarian story should focus change efforts on schooling practices that marginalize and perpetuate racism and linguicism rather than dismiss unwanted behavior in school as a problem that resides within the students.

Parents and Teachers as Collaborative Partners

Another cultural assumption about teaching that was clear in Amanda's practice is that parents and teachers should be collaborative partners. Beginning in her pre-service year, Amanda made an extensive effort to communicate with parents. She continued that effort into her first years of teaching and had varied success. However, across all of her interviews and all of the data gathered, it is clear she felt that parental involvement in education was important. From wishing her own parents would have been more involved in her battle to remain in an honors statistics course during her senior year of high school, to personally calling the parents of the students she tutored in college to inform them of their plans for a fieldtrip (Interview 1), Amanda operated from the assumption that parents should play a significant role in their children's education.

For Amanda as a teacher, this assumption included parents acting as collaborative partners with teachers. During her first year of teaching she told me about contacting parents. She said:

The majority of parents that I contact, if I get through to them, are pretty surprised if I call about a good thing. They're usually like, oh what did so and so do? Was it the homework? Was it their behavior? What is it? They always want to know what's the bad thing that's coming up. But I try to call parents to tell them good things. Like, I give out rewards at the end of almost, pretty much every Friday since the beginning of the semester I've given out what's called MVP awards, which is like...a certificate and it has their name and what they did well on. For example, best effort or best participation, best organized notebook. You know, things like that. Something I've noticed them do well during that week. So, I'll usually try to call a parent to say that, congratulations so and so was really respectful and really prepared, on top of things today and parents really appreciate hearing that. Like, much more so than hearing, so and so is failing and they need to

stay after school. I've even had some parents say don't call if they're doing badly...I don't want to know...At least they are honest. If they know that they can't control their child at least, let me know because I won't waste my time and try to call and try to change things because that's not going to work. So, but they're like, please, please call me if anything good is happening. So, I generally try to do a mixture of both. But if it's to the point where I feel like this student could really be impacted by their parents, then I really try to call home, especially actually bilingual students. Often times their parents are really strict so I try to call because I know often times they're the parents who will push their kids to stay after, do the work. So as strange as that is, it generally works with the bilingual students. Especially if their parents are immigrants, they're very strict on schooling usually (Interview 8, p. 48).

Amanda reached out to parents as partners to both discuss student successes and issues. Additionally, rather than be intimidated by language difficulties with parents of bilingual learners, she proactively sought out relationships with them. She had various successes and learned that some parents only wanted to be informed of student successes and were not interested in learning about or engaging with Amanda regarding student issues. Amanda appreciated the honesty and generally spoke positively about working with parents over her first three years of teaching.

Though she appeared to have some positive experiences with parents, during her third year of teaching, she described some issues and conflicts she had with parents. Amanda continued to operate from the assumption that parents and teachers should be collaborative partners and was frustrated and upset to find parents who appeared to be uninterested in such collaboration. During her first and third years of teaching, Amanda taught the same students (as 10th graders then again as 12th graders). One student, Tyler, had severe ADHD, was on an IEP, and was incredibly intelligent. He stood out in every observation I conducted during

Amanda's first and third year of teaching because of his wild behaviors in class as well as his poignant and insightful comments. Amanda expressed some frustrations to me regarding his behavior in class and discussed some of her interactions with parents. She said:

He's still out of control. And I've talked to his mother about this. And she, instead of being on my side, she's like, I think you need to give him his homework assignments a week in advance so that he doesn't feel overwhelmed because she feels like his organizational issues are really what's getting him behind in his classes. He got a "C" last term and she says that's because his teachers aren't following the IEP; however, I have a student teacher and myself who constantly remind Tyler to write down the homework and we see him writing it down and the reason he's late to his next class is because he sits there and socializes with his classmates and he lingers instead of getting his stuff together. So his mom doesn't see that. And she just wants to make sure that he's provided for by making all of the teachers email her his homework assignments which really isn't preparing him for college. I mean she claims in college he'll have a syllabus so it will be different but regardless, the deadlines are going to be deadlines. He's still going to need to understand the sense of time. And she even said the most ridiculous thing. She said I should teach him what five minutes means because that's why he's going late to his other classes. Is that not a first grade lesson, what five minutes is?

And she's not the only parent who I feel like has been a finger pointer. I mean there was a parent last week right before our parent-teacher night who called to say that I had spoken rudely to her daughter when her daughter came in late and that I shouldn't have given her daughter a detention. I feel like this was totally unfounded. There was no tone in my voice that could have been interpreted as rude. I think her daughter is just overly sensitive and didn't want to get a detention. And so she told her mom to call me and harass me. And this is the same mom who harassed me when I first taught her daughter sophomore year. I really don't feel comfortable having a conversation with her anymore on the phone or in person without an administrator being there because she is very rude to me. She speaks to me like I'm her servant or something. I've never had anyone speak to me the way this parent spoke to me.

And I feel like part of the reason that this senior class is so out of control is because of the parents. Sometimes the parents are part of the problem, I

think, which is sad because you think that parents would see a teacher as on their side because that's what I see it as. I see this as we're both having the same goal which is helping your child succeed and learn. So why would you fight? That is my question. So I So I feel like that's part of the dynamics of the senior class. Is the parents having a sense of maybe entitlement or a sense of I get whatever I want by being intimidating or disrespectful. So you know, the saying goes, the apple doesn't fall far from the tree and I really believe that. Generally if a kid is giving me problems, the parents sometimes are going to give me problems too. And that's another part of why I don't feel appreciated is because parents like this that try to change my expectations for kids rather than make them higher. And so I don't know. I just feels like there's been some downs like especially recently I feel like there's been some downs like especially related to parents. That's just kind of disappointing. But I mean I know it's like isolated incidences like these that I should try to ignore but it's hard when that's the only parent feedback you get is negative. You know like no one calls me and says what a great job I'm doing. Right? That just doesn't happen (Interview 12, pp. 3-5).

Clearly Amanda operated from the assumption that teachers and parents should be collaborative partners because they both have the same goal of helping children succeed and learn. However, with the parents described above, Amanda did not have collaborative partners, but rather parents whom she found frustrating to work with and in one case, disrespectful.

Amanda's cultural assumption about parents and teachers as collaborative partners did not appear to be the same cultural assumption the parents had. The mis-match in expectations and assumptions appears to have played a role in this conflict as well as promoted the majoritarian story of difference is deficit. Amanda's frustrations with her student's parents extended into an explanation about student behavior in school. Amanda saw the way the parents were treating her as potential causes for the issues in student behavior she was dealing with in class.

It is clear that Amanda and the parents described above were operating from different sets of assumptions. The idea that difference is deficit privileges the perspective of teachers and schools and blames parents for their “differences,” which cause issues in the schooling of children and perpetuates practices that divide teachers and parents. While I do believe that Amanda was treated very rudely and had reason to be upset with the interactions she had with these parents, the difference as deficit majoritarian story will not promote a stronger relationship between parents and teachers. Could the parents who frustrated Amanda view teachers as perpetrators of an oppressive and marginalizing institution for students of color? Might unexamined issues of institutionalized racism and linguicism as well as culture be at play in these divisions?

Overall the difference as deficit majoritarian story promotes the idea that differing from the White, middle-class, English monolingual norm is a problem. In terms of educational systems that are dominated by policies and practices based on white normativity, the difference as deficit idea can substantially marginalize bilingual learners as well as other non-dominant groups through racist and linguicist practices. Though Amanda certainly embraced students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, this story still played a negative role in her practice, especially in the tensions surround student behavior in class and some of the issues she faced with parents.

Majoritarian Story #3: Meritocracy is Appropriate

The majoritarian story suggesting meritocracy is appropriate is a narrative that positions public schools as the great equalizers in this country. According to this majoritarian story, school failure is the fault of the student, not the system because success is essentially the result of dedication and hard work. Meritocracy is the essence of the commonly perceived “American Dream” where anyone can “make it” with perseverance and a strong work ethic. The literature I reviewed in Chapter Two showed the shortcomings of this perspective, particularly in schooling contexts in terms of assessment and curricular options for bilingual learners. Additionally, it is well established that massive resource inequity in schooling exists across this country and most frequently affects schools with high populations of students of color and bilingual learners (Holzman et al., 2009).

Despite extensive evidence disputing the idea of the appropriateness of meritocracy, it is an incredibly strong narrative in American schools. In fact, most schooling structures in terms of grading, assessment, advancement, and graduation are based on concepts of student merit. The majoritarian story promoting meritocracy is extensively problematic and challenged outright by CRT scholarship for the way it obscures white privilege and issues of marginalization and oppression for students of color. Unfortunately meritocracy was a dominant feature of Amanda’s classroom practice.

A significant aspect of the way Amanda endorsed the majoritarian story of meritocracy as appropriate centered on Amanda’s perception of fairness. Amanda

assumed that fairness was objectivity, which she saw as a quality of a good teacher.

In fact, in response to my question about inquiry in the classroom, she said:

I'd say that inquiry, it kind of makes me try to be more objective about it. And I say that because teaching can be such an emotional thing and you can get so involved with students that you like and students that you don't like and that leads to, I'd say unfair situations where you're making exceptions for students that really shouldn't be given exceptions, they really, they're not special ed students, students like [female student] and [male student] who really should be able to come to class and just because they're nice, maybe you want to give them an exception and let them turn a paper in late. But there's some situations where I feel like you just can't let emotion and how much you like a student get in the way of your teaching. Like you just have to try to remain objective about it and look at the results of their work and let that speak for itself and so I feel like in that sense inquiry has made me try to be more objective about the way I treat students and the way I treat their work (Interview 10, p. 35).

While notions of objectivity and meritocracy are wide spread in American education policy and practice, they actually work hand in hand to perpetuate and mask systemic inequity. With an education system developed on white normativity in a highly racialized country, there can be no objectivity or meritocracy. That is, no educator is truly objective because of the way their racialized and cultural life experiences inherently influence their worldviews and perspectives on students, schooling practices, and outcomes. Additionally, meritocracy is a myth because of the perpetual discrepancies in resources and opportunity between various groups of students and the way schooling practices and arrangements privilege students from certain backgrounds over others. Amanda felt that providing some students with certain allowances was not fair, yet she had never been guided to interrogate the unfairness of a system built to perpetuate white privilege and institutionalized

racism and linguisticism. Therefore, the assumptions about fairness that were reflected in her practice were intended to battle what she saw as unfairness, but actually perpetuated inequity by endorsing the majoritarian story of the appropriateness of meritocracy.

The following is an example of how the majoritarian story about meritocracy played out in Amanda's classroom. During her third year of teaching, Amanda worked with a student teacher who was a career changer. She enjoyed co-teaching with her and was sad when this woman decided to move to the elementary level and leave Amanda's class. Amanda's comments about this student teacher and revealed more about her assumptions regarding fairness:

I think one good thing is that she's really fair when it comes to grading. Like she grades kids based on their effort and rather than whether she likes the student or not. I know that there's a tendency to be more lenient on kids that you like and there's only one or two kids that she really has a soft spot for that where I kind of draw the line. You need to make sure you stay on top of those kids because two boys in particular they're always getting high and smoking after school and during school sometimes. They've been caught smoking pot and they're nice kids and one of them does have an abusive father at home but I told her you've got to not feel bad for them. You have to hold them to the same standards as everyone else. It's different if they have an IEP. I mean they have accommodations. But these kids do not have an IEP. They have difficult home lives and you need to be just as firm with them as with everyone else because they need that. They need that structure that they don't get at home. So I think she's getting there (Interview 12, p. 10-11)

While it might indeed have been true that these students benefit from structure, without a critically engaged pedagogy where students are collaborators in the teaching and learning process, that tough love can turn into an excuse on behalf of the student to give up, reject school, and withdraw his/her consent to learn.

The problem with the idea of meritocracy is that it is based on a belief that fairness does not need to account for difference in circumstances and that failure is the result of students' deliberate choices. However, in the scenario Amanda described above, it appears that failure may be due to some serious issues with violence and drugs. Is it fair to overlook the reality of student life outside of school and pretend that it should not interfere with their learning, even though it clearly does? Many assumptions about fairness promote the majoritarian story of meritocracy as appropriate and overlook much of the complexity surrounding low student achievement.

Instances in Amanda's practice that have already been cited in this chapter are further evidence of Amanda's endorsement of the majoritarian story insisting meritocracy is appropriate. On that first day of class when Amanda compared schooling in China to schooling in the U.S. and suggested that dropping out in the U.S. is a result of "bad attitudes" by students, her actions reflected subscription to the majoritarian story that meritocracy is appropriate. When Amanda described her boyfriend's perspective on students in urban schools and how they were "unmotivated and don't want to be there," she referred to herself as becoming more cynical about students and wondered "why are they hurting themselves by wasting class time?" (Interview 7, pp. 21). The majoritarian story insisting that meritocracy is appropriate consistently positions blame for student failure on the students rather than on schooling practices, school structures, institutionalized racism and linguicism, and a long history of inequity.

I also found evidence of the majoritarian story of meritocracy as appropriate in my conversations with bilingual learners in Amanda's class. Ramon, a 9th grader clearly expressed it in the following interaction during our focus group over lunch with the two other 9th grade bilingual learners in my study:

Kara: Yeah. Well what are your goals after high school?

Ramon: go to college.

Kara: so you probably will use some of these words in college, right? What about you Maria, what are your plans after high school?

Maria: (eating her food and can't answer)

Kara: (laughs) I'll ask you in a second. Yoletta, can you answer?

Yoletta: Go to college and then after college, I really don't know what I want to be but really specifically I want to be like a lawyer or a model. That's it.

Kara: Both good options.

Yoletta: uh-huh

Kara: What about you Maria?

Maria: I will try to go to college, but I need to think about it. If I keep like I'm doing right now, I don't think I will because financially I can't afford college.

Kara: Yeah. It's really expensive.

Ramon: That's why you need to get a scholarship. Work hard (9th Grade Focus Group, p. 11).

Though poverty issues may stand in the way of Maria attending college, Ramon seems to put Maria's opportunity to go to college or not completely on her own shoulders as a result of her hard work. This is a consistent feature of the majoritarian story promoting meritocracy as appropriate, which overlooks the

barriers to a college education students face because of race, culture, language, class, and multiple other factors.

Because meritocracy is such a dominant feature of our national narrative and exists so predominantly in schools, it is sometimes difficult for teachers to see the systemic issues at play and not engage in responsibility and blame games.

Interestingly, of course, the story of meritocracy, also often positions teachers as deserving blame for student failure. Amanda spoke about some of these issues with me in a conversation around the concepts of “distancing” or “taking ownership” over student failure in the classroom. She said:

Yes, I definitely think that a certain amount of distancing happens just as almost a defense mechanism I think for teachers. It's like we, I mean, depending on the kind of person you are we may, if you're a good teacher you generally blame yourself if the class fails on an assignment. But I feel like if you're a not so good teacher you generally externalize things and just say, I think it's just because they're lazy or it's because they're not living up to my expectations for whatever reason. It's not me, it's them. And I feel like there are students who are lazy and that's not everybody but I feel like in general distancing happens when teachers perhaps feel like they don't want to admit that they maybe didn't do as good of a job or they didn't support that student as well as they should have. But I think for myself, I definitely, I'm not happy when a student's not doing well. I'm not, I mean, I know there are certain cases where students have deliberately not done an assignment. Like Tyler has on a number of occasions avoided my help and I've tried. It's funny because I'm like, Tyler, I'm actually trying, I am sitting you down right now to try to help you and he's actually, run away, just got up and left the classroom. Those kind of situations, that's not laziness, that's his ADHD. So a lot of times I attribute lack of success to a learning disability and I haven't had as much training as I feel like I need in special education and I think that's part of the problem for me is supporting students who have ADHD and other writing and reading disabilities. It's just I don't have the tools sometimes to understand how can I make this student focus. So I think there's a mixture of distancing and it's different for everybody but I found that in general students do want to learn and they're not, they're not lazy unless they don't

like what they're learning. If they like it and they're interested they won't be lazy. If they're engaged, there's no laziness there (Interview 9, p. 25).

In this quote Amanda described her assumption that teachers should not distance themselves from student failure. However, she also described a sincere tension for teachers with this assumption. Where does teacher responsibility end and student responsibility begin? Should teachers accept responsibility for all instances of student failure?

The notion of meritocracy overly simplifies student failure and overlooks the multiple dimensions contributing to it. Perhaps both students and teachers are in an impossible place whenever the chances for success for both is a limited reality, especially in contexts like HHS where the majority of students come from low-income backgrounds, and many are students of color and/or bilingual learners and are therefore disadvantaged because of racist and linguistic institutional practices. The analyses presented in this dissertation suggest that there are multiple dimensions contributing to systemic issues in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Chapter Four revealed a discriminatory state level policy that legally sanctions linguisticism and racism. Chapter Five exposed critical failures in a highly regarded teacher education program. Is it the teachers fault that they were not prepared with the tools and allies necessary to engage in the kind of education that will truly support students success? Or is it the student's fault for attending school in a state where policy legally sanctions discrimination?

My analyses suggest that the blame for student success or failure does not rest solely on teachers, students, or families. Students and teachers are participating in a system supposedly based on meritocracy, but actually designed to perpetuate failure for certain populations. For this reason Knaus (2009) calls for an entire re-visioning of the U.S. educational system by centering “understandings of racism within a core curriculum that enhances race narratives” (p. 152). He argues that this kind of focus is necessary across all educational contexts in every classroom, school, and district as well as in educational policy at various levels in order to redevelop “the system of education towards an equitable, community-centered, democratic process of creating a sustained country of hope” (p. 152). Ongoing challenges to the majoritarian story of meritocracy as appropriate are necessary to create this kind of system and battle the inequities facing both bilingual learners and their teachers as well as institutionalized racism and linguisticism.

Majoritarian Story #4: English is ALL That Matters

The final majoritarian story analyzed in this dissertation is a complicated and extensive story that plays out differently in varying contexts. In Chapter Two, I discussed how the English is *all* that matters majoritarian story is deeply ingrained in the national narrative about immigrant assimilation. My literature review revealed that the story is empirically documented in school policy and practice as well as in educators’ perspectives. Components of this story push for assimilationism through the rapid acquisition of English and call for English-only

instructional strategies for bilingual learners, like Massachusetts state policy analyzed in Chapter Four. On the surface, it appears that this story is merely pushing for English language acquisition at the cost of other aspects of a quality education. However, it is a much more complex narrative, especially in consideration of how it plays out in policy and practice.

In the education of bilingual learners, especially those who are no longer labeled “English Language Learner (ELL),” “Limited English Proficient (LEP),” or even “Formerly Limited English Proficient (FLEP)” the English is *all* that matters story fundamentally positions bilingual learners as invisible in both policy in practice. Because English is *all* that matters, once bilingual learners reach a certain level of English proficiency, they no longer qualify for a specialized education and their education is conceived and implemented as if they were monolingual. The linguistically and culturally responsive education described in the literature as effective for supporting bilingual learners, is the type of education bilingual learners should receive, regardless of their level of English proficiency. However, as this chapter illustrates, bilingual learners may not have access to such an education. In fact, the following sections illustrate the problematic issues in mainstream classroom practice for bilingual learners due to the English is *all* that matters majoritarian story and how these issues amount to institutionalized linguisticism.

In addition to overlooking the continued benefit of engaging bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency in linguistically and culturally responsive classrooms, the English is *all* that matters story is complex from the perspective of

“English.” In Chapter Two, I described various aspects of language and how it is not composed of fixed codes. Rather, the codes that make up language are fluid and situated in social practices (O. García, 2009). García argues that despite the psychological and linguistic components of language, “it is the social context in which it is used, and the wishes and power of its speakers, that determines its role—especially in schools” (p. 25). In the case of the majoritarian story of English is *all* that matters, it appears that English proficiency is determined at insufficiently low levels. From the analysis in this chapter it appears that bilingual learners may not be receiving the support they need to actually develop high levels of academic English proficiency.

For example, the following piece of student work was from one of Amanda’s 10th graders during her first year of teaching. This Latina bilingual learner, Ana, participated in my study and often talked about going to college and becoming a lawyer. In fact, when I saw Ana during an observation of Amanda’s classes when she was a 12th grader, she told me she had been accepted to and planned to attend a local four year college. Except for her first year of schooling, Ana was educated entirely in the United States. She had long participated in mainstream classrooms and wrote the following as a revision of the first assignment she turned in to Amanda in their 10th grade writing class.

I believe it is very important for kids to get an education but I don't think getting an education seems to be an important value o everyone in my community, because in my community people don't care about an education, people don't care about an education because all they want to do is smoke weed and hang out with their friends. My parents are a very impotent part of my life. My parents encourage me

everyday, they tell me that without an education I cant get anywhere., they also show me examples of people who didn't get an education and that makes me realize that I am doing good by staying in school.

My parents care so much about me that sometimes I get mad at them, because when I bring C's home they take away my cell phone, the house phone, the internet, and they don't give me money at all. It gets me mad when they do that , but I know is for my own good because they want the best for me, and want me to be something in life; not a bum like you see in the streets.

Not everybody in my community cares about education, and I know that because I know most on the kids in my community and they don't really care if they go to school or not. Neither do their parents. Their parents don't really notice how they do in school because they're never home so they don't know what's going on with their children. I think is because they're to caught up in their own world, I also think a parent is a big influence in a kids life, but not just a parent, a parent who cares about their child and cares what he/she does. My parents check on me a lot, always asking me where I am ,where am I going or what I did in school. Those questions aggravate me sometimes but it also makes me feel special because it tells me that they really care about me not like those other kids that have nobody to look out for them.

My neighborhood is very violent, even though in these past months its been very calm, but before people used to shoot people almost every single night. People were found dead on the streets and they were also many gangs. My neighborhood is very similar to the Baraka boys' neighborhood because people sell drugs it has a lot of violence, it is never quiet around there, and people just appear dead on the streets and nobody knows who killed them my neighborhood is like that, too; innocent people die and no one ever finds out how they die.

In my opinion kids should stay in school and not listen to their friends just do them and try not to let your community problems get to you. And those are the main reasons why I think is very important for kids to get an education.

Ana's writing exposes substantial linguistic issues. As will be illustrated through this analysis, the majoritarian story about the exclusive importance of English supports such low levels of English attainment in bilingual learners and then positions them and their linguistic growth as predominantly invisible in the classroom.

However, Amanda did not completely endorse the majoritarian story of English as *all* that matters. Amanda was bilingual herself and expressed a great love

of languages (Interview 1). She enjoyed working with bilingual learners and welcomed their multiple languages into her classroom. Amanda's view of the English language was complex and required some further definition.

During Amanda's first year of teaching, I asked her if she would call her classroom language rich. She responded:

Yes. I mean, in terms of use, we discuss almost every day a book or their writing. We learn vocabulary words almost every day unless we're watching a movie or something and I would say we do writing every single day because whether it's a Do Now or a journal or a worksheet. I mean, there's never a day that goes by without some kind of writing. Even if we were watching a film, like, *Of Mice and Men* I still have them write down, like, a Venn Diagram. I don't think we've gone one day without writing something. And I think that's good. It, to me, that's like a language rich classroom is if you're doing some kind of writing and reading every single day and, I guess, it's hard to say whether, I don't know. It's hard to compare my class. I wish I had a point of comparison because, like...I could say my class is language rich but, I haven't gone and seen 10 different writing classrooms so, you know what I mean? I've only seen a very small number to compare myself to so I think I'm doing a pretty good job of incorporating language into my lessons every day but I feel like there's always definitely room for improvement (Interview 8, pp. 40-41).

Amanda's openness to improvement was clear. However, her assumption about a language rich environment meaning reading and writing was also clear. In terms of most secondary classrooms, it is common practice for extensive language-based work to occur in content area classrooms. Most high school level courses involve extensive reading and writing everyday. Does that make a classroom language rich?

In terms of supporting the development of bilingual learners, a language rich classroom is a linguistically responsive classroom where students are provided with explicit instruction on linguistic forms and functions in order to further facilitate

second language learning (Lucas, Villegas, & Freedson-Gonzalez, 2008).

Additionally, a linguistically responsive classroom is welcoming to the linguistic and cultural background and knowledge of students and is a place of critical examination of how language functions and participates in power structures across various forums and contexts. Explicit conversations about both language form (grammar, punctuation, spelling, mechanics, etc.) and function (academic language, conversational language, slang, language used in various medias like text messaging and instant messaging, etc.) are necessary to create a linguistically responsive classroom.

However, when English is *all* that matters, limited notions of language forms and functions regarding English limit the linguistically responsive education bilingual learners have access to and then position bilingual learners above certain levels of English proficiency as invisible in classrooms. Some evidence of a similar kind of invisibility was found in Amanda's classroom. Towards the beginning of her first year of teaching Amanda talked about bilingual learners in her class. I specifically asked her to reflect on the coursework she took that qualified her as an SEI teacher and how that coursework affected what she did as a full-time teacher and she said:

I don't think I treat my bilingual students any differently than my monolingual students but I guess sometimes when I'm reading an essay and I know that they're bilingual, I don't know if I do it consciously but I kind of fill in the gaps sometimes, like, if I know that they're bilingual, like, and they're missing a word or they make a grammar error. I'm almost more lenient when I grade them because I know that it's, it might be attributed to their second language. So, in that sense, sometimes I'm a little bit more lenient in

terms of how I grade them and also because I know them as students and how they speak and stuff like that. Yes, so when it comes to grading I guess, I feel like being a bilingual student is definitely not a detriment at all. I actually feel like bilingual students at my school probably do better than non-bilingual. Yes, I actually feel like they do better maybe because if they come from an immigrant family they're more likely to just have parents that are really strict about education, so they'll call teachers about how their student is doing in terms of work and not even call but just they'll basically be really mad if their student, the kids just have more pressure from home to do well if they're from, if they have immigrant parents. I've noticed they're a lot more strict (Interview 7, p. 29-30).

Amanda's perceptions of her bilingual students are extremely consistent with other research about bilingual learners as invisible in mainstream classrooms. It is not uncommon for bilingual learners to be treated like monolingual learners in classrooms (Reeves, 2004, 2009). It is also not uncommon for teachers to be lenient in grading bilingual learners (Bang, Suárez-Orozco, Pakes, & O'Connor, 2009; Harklau, 2000). However, both of these practices are problematic.

When bilingual learners are treated like monolingual students, a significant portion of who they are is left outside of the classroom and often an inadequate education in the result (Reeves, 2004). It appears that overtime Amanda drew more on her bilingual learners strengths and expertise because during my final observation of her class (Observation on 5/24/10), one of her students reflected on their work over the year and expressed an appreciation for the stories and insights his bilingual peers added to the class. It appears that Amanda utilized the unique knowledge her bilingual learners had about the world to support the learning and development of the entire class, something that is obviously very positive and positions bilingual learners as assets in the classroom rather than completely

invisible. However, it is not clear that Amanda engaged in teaching that was linguistically responsive, critical of institutionalized linguisticism, or capable of pushing bilingual learners to higher levels of academic English proficiency.

Amanda operated from assumptions about language levels and teaching that limited her development of a linguistically responsive classroom and to some extent promoted the majoritarian story that English is *all* that matters by treating her bilingual learners as monolingual learners because of their relatively higher levels of English proficiency. Her assumptions about language teaching and development focused extensively on grammar and vocabulary and are explored for their role in her practice in the following sections. However, it should be noted that given the policy context she was working in and her limited experiences in her teacher preparation year with quality teaching of bilingual learners, it would be surprising to find otherwise.

Language Teaching as Vocabulary Instruction

Whenever I asked Amanda about supporting language development in her classroom, she discussed vocabulary instruction. For instance, I asked, “Do you think a lot about language development and language teaching in your work, like your planning and your instruction?” She said, “In terms of vocabulary I do, definitely vocab is a big thing, like understanding root words, prefixes, stuff like that (Interview 7, p. 30). In two interviews during her first year, I asked Amanda about her course work preparing her to work with bilingual learners and what she took

away from that and both times she mentioned vocabulary instruction as a major emphasis in her work to support bilingual learners. Here Amanda seemed to assume that language development and support for bilingual learners was predominantly about vocabulary instruction.

In all of my observations during her per-service year and first year of teaching, Amanda explicitly taught two new vocabulary words at the beginning of each class. The words I saw Amanda teach were generally drawn from the text they were working on and provided the opportunity to discuss an aspect of language every day. In my observation of Amanda's 10th grade writing class on 3/13/08, Amanda began class with a "Do Now" activity where students wrote vocabulary words down and created sentences with the new words in their notebooks. The words and definitions provided were "belligerent (adj): inclined to hostility" and "monotonous (adj): marked by a sameness of pitch and intensity." As the class went over the words and tried them out in new sentences, one student kept using belligerent as an adverb (belligerently) and Amanda pushed him to use it as an adjective, which he finally successfully did.

During the class period, they read aloud a text and came across the word belligerent. Amanda stopped the reading and asked the class what that word meant. No one knew. Amanda repeated the definition, pointed it out as a vocabulary word for the day and then continued reading with the class. When they came across the next vocabulary word in the reading, monotonous, Amanda did not ask students for

the meaning or point it out as a vocabulary word, she simply said, “So he had no tone” (Observation 3/13/08, p. 3).

A few days later, I observed Amanda’s 9th grade writing class and saw a similar instance where the vocabulary work at the beginning of class did not appear to affect students’ recognition of the new words when reading the text. At the time, the class was reading the book *Monster* and one of their new vocabulary words was “emphatically.” When the class came across it in the text, the student reading aloud struggled to pronounce the word. Amanda helped the student and pointed out that it was one of the new vocabulary words. Then the class went on to their next activity.

While vocabulary instruction alone is insufficient to support strong levels of academic language development, it is an important component of that development. However, despite Amanda’s assumptions about the value of vocabulary instruction it appears from the observations described above and the results of student work on vocabulary tests (displayed below), her students both needed the vocabulary instruction and actually could have benefitted from more in-depth work with the new words.

Below are the results of a vocabulary test that Amanda gave to her 9th graders during her first year of teaching. The class was reading the book *Monster* and students were given the following directions and word bank:

Directions: Choose SIX vocabulary words from the *Monster* Word Bank and *write a grammatically correct sentence*, which shows me that you know the meaning of the

word, for each one (1 pt each). You may only use the form of the word shown below.

<i>MONSTER WORD BANK</i>			
Conspicuous (adj)	Nonchalantly (adv)	Orneriness (n)	
Significance (n)	Riffle (v)	Provocation (n)	Gaping (adj)
Eulogy (n)	Scamper (v)	Beckon (v)	Mural (n)

Below are the sentences provided by three 9th grade bilingual learners in the course with the words they used from the word bank underlined. I interviewed these three students individually and they also participated together in my 9th grade focus group.

Yoletta – Haitian Creole Speaking

1. I have a mural in my house in the living room.
2. My cuzin has a gaping between her to bottom teeth which looks nice on her.
3. I Beckon to not tell a soul about the house party last Sat.
4. My auntie had a Provocation to drink whenever someone gets her mad.
5. My dad had a Riffle when he was in the millitary.
6. I have a significance of awards of good behavior.

Maria – Spanish Speaking

1. They artist painted a mural on the wall representing the peace in our neiborhood.
2. I riffled through the paper looking for somthing.
3. The mouse scampered through on room into another.
4. The door was gaping leting cold air into the room.
5. I beckoned your lieing about that story you told us.
6. He nonchalantly did something.

Ramon – Spanish Speaking

1. The happy dog scamper through the field.
2. There were plenty of mural at the museum.
3. The significance of basketball is teamwork.
4. In [Ms. Lee’s] class I conspicuous to myself.

5. The teacher told me to riffle through all the pages.
6. When I was tired I sang nonchalantly.

As the work above illustrates, these three bilingual learners in Amanda's class did not yet have mastery over the vocabulary words, nor did they write grammatically correct sentences as requested by the quiz directions. From spelling issues, to subject-verb agreement, plurals, to punctuation and capitalization, to parts of speech, these three bilingual learners displayed significant issues with language forms and functions.

All three of these students were schooled in the United States their entire lives. And all three of these bilingual learners were, according to Amanda, among the highest performing students in her class (Interview 8). I spoke with the students about their vocabulary work and asked if they felt that the vocabulary activities they did in class were helpful. Ramon responded that it was helpful to work on vocabulary because the vocabulary words were mostly words he did not yet know, a statement the other students agreed with. I asked about the vocabulary quizzes and Yoletta said, "It's easy for us" and Maria agreed saying, "It's not very challenging" (Focus Group 4/1/08, p. 9). These sentiments are slightly problematic considering the vocabulary and linguistic issues present in the work displayed above.

I asked the three students if their vocabulary work in class was helping them learn about how English is structured. Our conversation went as follows:

Kara: In doing these vocabulary words, have you learned more about how English is structured? Like you know how she talks about it's a verb or an adverb and sometimes students will try to use the word but they will change it's form, like they will turn it into a noun like...

Yoletta: oh – I always do that!

Kara: yeah? So does it help you learn more about like the structure of language?

Yoletta: no- I still don't get it. Because everytime she be like try this word in a sentence, I always try to and she says I've changed it to a noun and I'm always like, what's the difference? So yeah.

Kara: that's interesting. I think that stuff is really hard.

Yoletta: yeah.

Kara: but I think it is also helpful to understand. What about you guys?

Maria: I don't think I will ever use these words.

Kara: Oh really?

Ramon: I would. In like an application.

Kara: an application for what?

Ramon: Like any. Like jobs or whatever. I try to use good vocabulary (9th Grade Focus Group, p. 11).

While Ramon found purpose in learning new vocabulary, Maria did not, and Yoletta struggled with parts of speech and understanding aspects of how English was structured. Amanda's assumption that vocabulary teaching is an important part of language development was somewhat supported by her students, but it appears that the vocabulary instruction in her classes was not sufficient.

For example, Yoletta was one of the most well behaved students in class. She actively participated and always handed her work in on time. She loved to read and speak in class and was often the first to volunteer to read aloud. Yet, her writing skills were far below grade level and needed substantial support to improve. The 9th graders wrote and illustrated books about personal memories from their childhood then took those books to read to younger children at a local elementary school. Her work went through many levels of revisions, yet the author page in her final product was as follows:

Yoletta received in award in positive attitude in writing, best smile in middle school, most acieve to success in the future. Born in Maine but has moved to Florida till moved in Massachusetts. (NOW) Has 4 brothers which she is the oldest. Who is Haitian and proud (Yoletta Personal Memoir).

The problems in Yoletta's writing extended far beyond vocabulary issues. Yet, the language development work in Amanda's class was most consistently focused on vocabulary. The absences in Yoletta's schooling to date and in Amanda's classroom in terms of supporting academic English proficiency amount to institutionalized linguicism.

Language Teaching as Grammar Instruction

Despite the most prominent and consistent aspect of language instruction in Amanda's courses being vocabulary, Amanda did do some grammar study with her students. She discussed this work saying:

To do like a grammar study kind of thing or punctuation too. We did a worksheet. I had sophomores and freshman do a worksheet on comma usage so we looked at four different comma rules and I had them do a

practice worksheet on that. So I have done a little bit of that but there's so much more I could do. I mean, it's like, I don't know. It's really hard (Interview 8, p. 39).

Amanda described more about how hard it was to do grammar work with her students and said:

Each student, too, has their own issues. Like, some students are great spellers but they're terrible at punctuation or capitalization, they'll put a capital where it's totally not supposed to be or a comma. And so my goal was for them to have a writing portfolio to, so that we could look at just the mistakes that they're making and try to work on those. But that would require me to come up with individual activities for each student. And I want to get to that point but I just don't have time to come up with a worksheet for each student to target their own needs. So that is something I'm working toward in their portfolio so that they can come up with some goals for themselves. We have set bigger goals, we just haven't looked at things like grammar and punctuation as much as I'd like to. And for me it's kind of a daunting task because there are so many different mistakes that they make that I can't even, like, in most papers I try not to count punctuation and grammar too heavily because kids would really, a lot of kids would not do so well on their papers if I counted it too heavily....It's a hard balance (Interview 8, p. 39).

Obviously Amanda assumed that instruction about language forms was important, but she seemed overwhelmed by the task and did not have the necessary tools to successfully support her students in developing their writing skills in terms of mechanics.

I asked Amanda what the implications of so many mechanical issues in her students' writing might be outside of her classroom. She replied, "They just won't be prepared for college. Unfortunately, a lot of kids, their writing is not going to prepare them for college" (Interview 8, p. 40). All of the five bilingual learners I interviewed expressed an interest in going to college. Only one student, Maria, (as

quoted previously) expressed any reservations about going to college and mainly due to the expense. However, in terms of language and writing skills, it does not appear that Amanda's students will be prepared for the academic English demands of post-secondary education, further evidence of institutionalized linguisticism.

In my interview with Ana, a 10th grade Latina, I asked her about a goal she wrote in a reflection letter assignment stating that she would like to improve her writing. I asked her what she meant by that and our interaction went as follows:

Ana: Like everytime I write something, I want my next writing to be better than the ones I did before. Better writing so [Amanda] won't have to do so much grammar correction. Like I want to have all my commas and everything to be perfect.

Kara: What are some things that you are doing in class that help you to be that kind of writer?

Ana: [Amanda] goes, like writing reflection letters really help you because you can say what you didn't like and did like.

Kara: So thinking at kind of a higher level about what you did instead of just doing it.

Ana: Yeah.

Kara: OK. Do you guys ever do any grammar work in class where you learn about where to put apostrophes or commas or those kinds of things?

Ana: Last year in my humanities class, we used to. We used to put sentences up on the board, like long sentences and we had to pick them apart and put in the commas, capital letters, and all of that.

Kara: And did you find that helpful?

Ana: Yeah. It was really helpful (Interview with Ana, pp. 4-5).

It appears that Amanda's students would have benefitted from an explicit focus on language instruction in their writing class with Amanda. It also appears that Amanda recognized that need, but was overwhelmed by it and did not have the necessary tools to support strong development in terms of language forms and function.

Amanda mentioned the daunting issues she faced in terms of language and literacy with her students and said:

It's very daunting because there's so many needs at the school. You have kids that can read at a fourth grade level and then you have kids that can read at a twelfth grade level. And it's like, okay, how do we bridge this because I can't go back and teach phonics because I don't even, as a secondary student I wasn't given training in how to teach phonics. You learn that as an elementary school teacher. So, I can't even attack the area of spelling really. I don't even try. I mean, I correct it on papers but I don't directly teach phonics or any kind of spelling related thing because I feel like, I have an assumption that kids come to me with at least a sixth grade reading level. That's my hope. That doesn't, like, last semester I had two kids that were at a fourth grade level (Interview 8, p. 41).

She later explained that those students were special education students who had IEPs and stated, "So accommodation is a challenging area for me" (Interview 8, p. 41).

This gap in her training is something she consistently mentioned as an issue. Amanda wished she had more tools to provide accommodations to her students on IEPs. But it appears that there is another gap in her training: how to support strong levels of literacy and language development for her bilingual learners and her other students as well. With such gaps in teacher preparation, how can issues of institutionalized racism and linguicism be challenged?

When I spoke with Amanda's writing coach and mentor, Claire, towards the end of her first year of teaching, she expressed to me that Amanda had improved over the course of the year in terms of her feedback to students on their writing. I asked her to tell me more about what kind of responses are effective in working with students that Amanda had implemented and she said:

Sure. Well instead of going through and marking every spelling or punctuation error she looks at the paper sort of holistically where are your strengths in organization, where are your strengths in topic development and that is really more successful. She asks a lot of questions when the students are giving her writing. So she'll say, well why do you think this or can you please explain this a little bit more. And it gives the students a place to go when they get the paper back instead of just making corrections they have to do a little bit more revision and a little bit more thinking. And that's, I think, a much more successful way to get students writing and not feeling so defeated by the smaller sort of punctuation and mechanics because that can come later. The most important thing is to get the kids writing and thinking. I think she's, she's pretty encouraging in that area. So, you know, we always like to talk about, you know, when we're giving a response to an essay assignment the first thing we do is we say, okay, here's what I think your paper is about. Here's what you do really well and here are some areas I want you to improve on (Interview with Mentor, pp. 3-4).

This perspective on writing instruction appears to come from a monolingual perspective that does not take into account the different linguistic knowledge and experiences of bilingual learners. While it can be daunting for students to deal with the mechanical issues in their writing, it does not appear that those issues were dealt with consistently in her classes. Claire appears to have supported Amanda in this type of instruction saying that the mechanics of writing "can come later," but when will they come when they are not being explicitly taught to students?

My interview with Claire revealed that their collaborative work did not involve attention to bilingual learners. I asked Claire about her work with Amanda and what they did together to support bilingual learners and she said:

We haven't really talked about that at all. I think some of the biggest challenges that we've encountered is it's usually a syntax error or depending on where the student is coming from but it's cultural. They won't be as necessarily forthcoming or as descriptive as we might like but it's not because they can't, it's a cultural thing, it's just not how they do it. And then a lot of syntactical errors like using articles and verb tenses...But we, Amanda hasn't come to me with any of that. So whether it's been an issue for her I couldn't say. That could just be because she doesn't have that many. I know she has bilingual students but I don't know if she, how many ESL students (Interview with Mentor, p. 5).

Amanda's closest mentor, a writing coach, did not work with Amanda to assist her in developing linguistically responsive teaching practices appropriate for bilingual learners. Amanda expressed being overwhelmed by the linguistic needs of her students and not having the tools to be able to meet those needs. However, she did not work with her mentor in developing those skills, nor did her mentor attempt to work on them with Amanda. Clearly, institutionalized linguisticism is at play here.

Obviously as a first year teacher, Amanda had many things to work on in her classroom, especially in terms of the difficulties she had with student behavior. However, it does not appear that she had much support in developing her work as a linguistically responsive teacher of bilingual learners. Bilingual learners in Amanda's classes were often some of the highest performing students in her classes, even the students who had only been in the country for a few months (Interview

10). However, that level of performance does not appear to be high enough to ensure strong academic outcomes outside of high school.

The majoritarian story of English is *all* that matters seemed to be predominant at HHS. Particular attention to the cultural and linguistic needs and strengths of bilingual learners took a backseat to classroom management issues and students with special needs. In many ways, it would be surprising if it were otherwise because of the strong forces of institutionalized racism and linguicism. Bilingual learners in Amanda's class often participated without disruption and did their work without complaint. She even talked about how several bilingual learners made an effort to come after school to work with Amanda (Interview 11). In many ways, bilingual learners were the least of Amanda's worries. The various assumptions and ideologies about race, culture, and language played out in Amanda's classroom to create a situation where bilingual learners were not getting the critically engaged, culturally and linguistically responsive education necessary to prepare them for the linguistic demands of post-secondary education and other complex situations of power and privilege.

Conclusion

The four common majoritarian stories regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers did influence Amanda's practice. In some cases she challenged these stories. In others, she endorsed them. However, it was never the simple binary those two statements suggest. Throughout her practice she also faced

various tensions and difficulties, but overall the majoritarian stories were too powerful to consistently overcome. The strength of these stories is made especially vivid through an examination of Amanda's practice that provides evidence of institutionalized racism and linguicism. She's a graduate of a prominent, nationally recognized teacher education program. She meets all of the requirements set forth by the state to teach bilingual learners in both SEI and ESL classrooms. She truly enjoyed working with bilingual learners and was eager to support them. She had multiple mentors to assist her during her first year of teaching. However, despite all of these "best practices" in terms of training and support, Amanda did not have all the necessary tools to consistently challenge the majoritarian stories and create a linguistically and culturally responsive classroom that supported high levels of bilingual learner achievement and overcame issues of institutionalized racism and linguicism.

From this analysis it is clear that majoritarian stories play a significant role in the systemic inequities in the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. Classroom practice that promotes these majoritarian stories limits secondary bilingual learner educational opportunity and in order for bilingual learners to no longer face systemic issues of inequity in their education, these four majoritarian stories must be consistently and proactively challenged in both policy and practice. However, as this analysis also demonstrates, consistently challenging majoritarian stories is unlikely to be successfully achieved by one teacher on her own. It is critical for teachers to have extensive support and consistent allies to

overcome these issues and consistently challenge the pervading stories that dominate current policy and practice regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers and perpetuate racism and linguicism in schooling.

While it may not be possible for any one teacher to consistently challenge majoritarian stories in their practice, it is possible for a system to be altered that better supports teachers and bilingual learners to create and sustain the quality education of secondary bilingual learners. Therefore, Chapter Seven explores the implications of the analyses presented Chapters Four, Five, and Six in order to suggest necessary approaches to systemic change capable of battling the inequitable outcomes because of institutionalized racism and linguicism in the current system for secondary bilingual learners and their teachers.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Conclusions and Implications: Disrupting Institutionalized Racism and Linguicism in Policy and Practice

In Chapter One of this dissertation, Langston Hughes's "Ballad of Roosevelt" posed the question "What's the matter here?" Each of the subsequent chapters has investigated this question in different ways regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Chapter Two reviewed the empirical and conceptual research on the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers and exposed widespread failure in the current system of education to prepare quality teachers of bilingual learners and provide excellent educational opportunities in secondary schools. Across the literature, only one study empirically documented successful policies and practices at the high school level for bilingual learners and their teachers (Fine, Jaffe-Walter, Pedraza, Futch, & Stoudt, 2007).

The literature review in Chapter Two also pointed to the qualities an effective teacher of bilingual learners should possess. The research consistently suggests that quality teachers of bilingual learners should be culturally and linguistically responsive, have ideological clarity, and work as advocates on behalf of their students and themselves regarding quality educational opportunities for bilingual learners.

My critique of the literature revealed that four common majoritarian stories dominate discussions around the education of bilingual learners and their teachers: there is no story about race, difference is deficit, meritocracy is appropriate, and

English is *all* that matters. As discussed throughout this dissertation, these majoritarian stories are powerful and deeply embedded in both policy and practice regarding the education of bilingual learners and their teachers. Yet, these stories contrast sharply with what the literature suggests quality teaching of bilingual learners should look like.

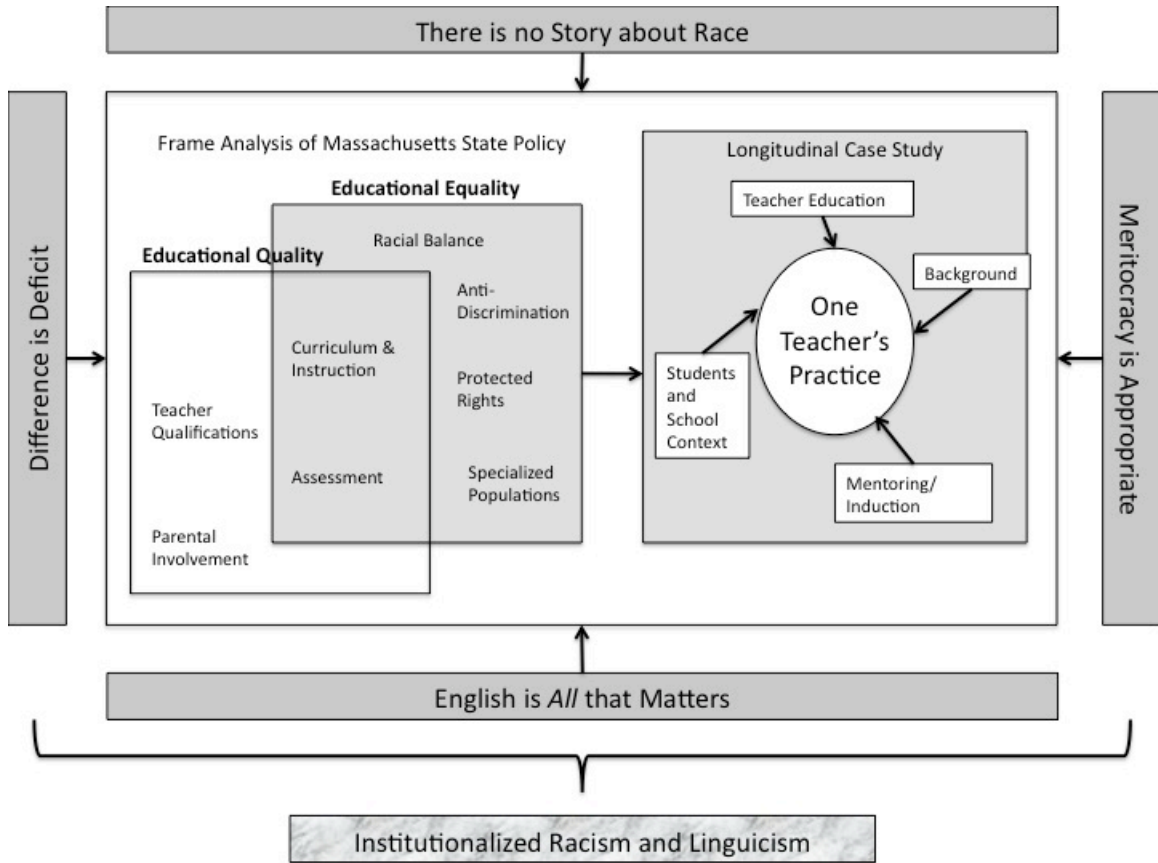
The policy analysis in Chapter Four exposed that legally sanctioned racism and linguisticism are institutionalized and codified throughout Massachusetts state policy. State policy frames the education of bilingual learners and their teachers in terms of the overarching goals of educational quality and equality. Despite this, my analysis demonstrated that current policy actually sanctions inequitable practices, especially for bilingual learners at the lowest levels of English proficiency. Additionally, Massachusetts state policy consistently promotes the four common majoritarian stories in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers.

The longitudinal case study presented in Chapters Five and Six demonstrates the failings of an incoherent system of teacher education where the case study participant, Amanda Lee, had mixed experiences engaging in a practicum placement that conflicted with much of what she strove to personally achieve and was taught in her teacher education coursework. Amanda's teacher preparation was not powerful enough to provide her with the necessary tools and allies to consistently challenge majoritarian stories and institutionalized racism and linguisticism through her practice. Therefore, unsurprisingly, Amanda endorsed majoritarian stories in her

practice during her first three years of teaching. However, she also at times challenged them as well as faced many difficulties and tensions in that process.

Taken together, the policy analysis and the case study of one teacher suggest that majoritarian stories shape the educational opportunities to which bilingual learners and their teachers have access. These stories help to produce and reproduce systemic inequities in the opportunities and outcomes of bilingual learners by perpetuating institutionalized linguicism and racism. Figure 7.1 represents the research conducted through this dissertation and is the more detailed version of Figure 1.4. This version of the figure contains details from the previous chapters and visually represents the relationship between the two distinct analyses that were conducted, the four common majoritarian stories that were identified in the literature review, and the perpetuation of systemic inequity through institutionalized racism and linguicism. Both state policy and Amanda's practice were influenced by the powerful majoritarian stories, though at different levels, in varying ways and with various outcomes. Amanda's practice was also directly influenced by the restrictive language policy context in which she was educated as a teacher and worked within. In total, the analysis of state policy and the practice of one teacher expose serious issues of institutionalized racism and linguicism due to systemic practices that perpetuate inequity.

Figure 7.1. Visual Representation of Findings of this Dissertation



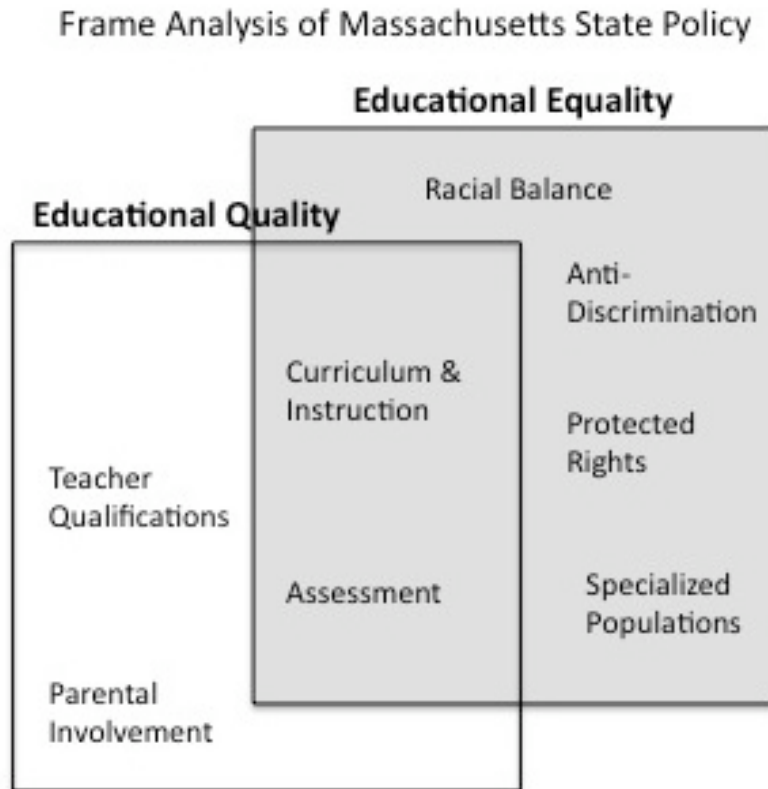
Massachusetts state policy, Amanda’s teacher education experiences, and her practice in her classroom over her first three years of teaching were significantly affected by the common majoritarian stories regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners. As my analyses showed, policy and practice that do not counter these powerful stories perpetuate institutionalized racism and linguicism. The following sections discuss the implications of this research and ways systemic issues of racism and linguicism can be agitated and disrupted through policy, practice, and research.

Implications for Policy

As this dissertation demonstrates, Massachusetts state level policy legally sanctions discriminatory practices based on race and language against bilingual learners in the public schools, especially for those students at the lowest levels of English proficiency. It is difficult to imagine that widespread improved educational outcomes for bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency is possible while these policies are in place. Therefore, significant change is necessary in state policy that better supports both secondary bilingual learners and their teachers.

Figure 7.2 represents the findings of the policy analysis where Massachusetts state policy was found to be framed in terms of two overarching goals: educational quality and educational equality. The content of state policy that was framed in terms of these two goals focused on the areas listed within the figure, namely, teacher qualifications, parental involvement, curriculum and instruction, assessment, racial balance, anti-discrimination, protected rights, and specialized attention for specialized populations. Figure 7.2 differs slightly from Figure 4.1 in Chapter Four, which includes the ideologies state policy is imbued with. This figure is simplified to highlight the areas where targeted policy improvement can agitate institutionalized racism and linguicism in Massachusetts. The following sections discussed the implications of this research in terms of suggestions for improved state level policy for each of the areas of policy listed in the figure below.

Figure 7.2. State Level Policy Analysis



Teacher Qualifications

Current policy emphasizes teacher fluency and literacy in English. However, teachers of bilingual learners need an expanded knowledge of English that goes beyond its use. Standards for the preparation and licensure of teachers of secondary bilingual learners in the state of Massachusetts should be improved to include more knowledge about the English language for teachers from all content areas as well as explicitly anti-racist pedagogical knowledge and skills. Current requirements are insufficient to ensure teachers have the knowledge, skills, and tools necessary to create culturally and linguistically responsive classrooms for

bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency that can disrupt issues of institutionalized linguisticism and racism.

Linguistically and culturally responsive classrooms require teacher expertise about how English is used in varying contexts, what role power plays in the linguistic expectations of various situations, and how to support bilingual learners in successfully navigating, mastering, and utilizing various language forms across multiple contexts, especially academic English. State policy needs to open the space for teachers who utilize multiple “Englishes” (e.g., speak a non-standard dialect of English or with a non-standard accent) to be welcomed into classrooms with bilingual learners and expand the expectation of teacher knowledge in terms of English to extend beyond personal use and include extensive knowledge about English form and function. State policy should require that teachers both use and know about English. However, knowledge and use of multiple forms of English, not just standard English, should be both expected and encouraged for all teachers.

In order to truly support high levels of academic achievement for all secondary bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency, secondary academic content teachers, even those prepared to teach in mainstream classrooms, also need to learn about the academic language demands of their content area and how to explicitly support bilingual learners in mastering them. In fact, state policy needs to require that all teachers are teachers of bilingual learners and bilingual learners are students that extend beyond what has traditionally been identified by the state as

“LEP.” Through such requirements, state policy can create the expectation that all secondary teachers are both language and content teachers.

In addition to improved linguistic knowledge and teaching skills to support bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency, quality teachers of bilingual learners need to strive for ideological clarity and advocate for both themselves and their students. State policy can explicitly support such work by creating expectations for anti-racist professional development and critically engaged learning communities. The expectation for explicitly anti-racist curriculum and pedagogy should be set through state policy and encouraged through expectations for initial licensure, re-certification, and professional development.

While it may seem far-fetched for state policy to take an explicit anti-racist stance, issues around inequity are of great concern to many policy makers and actors. In this sense, explicitly anti-racist policy that demands and supports the educational community in interrogating local issues of inequity in order to change racist and linguistic practices and systems is possible. In Massachusetts, this policy could be in the form of developing and supporting critically engaged learning communities of teachers who proactively challenge, interrogate, and work to transform institutionalized racism and linguisticism.

Parental Involvement

Currently, Massachusetts state policy does not provide any structures or supports for the involvement of parents of bilingual learners in their students’

education beyond receiving school information in a language they can understand. However, in the past, Massachusetts required districts to create and support Parental Advisory Councils (PACs) for parents of bilingual learners. While PACs were not uniform in structure or strength across the state, they were effectively utilized by many districts and schools to support parental involvement in their students' education. However, in 1993, the Education Reform bill ended the state requirement for PACs for parents of bilingual learners.

It is important for Massachusetts to reinstate the requirement for the creation and support of PACs across all districts for parents of bilingual learners. As a group, these parents often face significant cultural, racial, and linguistic barriers to effective engagement with schools regarding the education of their children. When PACs are effectively implemented, parents of bilingual learners may find answers to pressing issues and critical allies to help them advocate for their students in a system they may not be familiar with or have the linguistic and cultural background to navigate on their own. Additionally, through PACs, parents of bilingual learners can have a voice and a substantial presence in schooling matters where they might otherwise be silent.

Curriculum and Instruction

One of the most restrictive aspects of current state policy regarding the education of secondary bilingual learners and their teachers is in terms of curriculum and instruction. As has already been established, this policy is extremely

detrimental, racist, and linguicist. Swift and comprehensive change in state policy is necessary to support improved curriculum and instruction for bilingual learners and their teachers.

To begin, state policy needs to recognize bilingual learners as a specialized population in and of themselves. Currently, curriculum and instruction in state policy is only discussed in terms of moving an LEP student to the status of an FLEP whereby he or she may then become invisible in the classroom and school. However, my research suggests that this is a dangerous practice that leaves bilingual learners without the kind of linguistically and culturally responsive curriculum and instruction they would benefit from.

Bilingual learners need to be recognized in state policy for their unique skills, strengths, knowledges, and schooling needs, regardless of their level of English proficiency. State policy that recognizes and supports bilingual learners across the spectrum of English proficiency necessarily promotes multilingualism, a fundamental 21st century skill that should be encouraged in all learners, regardless of home language.

Curriculum and instruction in Massachusetts state policy needs to explicitly and substantively support the development of multilingualism for all learners, but especially bilingual learners. In fact, bilingual learners can be positioned in policy and practice as language experts with skills and strengths that can add to rather than distract from the development of multilingual communities. However, it is important that policy does not position bilingual learners only in terms of how their

multilingualism can benefit native speakers of English. Rather, bilingual learners need to be positioned in terms of their abilities, strengths, and contributions to furthering the widespread goal of multilingualism across the state. Currently, bilingual learners are only discussed in policy in terms of their English deficiency. State policy should be altered to discuss bilingual learners in terms of their extensive multilingual abilities and how those abilities can be built on and extended through effective curriculum and instruction.

Through deliberate inclusion of multilingualism as an asset and goal in state education policy, curriculum and instruction can be altered. Improved state policy can create an expectation for high levels of linguistic proficiency for bilingual learners in multiple languages and then provide the necessary supports for districts and schools to create locally effective programs targeted to meet the specific needs of their student population. For some districts this might mean utilizing SEI, but allowing and encouraging languages other than English in the classroom. For other districts and schools, this might mean the creation of dual-language bilingual programs or even the opportunity for students to take various content area courses in various languages. There can never be one form of curriculum and instruction that will be capable of meeting the specific needs of each school and district across the state. Altered state policy would provide programmatic and linguistic flexibility for teachers and schools to create the linguistically and culturally responsive classrooms the students they actually work with will benefit from. Additionally, the goals of these programs cannot be only focused on English language acquisition.

Rather, programs for bilingual learners must be comprehensive and provide meaningful content instruction as well as English language development opportunities.

Finally, in terms of curriculum and instruction, state policy needs to require explicitly anti-racist classroom content and practices. Bilingual learners need to work in classrooms with teachers who can help them interrogate the inequities in the world they live in and how the inequities play a role in their personal lives. Teachers and bilingual learners need to explicitly challenge institutionalized racism and linguicism through the curriculum and the way classrooms are structured, and state policy can set the expectation and create the necessary space for such work.

Assessment

Assessment is a particularly difficult issue for bilingual learners because of the current political climate where test scores on standardized assessments are considered important indicators for determining policy, teacher pay, school effectiveness, and graduation. However, there is little acknowledgement about the critical issues inherent with bilingual learner scores on standardized assessments that are administered in English. A more accurate and useful data picture about the education of bilingual learners could effectively inform decision-making.

To begin, bilingual learners at the lowest levels of English proficiency, should not be required to take state-wide standardized tests. These students have no chance of performing well on such assessments and a great deal of time and

financial resources are wasted on administering tests that really only can indicate that students are still learning English. Only students who can engage in regular classroom work in English should be required to take standardized tests in English, as only their scores can provide any kind of meaningful data about their academic achievement.

However, current standardized tests in Massachusetts are limited in what they can measure in terms of student knowledge and skills. Performance-based assessments where students can show their ability to analyze, synthesize, evaluate, discuss, debate, and many other useful and practical skills for critically engaged involvement in a democracy are critically important. Bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency can especially benefit from performance-based assessments because English proficiency is not the sole indicator of success or failure. When students have to demonstrate content knowledge and higher order thinking skills through actual practice, bilingual learners have a greater chance of proving their competency.

Many people question whether it is possible to create large-scale assessments that are locally relevant and provide students and teachers with important and useable data to actually inform classroom practice. However, for several years after the passage of No Child Left Behind, Nebraska instituted just such a statewide assessment system focused on school-based, teacher-led assessments with substantial success (Isernhagen & Mills, 2007). Current conceptions about assessment need to be critically examined and challenged

through state policy that creates a vision for effective assessments that can meaningfully contribute to the learning process rather than just label, sort, and in many cases frame bilingual learners and their teachers as failures. Massachusetts state policy needs to be substantially altered to demand and create meaningful assessments that can truly inform teachers, students, parents, administrators, policy makers, and the community about the teaching and learning processes that are or are not taking place in schools across the state.

Racial Balance

As discussed in Chapter Four, despite current law requiring racial balance in public schools in Massachusetts, substantial racial imbalance remains. While there are many issues with segregation in schools, it does not appear that a law calling for racial balance has made a difference in battling school segregation. From my research, and especially from the perspective of CRT, this approach to achieving racial equity is insufficient. As Crenshaw (1988) discussed and was mentioned in Chapter Four, focusing on the process rather than the outcome is the difference between a restrictive and an expansive view of equity. Current racial balance policy promotes a restrictive view of equity that has not been powerful enough to affect outcome. Massachusetts state policy needs to be modified to reflect an expansive view of equity in terms of outcomes.

With regard to the education of bilingual learners, racial classifications can be problematic and unhelpful. For instance, in some cases, it may be beneficial for

students from the same language background to have the opportunity to attend school together in order to support the use of native languages in the classroom. However, race does not always signify language backgrounds. In terms of program planning and development, it is important for school officials to take race, culture, and language into consideration in order to most effectively meet the needs of their bilingual learners. State policy needs to support such flexibility and hold schools and districts accountable for their enrollment decisions.

State policy with an expansive view of equity, especially for bilingual learners would not require or demand certain processes, rather certain outcomes. Schools and districts where Blacks, Latinos, and other racial minorities are not performing well (as determined by effective and meaningful performance-based assessments that are truly capable of supporting high levels of learning and teaching) should be supported through state policy to inquire into district and school practices that might be standing in the way of wide-spread achievement. Through such local investigations, local solutions can be found to support improved outcomes and an expansive view of educational equality for bilingual learners.

While there is a necessary focus on the local in these recommendations for improved policy, there also has to be explicit policy attention to overcoming the negative affects of localism, as was established in Chapter Four. Policy is necessary that supports strong outcomes and offers an expansive view of equity but is still flexible enough to meet local needs and strong enough to overcome any tyranny of the majority. Additionally, state policy needs to be geared towards supporting

schools to achieve rather than sanctioning schools for failure. The state can offer extensive support to struggling schools to transform their practices to improve racialized outcomes, but needs to do so with a careful balance between local decision making and state oversight.

Anti-Discrimination

Currently, Massachusetts state policy makes several insufficient attempts to protect students from discrimination. As discussed in Chapter Four, linguistic discrimination is not consistently battled through this policy. Essentially, Massachusetts state policy legally sanctions language-based discrimination in many instances through the absence of explicit protections.

In addition to changing the current restrictive policies regarding the use of languages other than English in the classroom, Massachusetts state policy needs to explicitly protect students from language-based discrimination. No student should be denied access to any aspect of schooling because they are not yet proficient in English. Particular protections needs to be put in place to protect students at all levels of English proficiency from neglect, discrimination, and silencing.

Protected Rights and Specialized Attention to Specialized Populations

As discussed earlier, bilingual learners need to be treated as a specialized population of students, regardless of their level of English proficiency. As a specialized group, their education should be conceived in terms of supporting and

extending their multilingual and multicultural development. Also, as a specialized group, bilingual learners should enjoy protected rights.

Current policy provides little protection for bilingual learners, especially once they reach a certain level of English proficiency. These protections are inadequate and, as described in Chapter Four, they do not effectively combat racism and linguicism. A major improvement in state policy would be replicating the protections provided for special education populations. From finances to parental involvement to qualified teachers, current state policy contains substantial protections for special education populations that should also be provided for bilingual learners. By giving leaders of programs for bilingual learners the same kinds of resources and power that state policy provides to leaders of special education programs, substantial progress could be made in protecting the rights of bilingual learners across the state. Without such protections and specialized attention, it is unlikely that institutionalized racism and linguicism against bilingual learners will be substantially disrupted.

Coherent Vision for State Policy

While it is not addressed in current state policy and is therefore not in the graphic displayed above (Figure 7.2), a major implication of this research is that Massachusetts law makers and policy actors need to establish a consistent vision of what the quality education of bilingual learners and their teachers should look like. This vision should be explicitly anti-racist, supportive of multilingualism and

multiculturalism and drawn from the perspectives of educators, families, students, as well as informed by the extensive empirical evidence about what is most supportive of strong educational outcomes for bilingual learners in order to sufficiently battle systemic issues of linguicism and racism. Once a consistent and clear vision is established, state law and policy then must be altered to reflect it.

Additionally, implementation for the altered policy must be well supported in order to ensure the vision is in fact put into practice. This is easier said than done. For example, as evidenced by the extensive contradictions and gaps in current policy, there is not a consistent vision for what quality education looks like for both secondary bilingual learners and their teachers. Without a coherent vision that supports strong educational outcomes, disjointed policy will continue to be inadequate to the task of creating strong learning opportunities for bilingual learners across the state. Educators, communities, families, and students across Massachusetts need to work collaboratively with policy makers to first establish a common vision that proactively challenges the common majoritarian stories and institutionalized racism and linguicism and then create the laws, policies, and implementation tools necessary to turn such a vision into a reality. The analyses and recommendations for improved policy presented in this dissertation can be a starting point for such action because they highlight the major flaws within current policy and offer suggestions for substantial improvement.

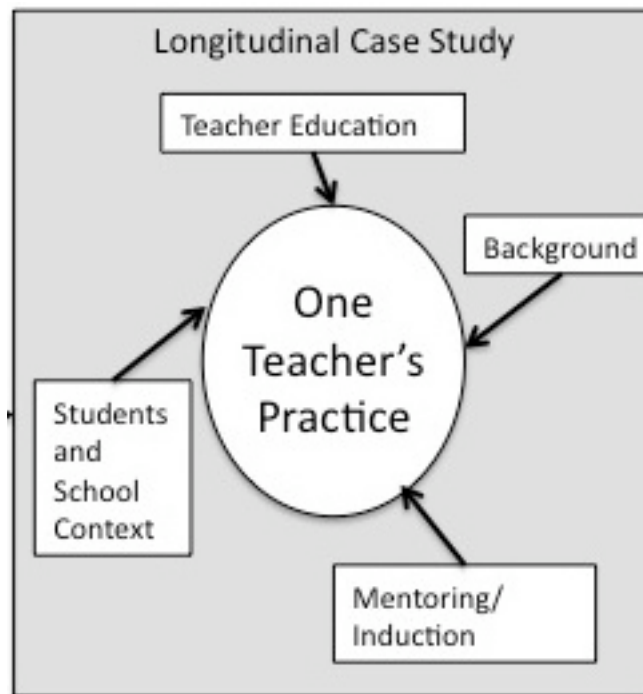
In order for such changes to come about in policy, the active participation of more educational stakeholders in the policy making process is necessary. Teacher

educators, educational researchers, administrators, teachers, parents, and students can take initiatives to begin the establishment of the vision for quality schooling for bilingual learners. These groups can also take leadership in making recommendations for how a cohesive policy could be established and supported in implementation. It is unlikely that policy makers will create a vision and ensure its implementation on its own. More proactive involvement from the education community and concerned citizens is necessary to support the creation of an improve policy for bilingual learners and their teachers that is powerful enough to disrupt substantial issues of institutionalized racism and linguisticism.

Implications for Practice

Chapters Five and Six discussed the case of Amanda Lee learning to become a teacher and working in an urban school for her first three years of teaching. From the exploration of Amanda's experiences in both learning to teach and teaching, it became clear that many factors influenced Amanda's practice in her classroom. Figure 7.3, Results of Longitudinal Qualitative Case Study, provides a visual representation of the what appear to be the most salient factors that influenced Amanda's practice. These factors include teacher education, her students and school context, her background (which includes her attitudes, beliefs, expectations, etc.), and mentoring/induction. In order to explore the implications of this investigation, each of these factors will be discussed in turn below.

Figure 7.3. Longitudinal Qualitative Case Study



Personal Background and Life History

Teachers' life histories before they enter teaching play a significant role in their development over time (Britzman, 2003; Olsen, 2008). While this is a widespread understanding among educators, from my analysis it appears that Amanda did not have the opportunity to critically interrogate her own educational experiences and personal background during her teacher preparation for any racist and linguistic content. Amanda did reflect on her own K-12 experiences, but did not inquire into her experiences as a racialized student in institutions that perpetuate racism and linguisticism.

For teachers to develop the skills, knowledges, and dispositions that are necessary to support high levels of learning for bilingual learners and other students

from non-dominant populations, they must understand themselves as racialized beings and have the opportunity to investigate their own histories for how white privilege, white normativity, and institutionalized racism and linguicism affected their own educational experiences. In so doing, teachers can strive for ideological clarity as well as an understanding of their role as agents within an institution. Through reflective examinations of teacher's personal backgrounds, a perspective capable of seeing and challenging institutionalized practices that promote racism and linguicism can be developed. Additionally, through discussing and investigating the racialization processes that have affected teachers throughout their lives can prepare them to engage in the same kinds of discussions with their own students. In order for teachers to effectively agitate the status quo of institutionalized racism and linguicism, they need to be able to engage in conversations about racialization regarding their own experiences and others.

Teacher Education

As I showed in Chapter Five, Amanda worked with several teacher educators who helped her to critically examine issues in schools and pushed her and other teacher candidates to do the same. However, as I also showed, these efforts were insufficient to ensure that Amanda graduated with the tools and allies she needed to be a quality teacher and advocate for bilingual learners and agitator of institutionalized racism and linguicism. Only part of teacher education occurs in university classrooms. Therefore, teacher educators need to be more

comprehensively involved with every aspect of teacher education. Teacher educators need to actively work in the schools where teacher candidates complete their practicum and state requirements in order to support the development of quality cooperating teachers to work with teacher candidates. Teacher educators can also play a substantial role in supporting collaborative anti-racist and anti-linguicist school communities, inquiry within and across classrooms, and ensuring K-12 students have a substantial voice at the school regarding curriculum, pedagogy, and processes. Without teacher educators proactively working to create the type of contexts they envision as necessary for quality learning, the teacher candidates they work with will not be trained to become the kind of teachers who can proactively battle inequity and disrupt current institutional patterns of racism and linguicism.

Teacher education must include powerful and effective practicum placements where teacher candidates have the opportunity not only to work with bilingual learners, but to work with effective teachers of bilingual learners and see culturally and linguistically responsive teaching modeled. The disconnect Amanda experienced during her teacher preparation between some of her teacher education coursework and her practicum placement provided her with mixed messages about quality teaching and learning. These mixed messages weakened her teacher preparation experiences and made it unlikely that she would be able consistently challenge powerful and damaging majoritarian stories in her practice. If teacher educators took an active role working in schools to support quality teaching and

learning for bilingual learners and anti-racist and anti-linguicist policies and practices, they would also be able to support teacher candidates like Amanda by providing higher quality practicum placements.

Besides taking a more active role in local schools, teacher educators need to work closely with the supervisors who support teacher candidates in their practicum placements. In terms of preparing teachers to work with bilingual learners, supervisors in practicum placements must play a substantial role in helping teaching candidates develop ideological clarity and challenge inequitable practices, majoritarian stories in schooling contexts, and institutionalized racism and linguicism. However, unless these supervisors have developed a critical, anti-racist and anti-linguicist stance themselves, they will be unable to support teacher candidates in critical investigations of power based on issues like race, culture, and language. Therefore, it is crucial that supervisors and other members of the teacher education community critically examine their own assumptions and ideologies about race, culture, and language collaboratively and consistently in order to start and remain on the same path seeking ideological clarity and challenging institutionalized racism and linguicism that they would like to see their teacher candidates on.

Teacher educators cannot do everything, but a cohesive program where all of the stake holders share a collaboratively constructed anti-racist and anti-linguicist vision for what teacher candidates should learn and be able to do can distribute the various responsibilities, yet ensure a supported, cohesive, and powerful experience

for teacher candidates. The majoritarian stories that govern the education of bilingual learners and their teachers are simply too strong to be easily displaced. Without a strong, collective, and cohesive approach to teacher education, teacher candidates are unlikely to gain the tools and allies they need to become successful teachers of bilingual learners who disrupt institutionalized racism and linguicism.

A significant implication of this dissertation is the increased attention that needs to be paid to bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency in teacher education coursework and fieldwork. A deliberate and consistent teacher education experience can bring visibility to these students through careful investigations of the local communities, languages, cultures, racialization processes, and experiences of the students teacher candidates work with. Perhaps a revisioning of teacher education coursework practices is necessary to provide more opportunities for teacher candidates to engage with bilingual learners at all different levels of English proficiency and learn from hands-on experience about the strengths and benefits bilingual learners bring to any learning community. However, all of this work must be conducted from a critical stance towards notions of white normativity and the perpetuation of white privilege. “Good intentions” that are not critically examined for their racial content may simply perpetuate the status quo of a system permeated with substantial inequity because of tacitly accepted racism and linguicism.

Additionally, teacher educators themselves need to strive for ideological clarity, tackle issues of race within the very structures where they work and open themselves to examining how white privilege might be perpetuated through some of

their research, teaching, and other scholarly practices. Teacher educators need to model critical examinations in their own practice as well as how to center students within the classroom. Centering student voice and perspectives in teacher education means a more engaged role of teacher candidates themselves in their preparation as teachers. Simply, the transformative work that needs to be done in K-12 classrooms should be modeled to teacher candidates in their teacher education courses. This may require reconceptualizing the length, time, and content of various teacher education courses as well as who teaches them with what materials to which students and in which language as well as the role the teacher candidates themselves play in the courses. Proactively involving teacher candidates in taking ownership of their own teacher education and centering their views, experiences, and concerns at the core of the curriculum and courses can model for teacher candidates how it might be done in their eventual K-12 classroom.

The findings of this dissertation also have implications for alternate routes into teaching like Teach for American and teacher residency programs. Regardless of the pathway into a classroom, teachers and teacher candidates require extensive critical mentorship and allies in order to challenge systemic issues of inequity. Due to the extensive power of majoritarian stories, it is unlikely that alternate routes into classrooms that do not provide extensive, critically-oriented, anti-racist and anti-linguicist support for teachers will have the power to alter the status quo, especially in terms of the education of secondary bilingual learners. Culturally and linguistically responsive classrooms are difficult to create, especially in a policy

context that legally sanctions racism and linguicism. Therefore, teachers who are not supported and mentored into transformative teaching practices will simply continue to replicate the status quo and perpetuate institutionalized racism and linguicism.

In order to support the widespread development of teachers who can effectively work with secondary bilingual learners, self-interrogations informed by critical examinations of power, race, culture, and language are necessary. The quality teaching of bilingual learners cannot happen on a scale large enough to disrupt current patterns of group based discrimination and inequitable schooling outcomes without a serious reconceptualization of the power structures that govern teaching and learning. Where better for this critically informed reconceptualization to occur than teacher education courses with teacher candidates?

Smith-Maddox and Solórzano (2002) found that like Amanda, “prospective teachers are provided with limited educational experiences that can help them understand the central role of race and racism in education” (pp. 66-67). Several other researchers and educators have long been showing the complexity and difficulty in addressing race and racism in teacher education (e.g, Cochran-Smith, 2000; Sleeter, 2001). Additionally, Ryan and Dixon (2006) assert that “teacher education must provide teacher candidates with opportunities for critical reflection on their racialized beliefs and experiences” (p. 176). They also argue that “Since Whiteness has long enjoyed privilege in this society, work using CRT will likely

bring new critiques on procedures that have heretofore been considered necessary or even best practice” (p. 181).

As a teacher educator myself, the most powerful conclusions emerging from this dissertation are those that can affect my own practice. The teacher education program critiqued in this dissertation is one of the top ranked programs in the nation and Amanda is considered one of its successful graduates. While much of the work done within the program and in Amanda’s classroom represent sincere attempts to engage in quality teaching, as this dissertation exposes, the “procedures that have heretofore been considered necessary or even best practice” (Ryan & Dixson, 2006, p. 181) are not working to create a quality system of education for bilingual learners.

A substantially different approach to teacher education is necessary in order to prepare quality teachers of bilingual learners. However, preparation alone is not sufficient to ensure quality practice. Teacher educators need to also be actively involved in policy creation and implementation and the teaching and learning that occurs in K-12 classrooms. A more cohesive approach to teacher education will require explicit attention by both teacher educators and teacher candidates to the various systems they are entering and working within and how those systems might be perpetuating inequity based on white normativity and privilege. Without a cohesive approach, it is likely that for years to come we will perpetuate the inequitable status quo of institutionalized racism and linguicism and continue to wonder “What’s the matter here?”

Students and School Context

My analysis revealed the strength of majoritarian stories in public school settings. In the case of Amanda, this meant classroom practices that were uninterrogated for their racial content and inadequate linguistic supports for bilingual learners in her classroom. Despite Amanda's efforts to develop strong relationships with her students and expand the curriculum beyond a Eurocentric focus, the strength of majoritarian stories in her practice limited the opportunities both she and her bilingual learners had.

From policy to practice, bilingual learners must receive more explicit attention in K-12 settings. Teachers and other educational leaders must become persistently aware of bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency and strive to create linguistically and culturally responsive classrooms for them to learn in. Additionally, more critical attention needs to be paid to how issues of race, culture, and language play out in classrooms, especially in terms of the ways the majoritarian stories may be limiting educational opportunities for bilingual learners and their peers.

In order to accomplish this, a critical race pedagogy should be established where teachers "Shut up and listen" (Knaus, 2009) to their students and put the perspectives and racialized experiences of students at the core of classroom interaction and learning. Additionally, collaborative communities of shared interest need to be created that involve parents, communities, students, and school leaders in order to create culturally and linguistically responsive classroom spaces that are

anti-racist and anti-linguicist as well as engaging for students and push them to higher levels of thinking and achievement (He et al., 2008). Schools need to become more critical spaces committed to disrupting institutionalized racism and linguicism where every stakeholder collaboratively participates in supporting strong outcomes for students, especially bilingual learners who are so often overlooked in classrooms as well as positioned only based on their level of English proficiency (Brisk, 2006).

Educators and school leaders can begin this work by interrogating the role whiteness, white normativity, and white privilege are playing in schooling practices. Such an investigation should reveal a myriad of methods for improving schooling to better meet the needs of students of color, including bilingual learners. Students can be involved in these examinations and conversations, which allows their voices and experiences to become central aspects of the curriculum and schooling practices. Through critically conscious schooling practices that challenge white normativity, a different vision of what is possible in schooling can emerge. Instead of continuing to do schooling as it has always been done, teachers, students, families, and school leaders need to collaboratively re-envision schooling to become a meaningful experience that truly prepares all students for democratic participation and pushes them to high levels of thinking and criticality. A major focus of this work is necessarily offering more power to students to have a voice and participate in decisions that affect their schooling.

Both of the schools that Amanda worked in greatly affected her development as a teacher. Additionally, both of the schools Amanda worked in, as a pre-service

teacher and as a novice teacher for three years, were uncritical environments where institutionalized racism and linguicism were perpetuated, especially in terms of the education of bilingual learners. In each school there were large numbers of bilingual learners, but no specific programs, or efforts within the regular school day to support their development. In fact, during Amanda's pre-service year, she saw one bilingual learner transfer to another school because she was struggling to get the support she needed at Valley Academy. Essentially, bilingual learners were invisible in both of these schools contexts.

In order for schools to create quality learning opportunities for both bilingual learners and their teachers, bilingual learners need to be visible across school policy and practice. Too often in schools, like those Amanda worked in, bilingual learners at all levels of English proficiency are either an after-thought or completely ignored. Institutionalized racism and linguicism is guaranteed in contexts that do not even see the abilities, strengths, skills, and educational needs of their students. Schooling contexts need to become more responsive to the populations they serve and break out of traditional practices that perpetuate racism and linguicism.

Entire school communities need to battle these issues of inequity by engaging in anti-racist and anti-linguicist practices. Critical self-evaluations are necessary coupled with transformative actions where all school policies and practices are possible targets of change. Engagement from all school stakeholders is necessary as well as difficult examinations of power, privilege, and inequity in order to disrupt institutional practices that perpetuate racism and linguicism. Additionally, teacher

educators and educational researchers should be part of such processes as collaborators striving for effective schooling contexts for both bilingual learners and their teachers.

Mentoring and Induction

Amanda found great benefit from the mentoring and induction program she participated in during her first year of teaching, as many teachers do (Smith & Ingersoll, 2004). However, she also found it woefully short and inadequate to support her development overtime. After her first year of working with multiple mentors, Amanda was quickly pushed into the position of mentoring herself as a cooperating teacher during her second year of teaching. She lamented the loss of support and felt that she would have benefited from extensive mentoring into her third year of teaching or longer.

Amanda's experience suggests the power and value of mentoring and induction for new teachers. However, my analysis exposes some critical absences in the mentoring Amanda received beyond its length. While Amanda's mentors supported her in developing her classroom practice, these mentors did not engage with Amanda in critically interrogating issues of power based on institutionalized racism and linguicism. Therefore, Amanda was taught by her mentors to promote majoritarian stories in her classroom practice and to teach in ways that are reflective of traditional schooling practices based on white normativity. Mentoring

and induction are powerful activities, therefore, they need to be powerfully oriented towards the disruption of inequity because of racism and linguisticism.

New teacher mentors need to be prepared to support their mentees in developing into anti-racist and anti-linguicist practitioners. This means that mentors need to be anti-racist and anti-linguicist practitioners themselves. Currently, racism and linguisticism exist as strong institutional forces because of the lack of educators, administrators, researchers, and policy makers who work for explicitly anti-racist and anti-linguicist outcomes. However, despite small numbers in current practice, effective mentors can be grown out of extensive and wide-spread efforts to proactively challenge racism and linguisticism in education at every level. In fact, this research suggests these mentors are of critical importance and should become an area of focus for any educator, administrator, researcher, or policy maker interested in ensuring the quality education of both secondary bilingual learners and their teachers.

Implications for Research

This dissertation shows the value of a mixed method approach to investigating a problem or issue. By combining policy analysis and qualitative case study, a fairly comprehensive picture emerged regarding the role ideologies and assumptions about race, culture, and language play in both policy and practice. The results of these analyses also suggest that more research investigating these issues is called for.

More research is necessary that challenges the positioning of bilingual learners only in terms of their English proficiency level. Researchers need to carefully consider the way bilingual learners are positioned through the research questions that are posed, data that are collected, analyses conducted, and conclusions and implications drawn. In order to effectively and consistently challenge the four majoritarian stories discussed in this dissertation as well as institutionalized racism, educational research needs to ask careful questions, position bilingual learners differently, and include more critical investigations regarding the role race, racialization, whiteness, and white normativity play out in educational settings for bilingual learners.

Additionally, more research is needed that comprehensively examines state policies. Comprehensive critical policy analyses, like the analysis presented in Chapter Four, can guide decisions about local research questions and locations and become powerful advocacy tools in promoting improved policies for bilingual learners and their teachers. In doing research that is capable of influencing policy, researchers need to be cognizant of ways their work might either be challenging or endorsing, at various levels, the majoritarian stories that this dissertation show limit educational opportunities for bilingual learners and their teachers and perpetuate institutionalized racism and linguicism. Through critically conscious research, educational researchers can provide powerful tools to both policy makers and educators that can affect systemic transformation.

More research also needs to be done on the majoritarian stories discussed in this dissertation as well as around others. How do these stories play out in other classrooms? Other policy contexts? What happens in teaching and learning contexts where majoritarians stories are proactively challenged? What happens when entire school communities engage in critical examinations of whiteness, white privilege, and white normativity in schooling? What happens when bilingual learners are taught in a supportive school community with teachers who strive for ideological clarity, work as advocates for themselves and their students and create culturally and linguistically responsive classrooms?

This dissertation exposes the problems and systemic issues with majoritarian stories in schooling contexts. However, research that examines proactive challenges to these stories from multiple levels and angles is necessary to support improved policies and practices. Continued research on these majoritarian stories can provide evidence for what is possible and what areas need further attention when proactive challenges are made to majoritarian stories in policy, teacher education, and K-12 schooling contexts.

Conclusion

In sum, this dissertation asserts the need for consistent attention across policy, teacher education, secondary school settings, and research to improve the system of education that both bilingual learners and their teachers engage in. While the problems and issues highlighted within and across the research presented here

are substantial, there are methods of engaging with policy and practice to improve educational outcomes and to change the status quo that perpetuates inequity because of institutionalized racism and linguicism. However, the changes that are necessary are not small, nor easy, but they are possible. The action strategies described in this chapter can guide new directions in educational policy and practice that will battle the systemic inequities in the education of bilingual learners and their teachers and substantially disrupt institutional practices that perpetuate racism and linguicism.

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APPENDIX A: QCS Interview Protocols

Interview 1-12 with participants

Auxiliary Interviews with Cooperating Teachers, Supervisors,

Principals/Administrators, and Mentors

Interview 1 - Personal History and Education Experience

Background: Educational experience

Let's begin our conversation by talking about what brings you here to BC.

1. Why did you choose BC for graduate school? What do you hope to learn about teaching while you are here?

Probe: What are your expectations for the program and learning environment at BC? What do you think the program will offer?

Probe: How long has it been since you graduated from undergraduate college? What have you been doing since graduating?

2. Describe your college education? Where did you go? Why? What was your major in college? Why?

Probe: What incidents or experiences stand out during your college years? For example, were you active on student organizations or political activities on campus?

Probe: Did you work through college and/or did you have financial aid?

3. Describe your past school experiences.

A. Let's start with your secondary school experience.

Probe for context—was it a small or large school; an urban or suburban, parochial-single sex? Would you say it was diverse? If so, how?

Probe: What was the school like at the time you were there? For example, some people were in school during times of major change, such as during school integration, the merging of two high schools, or witnessing a shift in population in community, leading to increased diversity in the school, OR there were also some local changes such as a new teacher or administrator, a different tracking or grouping system, or a change in courses.

B. Now tell me about your elementary school experience.

Probe for context—was it a small or large school; an urban or suburban, parochial-single sex? Would you say it was diverse? If so, how?

Probe: Again, what was the school like at the time you were there?

4. How did you experience school as a student?

Probe for their experiences as learners-- So if an individual responds about the social aspects of schooling, ask them how they experienced school as learners?

Probe: What was your most memorable experience? Were you involved in extracurricular activities? If so, what type of activities were you involved in?

5. Now, I want to switch topics a bit to talk about what brings you to teaching. When did you first start thinking you might want to teach? Why are you interested in teaching?

Probe: Did you consider becoming a teacher while you were an undergrad? Why or why not?

Probe: for their intellectual interests and the perspective they hold as a student. For instance, many of the elementary candidates mention their love of reading and children. Try also to discover what the person especially enjoys about school or about learning.

6. You're planning to teach _____ (elementary or high school) is that right? When you think back to your own experience in _____ (elementary or high school), what stands out to you?

Probe: for specificity: What do you mean? Can you give me an example of that? Is there anything else you remember?

If the teacher candidate does not mention one of the following: You haven't mentioned (much about) _____. Do you remember anything in particular about that?"

- what you learned
- your teachers
- how you felt about different subjects

Probe (Elementary folks): How do you think an individual best learns to read or to write?

Probe (Secondary folks): How do you think an individual best learns _____ (history, English, science, math)?

Probe: Do you think you received a good education? Why or why not?

Background: Beliefs:

7. A part of our research focuses on individuals' ideas, beliefs and experience as they relate to teaching and learning. At BC, one of the stated purposes is to prepare individuals to teach for social justice. What does that mean to you?

Probe A: If teacher candidate says that he/she does not know what teaching for social justice is, move on to question 9.

Probe B: If teacher candidate gives an answer to the social justice question, ask: So, how do you think that plays out in _____ (reading or math: elementary folks) or (history, English, or science: high school folks)?

8. As you think about your future profession, what do you believe is/are the role(s) of the teacher?

Probe: Think of a teacher you have known. Are there things you admired about this teacher? Things you would like to have changed?

Probe: From your perspective, what are the top two or three challenges that teachers face today?

Background: Knowledge

9. Now, think about the content areas you will be teaching as an elementary or high school teacher. What do you think are your strengths and weaknesses in the content area(s) you might have to teach?

Probe: What are you hoping the BC program will provide in terms of your preparation?

(Note: This can focus on fears and concerns if it hasn't been covered OR it can be skipped if it was thoroughly discussed.)

Probe: Now think about the range of things a teacher does. What might be your strengths? What areas might you need support?

Background: Practice (Future plans)

10. What are you looking forward to in your Student Teaching Practicum? Is there anything you are concerned about? What challenges do you think you will face?

Probe: How will you prepare yourself for these challenges?

11. When you think about next year, where do you see yourself working? Where would you like to teach?

Probe: Talk to me about what you hope your classroom will be like? How will you teach? What will your relationships with students, faculty, and parents look like?

12. In conclusion, we'd like to get some information about your background, especially your demographics. (**Note:** Make references to prior responses to pull pieces together. Continue probing so we don't receive a mere list.)

Probe: For example: your age, race, ethnicity, cultural background, language, religion and political orientation?

Closing Remarks:

Is there anything else you'd like to share that we didn't cover?

Interview 2: Pre-practicum Experience

The focus of this interview is on your pre-practicum experience. We will meet again in January to talk more about your coursework at BC in the first semester. For this interview, I would like to learn about how your pre-practicum went, what you learned, what you struggled with, what impact the experience has had on your ideas about teaching, etc.

Practicum Experiences

1. Let's talk about your practicum. Describe a typical day at your practicum.

Probe: How have you found the structure of the pre-practicum?

Probe: What is your role in the classroom?

Probe: What is the school environment and community like?

Probe: Is the environment different from other places where you've been a student or volunteer/aide?

Probe: Do you observe teachers teaching in all subject areas (for elementary)?

2. Tell me about your Cooperating Teacher? (Age, Race, Ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.) What is the role of the cooperating teacher in shaping your practice and philosophy?

Probe: Would you describe a particular lesson you observed that was note worthy?
Why?

Probe: How do you think your CT knows what to do next?

Probe: How do you think your CT knows if the kids are learning?

Probe: What types of classroom assessments does your CT use?
Formative/summative? In what ways do assessments reflect the instruction?

Probe: Every teacher has strengths and weaknesses; can you tell me about those with regard to your Cooperating Teacher? Are there things you have observed and would do/wouldn't do? (specific content areas)

Probe: Do you and your Cooperating Teacher have similar teaching philosophies? Explain. (N.B. You want to understand what the teacher candidate's teaching philosophy is—skip if you have gotten at this in Question 2)

Probe: Do you think your Cooperating Teacher has the same ideas about teaching and learning as your BC Professors? Why or why not? Do you consider this a problem?

Probe: What advice have you gotten from your Cooperating Teacher? How has your Cooperating Teacher helped you in understanding teaching? How has he/she helped your understanding of pupil learning?

3. OK, let's move from your CT to your Supervisor; tell me about your Supervisor?

(Age, Race, Ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.) What is the role of the Supervisor in shaping your practice and philosophy?

Probe: What advice have you gotten from your Supervisor? How has he/she helped you in understanding teaching? How has he/she helped your understanding of pupil learning?

Probe: What would you say are your Supervisor's strengths and weaknesses?

Probe: Do you and your Supervisor have similar teaching philosophies? Explain.

Probe: Do you think your Supervisor has similar ideas about teaching and learning as your BC Professors? Why or why not? Do you consider this a problem?

Probe: So, I understand that all of the pre-pracs in this school meet together with the supervisor at the school once a week? How's that been?

4. So we've talked about all the grown-ups...the other important people here are the kids. Tell me about the Students in the classroom?

Probe: What is their role in shaping your practice and philosophy? (Ask about the child study pupil if relevant)

Probe: Diversity (ELLs, SPED, SES, Ethnicity)? How would you describe their experience in school? Do they enjoy it? Why or why not?

If elementary: How is the weekly read aloud going with your ELL pupil?

Probe: Tell me about the lessons you taught. How did they go? What did you learn? (Insert here a question about something you observed in a classroom. For example, a unique method, approach, visual aide).

Probe: Some people say the most important thing about any lesson is whether the kids are learning. What do you think they learned? How do you know?

Probe: What are you learning about how children learn? How does this influence your perspective on the role of a teacher?

Probe: Can you describe a particular learning moment you observed that was note worthy? Why?

Probe: What advice have you gotten from your pupils? How have the pupils helped you in understanding teaching? How have they helped your understanding of pupil learning?

Overall Questions

5. Have you observed examples of teaching for social justice in your pre-practicum experience? Please describe them.

6. Are you making connections between what you're learning at BC and what you're experiencing in your practicum?

7. Based on your pre-prac experience, what would you say are the most important skills and knowledge for teaching?

8. How have your practicum experiences thus far influenced your ideas about teaching?

Probe: Based on the practicum, have you changed your plans on where and how you'd like to teach? Explain.

Interview 3
2005 Summer & Fall Courses

Please fill table before interview.

Methods Courses	Foundations Courses	Content Courses

Last time we met we focused on your pre-practicum experience. Today's topic is your coursework so far at BC.

General Course Experiences

1. Generally, how have your courses gone so far?

Probe: What have you enjoyed about these courses so far? Have there been any surprises?"

Probe: Can you give me some examples of anything that has been particularly interesting or helpful?

2. Foundations courses are generally used to give people the broad overviews of learning and schooling: broader contexts of children, schooling, and curriculum. Did you find the courses to be valuable in terms of providing that? In what ways?

(Specify what courses we are referring to)

Probe: Do you think the foundations courses helped you understand the realities of schools today?

3. Methods courses are intended to prepare you to gain strategies to teach specific subjects. What skills and knowledge did you acquire from your methods courses?

(Examples?)

Probe: Did they meet your expectations? If not, how might they have better met your expectations?

Probe: Some people say the most important thing to learn is classroom management. Do you agree?

Probe: How did the methods courses help your knowledge of the content?

Probe: Often a lesson in a methods class will demonstrate a teaching strategy which also includes content material. Did these “model lessons” increase your understanding about the content (e.g., looked at content from new perspective, etc)? Were they equally helpful for both strategy and content?

Elementary—How did the methods courses relate to each other?
(e.g. math, science, literacy, and social studies)

Secondary—Have you taken any courses in Arts & Science?
Was the course valuable to you in terms of pedagogy, broadening content knowledge, curriculum, and assessment?

Probe: What have you learned about bilingual students? Students with special needs?

4. Now let’s talk about the teaching in the methods course? How would you characterize your methods professors’ approaches to teaching?

Probe Do you think they modeled the kind of teaching they advocated (practiced what they preached)?

Probe: Do you think the faculty structured their courses around the realities of schools today?

Probe: Did the methods faculty explicitly address issues of social justice? If so, how?

Probe: What did you learn about pupil learning? (ways of learning, etc...)

Probe: What did you learn about assessment? (ongoing/formative & high-stakes; pupil learning)

5. You said you were hoping to learn about_____, has that been the case? Are there any gaps that remain in your coursework?

Overall Questions

6. Are you making connections between what you're learning at BC (methods, & foundation courses) and what you experienced in your pre-practicum? How? Examples?

7. When we first talked in the summer, I asked you a question about your definition of teaching for social justice. How do you see it now? Has your definition changed? If so, why?

Interview 4 with Participants: Full-Practicum Experience

1. Let's talk about your practicum.

Probe: What's the school environment and community like?

Probe: What pressures and issues do teachers face in the school? What pressures do students face? (e.g. test scores, safety, race issues, etc.)

Probe: How are student teachers viewed? What's your relationship to other colleagues in the school?

Probe: How have things changed from your pre-practicum? (if relevant)

2. What's your role in the classroom?

Probe: How much teaching have you done so far? What have you been teaching? What haven't you been teaching?

Probe: Do you have any other responsibilities? How much freedom have you had in what and how you teach?

Probe: How are you approaching planning? Are you co-planning?

Only if the participant has a new CT:

3. Tell me about your cooperating teacher? (race, age, ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.)

Probe: What are you learning from her/him?

Probe: How do you think your cooperating teacher knows students are learning?

Probe: What types of assessments does your cooperating teacher use (formative, summative?)?

Probe: In what ways do assessments reflect the instruction?

Probe: Do you and your CT have similar teaching philosophies?

Probe: Do you think your CT has the same ideas about teaching and learning as your BC professors? Why/why not? Do you consider this a problem?

Probe: Has your CT helped you improve social justice and/or equity in your teaching?

4. Tell me about your clinical faculty supervisor? Is s/he different from the person you had for your pre-practicum (race, age, ethnicity, years teaching, teaching style, etc.)?

Probe: What role is your supervisor playing in your practicum experience? (mediator, moral support, academic advice and content support)

Probe: What does your supervisor focus on in her observations and feedback? (*if nothing, remember to ask about classroom management?*)

Probe: Has s/he helped you provide strong academic content?

Probe: How has s/he helped you help pupils to learn?

Probe: Has your supervisor helped you improve social justice and/or equity in your teaching?

Probe: Do you and your supervisor have the same approach to teaching practices?

Probe: Do you think your supervisor has the same ideas about teaching and learning as your BC professors? Why/why not? Do you consider this a problem?

Probe: I understand that the BC full practicum students in this school meet as a group with the supervisor once a week. How has that gone? What kinds of issues have you discussed?

Probe: What are the other ways that you and your supervisor communicate about the classroom teaching experience? (*ask this if it's not touched on earlier in the interview*)

5. We've talked about the adults; the other important people are the kids. Tell me about the students in your classroom(s).

Probe: What are you learning from the students about being a teacher?

Probe: What is the diversity in the classroom? (ELLs, SpEd, Ethnicity?) What's that have to do with what and how you teach?

Probe: How do you think the kids in your classroom would describe their experience in the school?

Probe: How has your relationship changed with the kids over the course of the year?

Probe: In general, do you think the kids in the classroom are learning? What evidence do you have that they're learning?

Probe: Now, let's talk about your teaching in relation to the students. I noticed that you.... (Insert something here that you noticed from their classroom: about a particular student, a group of students, a unique method, etc.)

6. In your own classroom and in the school, either in what you are doing or what the teachers are doing, do you see examples of teaching for social justice? In your own teaching, how are you addressing issues of equity and justice?

Interview 5: Pupil Learning

NOTE: Teacher Candidate needs to bring three sets of pupil work: a full class set of a cumulative assignment and two examples of tasks that led up to it. TCs also need to pick out one high, one medium, and one low example of pupil performance for the cumulative assignment. Finally, have the teacher candidate bring any rubrics she or he used to score these assignments, as well as any assignment description that the TC gave to the pupils.

The purpose of this interview is to see what you are thinking about pupil learning and how it relates to your own instruction. First, I will ask you a series of general questions about the assignments you brought, then we'll get into the specific student examples you have selected as high, medium, and low. Finally, I'll ask you talk about your inquiry project.

1. First, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

2. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

3. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

4. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response? Why did you choose these three examples? Tell me about the students who did this work (ELL, Special Ed, anything else?).

Probe: How do these samples compare to the overall class? (Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?)

General Pupil Learning Ideas

5. What do you do to address the range of abilities in your classroom?

6. How do you know if your pupils are learning? What counts as evidence for learning?

7. Of course, teachers are not just interested in their pupils' academic learning; they are also very interested in their social and emotional development. Do you see your students making progress socially and emotionally? Like what?

Probe: How do you know if pupils are making this kind of progress?

8. Are you able maintain high expectations when the pupils have a variety of learning styles and needs? If so, how? If not, why?

The Inquiry Project

10. What was your Inquiry Question? What did you collect as data for your question?

11. What important insights did you get from your inquiry project concerning pupil learning?

Probe: While doing your inquiry project, what surprised you about students' learning?

Probe: How will the results of your inquiry project influence your practice as a teacher?

12. What would you categorize as social justice insights? Why?

Probe: How will you incorporate these insights into your own teaching?

13. While it is unlikely you would jump right into an inquiry project as you start your first year of teaching, what inquiry skills do you imagine using in your classroom practice?

Probe: Do you see yourself doing a formal inquiry project again in the future?

Interview 6 – End of Teacher Education

This is our last interview for the year, so it will include an overview of what you have learned through the year and the influences that have been most significant. We will also talk about your future plans and then, at the end of the interview, give you an opportunity to provide us with some feedback about the program.

First, we'll talk about the learning overview: Specifically, we'll be looking for information about how you may have changed personally and professionally, your understanding of the role of a teacher, about teaching and learning, and social justice – and the most important influences that have shaped this experience.

I. Learning

I'd like to start with a set of questions about what you learned during this year in your teacher education program...

1. You've been in schools for almost a year and have finished your full-time student teaching. Some people say they ended up learning as much about themselves as they did about students or teaching methods during this period. What would you say you have learned about yourself?

- As a Teacher?
- As a Learner?

2. What did you learn about teaching/the activity of teaching? What's the hardest thing? What's the easiest? What most surprised you?

3. What has had the greatest impact on this learning?

(Probe: What about—depending on their answer—your practicum experience, teacher education courses, A&S courses, your peers?)

We're going to shift the focus a bit here and talk about some of the themes and concepts that pervade the program:

Let's start with the idea of pupil learning.

4. What's the most important thing you'd say you've learned about teaching reading/mathematics (for elementary)? _____ (specific subject) for secondary)(be specific for secondary)?

- How/Where/From whom did you learn that? What was the biggest influence on your learning? Who or what played the biggest role? What role did the courses play?
- What have you learned about teaching about literacy in the elementary school? Math?
- What have you learned about teaching bilingual students/ELLs? How/Where/From whom did you learn that?
- Which content areas do you feel the most/least prepared to teach?

All through BC's teacher education program, there's been a lot of talk about social justice. We asked you about this in the first interview, as you might remember...

5. As you complete your teacher education experience, what do you make of this idea of Teaching for Social Justice?

- Has your definition changed?
- What impact did your practicum experiences have on your understanding of TSJ?

6. Did you have any strong models of teachers for social justice (either at BC or at your school site)?

- What made them good models?

7. How do you see yourself teaching for social justice in your own classroom?

8. Can you talk a bit about what you understand is the purpose of schooling? Where has that been highlighted in your program?

II. Moving Forward/Your future:

Okay, let's look ahead, now. In this section we'd like to talk about your future...

- What are you planning on doing next year (for benefit of the interview transcript)?
- Do you plan on teaching in the future?
- How has your experience in the past year impacted your career choice?

9. First, how is your job search going?

Will you be around this summer? Do I need to update contact information?
Are you planning on taking part in BC's mentoring program?

10. When you imagine yourself teaching next year, what do you see?

- What will your classroom be like?
- What will be the biggest challenges?

- What do you expect to be most prepared for?
- How do you think MCAS and NCLB will influence your teaching?
- Professional goals as a teacher?

11. Do you think about teaching as a career? What do you see yourself doing in the next five years?

- Ten years?

III. Program Feedback

Finally, we'll give you the opportunity to tell us more specifically what you think about the BC program....

12. If you could change three things about the program, what would they be?
Was there anything irrelevant in the program?

13. What three things would you keep, that you found especially valuable in the program?

Interview 7 – November of first-year of teaching

Introduction:

Now that you've been in the classroom for a few months we're going to ask you some questions that brings us up to date on your school setting and students, how you've settled into teaching, return to a few familiar themes in our research, and then ask just a bit about the future.

We'll start with some general questions about your school and schedule.

Let's start with a look at the school itself, your students, and the people you work with:

1. Tell me about your school...how would you describe it?

Probes:

- What kind of resources do they have? Or lack?
- What are the population demographics?
- Are parents involved in the school?
- What kind of goals does the school promote? Is there a mission statement? If so, do both faculty and students buy into it?
- Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction)
- Is this a very different setting from your prac experience(s)?

2. Let's shift to your students for a bit. I'd like you to describe them to me. Can you start with some general demographics that describe the pupils in your class(es)?

Probes:

- Age, ethnicity, language backgrounds, SES
- SPED
- ELL
- Range of abilities across the group(s)
- Did you get some of this information from teachers who had these students previously? Did you have prior experience with any of these pupils?
- How would you describe classroom dynamics? Do you have difficulty with certain students or a particular class?
- What is the biggest challenge you have faced so far this year?

3. "At this point in the school year, are you able to identify goals for your students?"

Probes:

- What do you want them to learn? (consider academic, social, and emotional possibilities, here)

I'd like to return to a question that has been a theme throughout the interviews:

4. We talked about learning to teach for social justice many times last year. We are interested in the realities of how this plays out in practice.

Probes:

- Do you think about issues of social justice in your classroom?
- In your planning?
- Do you feel that teaching for social justice is an explicit part of your classroom experience at the moment?
- How might this be particular to the context of your school? Classroom?
- How practical is the BC emphasis on social justice for a novice teacher?
- Has your view on teaching for social justice changed over the first few months of fulltime teaching? If so, how and why?

5. We've talked about this before, but now that you're fully responsible for classes, I'd like to have you think about it again: How do you know your pupils are learning? Be specific about the way you get this kind of information ...

Probe:

- Has this changed in anyway since your prac? If so, why?
- Has the inquiry played a role in how you look at your classes?

6. How about the other adults in the school. What kind of relationships have you been able to develop with school faculty & staff?

Probes:

- Principal, department head, fellow teachers
- Is there a lot of interaction among faculty?
- Do you have the opportunity to co-plan or co-teach?

7. Do you have an assigned mentor or participate in an induction program? If so, has this been a successful match?

Probes:

- Are there other people that might be seen as informal mentors or part of your network of support – including friends and family outside of school?
- Did you attend Summer Start? Why or Why not? Describe your experience. Was it valuable? How would you change the program?

Let's spend a few minutes talking about your immersion into fulltime teaching.

8. In general, how do you feel things have gone in the past few months?

9. What is your workload like?

Probes:

- What is your schedule? When do you get in to school? What time do you leave?
- For secondary – number of preps?
- For elementary – breaks?
- Additional school duties (ex: study hall, cafeteria duty, extra-curricular activities?)

10. Tell me about planning...when do you get to do this? How do you decide what to use? What to teach?

Probes:

- What resources do you have? Use? Where are they from?
- Are you focusing on day-to-day planning or do you have a long-term plan to work from?
- What strategies/resources have you utilized from your master's program?

11. How did you plan for this topic that you assessed here (look at the pupil work that the teacher brings to the interview)?

- Why did you choose to assess your students using this assignment?
- How would you change it if you were to do it again?

**12. Do you see yourself as having a great deal of autonomy in your classroom?
(If teacher asks what you mean by 'autonomy' can say 'when some people talk about autonomy they refer to the role of standards, district mandated curriculum or exams, whether you feel you have a voice in deciding what is taught in your classroom)**

Probes:

Why/why not?

In what area do you have most/least autonomy?

Who or what influences your decisions in the classroom?

Is MCAS a driving force in what you do?

Let's look at how well prepared you feel and what you attribute to the BC experience:

13. What did you feel prepared for? Not prepared for?

Probes:

- Is there anything that you feel BC did not prepare you for?
- Is there any one thing that you feel especially well prepared for by the BC program?

- Does your school provide support through PD for what you might not feel prepared for?
- Where might you turn for additional support/knowledge?
- Do you feel prepared to work with the population of students in your classroom? (ELL, SED, etc)

14. Is teaching what you expected it to be? Have your aspirations for a career in teaching changed?

- Do you think you'll teach next year?
- In this school? For how long?

15. Is there anything that we haven't touched on that you feel is especially important to include in this conversation?

Interview 8 –Cohort 2– February-March of first year of teaching

NOTE: Teacher needs to bring three sets of pupil work: a full class set of a cumulative assignment and two examples of tasks that led up to it, all from same student. Teacher also needs to pick out one high, one medium, and one low example of pupil performance for the cumulative assignment. Finally, have the teacher bring any rubrics she or he used to score these assignments, as well as any assignment description that the TC gave to the pupils.

The purpose of this interview is to see what you are thinking about pupil learning and how it relates to your own instruction. First, I will ask you a series of general questions about the assignments you brought, then we'll get into the specific student examples you have selected as high, medium, and low. Finally, I'll ask you talk about your inquiry project.

1. First, last time you were struggling with ... (fill in here with something specific to your teacher; e.g. students not completing their homework; the discipline protocol at the school, etc.). How's it going now?

2. OK, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

3. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

4. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

5. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response. How do these samples compare to the overall class?

Probe: Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?

6. Did the students who completed these examples meet your expectations? Why or why not?

Probe: What might you do differently in the future for each of these students?

7. Why did you choose these?

Probe: Tell me about these three students (SPED, ELL, Bilingual).

General Pupil Learning Ideas

8. What do you do to address the range of abilities in your classroom?

9. You have already talked about how you looked for pupil learning in your cumulative assignment. How in general do you know if your pupils are learning? What counts as evidence for learning? (Connect to question two or it may sound repetitive)

Probe: Has this changed in anyway since your practicum? If so, why?

Probe: Has the inquiry project played a role in how you look at your classes/students?

10. What kind of grading or evaluating system do you use? Are you happy with it?

Probe: To what extent do you have autonomy in this? Are there school or department guidelines about grades?

11. What kind of pupil data does your school district use in developing curriculum & instruction that might impact your class?

Probe: This might include MCAS scores; other standardized test scores; testing coming from, or contributing to IEPs and 504s; Student Success Plans (these are required for students w/o IEP or 504 that don't meet standards on other tests); portfolio or exhibit projects, district benchmark/tests, other?

Probe: Do you have access to this data on an individual or aggregate level to make plans for your classes/pupils?

Probe: Would you be part of the data analysis?

Probe: Do you feel BC has prepared you to be able to use pupil data, both formal, informal, standardized and teacher-developed to make decisions in your classroom? Do you do this?

12. Of course, teachers are not just interested in their pupils' academic learning, they are also very interested in their social and emotional development. Do you see your students making progress socially and emotionally? Like what? (*Note: levels of confidence, enjoyment of learning, engagement in learning, independence in learning, cooperative group work, classroom behavior, interpersonal interactions*)

Probe: How do you know if pupils are making this kind of progress? What evidence do you look for to determine social and emotional growth?

13. What kind of expectations do you have for students? Are you able maintain these expectations when the pupils have a variety of learning styles and needs? If so, how? If not, why?

14. How do you help students develop language abilities? (ELL, SpEd, Writing, Reading)

Probe: Would you call your classroom language-rich? Why or why not?

Experience in Classroom/School

Now let's touch base on how the year is going, now that you are about half-way through it.

15. What kinds of changes, if any, have you made based on your experience in the first half of the year?

Probe: For example, grading, classroom management, differentiated instruction?

Probe: Are there disciplinary or management expectations school-wide? In your teaching team?

Probe: Do you find yourself using any techniques gained from BC? From your practicum?

16. How have you handled classroom management so far?

17. How is the larger school context/culture playing a role in your classroom?

Probe: What contact have you had with the Principal/Dean/Mentor/Coach/etc.? Are you satisfied with the amount and nature of your interactions?

Probe: Have you been observed and evaluated? By whom? What kind of feedback have you received?

Probe: What contact have you had with parents? What role do they play in the school?

18. Are you participating in mentoring/induction? If so, what kind? Is it helping you professionally or personally?

Probe: Are there other people who might be seen as informal mentors or part of your network of support – including friends and family outside of school?

Probe: Are you attending any programs sponsored by BC? Are they valuable? How would you change them?

19. Some people say the first year of teaching is the hardest and find it difficult to find balance. How has your “quality of life” as first year teacher been so far? (Do you have a life?)

20. Do you see yourself working at the same school/in the same job next year?

Probe: If not, ask why. What would it take for you to stay?

Probe: If yes, ask what it is that is keeping them in the position.

INTERVIEW 9 – COHORT 2 – End of first-year of teaching

This is our last interview, so it will include an overview of what you have learned, the influences that have been most significant, your thoughts on teaching, and your future plans. We will also talk about pupil work.

Remember to print out various charts, etc. before conducting the interview.

Pupil Learning

1. What's the most important thing you'd say you've learned about teaching reading/mathematics (for elementary)? _____ (specific subject for secondary) over the last year?

Probe: How/Where/From whom did you learn that? What was the biggest influence on your learning? Who or what played the biggest role?

Probe: What have you learned about teaching about literacy in the elementary school? Math?

Probe: Which content areas do you feel the most/least prepared to teach? How does this affect your teaching?

Probe: What's the most important thing you'd say you've learned about teaching diverse populations? (ELL, SPED, SES, etc.) – How/Where/From whom did you learn that?

2. OK, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

3. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

4. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

5. How do you feel your pupils did overall? Do you feel like they gained skills over the year? What? Were you satisfied/disappointed?

6. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response. How do these samples compare to the overall class?

Probe: Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?

7. Did the students who completed these examples meet your expectations? Why or why not?

Probe: What might you do differently in the future for each of these students?

8. Why did you choose these?

Probe: Tell me about these three students (SPED, ELL, Bilingual).

9. Our research group looked carefully at responses from last year's interviews that had to do with pupils' work and your assessments of their learning. We came up with graphic to try to explain what we found. The first box is supposed to represent teacher candidates' experiences during coursework, and the second what happened during student teaching. Overall we found that student teachers created great assessments that showed they had high expectations for pupils and focused on higher-order thinking. (refer to figure) We thought about this as "ownership" — student teachers actively changing strategies, questioning practices, and generally looking for better ways to improve learning in the classroom.

Does that sound to you like what was going on for you during student teaching?

How about now, during your first year of teaching?

10. Another thing we found during the interviews when we asked teachers to talk about high-, medium-, and low-, pupil performance on the assessments, was that sometimes there was a kind of distancing. For example, if a pupil performed poorly on a test or a project, sometimes the student teacher attribute this to the pupil's lack of effort or his or her failure to pay attention and follow directions. This made us think a lot about how teachers make sense of it when pupils don't meet their expectations. Can you talk about this a little bit?

11. Do you think teachers should expect to meet the learning needs of every pupil in the class?

Social Justice

12. All through BC's teacher education program, there's been a lot of talk about social justice. We asked you about this in the first interview, as you might remember...As you are now completing your first year of teaching, what do you make of this idea of Teaching for Social Justice? Is it important to you in your daily work? Do you consider yourself to be teaching for social justice?

13. Show them the 4 categories/28 codes for Social Justice (see end of interview for chart) and ask: We looked at all the responses of participants from the pre-service year and earlier this year about what it means to teach for social justice. Here is the way we grouped responses. What strikes you from this list? What's missing, if anything?

14. Some of the people who define TSJ say it's teaching that improves students' learning and enhances their life chances. They say that part of this is teachers trying to work with others to actively address inequities in the system. We didn't find much talk about activism or addressing inequities in our interviews. Any thoughts on this?

School Context/Teacher Roles

Now we're going to switch gears and talk about your school.

15. What opportunities has the school provided you in terms of what and how you teach?

Probe: Have you experienced any constraints? Are there things you've felt you couldn't do this year but wanted to?

Probe: In terms of what you brought with you from the BC program, are there things that were particularly helpful? Were there things that you didn't have an opportunity to implement?

16. What personal factors have made a difference in your teaching (background, education, personal experiences)? (i.e. knowing a second language having an impact on teaching ELLs)?

17. How would you describe the role you played in the school this year (e.g. with pupils, clubs, committees, with other faculty)? Do you see that changing next year?

18. What role have others in the school (colleagues, mentors, etc.) played in your life this year?

Inquiry

19. One of the goals at BC is to develop inquiry as stance – a way of thinking about and questioning what happens in your classroom, collecting data – through pupil work – and making decisions about practice based on that information. Can you give me an example of how you see this occurring in your classroom this year? Is this an important element of your practice?

20. Have you used the strategies you used in your BC inquiry project this year? Why? Why not?

Future Plans

Dependent on their plans for next year:

21. Why did you decide to stay at the school?

OR

Why did you decide to leave? What were you looking for in your new school?

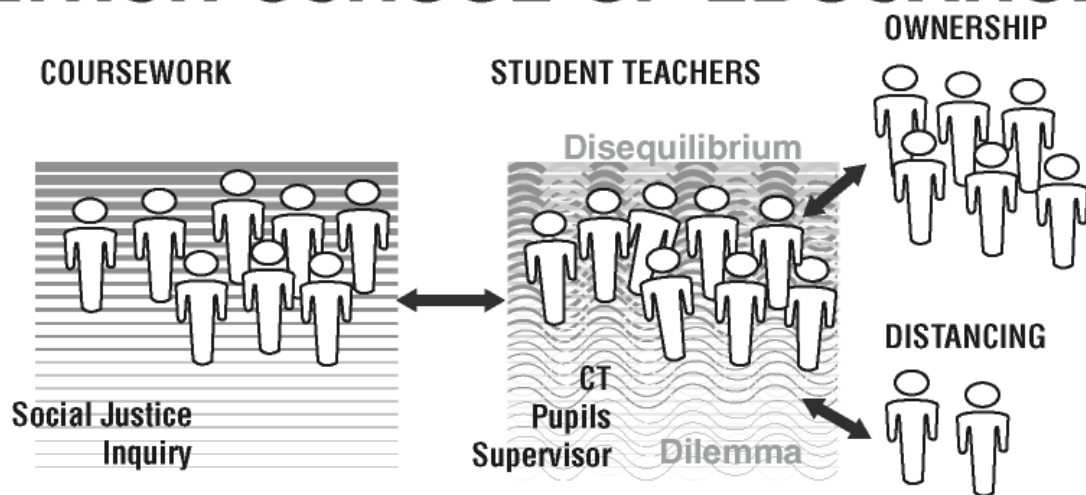
AND

What aspects of this first year of teaching encouraged you to stay (or leave)?

22. Do you have any specific goals for next year? Have you thought about what you might keep the same and what you might change in your teaching, your classroom, and in your role in the school?

23. Do you think about teaching as your career? What do you see yourself doing in the next five years? Ten years?

LYNCH SCHOOL OF EDUCATION



Theme	Codes	Description (<i>Emphasizes...</i>)	
Pupil Learning	6 - Curriculum applicable	Teacher as making curriculum relevant and applicable to the pupils	
	9 - Accommodate/Differentiate	Idea of accommodating different learners and differentiating instruction	
	10 - Everybody learns	Teacher responsible for making sure pupils learn	
	11 - Promote engagement	Importance of engaging pupils	
	13 - Multiple viewpoints	Importance of exposing pupils to multiple viewpoints; encouraging them to consider other perspectives, and expanding ideas and opportunities	
	14 - Critical thinking	Critical thinking and deep questioning	
	18 - Prepare future	Preparing pupils for a successful future	
	19 - Basic skills	Importance of teaching basic skills	
	22 - Social/cultural contexts	Knowing and understanding pupils' social and cultural contexts	
	23 - High expectations	Holding pupils to high expectations and pushing kids to meet those goals	
	24 - Same expectations	Holding same expectations for all pupils	
	Relationships and Respect	12 - Be Fair	Being fair to all pupils in the classroom; not showing favorites
		20 - Relationships pupils	Building relationships with the pupils
21 - Parents		Respecting and working with parents	
25 - Culture of respect		Promoting a culture of respect among pupils and between pupil and teacher	
27 - Care		Knowing and caring for pupils	
Teacher as Activist	1 - Collaborations/Coalitions	Importance of participating in collaborations/coalitions to support pupils and improve schools	
	2 - Advocate for pupils	Role of the teacher in serving as an advocate for pupils	
	3 - Activism	Idea that the teacher should participate in activism	
	4 - Community work	Role of the teacher in doing community work/volunteering or getting pupils engaged in such activities	
Recognizing Inequities	5 - Change agent	Teacher as a change agent, making a difference in society	
	7 - Challenge canon	Challenging the canon or altering the standard curriculum	
	8 - Gender	The role gender plays in the classroom	

15 - Class/race struggle in Curriculum	How teachers might highlight class/race struggle and social inequities as part of the curriculum
16 - Connections to oppression	Ways to connect curriculum to real world examples of oppression and exploitation
17 - Break down barriers	Breaking down racial or SES barriers for pupils
26 - Challenge stereotypes	Challenging pupils' stereotypes or biases related to race, class, gender, or sexual orientation

INTERVIEW 10 (Beginning of 2nd year of Teaching)

Questions 1 and 2 only if it's a new school context:

A. Tell me about your school...how would you describe it?

Probes:

- What kind of resources do they have? Or lack?
- What are the population demographics?
- Are parents involved in the school?
- What kind of goals does the school promote? Is there a mission statement? If so, do both faculty and students buy into it?
- Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction)?
- Is this a very different setting from your last teaching experience?

B. Let's shift to your students for a bit. I'd like you to describe them to me. Can you start with some general demographics that describe the pupils in your class(es)?

Probes:

- Age, ethnicity, language backgrounds, SES (*How does this compare to last year?*)
- SPED
- ELL
- Range of abilities across the group(s)
- Did you get some of this information from teachers who had these students previously? Did you have prior experience with any of these pupils?
- How would you describe classroom dynamics? Do you have difficulty with certain students or a particular class?
- What is the biggest challenge you have faced so far this year?

C. If the teacher is in the same school start with:

- *Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction) since last June?*
- *Is there any significant difference in your teaching assignment this year?*

Then all interviews continue:

1. In general, how do you feel things have gone in the past few months? How are things in comparison to last year?

2. What kinds of changes, if any, have you made based on your experience in the first half of the year or from last year?

Probe: For example, grading, classroom management, differentiated instruction?

3. At this point in the school year, are you able to identify goals for your students?

Probes:

What do you want them to learn? (consider academic, social, and emotional possibilities, here)

4. How do you know your pupils are learning?

Probe:

- Has this changed in anyway since last year? If so, why?
- Has the inquiry played a role in how you look at your classes?

5. Of course, teachers are not just interested in their pupils' academic learning, they are also very interested in their social and emotional development. Do you see your students making progress socially and emotionally? Like what? *(Note: levels of confidence, enjoyment of learning, engagement in learning, independence in learning, cooperative group work, classroom behavior, interpersonal interactions)*

6. What is your workload like?

Probes:

- What is your schedule? When do you get in to school? What time do you leave?
- For secondary – number of preps?
- For elementary – breaks?
- Additional school duties (ex: study hall, cafeteria duty, extra-curricular activities?)

7. Tell me about planning...when do you get to do this? How do you decide what to use? What to teach? How is it different from last year?

Probes:

- What resources do you have? Use? Where are they from?
- Are you focusing on day-to-day planning or do you have a long-term plan to work from?
- What strategies/resources have you utilized from your master's program?

8. Do you see yourself as having a great deal of autonomy in your classroom? (If teacher asks what you mean by 'autonomy' can say 'when some people talk about autonomy they refer to the role of standards,

district mandated curriculum or exams, whether you feel you have a voice in deciding what is taught in your classroom)

Probes:

Why/why not?

In what area do you have most/least autonomy? *Has this changed since last year?*

Who or what influences your decisions in the classroom?

Is MCAS a driving force in what you do?

9. What kind of relationships have you been able to develop with school faculty & staff?

Probes:

- Principal, department head, fellow teachers?
- Is there a lot of interaction among faculty?
- Do you have the opportunity to co-plan or co-teach?

Let's look at how well prepared you feel and what you attribute to the BC experience:

10. After over a year as a full-time teacher, what do you feel BC best prepared you for? In what ways do you feel least prepared?

Probes:

- Pedagogy? Content-knowledge?
- Does your school provide support through PD for what you might not feel prepared for?
- Where might you turn for additional support/knowledge?
- Do you feel prepared to work with the population of students in your classroom? (ELL, SED, etc)

Now, I'd like to return to some questions that have been themes throughout the interviews, namely—pupil learning, social justice, and inquiry:

11. We've talked about learning to teach for social justice during other interviews. As you know, we're interested in the realities of how teaching for social justice is playing out in practice.

Probes:

- Do you think about issues of social justice in your classroom?
- In your planning?
- Do feel that teaching for social justice is an explicit part of your classroom experience at the moment?
- How might this be particular to the context of your school? Classroom?
- How practical is the BC emphasis on social justice for a novice teacher?
- Has your view on teaching for social justice changed *over the last year?*

Looking at Pupil Work

OK, let's take a look at the assignments you brought. As a way to walk me through this work, it might be helpful for you to start at the end with the cumulative project and work backwards. Or you might want to start with the first task and move chronologically to the end, the cumulative task.

12. How do these assignments fit into a larger unit?

Probe:

- Was this something you devised yourself?
- Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?
- Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

13. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe:

- How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

14. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

15. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response. How do these samples compare to the overall class?

Probe: Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?

16. Did the students who completed these examples meet your expectations? Why or why not?

Probe: What might you do differently in the future for each of these students?

17. Why did you choose these?

Probe: Tell me about these three students (SPED, ELL, Bilingual).

General Pupil Learning Ideas

18. Has your grading system changed from last year? If yes, describe how it has changed.

Ask this question if teachers is in new school context - What kind of grading or evaluating system do you use? Are you happy with it?

Probe:

- To what extent do you have autonomy in this? Are there school or department guidelines about grades?

19. Is your school doing anything differently with pupil data (MCAS, District exam scores) compared with last year?

Ask this question if teachers is in new school context - What kind of pupil data does your school district use in developing curriculum & instruction that might impact your class?

Probe:

- This might include MCAS scores; other standardized test scores; testing coming from, or contributing to IEPs and 504s; Student Success Plans (these are required for students w/o IEP or 504 that don't meet standards on other tests); portfolio or exhibit projects, district benchmark/tests, other?

20. Do you use data for classroom inquiry?

Probe:

- Has inquiry played a role in how you look at your classes/students or pupil data?
- Have you used the strategies you used in your BC inquiry project this year? Why? Why not?

21. Some people say the first year of teaching is the hardest and find it difficult to find balance. Would you say your “quality of life” has changed since the first year? (Do you have a life?)

22. Is there anything that we haven't touched on that you feel is especially important to include in this conversation?

INTERVIEW 11 (End of second year of teaching)

Introduction - This interview has some familiar pieces, and one new section. There will be three parts: first questions about “big picture” issues in teaching; second, a look at student work; and third we’d like you to show us how you feel you’ve changed as a teacher over the past few years. So, let’s begin with the questions.

PART I. Big Picture Questions

1. Now that you’ve been teaching for two years, what would you say are the key characteristics of a very good teacher?

Probe: In interview one you talked about teachers you admired and specifically mentioned.... (e.g. FOR LOLA, “YOU’RE A.P. BIO TEACHER WHO REALLY SHOWED HER PASSION FOR THE SUBJECT AND MADE THE STUDENTS IN HER CLASS REALLY LOVE IT TOO...)

Probe: Are these still qualities that you would say are important after being in the classroom as a teacher? If not, how and why have your ideas changed?

2. Massachusetts requires that novice teachers in public schools are provided mentoring/induction, but the reality is that that is very different from school to school. In your case, you’ve had... (e.g. FOR LOLA, LOTS OF SUPPORT IN YOUR FIRST YEAR AND VERY LITTLE MENTORING AND SUPPORT IN YOUR SECOND YEAR) How important has this been to you?

Probes: Was it an effective program of support?
What elements were most helpful to you?
Were outside factors (people/resources) more helpful?
Any suggestions for change?

Probe: What ongoing support or professional development would be important to you in your third year in the classroom? At one time you talked about expanding your knowledge of... (e.g. FOR ELSIE, KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN LITERATURE)

3. CONTEXT- The school you’re in, the student population you teach, the larger community in which you work (that this happens in) - are often mentioned as important to learning to teach. Can you talk about how these different elements (in your context) influence your learning in the profession, and your students’ learning? In the past, for example you’ve mentioned ...

(Possible suggestions)

Impact of SES

Impact of nature of student population (bilingual pupils, SPED, etc.)

Impact of high-stakes testing
Impact of administration
Impact of support
Impact of expectations
Impact of parents

Probe: What do you think is working in your school? Why?

Probe: What, in your opinion, is keeping the school from being a place that supports teacher and student growth?

4. Of course, as we've discussed, it is complex and sometimes challenging, but would you say at this point in your career you are teaching for social justice? If yes, in what ways? If not, in what ways not?

Probe: Early on you mentioned (e.g. FOR ELSIE, EXPOSING PUPILS TO DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW)....and in later interviews you also mentioned... (CARING FOR STUDENTS AND SHOWING THEM THAT YOU WERE INTERESTED IN THEIR LIVES OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM), **some people might add ideas like improving academic learning, focusing on critical thinking, developing social and emotional learning, or enhancing students' life chances** (only list ideas that the teacher did not already talk about in past interviews)- **Do these ideas play a role in your teaching? If so, how? If not, why?**

5. You've been in the classroom for two years now, and it's clear that you know (the context of) your school. If you were in charge, what would you change?

Probes: Are there things you have already been working on? Are there things you think you might be able to work on in the future? What things do you think will be most difficult to change? Why?

(THESE ARE EXAMPLES OF THINGS THAT COULD BE ACTED ON IF THEY NEED A NUDGE – COULD SHOW THE LIST TO PROVIDE TOPICS CHOICES)

Expectations (for teachers and students)

Opportunities

Curriculum

Availability of resources

Tracking

Emphasis on certain outcomes

6. As you begin to think about next year, what are your big picture goals for your students?

Probe: What is it you want your students to know and be able to do in (math, ELA, history, science, etc.)

Probe: Is this different from last year, or the year before? (this also relates to whether they're teaching the same kids...)

Probe: Will you adjust practice to achieve these goals? How? Why?

7. Some, but of course not all, of the big challenges of learning to teach include successful classroom management, planning curriculum, developing pedagogy for teaching, meeting the needs of diverse learners, and assessment. Where do you see your strengths after two years? Are there areas that still need attention?

Probes:

How do you expect to grow as a teacher in the next few years?

How will you achieve these goals?

What, if any, of these factors have changed the most in the last few years?

How and Why?

8. In early interviews, a number of our participants talked about teaching as a career. There are great rewards in influencing lives, sharing content that you are passionate about...and there are real drawbacks – pay, relative lack of respect for the profession, limited or no opportunities for advancement. How do you feel about teaching as a career at this point? What do you see as your career trajectory at this point?

Probes:

Has this changed?

Do you plan to stay in teaching?

Are you more or less enthusiastic about teaching as a career choice than when you started?

Probe:

Do you plan to stay at this school next year? If not, where will you go? If yes, will it be the same position?

Probe:

Considering that teacher retention is such a big problem, from your experience, what do you think drives teachers from the profession?

Part II- TAPL – Teacher Assessment / Pupil Learning

9. OK, let's take a look at the assignment you brought. Although we only have one assignment, it would be helpful if you could walk me through the larger

unit it draws from. You could work backwards and describe the larger unit or you might want to move chronologically through the unit and describe the pieces that led up to this final assessment.

Probe: How does it fit into a larger unit?

Probe: Was this something you devised yourself?

Probe: Was any part of this lesson from a preexisting lesson that you adapted?

Probe: Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?

10. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe: How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

11. Let's now look at your examples of a high, a medium, and a low-level response. How do these samples compare to the overall class?

Probe: Is this work representative of the class? Is this what you expected?

12. Did the students who completed these examples meet your expectations? Why or why not?

Probe: What might you do differently in the future for each of these students?

13. Why did you choose these?

Probe: Tell me about these three students (SPED, ELL, Bilingual).

Part III. Teacher Development Chart

14. Now we are going to move to a different part of the interview that provides you with an opportunity to talk about how your view your development as a teacher. So if you look at this chart and the horizontal axis represents time from prior to being in a teacher education program through the end of the second year of teaching and the vertical axis represents development as a teacher, how would you chart your own development in a general way?

Probe – If teacher asks ‘What does development mean?’ respond by turning it back to the individual ‘We want to understand how you would interpret development.’

Probe – If the first probe is not needed, ask the teacher to explaining their understanding of development after they've completed their line.

15. Okay now imagine we take your development and think about it in terms of 3 aspects: ---

Content knowledge (Red)

Pedagogy & practice (Blue)

Understanding the role of the teacher (Green)

Would you have three different lines? If so, how would you draw them?

(provide 3 different color markers (RED, BLUE, and GREEN) for drawing each line- be sure to reference the key on the blank development chart or the list above for the colors that correspond to the three aspects)

16. Describe your lines on each chart.

Probe: Why does the line drop here?

Probe: Why is there such a sharp increase in development at this point?

17. How would you project the continuation of your line in the future?

Probe: 5 years into teaching, 10, 25?

18. Can you talk about your development toward becoming the best teacher you can be?

Probe: What, or who, has helped you along the way? What circumstances might have held you back?

(Here we could specify based on knowing them, i.e. with Craig the going between two schools, with Lola the weak leadership at her latest school? Or, on the positive side, the strong support in the first school where she taught? I could ask her how much that support helped her in the first year and how she managed without it in the second year?)

Teacher Development Chart

General Development as a

Before BC Teacher Ed Program	Teacher Ed coursework/ pre-prac	Full Prac	1 st Year	2 nd Year

Teacher Development Chart

General Development as a

Before BC Teacher Ed Program	Teacher Ed coursewor k/ pre- prac	Full Prac	1st Year	2nd Year

*Red = Content Knowledge; Blue = Pedagogy and Practice;
Green = Understanding the Role of the Teacher*

INTERVIEW 12 (Nov-Jan 3rd year of teaching)

Questions 1, 2, and 3 only if it's a new school context:

I. School Context Questions

1. Tell me about your school...how would you describe it?

Probes:

- What kind of resources do they have? Or lack?
- What are the population demographics?
- Are parents involved in the school?
- What kind of goals does the school promote? Is there a mission statement? If so, do both faculty and students buy into it?
- Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction)?
- Is this a very different setting from your last teaching experience?

2. Let's shift to your students for a bit. I'd like you to describe them to me. Can you start with some general demographics that describe the pupils in your class(es)?

Probes:

- Age, ethnicity, language backgrounds, SES (*How does this compare to last year?*)
- SPED
- ELL
- Range of abilities across the group(s)
- Did you get some of this information from teachers who had these students previously? Did you have prior experience with any of these pupils?
- How would you describe classroom dynamics? Do you have difficulty with certain students or a particular class?
- What is the biggest challenge you have faced so far this year?
-

3. If the teacher is in the same school start with:

- Is there anything major that has happened at the school (AYP problems, new principal, new curriculum they have to use, construction) since last June?
- Is there any significant difference in your teaching assignment this year?

II. TAPL Section (only related to teacher task)

Teachers are to bring 2 samples of culminating assignments, if possible from different subject areas or classes, i.e. in Elementary, a teacher might bring a math and literacy assignment and in Secondary, a teacher might bring an assignment from A.P. World History and Sophomore American History.

4. Describe the assignments. How do these assignments fit into a larger unit?

Probe:

- Was this something you devised yourself? How much autonomy did you have in creating the lesson or assignment?
- Was any part of this lesson from a pre-existing lesson that you adapted? Is this something you've used before?
- Why did you decide this lesson/assignment/assessment would be appropriate?

5. What did you want students to get out of this activity? How do you know whether or not students accomplished what you wanted them to get out of this activity/lesson/unit?

Probe:

- How did you evaluate these assignments (rubric, scoring, etc.)?

6. Is there anything you would change about this lesson or assignment or unit? What? Why?

7. What role do formal and informal assessments play on a day-to-day basis in your teaching? How has this changed over time?

III. Questions related to satisfaction and retention

8. Has your workload changed?

9. What is the school's investment in teachers?

Probe:

- What professional development options are available to you?
- What professional development have you participated in? How was it?
- What kinds of leadership roles have you played, could you play?
- How would you describe the collegiality of the faculty/staff?
- What are your professional and social relationships like?
- Does your school have teacher learning communities?

10. How has teaching affected your personal life? How does your personal life affect teaching?

Probe:

- Has that changed over the three years?
- How have recent life decisions affected your career plans?

11. What is the impact of the school culture on your commitment to teaching?

Probe:

- To what extent do you feel that people in your school are working collaboratively toward common goals?
- Some researchers have described three types of school cultures: the veteran culture in which nearly all the teachers have been at the school for many years, the novice culture in which many or most of the teachers are new to the school and to teaching, and what is called the integrated culture, in which there is a mix of veterans and novices. How would you describe the culture of your school? What influence has this had on your experience at the school and your desire to stay?

12. Some people say that teaching gives them energy whereas others say it takes it away—so, whereas some feel energized by the practice of teaching, others feel drained by it. How would you describe your energy at the end of the day?

Probe:

- On your way into school, how are you generally feeling about getting to your classroom?

13. Have there been any issues related to your gender that have affected your role as a teacher or your ideas about teaching?

14. Are you a better teacher now than you think you were at the beginning? In what ways? What do you think might be your next area/s for growth/learning?

15. Do you think your understanding of teaching for social justice has changed?

Probe:

- Are you attending to teaching for social justice more now? Moving away from it?
- Do you feel it's possible to teach for social justice in the context in which you work?

16. How long do you see yourself teaching?

Probe:

- What else could you see yourself doing?
- What would keep you in the classroom?
- People who have studied teacher retention would describe you as a “stayer” which means you’ve stayed at the same school (or “mover” because you’ve stayed in teaching but moved to a different school).

According to statistics which demonstrate that so many people leave teaching, how would you describe your experience as a “stayer”/”mover”?

Cooperating Teacher & Supervisor Interview Protocol

NOTE: Be sure to let the CT or Supervisor know that they have the option to bring copies of the observation forms they have completed for the student teacher since these documents might be helpful for them to refer to during the interview.

As you know, (TC's Name) is participating in a study at BC that is examining the impact of teacher education. You've had a major role on his/her development as a teacher; therefore, we thought it would be informative to gather some of the insights you have on the progress they've made throughout the semester. I will be asking you questions about your role as a cooperating teacher/supervisor, social justice, the student teacher's inquiry project, and her/his impact on the students' learning in the classroom.

1. How would you describe your role in the student teacher's learning to teach?
2. One of BC's goals is for teacher candidates to learn to teach for social justice. Given that there are a number of different ways people define social justice, how relevant do you think it is in the classroom?
3. Are you familiar with their inquiry project? (If they don't know what it is: They ask a question and gather data in their classroom.) How do you think this has influenced the student teacher's practice or pupil's learning?
4. Has the student teacher had an impact on kids' learning?
5. What have you focused on in your observations of and feedback to your student teacher?

Principal

(This may also be an assistant principal, head master, or department head – an administrator who would be knowledgeable about the teacher)

Interview Protocol

As you know, EXPLAIN PROJECT...

A set of case studies intended to document our teacher candidates' experiences during their pre-service program and then follow them into the first year of teaching. We are especially interested in what our teacher candidates learn about teaching during the program and then how they use that knowledge in practice during the first years of teaching. Hopefully this research will lead to a clearer sense of what preservice teacher education should focus on and how we can create positive, professional opportunities for both university faculty and beginning teachers. Since the overall goal for this project is to improve teacher education, no individual teacher, faculty member, or school personnel is the focus of this study. Rather we are looking across a set of cases to gain insights about learning to teach.

1. What's it like to be a new teacher here?

Probes: How would you describe the culture of this school for teacher's in general? For pupils? Parents?

2. What are the pressures/challenges and supports for teachers?

3. What kind of student does your school hope to produce?

4. "Let's talk specifically about _____, now. How would you describe his/her experience as a novice teacher this year? "

5. A lot of people think that content knowledge is the really critical factor in a successful teacher. How well prepared have you found _____ to be?

If they indicate they have not seen our participant teach, probe for where they get information on the strengths and weakness of their novice teachers (another administrator, department head and so forth)

5. One of BC's goals is for teacher candidates to learn to teach for social justice. How relevant do you think that is here?

**Mentor Teacher
(Chosen by novice teacher)
Interview Protocol**

As you know, EXPLAIN PROJECT...

A set of case studies intended to document our teacher candidates' experiences during their pre-service program and then follow them into the first year of teaching. We are especially interested in what our teacher candidates learn about teaching during the program and then how they use that knowledge in practice during the first years of teaching. Hopefully this research will lead to a clearer sense of what preservice teacher education should focus on and how we can create positive, professional opportunities for both university faculty and beginning teachers. Since the overall goal for this project is to improve teacher education, no individual teacher, faculty member, or school personnel is the focus of this study. Rather we are looking across a set of cases to gain insights about learning to teach.

1. What kind of mentoring and induction is offered here?

Probes: What are the roles and responsibilities of mentors/mentees?

What is your experience with mentoring novice teachers?

What have you focused on for observations and comments to _____? Has this changed over time?

Why do you think _____ selected you*?

What questions and concerns have they come to you with?

2. Given this school, what would you say _____ is prepared and not prepared to do?

Probe: Generally, what are his/her challenges? Successes?

3. What are the supports and pressures for new teachers here?

Probe: What are the responsibilities expected of a new teacher?

4. Generally speaking, would you say _____ is an effective teacher? What impact would you say they have on their students?

5. One of BC's goals is for teacher candidates to learn to teach for social justice. How relevant do you think that is here?

* Depends on whether an assigned mentor or not

APPENDIX B: Interview Protocols with Students

Interview Protocol for Focus Groups and Interview with Amanda's Students

Focus Groups/Interview Questions

Interviews and/or Focus Groups will be built around the assignment/assessment we are discussing as well as from class observations dealing with that same work.

Sample questions:

- What did you like and what did you not like about...
- When you got this assignment, what did you do first?
- Why did you respond...(in reference to answer on assignment)?
- Do you think it helped you to learn by...
- If you were the teacher, how would you have taught about...
- What did you enjoy about this unit/lesson/assignment?
- What did you find hard?
- What did you have trouble understanding?
- What did you learn?
- Make a list of things that help and things that hinder learning.
- How does your relationship with the teacher influence your learning in the classroom?
- What about your relationships with other students in the class?
- What kinds of things do you say to yourself as you were working on this assignment/assessment?

APPENDIX C: QCS Observation Protocol

Guidelines, Protocol, Annotated Record

TEACHING PRACTICES / PUPIL LEARNING / SOCIAL JUSTICE

Classroom Observation Protocol Directions

This observation protocol captures the teaching practices, pupil learning, and the pupils' exposure to issues of social justice that occur within the classroom and school contexts. Completion of the observation protocol form requires the researcher to compile her or his observation notes, categorize these data into a chronology of events, create a script for these events, and begin analysis by providing a general overview of the content of the lesson, pedagogical approaches and opportunities for learning provided by the teacher, pupil learning and assessment, social justice and classroom environment.

The Classroom (page 1):

At the beginning of each observation, the researcher records the details for the first page of this observation protocol. This page provides an overview of the pupils and context of the classroom. Included is an informal count of the pupils' gender and race. Other prompts on this page focus on the physical characteristics of the room, including the pupils' seating arrangement and the visuals on the walls (e.g., pupil work, educational materials). Researchers should also record the interactions between the teacher and pupils prior to the beginning of the observed lesson. These data provide an opportunity for the researcher to record her or his overall sense of the classroom's climate.

School Background (pages 2, 3, & 4):

Prior to the observation, the researcher completes the second, third, and fourth pages of the observation protocol. This information includes the quantitative data for the entire school and serves as the cover pages for all of the observations that take place at that school. Information for page two is obtained from the Massachusetts Department of Education's website and includes:

- the school's setting (e.g., suburban)
- pupil demographics
- percentage of pupils receiving special services
- school indicators (e.g., retention rate)
- teacher data (e.g., percentage who are licensed)
- pupil expenditures

Page three contains MCAS data for the school and a scale to rank the quality of the classroom's resources (e.g., technology) and environment (e.g., cleanliness). This page also offers the researcher an opportunity to provide a justification for these rankings. Page four includes a similar chance to rank the overall condition of the school, its resources (e.g., library/media center) and environment (e.g., building and

grounds) and prompts the researcher to justify these rankings. Rankings may be competed with the participant to capture a more accurate rating.

Chronology of Events (page 5):

The scripted data are categorized into a chronology of events. The number of events will vary by observation (page 5 of the observation protocol). For an early elementary classroom observation, these events might include (but are not limited to):

- 1) teacher greets pupils before class
- 2) circle time (e.g., pupils sit together on a rug and the teacher reads them a book)
- 3) teacher models lesson
- 4) pupils complete worksheets
- 5) recess

The table includes the duration of time for each event, a title for the event, its setting, participants, and materials used (e.g., worksheets pupils were assigned).

Script of Events (page 6):

During the observation, researchers focus on the teaching, learning, and social justice events to guide their observation notes. Though there is not a tape recording of the observation, the researcher has captured, as much as possible, the activities and quotations from each event as well as her or his commentary about these events. The script of events should be written in dialogue format and double spaced.

In particular, researchers focus on **teaching practices** such as:

- content
- pedagogy, and
- expectations/objectives.

Pupil learning focuses on:

- academic learning,
- social learning, and
- emotional learning.

Finally, **social justice** includes:

- the classroom's environment,
- equity in learning,
- pupils' exposure to social justice, and
- inquiry as stance.

Annotated Observation Record (pages 7-8 or included as a separate document):

Please include the following header on the annotation if included as a separate document from the observation -

Researcher:

Participant:

Observation Date:

Observation Number (ex: **FP2** = full practicum obs 2 or **FY3**=first year teaching obs 3):

Rationale for selecting this observation for annotation

- This rationale is important because annotations will be completed for 3 of 4 observations completed during the full practicum and 3 of 4 completed during the first year of teaching. Thus, the rationale provides an opportunity for justification of the selection which might include researcher comments like “this observation provides the most behavior management difficulty during the full prac observations”).
- For the pre-prac observation and the one observation from the full prac and first year that are **not** selected for annotation include a one paragraph overview of the lesson with research insights.

The researcher begins the first round of preliminary analysis of these data. The Teaching, Learning, and Social Justice Guidelines (see pages 3-6) help the researcher identify what occurred during the observation. The researcher should take care to capture the *general tone* of the observation and include *evaluative remarks* by the researcher indicating *what stood out, what was consistent with or divergent from the teacher candidates' previous lessons*. There is no page limit to this document, but points only need to be made once under an indicator.

The categories the researcher uses for this analysis include: Content, Pedagogy, Teacher Pedagogy & Opportunities for Learning, Pupil Learning & Assessment, Social Justice, Relationships & Classroom Management.

- Under each category there are a number of indicators that should be highlight in **ALL-CAPS** to denote their absence or presence. If it is an absence please type “**ABSENCE**” next to the indicator.
 - If an indicator is highlighted it should be addressed in the notes and dialogue that follow. If selected for absence then address what is lacking in the observation.
 - Go with a general overview rather than addressing each indicator under each category when describing the observation. The more insights the better as you are the only one who can provide these!
- In the “Content” section, be sure to note whether the lesson plan appeared to be designed entirely by the teacher or if the lesson plan was part of a school mandated curriculum (i.e. TERC or OPEN CIRCLE etc). Then include a brief summary of what occurred in the

lesson. No dialogue sections are to be included under the content category.

- Dialogue Excerpts - provide adequate context and/or lead-up to each dialogue excerpts. Excerpts from the observation should be enclosed in borders, written in dialogue format with each new speaker on a new line and single-spaced. Include enough in the boxes to get a sense of what is going on and whether it is helpful to go to script.
- Terms such as *always*, *once*, *never*, and *worst* may be beneficial for explaining a bit more about the observation.

Attributions

The observation protocol was developed drawing on the following resources:

- Biggs, J., & Collis, K. (1982). *Evaluating the quality of learning: The SOLO taxonomy (Structure of the Observed Learning Outcome)*. New York: Academic Press.
- Charney, R.S. (1992). *Teaching children to care: Management in the responsive classroom*. Massachusetts: Northeast Foundation for Children.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (1999). Learning to teach for social justice. In G. Griffin (Ed.), *The education of teachers: Ninety-eighth yearbook of the national society for the study of education* (pp. 114-144). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Echevarria, J., Vogt, M.E., & Short, D.J. (2000). *Making content comprehensible for English language learners: The SIOP Model*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Newmann, F. M., & Wehlage, G. G., (1993). Five standards of authentic instruction. *Educational Leadership*. 50(7), 8-12.
- Newmann, F. M., & Associates. (1996). *Authentic achievement: Restructuring schools for intellectual quality*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Education (2005). *Preservice performance assessment*. Retrieved from http://www.doe.mass.edu/edprep/pre_svc.html
- Thompson, M., Peck, P., Gee, L., & Ponte, E. (2004). *Study of the impact of the California formative assessment and support system for teachers: report 2, relationship of BTSA/CFASST engagement and teacher practices*. Educational Testing Services and the California commission on teacher credentialing.
- University of Illinois at Chicago, Department of Psychology/Collaboration for Social and Emotional learning, "Skills and Competencies", retrieved from <http://www.casel.org/basics/skills.php>

QCS Observation Protocol

Teacher: _____		Time & Date: _____				
Observer: _____		Grade & Subject: _____				
Arrangement of Room: _____ Pupils have assigned seats _____ Seating appears to be random _____ Tables used, not desks Add Additional Notes Below:		Diagram of Classroom: (t = teacher; a = aide; designate pupil by race/gender and assigned a number. AF1 = pupil [Asian, female 1]				
_____ Pupils work on walls Comments:						
_____ Visuals on walls Comments:						
F = Female M = Male A = Asian B = Black H = Hispanic W = White O = Other		A	B	H	W	O
	F					
	M					
	Total					
Classroom Climate:						
Additional Pre-Lesson/Class Observations (including information about host teacher/classroom, if relevant)						
Contextual Information on School:						
Name:			School Setting			
		Urban	Public	Enrollment:		
		Suburban	Charter	Male:		
		Private	Pilot	Female:		
		Catholic	Magnet	Grades Served:		
(200_ - 200_)						

Race/Ethnicity		Selected Populations			Indicators	
	% of School		% of School			School
African American		First Language not English		Grade 9-12 Drop-out		
Asian		Limited English Proficient		Attendance Rate		
Hispanic		Low-income		Average # of days absent		
Native American		Special Education		In-School Suspension Rate		
White				Retention Rate		
Other				Exclusions rate per 1000		

Teacher Data		School		Pupil Expenditures	
School					
Total # of Teachers			Regular Education		
% of Teachers Licensed in Teaching Assignment			Special Education		
Total # of Teachers in Core Academic Areas			Bilingual Education		
% of Core Academic Teachers Identified as Highly Qualified			Occupational Day Education		
Student/Teacher Ratio			All Day Programs		
Average Salary					

MCAS 200_	% Advanced	% Proficient	% Needs Improvement	% Warning/Failing
Students Included				
Grade _ Reading				
Grade _ ELA				
Grade _ Math				
Grade _ Sci/Tech				

AYP 200_:	ELA Aggr	ELA Sub	Math Aggr	Math Sub

Condition of Classroom:

1 = Inadequate Limits opportunities for learning	2 = Poor	3 = Adequate	4 = Good	5 = Excellent
--	----------	--------------	----------	---------------

I. Resources		II. Environment	
a. Technology works	1 2 3 4 5	a. Cleanliness	1 2 3 4 5
b. Texts available	1 2 3 4 5	b. Climate (temperature)	1 2 3 4 5
c. Usable furnishings (desks and chairs)	1 2 3 4 5	c. Lighting	1 2 3 4 5

d. Erase/chalk boards	1	2	3	4	5	d. Adequate Space/storage	1	2	3	4	5
e. Teaching materials	1	2	3	4	5	e. Noise	1	2	3	4	5
f. Postings	1	2	3	4	5						
Overall Resource Rating	1 2 3 4 5					Overall Classroom Environment Rating	1 2 3 4 5				
Final Condition of Classroom Rating:						1 2 3 4 5					
Summary Notes:											
Condition of School:											
1 = Inadequate Limits opportunities for learning	2 = Poor	3 = Adequate	4 = Good	5 = Excellent							
I. Resources						II. Environment					
a. Library/Media Center	1	2	3	4	5	a. Building and Grounds	1	2	3	4	5
b. Gymnasium	1	2	3	4	5	b. Cleanliness	1	2	3	4	5
c. Computer Center	1	2	3	4	5	c. Appropriate Wall Coverings	1	2	3	4	5
d. Auditorium	1	2	3	4	5	d. Clear Directions Posted	1	2	3	4	5
e. Playground	1	2	3	4	5						
f. Cafeteria	1	2	3	4	5						
g. Bathrooms and Water fountains	1	2	3	4	5						
h. Teacher's Lounge	1	2	3	4	5						
Overall Resource Rating	1 2 3 4 5					Overall Classroom Environment Rating	1 2 3 4 5				
Final Condition of Classroom Rating:						1 2 3 4 5					
Summary Notes:											
Chronology of Events											
Time	Activity/Format	Setting	Participants	Materials							
	1.										
	2.										

	3.			
	4.			
	5.			
	6.			
	7.			

Observation Script

Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity One: Time:
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity Two: Time:
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity Three: Time:
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity Four: Time:
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity Five: Time:
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity Six: Time:
Activity Field Notes (Fonts: standard for description; quote what is said; italicize commentary) Activity Seven: Time:

Annotated Observation Record

1. Content (Developmentally appropriate and accurate resources and materials; availability of resources)

2. Teacher Pedagogy & Opportunities for Learning (Refers to the activities and strategies in which the teacher/candidate engages as well as the kinds and quality of learning experiences that are offered in the classroom)

Activities/Strategies

Inquiry

Connectedness to the World

Levels of Thinking

Depth of Knowledge

Substantive Conversations

Social Supports to Achievement

3. Pupil Learning & Assessment (Pupil behavior that suggests engagement and progress in learning skills and content. This may include academic, social and emotional outcomes. Assessment includes any opportunity, formal or informal, in which the teacher/candidate is establishing the skill and knowledge base of students, or ability to utilize information that is being presented.)

Formative

Summative

Pupil Engagement

Academic Outcomes

Social/Emotional Outcomes

Levels of Thinking

Connectedness to the World

Depth of Knowledge

Substantive Conversations

4. Social Justice (In keeping with our focus on social justice as an outcome for teacher/candidate and pupils, this topic area explicitly identifies activities/opportunities where teaching for social justice, or social justice issues are apparent in the classroom. Both the Key word list and Newmann's work provide the frame for identifying social justice in the classroom.)

Providing rich opportunities and progress for all students

Culturally Relevant Content and Pedagogy

Diversity as an Asset

Social Supports to Achievement

Levels of Thinking

Connectedness to the World

**Depth of Knowledge
Substantive Conversations**

5. Relationships & Classroom Management (Interactions in the classroom between and among members of the school community that are represented. This is reviewed as a key to classroom community and context, support for learning, and addressing social/emotional elements of the learning experience, and the organization and routines to support learning)

Teacher/Candidate/Pupils

Peer-to-Peer

Teacher/Other Staff

Social Supports to achievement

Substantive Conversations

Annotated Observation Guidelines

What's going on regarding TEACHING?	
<p>The CONTENT What was the content? Was it:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DEVELOPMENTALLY APPROPRIATE? • LINKED TO THE DISCIPLINE AND CURRICULUM STANDARDS • UTILIZING MULTIPLE AND ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES • EXPLICITLY INCLUDING ISSUES OF POWER AND EQUITY 	
<p>The PEDAGOGY What pedagogical strategies did you observe? Did the teacher:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RELATE TO PUPILS' CULTURAL, LINGUISTIC, AND EXPERIENTIAL RESOURCES • LINK PUPILS' KNOWLEDGE TO CONTENT • UTILIZE KNOWLEDGE OF PUPILS (E.G. BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING SKILLS, LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, ETHNICITY, AND GENDER) TO FACILITATE LEARNING • USE APPROPRIATE TEACHING STRATEGIES AND MATERIALS TO SUPPORT SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITIONS FOR THOSE WHOSE FIRST LANGUAGE IS NOT ENGLISH • MAKE GENERAL CURRICULUM ACCESSIBLE TO STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS • VARY INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES 	<p>Organize Elaborate, formulate, incorporate, integrate, participate, plan, structure, summarize</p> <p>Cognitive Assess, ask, correct, evaluate, measure, observe, record, track, transcribe</p> <p>Teach Assign, brainstorm, compose, delegate, demonstrate, design, discuss, display, engage, explain, facilitate, lecture, model, observe, plan, present, problem solve, question, repeat, show, tell</p> <p>Respond Apply, challenge, connect, construct, critique, define, emphasize, focus, inquire, justify, orchestrate, probe, question, recognize, reflect</p> <p>Adapt</p>

<p>THAT INTEGRATE LESSON SKILLS WITH LANGUAGE PRACTICE OPPORTUNITIES FOR READING, WRITING, LISTENING, AND/OR SPEAKING</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EMPLOYS VARIOUS SCAFFOLDING TECHNIQUES, QUESTIONING, AND ASSESSMENT STRATEGIES 	<p>Accommodate, adjust, clarify, expand, guide, modify, scaffold, simplify, translate</p> <p>Emotional Positive Care, comfort, encourage, feed, listen, meet needs, nurture, provide, respect, support, value, wait/patience Negative Coerce, criticize, critique, exclude, humiliate, Ignore, racism, reject, ridicule, shame, use sarcasm</p>
<p>EXPECTATIONS/OBJECTIVES What were the pupils asked to do? Did the teacher::</p>	<p>:</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USE LEARNING OBJECTIVES THAT COMMUNICATE HIGH STANDARDS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR ALL PUPILS • USE RICH LANGUAGE OPPORTUNITIES THAT ENGAGE ALL PUPILS IN COMPLEX TASKS 	<p>Classroom Environment Demand, dismiss, punish, remove, time out</p> <p>Collaborate, comfort, cooperate, encourage, listen, praise, reward, support</p> <p>Bargain, cajole, negotiate</p>
<p>What's going on regarding LEARNING?</p>	
<p>ACADEMIC LEARNING How were the pupils demonstrating academic skills and learning? Did they:</p>	<p>ACADEMIC LEARNING</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CONNECT NEW CONTENT TO PREVIOUS LEARNING • DISPLAY INTEREST IN, AND ENGAGEMENT WITH, CONTENT • ENGAGE IN SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION WITH ONE ANOTHER AND WITH THE TEACHER 	<p>Cognitive Task Action Words (drawn from Newmann* and SOLO) that might be used to describe pupils engaged in meaningful cognitive tasks: Describe; define; explain; summarize; interpret; give examples; construct; apply; compare/contrast; deduce; infer; analyze; categorize; create; support; design; compose; combine; rearrange;</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MANAGE INFORMATION IN A VARIETY OF WAYS (CATEGORIZE, COMBINE, ORGANIZE, SYNTHESIZE) 	<p>judge; debate; critique; recall; formulate; organize; synthesize; evaluate; hypothesize; make models or simulations; construct arguments; invent procedures; apply information; relate information to prior knowledge, personal experience, or perceptions of the world; consider different points of view.</p>
<p>SOCIAL LEARNING Did the teacher promote Social Learning that encourages pupils to:</p>	<p>SOCIAL LEARNING:</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SHARE MATERIALS AND IDEAS • LISTEN TO ONE ANOTHER AND TO THE TEACHER • RESPOND IN WAYS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO OTHERS' LEARNING 	<p>Social and Emotional Tasks one might observe: Sharing (materials/ideas); cooperating; listening; self-asserting; showing responsibility; developing relationships with peers; identifying and naming feelings; recognizing danger; empathizing; demonstrating self-control; showing tolerance; being self-motivated; acting independently; show appreciation, anger, and annoyance in appropriate ways; caring; coping; negotiate and accept differences; recognize contributions of others; provide information in constructive manner; solving community problems</p>
<p>EMOTIONAL LEARNING</p>	<p>EMOTIONAL LEARNING</p>
<p>Still need input for this section</p>	<p>Still need input for this section</p>
<p>What's going on regarding SOCIAL JUSTICE?</p>	
<p>CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT Did the teacher:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • VARY AND MANAGE CLASSROOM ROUTINES SUCH THAT ALL PUPILS HAVE ACCESS TO LEARNING • ENGAGE ALL PUPILS IN SUBSTANTIVE 	

<p>CONVERSATION THAT SUPPORTS LEARNING</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USE INTERACTIONS AMONG PUPILS TO PROMOTE SUBSTANTIVE CONVERSATION AND SHARED UNDERSTANDING ACROSS DIFFERENCES • FACILITATE AN ENVIRONMENT OF COOPERATION, RESPONSIBILITY, TRUST, AND CARE THAT IS ALSO ENACTED BY THE PUPILS • DEMONSTRATE UNDERSTANDING AND EMPATHY SO THAT PUPILS EXHIBIT THIS FOR ONE ANOTHER IN THEIR INTERACTIONS • USE CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES TO MODEL EQUITY? 	
<p>EQUITY IN LEARNING Did the teacher:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ENGAGE PUPILS OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGE BACKGROUNDS IN A WHOLE RANGE OF COGNITIVE AND SOCIAL TASKS • ENGAGE PUPILS AT DIFFERENT SKILL LEVELS, AND STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS, IN THE WHOLE RANGE OF COGNITIVE AND SOCIAL TASKS • BUILD CONFIDENCE IN PUPILS' SELF-KNOWLEDGE AS WELL AS KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTENT 	
<p>EXPOSURE TO SOCIAL JUSTICE Did the teacher:</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MAKE POWER, EQUITY, AND ACTIVISM EXPLICIT • PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES TO CRITICALLY QUESTION AND ANALYZE 	

<p>EXISTING POWER STRUCTURES IN SOCIETY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• HELP PUPILS FEEL POWERFUL IN RESPONSE TO THESE ISSUES	
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