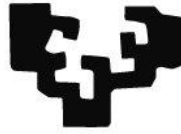eman ta zabal zazu

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A non-scalar analysis of teacher policymaking

in dual language schools

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Abstract

Current research in language-in-education policy relies heavily on scalar metaphors, including the policy onion, the policy delta, top-down versus bottom-up planning, and macro-micro interaction. While informative in their own ways, these metaphors place restrictions on what can be studied and how by matching each scale with a set of predefined capacities. The main purpose of this dissertation is to consider what a policy studies without scale might look like. In order to investigate teacher policymaking in bilingual schools, I look not for how policies flow through scales or levels, but for how teachers create policies relationally in their interactions with other agents. This approach draws from developments in human geography that see space not as a territory to be bounded (like the classroom or school), but as socially constituted in the coming together of human trajectories (Massey, 2005). In order to study these relations specifically, scales are removed *a priori* and instead, teachers' connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions are illuminated (Hillier, 2011). This means that all connections are considered equally possible prior to data collection and power/hierarchy is only analyzed *a posteriori*.

Because current conceptualizations of policy require scales in that they identify discontinuities between policy (macro) and practice (micro), the first theoretical section proposes an ontogenetic alternative that sees policies as constantly in a state of production and thus never completed or ontologically stable. Along this line of reasoning, a policy document or discourse cannot be used as a benchmark against which to compare practice. Instead, the focus shifts to the process of policymaking as understood by the agents themselves as they appropriate resources to address the challenges they face.

In bringing the two theories together, the elimination of scale and an ontogenetic understanding of policy, the study therefore explores how teachers in bilingual schools perceive the relationship between their connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions and their production of policy.

I used ethnographic methods, including interviews, observations, site visits/field notes/photographs, a survey, and document analyses to understand the context and answer the following research question: how do teachers perceive the relationship between their connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions and their production of policy? Results revealed various examples of creative policies being made in moments of interaction with others. Some of these, like bilingual read-alouds and bilingual journals, were developed between partners. Others, like the development of a Spanish literacy assessment tool, occurred when a district official worked with teachers who requested support in this area. Results also revealed that the patterns of organization were modified by teachers themselves, by requesting a change of partner, forging intentional disjunctions with administrators, and requesting an outside speaker to visit the school. Together these findings blur the traditional distinction between structure and agency.

The final section closes the loop as proposed by Hillier (2011), arguing that we should leverage the findings of how the social relations among agents are characterized to think about how they could inform the organizing of future relations. These relations could then sprout new, unexpected practices that address problems in creative ways.

Acknowledgments

This project has been almost exactly five years in the making. It started in a geography class at Towson University in the spring of 2013 when, having been introduced to the extraordinary literature within human geography and simultaneously bitten by the language bug, I asked myself a simple question that enjoyed no easy answers: how can contemporary understandings of space from human geography enrich the field of language studies? This dissertation is but my first attempt at answering that question.

I would like to extend a special thank you to both Doreen Massey and professor Jeremy Tasch who are the reasons I asked that question in the first place. In his class, Dr. Tasch introduced me to some of the most fascinating and thought-provoking articles and books I have had the pleasure of reading, including Doreen Massey's *For Space*. The wisdom embedded within those pages not only changed how I think and approach my work, but is also much needed in today's world. I am certain that all of those who have been affected by professor Massey's work in the way that I have will dutifully and faithfully uphold her mission. May she rest in peace.

I would also like to thank my parents for their unrelenting support and for always saying "yes." They never closed a single door or favored a certain path over another. If they had, I would not be doing today what I love more than anything: thinking. Thank you Mom and Dad.

There were moments during this process when I nearly lost my mind, and I am not sure my friends realize how powerful a simple phone call, text message, email, or letter was in restoring my sanity. I hope to thank each of you individually for your much needed support.

Last but not least, I thank my supervisor, David Lasagabaster. David gave me the freedom to pursue what continues to be an unfinished thought experiment. There was very little

form to the idea when I first proposed it to him, and serious road blocks threatened the project at various stages. Even so, and not unlike my parents, he said "yes" to the idea and allowed it to take shape along the way. Whenever I had questions or needed comments on a draft, he took the time (that he didn't have) to provide serious and relevant suggestions that would improve it. I am both grateful and impressed by his professionalism.

I have learned many things over the last five years. For example, uncertainty in science is a friend, not a foe. It reinforces self-doubt and demands the kind of thinking that results in deep answers and clarification. From David I have learned and will take into my future career the idea that there are no substitutes for quality, clarity, and accuracy.

Resumen

Las investigaciones en el campo de la política lingüística dependen fuertemente de metáforas escalares. Estas metáforas incluyen algunas cotidianas, como local, global, nacional, de arriba abajo, y de abajo arriba. Otras se han producido específicamente para la política lingüística, como la cebolla de la política (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) y el delta de la política (Malsbary & Appelgate, 2016). Johnson y Johnson (2015, p. 222) escriben que "la política de educación en general y la política lingüística en contextos educacionales en concreto son conceptualizadas e investigadas generalmente como fenómenos y procesos multiniveles." De hecho, Hult (2010, p. 7) sostiene que "un asunto perenne de la escolaridad de la política y planificación lingüística (LPP), como en la sociolingüística en general, es el intento de comprender y analizar sistemáticamente relaciones entre el nivel macro y el nivel micro con respecto a las dimensiones del uso del lenguaje."

Aunque teorías basadas en la escala han sustentado innumerables estudios, generando hallazgos significativos, es importante escudriñarlas puesto que han monopolizado la investigación de la agencia en este campo. Las interpretaciones escalares de los mecanismos políticos y la gobernanza siempre se caracterizan por su dependencia de paradigmas y explicaciones jerárquicos. Por este y otros motivos, varios escritores de la geografía humana han puesto en duda el uso de escalas en las ciencias sociales basándose en el argumento de que reducen relaciones complejas a categorías prefabricadas.

Por ejemplo, Howitt (1998, p. 50) escribe que "muchos de los términos metafóricos utilizados para hablar de la escala geográfica (local, regional, nacional, global, etc.) se han establecido como categorías conocidas en sí mismas." Asimismo, Marston (2000, p. 220) resume la postura de teóricos sociales como una construccionista:

La idea fundamental es que la escala no es necesariamente un marco jerárquico

predestinado para ordenar el mundo – lo local, lo regional, lo nacional, y lo

global. En cambio, es el resultado contingente de las tensiones que existen entre

las fuerzas estructurales y las prácticas de agentes humanos.

Marston observa que las jerarquías supuestamente inherentes a los patrones de la organización

social son meras proyecciones de los seres humanos y que no representan ningún artefacto en

concreto en el mundo físico. Marston et al. (2005) amplían este argumento, sosteniendo que las

deficiencias que el pensamiento escalar conlleva deben presionar a los científicos sociales a

eliminar la idea de la escala por completo de sus investigaciones. Sigo esta misma sugerencia en

el proyecto presente, asumiendo una perspectiva rizomática (Deleuze & Guatarri, 1987) al

análisis en que cualquier escala puede ser imaginada mejor como una red compleja de actores,

discursos, y objetos (Latour, 2005).

Antes de describir la alternativa, considero en primer lugar algunos casos de

investigaciones de la sociología de la lengua que emplean *a priori* la escala y que dejan de tomar

en cuenta su construcción discursiva. Por ejemplo, Eric Johnson (2012) analiza la ejecución de la

Proposición 203 (una ley que obliga a que todos los hablantes nativos de cualquier idioma que no

sea el inglés reciban dos años de instrucción "protegida" en inglés) en el estado de Arizona.

Antes de recoger datos, Johnson crea un marco organizado en tres escalas discretas. La más alta,

la escala macro, engloba el desarrollo de las políticas en los niveles del distrito escolar y del

estado. La escala meso abarca la interpretación de dichas políticas por parte de directores de

escuela u otros administradores. La escala más baja, la micro, incluye los patrones de la

ejecución de las políticas (en la mayoría de ocasiones, pero no en todas, siendo la

responsabilidad de los profesores).

El paradigma de Johnson insinúa que las prácticas lingüísticas y de enseñanza al nivel

micro son consecuencia del desarrollo y de la interpretación de políticas a niveles más altos del

edificio sociopolítico. No obstante, la directora de una de las escuelas afectadas explicó que no

había cambiado nada con respecto a la programación bilingüe como para acatar los criterios de la

Proposición 203. Con tales pruebas, uno empieza a cuestionar lo apropiado que es el marco de

Johnson. Puede que haya explicaciones más adecuadas para las prácticas que Johnson describe

en su artículo.

En esta tesis doctoral mantengo que una posible alternativa a pensar en términos de

escala es pensar espacialmente. Massey (1991, 2005, 2007), Springer (2009, 2011, 2014), y

Featherstone (2003, 2011, 2012) han escrito ampliamente sobre el concepto de espacio,

rechazando la creencia extendida de que el espacio es simplemente un contenedor para ser

llenado con personas, objetos, y paisajes y dividido en territorios ordenados. Este argumento

resuena de la discusión presente en la que se demuestra que, en la mayoría de los casos, las

escalas adquieren el significado mediante las unidades territoriales (e.g., el país/la escala federal,

la ciudad/la escala municipal, etc.). En vez de rodear el espacio, Massey (2005) lo entiende como

una dimensión dinámica y abstracta que consiste en relaciones sociales. Por lo tanto, para

estudiar la política de una escuela bilingüe desde una perspectiva espacial, hay que esclarecer la

composición social de la escuela (Hillier, 2011) y explorar cómo las interacciones entre agentes

dan origen a nuevas prácticas (Sørensen, 2009). Una de las facetas clave de esta propuesta es que

no se privilegia desde el principio ninguna forma de organización social (e.g., jerarquía). Cada

nexo social se considera posible, y el conjunto de relaciones únicas dentro de un contexto

específico constituye un colectivo autoorganizado y rizomático (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987). Se operacionalizan los nexos sociales como: 1) conexiones (nexos que producen algún cambio percibido); 2) conjunciones (relaciones dominantes en las que un participante busca apoyo continuo); y 3) disyunciones o divergencias (la falta de un nexo).

Este enfoque representa un cambio de las investigaciones convencionales sobre la política lingüística en las cuales los agentes sirven para ejecutar, promulgar, y/o apropiarse de mandatos. Por eso, también fue necesario elaborar una visión alternativa de la política que enfatizara la agencia y la capacidad de los actores de diseñar dichas políticas. Usando el trabajo de Kitchin y Dodge (2007) de la filosofía de la cartografía, sostengo que la política existe solamente en el momento de su producción. Del mismo modo que los mapas llegan a ser mapas en la mente del usuario, los diseñadores de políticas son todos los que explotan recursos (discursos, materiales, incluso recuerdos) en su intento de resolver algún problema (en este caso, un problema lingüístico). Este planteamiento ontogenético a la política reconoce tanto la naturaleza transitoria del empeño político como el papel que desempeñan los individuos en el proceso de la formulación de políticas.

Estos dos desarrollos teóricos, la eliminación de la escala y una conceptualización ontogenética de la política, se unen para crear el marco del trabajo presente. La investigación se concentra en doce maestros en dos escuelas primarias bilingües (inglés-español) y en cómo sus interacciones con otros actores producen nuevas formas de educación bilingüe. Específicamente, la pregunta de investigación que guía la recogida y presentación de datos es: ¿Cómo perciben los maestros la relación entre sus conexiones, conjunciones, y disyunciones (divergencias) y su producción de políticas?

Para buscar respuestas a esta pregunta, se emplearon métodos etnográficos para arrojar luz tanto sobre las opiniones y percepciones de los profesores como sobre el contexto. La recogida de datos se realizó en dos escuelas primarias bilingües inglés-español (una llamada Lafayette y la otra Springfield) e incluyó entrevistas semiestructuradas, observaciones/visitas a las escuelas, y el análisis de documentos (la mayoría oficiales, pero también una tesis de maestría escrita por una de las participantes). Las entrevistas constituyeron el método central para determinar cómo los participantes vieron sus propias relaciones con colegas, progenitores, directores de escuela, entre otros. Las entrevistas duraron entre alrededor de dos y cuatro horas y media en total con cada participante y se concentraron en la puesta en práctica en el día a día de las políticas lingüísticas. Los temas tratados en las entrevistas incluyeron el currículo, la instrucción, la evaluación y la disciplina. La amplitud de la discusión fue intencional y tuvo un doble objetivo. Primero, la mayoría de las investigaciones destacan y centran un asunto o política de antemano, una maniobra que impone su relevancia al participante. En segundo lugar, el valor de un nexo social está vinculado a un asunto específico. Por lo tanto, en el proceso de hacer resaltar eso que realmente le importa al participante (alguna estrategia de enseñanza, regla, materiales curriculares preferidos, etc.), el investigador adquiere una nueva percepción de la estructura de su red social.

Los datos procedentes de las entrevistas fueron analizados usando el análisis de redes políticas, una clase del análisis de redes sociales (Borgatti et al., 2009). El análisis de redes sociales tiene como fin sacar a la luz las relaciones que se producen entre agentes sociales; en nuestro estudio se trataría de agentes educativos. Se considera que estas relaciones valen tanto o más que las características que posee el individuo o la entidad en cuestión (Marin & Wellman, 2011).

Puesto que el presente estudio está enfocado en la agencia o acción (*agency*), se usó un análisis de redes políticas egocéntrico (Borgatti et al., 2009). Esta clase de análisis presta especial atención al conjunto de relaciones, conocidas como nexos, que parten de un solo actor. Cada relación en la serie de datos fue codificada como una conexión, conjunción, o disyunción (Hillier, 2011).

Los resultados se organizaron por tipo de nexo, incluyendo las relaciones entre progenitor y maestro, entre maestro y maestro, y entre administrador (directores de escuela y oficiales del distrito) y maestro. En la primera parte, los resultados revelan que los maestros suelen caracterizar sus relaciones con los progenitores como disyunciones. La falta de reuniones con los progenitores dificulta el contacto con las familias. Fuera de las reuniones con todos los progenitores, los profesores dan prioridad a aquellos padres cuyos alumnos requieren más apoyo. Los participantes se dieron cuenta de que muchos de los progenitores tenían más de un trabajo y no disponían del tiempo necesario para poder reunirse con ellos. Aunque la mayoría de los participantes creyeron que el tiempo que pasaron con los progenitores era sumamente limitado, sí existían algunas conexiones significativas con ellos. Por ejemplo, una de las maestras daba clases de inglés a adultos en la comunidad entre los que se encontraban los padres de sus estudiantes de cuarto año de educación primaria en la escuela. Ella aprovechaba esta oportunidad para comunicarse directamente con los progenitores, incorporando lecciones sobre la paternidad, los deberes, la nutrición, y otros temas que podían resultar críticos para el éxito y desarrollo de su alumnado en la escuela. Al interpretar estos datos desde una perspectiva del análisis del discurso, resultó evidente que los padres no influían en las decisiones relativas a las políticas lingüísticas de los maestros. Al contrario, los progenitores se encontraban con que ellos mismos eran el objetivo de una política lingüística. Dicho de otra manera, los maestros nunca se refieren a los

progenitores como fuentes de ideas y, por lo tanto, no desarrollan políticas en colaboración con ellos.

En la segunda parte, considero las relaciones entre el profesorado, un factor especialmente importante en ambas escuelas dado que los profesores trabajan en parejas y grupos. Los maestros comentaron que las asociaciones de profesores se convirtieron en detonantes de cambios en el aula. Por ejemplo, una participante y su compañera plantearon juntas y pusieron en práctica un programa diario para leer libros en voz alta a la clase. En este programa, las maestras compartían el mismo libro, leyendo un capítulo en español seguido por el próximo capítulo en inglés. Otra pareja fabricó un método de evaluación basado en diarios escritos bilingües. Ellas reemplazaron el par de diarios monolingües que sus alumnos mantenían anteriormente por un único diario que usarían en ambas clases. La maestra de español no había sugerido la idea de un diario bilingüe a su compañera anterior por la falta de conexión entre ambas; el nuevo diario surgió de una conexión más eficaz con su compañera actual. De hecho, dos años antes ella había solicitado un cambio de compañera porque, en su opinión, la relación no iba más allá de compartir el mismo grupo de estudiantes.

En la tercera parte, se exploran las relaciones de los maestros con los administradores (tanto con directores de escuela como con oficiales del distrito). En una de las escuelas, varios participantes expresaron su preocupación con uno de los coordinadores de programación bilingüe en la oficina central del distrito. Debido a la escasa receptividad de sus propuestas por parte de este coordinador, las maestras forjaron una disyunción política con él, optando por contactar con la otra coordinadora de la programación bilingüe. De hecho, fue esta última relación la que dio lugar a una nueva herramienta para evaluar el grado de alfabetización en español. La coordinadora, junta con un grupo de maestras, preparó una serie de exámenes que

ellas consideraron sustancialmente más eficaces que el producto que habían estado usando hasta entonces.

En la otra escuela, las maestras del primer año explicaron cómo requerían la aprobación del director para modificar el horario oficial. Las maestras le convencieron al director para que permitiera que los alumnos se quedaran en la misma aula todo el día debido a su falta de madurez emocional para afrontar un cambio de clase, profesora, e idioma.

La discusión se divide en dos partes generales, una teórica y otra práctica. La discusión teórica considera la manera en que los resultados ayudan a deconstruir algunos de los binarios que dependen del pensamiento escalar. La discusión práctica cierra el círculo que abrió Hillier (2011) y termina por proponer nuevas relaciones en las escuelas inspiradas en las destapadas en la presente investigación.

La primera parte, que presenta un enfoque teórico, explora cómo la escala no explica de manera adecuada las relaciones políticas en las escuelas. Por ejemplo, las maestras de Lafayette mantuvieron relaciones cualitativamente distintas con uno de los dos coordinadores bilingües, aunque ambos residen en la misma escala o en el mismo nivel. Como resultado de ese mismo vínculo, las maestras y la coordinadora desarrollaron conjuntamente un protocolo de evaluación. Esta política fue producida por medio de relaciones (a través de la interacción entre múltiples actores), dificultando una explicación de arriba abajo o viceversa (o cualquier otra explicación basada en escalas).

En la segunda parte examino un binario en particular, a saber, el de la estructura contra la agencia. Puesto que la estructura en la literatura sobre la política lingüística suele ser conceptualizada como las políticas y discursos dentro de un contexto, la agencia se ejerce en la capacidad de los individuos de moldear esas políticas para satisfacer sus necesidades y deseos.

En el presente trabajo, en el cual la estructura se ve como la composición social de una red, resultó evidente que los maestros hicieron más que soslayar o responder a las restricciones de la composición política de la escuela, sino que también participaron activamente a la hora de componer la red social de sus respectivas escuelas. Lograron hacer esto en su intento de buscar y reforzar ciertas relaciones sobre otras. Un ejemplo explícito de esto sería la petición de la maestra del primer grado de cambiar de compañera. Al cambiar de pareja, ella concibió el sistema de los diarios bilingües, un proyecto que seguramente no habría emprendido si se hubiera quedado con su compañera anterior.

Finalmente, se presentan las implicaciones prácticas de los resultados. Hillier (2011) sostiene que al trazar las relaciones que dieron lugar a las prácticas actuales, resulta posible sugerir rutas potenciales de cambio dentro de la red que podrían estimular más resultados deseables. Por ejemplo, muchos maestros en el estudio lamentan la falta de tiempo en el día a día para leer en voz alta en sus clases: ¿No sería factible establecer nexos entre las maestras que desarrollaron el programa de lectura bilingüe en voz alta y los que desean incluir algún programa semejante en sus horarios?

En esta tesis doctoral he intentado deconstruir las escalas que impregnan la literatura de la sociología de la lengua y proponer una alternativa. En esta alternativa, son las propias relaciones que se generan entre los actores las que producen cambios o nuevas prácticas en las políticas que existen dentro de las escuelas bilingües. Los resultados de este estudio revelan que el pensamiento jerárquico pasa por alto muchas de las relaciones que se producen en las escuelas. Por esta razón, los futuros estudios deberían ahondar en estas cuestiones para tratar de sacar a la luz las conexiones y disyunciones subyacentes que se producen en las escuelas multilingües.

Table of contents

List of acronyms and key terms

Balanced literacy – An approach to literacy teaching, the main tenets of which include the balancing of phonics and whole reading and substantial flexibility extended to the instructor. It is now the term used to refer to the English and Spanish language arts curricula adopted at the schools in the current study which in practice do not follow the tenets just mentioned and instead are grounded in a workshop model consisting of a brief lesson, independent work, and group sharing.

CA – Conversation Analysis (a form of sociolinguistic analysis that uses verbatim transcription to investigate authentic communicative practices).

DIBELS – Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (a set of short texts used to measure reading fluency in young students).

Dual language – The American term that broadly refers to any form of maintenance, developmental, or elite bilingual education.

ELPA – English Language Proficiency Assessment (a Washington State-administered exam meant for non-Native speakers of English).

GLAD – Guided Language Acquisition Design (a broad set of instructional strategies initially aimed to support non-native speakers of English in the United States, but is now used in dual language schools as a foundation for language teaching).

ICE – Immigration and Customs Enforcement (the immigration and customs policing arm of the U.S. government).

KEEP – Kamehameha Early Education Program (a project that began in the state of Hawaii in 1972 that supported 5-8 year-olds with a Hawaiian language reading curriculum. The program was used as inspiration for a similar project at the Rough Rock Navajo school in Arizona).

LEP – Limited English Proficient student (a student designation aimed at ensuring the allocation of funds to programs that support emergent bilinguals).

NCLB – No Child Left Behind Act (a federal act from 2001 that succeeded the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. It regulates the allocation of funds to public primary and secondary schools. The main change to the previous legislation was the boosting of testing requirements and the greater focus on measurable student growth).

Proposition 203 – English for the Children (an Arizona state proposition passed in 2000 that requires schools to support English learners for two years with a Sheltered English Instruction model).

Question 2 – Massachusetts English Language Education in Public Schools Initiative (a proposition passed in 2002 in the American state of Massachusetts that mandated that all students be taught in English at all times for all subjects).

SBA – Smarter Balanced Assessment (Washington State's standardized assessment for all students that covers math and English language arts).

TBIA – Washington Transitional Bilingual Instruction Act (state policy document that broadly outlines the state's position on issues of language and literacy).

Title III – An American federal grant program that allocates funds to schools on the basis of their needs to support learners of English.

Two-way immersion – A form of dual language education in which a nearly equal proportion of majority and minority language speakers make up the student body.

WaKIDS – Washington Kindergarten Inventory of Developing Skills (a comprehensive set of assessment instruments for early childhood learners aimed to measure social-emotional, physical, cognitive, language, literacy, and mathematics growth).

Tables and figures

1.   INTRODUCTION

Current research in language-in-education policy relies heavily on scalar metaphors. These metaphors overlay an implicit structure to systems of language policy development. Bottom-up solutions (Hornberger, 1996), for instance, legitimize the logic of top-down approaches by employing equally clear-cut scalar language in their resistance to engrained networks of power. The policy onion (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) advocates a layered view of the formation of *de jure* mandates and *de facto* norms. Malsbary and Appelgate (2016) propose a policy delta in which pronouncements upstream affect teacher decision-making downstream. Eric Johnson (2012) equates the abstract scales of macro, meso, and micro with the equally abstract conceptual terms development, interpretation, and application, respectively. These paradigms certainly shed light on the enactment of individual policies, but they also place restrictions on what can be studied and how. In other words, many authors in this field take liberties that in some cases reveal more about the scales they buy into than the policy context itself. If we believe policy to flow from the top down or from the bottom up, we consequently ignore the role of non-vertical arrangements and self-reflection in institutional change. If the macro is equated with the encoding of policy and the micro with its implementation, each scale is at once frozen in its predefined capacities and inherently incapable of playing any other role.

To explore what a policy studies without scale might look like, I draw on contemporary geographic thought which understands space to be not a bounded entity ordered by scales but the coming together of personal trajectories and histories (Massey, 2005). However, the removal of scale creates an additional challenge as language policy itself is inherently conceptualized in scalar terms. Policies, whether as encoded artifacts, discourses, ideologies, or practices, create a field (at the top) of implementational possibilities that agents (at the bottom) can exploit as they

see fit. This unquestioned divide between macro/official and micro/unofficial does not correspond to the scale-less methodology espoused throughout the study.

In order to resolve this issue, I first develop a non-scalar theory of policy itself. While most research compares practice to policy, the current theory sees policy as never stable, as constantly in a state of production. The methodological implication of this approach is that teachers are not asked about how they understand and enact a given policy, but instead are asked about a wide range of issues to gather a more comprehensive picture of what resources they appropriate in their day-to-day production of policy. By seeking a broader discussion, the interviews allow participants to contextualize their decisions, in turn providing a more accurate representation of agency.

Using these responses as the foundation for data analysis, I can attempt to piece together the social matrix within which teachers produce what I will later term policies-in-the-making (see *section 2.1.4*). Each unique network of interpersonal relations, material and discursive resources, and internal tensions and reflection affects future decisions and is affected by his/her interaction with the various nodes of the network. The key to this analysis lies in its lack of scale. No individual or resource is categorized in a scale; therefore, no relationship is privileged *a priori* over another. It is up to the teacher to describe the context and place a value onto each element in his/her network. Such an approach does not ignore power dynamics, but rather considers power too complex a phenomenon to equate with scale.

There are a variety of approaches in the literature that would aid in constructing a non-scalar methodology for the current investigation. Hillier's (2011) theory of spatial planning was used as the basis for the deductive components of data collection. In her piece, Hillier problematizes the nature of planning given the fact that the future remains intrinsically

unknowable. Therefore, she advocates a position that places relationships at the center of planning exercises in order for communities to be better prepared to resolve unforeseeable challenges as they arise. In this model, a chunk of the planning resources is dedicated to ensuring that the individuals who can best solve these problems together are in the position to do so. Such a stance requires an analysis of the current relational matrix, not as prescribed by figures in power, but as perceived and shaped by the educators themselves. Following her proposal, I aimed to better understand teachers' views regarding their connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions. These might include colleagues and support staff, parents, district officials, or community members. However, as mentioned earlier, I chose to remove any predisposed semblance of scale or hierarchy prior to interviews and site visits.

The first theoretical section below develops an alternative conceptualization of policy. In this section, current approaches to policy are scrutinized, and it is argued that the majority of work treats policy as an ontologically stable unit/product. The implication here is that, because the policy exists in some form, actors interpret, implement, and/or appropriate policies. The proposed alternative draws on Kitchin and Dodge's (2007) ontogenetic philosophy of cartography in which maps are produced only in the user's interaction with them while outside those moments of use, all that exist are paper and ink.

The second theoretical section (*section 2.2*) follows the first and begins with a brief history of the critiques surrounding reductionism in geography. These began with issues of territory, region, and space and have since been applied to scale. Marston et al.'s (2005) groundbreaking article forms the basis for my own critique of sociolinguists' and educational linguists' application of scale throughout the discipline. By understanding the schoolhouse and

the classroom, not as a defined polity, but relationally/spatially, as a site of social encounter, points of linkage among agents become the focus of the policymaking process.

Social ties, which are operationalized as connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions, following Hillier (2011), are thus uncovered in the data and linked to specific examples of the production of policy. The research question is thus: how do teachers perceive the relationship between their connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions, and their production of policy?

2.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the current dissertation, I propose two theoretical developments. The first (*section 2.1*) presents an alternative understanding of policy that emphasizes agency. Because the study focuses specifically on teachers as active agents in the policymaking process, it is crucial to have a definition of policy that allows for actors to be viewed as policymakers. In the second (*section 2.2*), I question the pervasive use of scale and scalar metaphors within the field of language policy and present a spatial alternative based on the human geography literature.

2.1   An ontogenetic understanding of language policy

Language policy as a concept has undergone rigorous cross-examination over the past few decades. How we conceptualize the political processes that underlie fluctuating ideologies of language is not trivial. In the current section, I first argue that contemporary approaches to language policy treat policies as ontologically stable artifacts, ripe for identification, interpretation, and implementation. I do so by briefly reviewing common theoretical perspectives in the field concerning the investigation of policy development and change. I then present an alternative based on an ontogenetic philosophy of cartography that maintains that the forms that constitute a map only become a map in the moment of its reading/production.

2.1.1   Current perspectives of language policy

The following authors seek to most accurately depict how policy forms, changes, and is contested. Locating the point of contact between codification and implementation has become a contentious issue in the literature (Sutton & Levinson, 2001). Spolsky (2004) upholds the distinction between language management and practice while others prefer to expose covert

(Schiffman, 1996; Orman, 2008; Kelly-Holmes et al., 2009) or implicit (Kaplan, 1991; Shohamy, 2006) policies and consider them typologically independent when compared with overt or explicit policies, respectively. Still others (Sutton & Levinson, 2001; Bonacina, 2011) liken policy production to cultural practice. Tending to the latter perspective, I argue that the categories that have flooded the field of policy studies, while beneficial to theory formation, oversimplify a markedly textured exercise and may even turn obsolete in the face of changing perceptions of governance (Clarke et al., 2015).

Similar to the sociocultural approaches to educational policy, the theory used in the current dissertation is grounded in non-progressivist thought in that norms are coproduced and their evolution does not follow a linear path. Drawing on Kitchin and Dodge (2007), I will extend an analogy to cartography in which the inherent state of the map/policy is dormant until it is brought to life by the user. It is only in those moments of interaction when the map/policy can be said to exist at all. It is therefore the role of the ethnographer to disentangle the true events of policy "emergence" from periods of latency (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007, p. 341).

Although not focused on language, Ball's (1990, 1993, 1994) work in education has inspired research in critical and feminist policy studies because of his proposal that policy is generated not only as text (the prevailing notion at the time), but in both textual and discursive forms. In neither instance are interpretations exempt from power inequities. At the textual level, the encoding of a given policy emanates from clashes of stakeholder opinion and compromise. The inclusion, phrasing, and exclusion of certain language, all products of power struggles, set the parameters for future possible readings of the text. As Ball (1993, p. 12) explains, "policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed."

Of course, as school administrators and practitioners decipher the expectations set by their institution, they redefine the discursive environment in which their colleagues and students operate. Particular ideas circulate, gaining momentum and displacing prior iterations of discourse. As they spread, they carry with them interpretations of other texts and discourses, only to realign the parameters within which associated actions can or cannot materialize. Crucially, comments made in meetings or in the hallway may constitute the only point of contact teachers have with a given policy. As an original text winds its way through sites of negotiation, "the prevailing policy discourses frequented by actors provide constraints on and opportunities for what they can think and do" (Walford, 2002, p. 26). Despite the subjectivity of all interpretations, some members invariably have more clout than others.

A striking example of this process is reported in Johnson (2009). He describes the way meetings between teachers and administrators in the Philadelphia School District abruptly changed tone upon the placement of a new district official. Johnson contends that "when Sanchez took over as head of ESOL/Bilingual programs, she altered the nature of these meetings – from a forum for collaboration and negotiation of language policy to a forum in which policy and pedagogy were dictated" (p. 152). In response to Sanchez's explanation of federal requirements and supporting research, Johnson writes that "by forcing the teachers to defer to her own (mis)interpretation of Title III [the relevant federal mandate] and Krashen's research, Sanchez effectively strips the teachers of their expertise and agency in making language policy decisions" (p. 152).

No matter how narrowly Sanchez represents Title III, the teachers undoubtedly retain some degree of leeway in their classrooms. However, the political discourses regarding multilingualism in the district have been reconstituted, especially so given Sanchez's position.

Moreover, the fact that the teachers received a heavily condensed (and disingenuous) version of the policy text and Krashen's research means that future exchanges will concern this interpretation, not the original texts.

The rejection of the straightforward relationship between policy and text (Bacchi, 2000; Bowe et al., 1992; Taylor et al., 1997) and the recognition of the role power plays in political transaction (Cod, 1988; Rassool, 2009) have been explored elsewhere. For instance, Taylor et al. (1997, p. 25)

> stress that policy is much more than a specific policy document or text. Rather, policy is both process and product. In such a conceptualisation, policy involves the production of the text, the text itself, ongoing modifications to the text and processes of implementation and practice.

They emphasize context and power as mediating factors and question predefined paths through which policy moves (Clarke et al., 2015). Any encounter before or after the codification of policy could harbor potential changes to the surrounding discourses.

In a similar vein, Bacchi (2000) distinguishes between the creators of policy texts and subsequent readers. Just as Ball (1993, 1994) stressed the range of possible readings, Bacchi (2000) points to social context and historical juncture as instrumental to how others will construe proposals, charters, and research. The example above from the Philadelphia School District is yet again a case in point. Sanchez, operating in a general climate of transitional bilingual education, as well as drawing on her own opinions, essentially distorts what has been written in academic and federal policy documents. As we will see below, even with restrictive policies in place,

spaces in which to implement practices that conflict with those expectations are routinely seized and at times manufactured by practitioners (Hornberger, 2005).

These authors, by problematizing longstanding definitions of policy, caution students of policy studies, as well as the very members of the organizations they research, from deeming "official" statements the political reality. The complex, elusive nature of how an individual text is fought over, implemented, and transformed might discourage some from fully participating, but it also reminds us that there is more to policy than behind-closed-doors decision-making. As we take a closer look at language policy more specifically, we will not dismiss the contributions of Ball, Taylor, and Bacchi. Instead, the authors below advance new vocabularies for discussing the complexity of these issues.

Spolsky's (2004) oft-cited model of language policy consists of three layers of development – practice, ideology, and management. Language management or planning includes the struggles over changes to constitutions, laws, or institutional protocol. In these cases, documents commonly underwrite the intentions of those with power. However, Spolsky contends that language management can also occur outside the realm of written text. He lends the example of culture shift in which members of the community or families advocate for the next generation to embrace the heritage language. What differentiates planning from the other two components is the presence of an authority figure. Decisions regarding orthography, signage, or acceptable conduct in the workplace are all intended to standardize language use within the limits of jurisdiction. Spolsky notes that the mere existence of laws or regulatory statutes at the level of government does not guarantee enactment on the ground. This is due to speakers' ideologies (positions regarding a language or a mandate) and practices (how they conduct themselves in reality).

Composing a more complete picture of policy requires a finer analysis of these practices and ideologies. Romero-Little et al. (2007), reporting on seven schools in the U.S. Southwest, reveal that teachers' views and practices normalize the relationship between Native American languages and English in classrooms. Citing survey responses, they write that

> a bilingual teacher who believes that students have little knowledge of or interest in the Native language (NL) is likely to downplay its use and value…. For their part, youth may possess greater NL proficiency and interest than they show, hiding it out of shame or embarrassment. The net effect is to establish a *de facto* language policy that delegitimizes the NL, curtailing opportunities for its cultivation while elevating the status of English (p. 614).

In the same study, we can see how ideology acts as the glue binding management and practice together. Due to the ineffectiveness of federal policies, local "community research collaborators" in at least two communities took matters into their hands (p. 610). In an effort to stimulate NL education programs, they initiated curriculum development, offered weekend classes, and even "reinstated Navajo immersion in some classrooms" (p. 615). The teacher-researchers were compelled to oversee these projects because of their own belief that the languages belong in these domains. Because they were unimpressed with prevailing management conditions, they themselves assumed the position of language manager. In Spolsky's (2004) model, we can see that the imbalance between the ideology of one group (the community research collaborators) and the practices of another (teachers and students) in some ways motivated the formation of new management patterns. The resulting changes in the politics of

community planning will ultimately affect future practices and beliefs regarding language, whether through their assimilation (full or otherwise) or rejection. In other words, language management, ideology, and practice do not function seamlessly without conflict. But they do exist in a symbiotic relationship in which the introduction of new inputs has the potential to affect all three.

Many scholars have adopted an alternative to Spolsky's (2004) three-pronged model in which practices are conceived of as covert, implicit, or *de facto* policies and either reinforce or run counter to overt, explicit, or *de jure* policies. They emphasize that one should not be valued over the other prior to examining the context. Schiffman (1996), through various examples, demonstrates why. In the case of the United States, one could be led to believe that the absence of an official language translates into parity in terms of the viability to use any speech variety in any situation. Due to social customs and inequities that cut along lines of class, race, gender, etc., Standard English displaces other varieties and is commonly used as a marker of status. In other cases, countries that do establish official languages, particularly in post-colonial settings, do not always capture, or necessarily respect, civilian tendencies. As a result, translingual practices, creolization, or other forms of (un)intentional resistance, as *de facto* policies, fill out those countries' panorama of language norms.

Within her wider treatment of language-in-education policies, Shohamy (2006) examines the impact of testing on students' perceptions of language value. She asserts that both direct and indirect factors of assessment tip the balance in favor of the more prestigious language. For one, given their formality, state-sanctioned exams send implicit signals about what content, what language(s), and whose history(ies) do or do not matter (Shohamy, 2007). Moreover, because of the pressures felt by districts, schools, and individual teachers to have their students pass what

have been aptly termed high-stakes tests, mother tongue support or instruction is often slashed or removed entirely (Menken, 2008). With these measures in place, it is no wonder why students gauge national varieties as superior to those spoken by minority groups. The issue runs deeper still. As Menken (p. 35) critiques of U.S. policy, "testing is repeating its historical use as a sorting mechanism, using rhetoric of science and neutrality to systematically discriminate against immigrant students who are English learners and promote the status of English and its speakers."

Surveying the media presence of three minority languages in Europe, Kelly-Holmes et al. (2009) set out to compare top-down ideologies with practices of actual speakers. They find that implicit policies are not always used to oppress, as in some instances, the speakers themselves resist monolingual and monodialectal visions coming from above. In the first case, that of the Basque Country, Euskal Telebista supplies almost all Euskara television programming in Batua, the standard variety. Even though their goals were to reach the widest audience in a context of high dialectal variability and back revitalization efforts, they inadvertently alienated some speakers. At times people avoided the station "because it made them feel that they speak bad Basque" (p. 231). In Ireland, the tensions between Irish broadcasting and the reality on the ground has less to do with dialect and more to do with English-Irish heteroglossia. One top-down policy, from the 1988 Radio and Television Act, stipulates that local providers of Irish-language content maintain language "preservation" as a primary goal. In contrast to stations linked with the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland, independent media outlets have called into question "monoglot-driven concepts of multilingualism" furthered by overt policies (p. 227). The creation of covert policies like those in Ireland has also been attested in Sámiland (although Sámiland is a part of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia, this paper deals almost exclusively with Finland). With the intention of validating Sámi within the community, official mandates promote the

stringent separation of languages in radio, television, and print media. While many journalists wholly embrace that ideological position, others comfortably integrate hybridized practices into their writing as they reflect the profile of their audience.

Inquiry into and theorization regarding the dynamics of *de jure* and *de facto* language policy formation has spurred a meaningful discussion of what does and does not count within the wider policy landscape. Previous approaches to these issues, which placed greater emphasis on written texts (see Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Ricento, 2005), neglected to consider unwritten rules and general conduct in their methodologies. As Liddicoat (2013, p. 12) sensibly points out, "language policies can exist in strong forms even without being articulated in documentary form." In other words, it is not necessarily codification that lends a policy its weight, but rather the unique confluence of sentiments, actors, opportunity, and even fortune. The examples so far have outlined specific ways in which social norms, institutionalized or otherwise, reinforce, supplement, or neutralize explicit policies. Shohamy (2006, 2007) and Menken (2008) illustrate how testing in the U.S., which is almost exclusively conducted in English, serves the elite even though no official language exists. Implicit policies can therefore emanate from centralized points of authority, casting doubt over the transparency of top-down governance. Kelly-Holmes et al. (2009) complement those pieces by reporting on language patterns that do not conform to standards set by national media agencies. In Ireland, independent media providers are not obligated to do so as they do not operate under the auspices of the federal broadcasting commission. And in Sámiland, some journalists (but not all) have routinized hybridized language practices that the authors consider acts of political engagement. This final example most clearly reveals just how much of the policy process ultimately lies in the hands of the individuals tasked

with implementing official codes and charters. In the following paragraphs, we take a closer look at this very matter, agency, which has been the focal point of many language policy studies.

2.1.2   Agency

Although the authors reviewed so far have affirmed the role practitioners play in disrupting or reifying overt discourses, others have contemplated this link in the chain with more intention. In the educational context, teachers and administrators have been framed as more than just implementers, as appropriators and arbiters of policy (Johnson & Johnson, 2014; King, 2014; Menken & García, 2010b; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011; Sutton & Levinson, 2001). In their introduction to *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers*, Menken and García (2010b, p. 2) "find that entirely new policies are often created in the process of policy negotiation and enactment in schools." The multiplicity of interpretations, personal histories, and contexts (Menken & García, 2010a) that characterize a single school wing complicates any attempt at pinning down one policy narrative.

For this reason, classrooms can be seen as semi-autonomous spaces. This is most evident in highly restrictive cases where states not only anticipate full compliance, but actively monitor for it. Pauly (2009) describes Ukraine in the 1920's, a period in which established Russian-medium education collided with a nation-building project of Ukrainian-based schooling. He argues that

> despite periodic surveillance by high-ranking party and government
>
> institutions…, Ukrainization was a highly decentralized process, that its course
>
> was fundamentally determined by individuals such as these [educators] and, that

in spite of penalties for non-involvement, its success hinged on willing

cooperation (p. 251).

Pauly reminds us that agency is an everpresent factor in policy production even in the most

controlled settings. No matter the stakes for resistance, it would be a mistake to attribute all

individual action to the prescribed structures of the state or assume that resistance is nonexistent.

Consequently, the interplay between intention and outcome across various levels deserves more

attention in the literature. As Pauly implies, hollow implementation would not have produced the

same effect in Ukraine as the "willing cooperation" he describes (p. 251).

In the U.S., restrictive environments where early-exit programs (in which students are

transitioned out of native language support usually within three years) or sheltered instruction (a

transitional model that uses minimal or no use of the native language) are imposed by

propositions, most notably in Massachusetts (de Jong, 2008), California (Stritikus, 2002, 2003),

and Arizona (Arias & Faltis, 2012; Moore, S., 2008, 2014), have become hotbeds of language

policy research. De Jong (2008), who interviewed teachers in Massachusetts after the passing of

Question 2 (a proposition that mandated English instruction at all times for all subjects), found

that they were forced to navigate diverse, often contradictory discourses regarding curriculum

and acceptable support for students with limited English proficiency. De Jong does not discount

the overall effect of the new law on student placement, school structure, and the propagation of

assimilationist rhetoric. It was in fact quite substantial. However, she highlights teachers' beliefs

as key to how they leverage the new transitional program in ways that more effectively draw on

students' linguistic resources. She concludes that "while staying within the confines of the law,

district personnel and… teachers actively resisted the English-only, monolingual implications of

the law" (p. 366). It is important to note that not all of the teachers' colleagues shared their views and that other districts may have accepted immersion more extensively.

Teaching practices have also been studied in places where rigid expectations do not cast a shadow over classrooms. Paciotto and Delany-Barmann (2012) position teachers as policymakers in rural Illinois against a backdrop of economic constraints and an evolving community demographic. They maintain that differences between policy intention and reality "[result] from stakeholders' negotiation and interpretation of policy mandates" (p. 221). Brown (2010) comments on Võro revitalization in Estonia where the politics of language in education is decentralized. Even so, teachers face certain pressures from administrators, colleagues, and parents that mold the conditions for Võro-medium instruction. Brown found that some teachers "reproduce[d] ideologies of the regional language as 'the lesser important subject'" while others "challenged this ideology by positioning and presenting the elective [Võro] class as a 'regular…' subject" (p. 311).

Cincotta-Segi (2011) reiterates how the diversity of teachers' perspectives complicates the study of language policy. Analyzing the appropriation of a Lao-only policy in public education in Laos, she found that other languages were used to varying degrees in classrooms:

> Teacher approaches to teaching reading can vary as widely as the characteristics of individual teachers, and can range from almost exclusive use of the official language, through combined use of the official language and the mother tongue, to almost exclusive use of the mother tongue. Furthermore, the language choices each teacher makes are not necessarily those which seem most predictable or those which are expected by policy makers in that context (pp. 206-207).

While she draws a clear link between teacher views and practices, Cincotta-Segi underscores the unpredictability of how seemingly mundane language conventions are designed and function in plurilingual spaces. One of the teachers in her study felt substantial pressure by the community to sustain Kmhmu-medium instruction throughout the school day. The internal tension between state policy, the expectations of community stakeholders, and pedagogy confronts teachers on a day-to-day basis. If practice lies at the intersection of dynamic and at times finicky variables like these, how can government officials, administrators, and researchers foresee what language will be called upon at what times and for what purpose?

Van Huy et al. (2016) inspect this tension in more detail by expounding the intrapersonal as a key site of contestation. Presenting interview data from one teacher-administrator, they discuss the ways in which she shows signs of taking up contradictory positions as a policy actor. For instance, she assumes her responsibility to support the standardization process in Vietnam while at the same time openly expresses her reservations with it. Moreover, the authors argue that she acts as both an enthusiast and a pessimist. She was excited about the possible transition in education effected by the new policy. But her tone quickly shifted when she thought about the barriers to implementation and whether the objectives addressed the needs of her university's student body and Vietnam in general. Like Cincotta-Segi (2011), Van Huy et al. emphasize the challenge this internal friction poses at discerning on-the-ground language policy. They write that "these conflicts complicate, even sabotage, policy enactment activities in unanticipated ways" (p. 70). As we have seen so far, postmodern and sociocultural theories have left their mark on the fields of education and language policy over the past few decades. Scholars are beginning to relinquish causality in favor of a set of blurry, dynamic relationships and recognize unpredictability as part and parcel of the process. Policies are not stagnant to be uncovered

within texts (Menken & García, 2010a; Shohamy, 2006), and the variables at play are equally

wavering. As I will discuss below, my main critique of the authors so far is that the policy text

itself remains the benchmark from which policies are researched and "enact[ed]" by instructors

(Van Huy et al., 2016, p. 70). I will make the argument that actors, whether teachers, government

officials, or community members, produce policy, in some cases by appropriating and

interpreting official texts and discourses, as we have just seen, but also by drawing on other

resources.

2.1.3   Policy appropriation

Some authors (e.g., Bonacina, 2011; Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011; Sutton & Levinson,

2001) draw more heavily on sociocultural theory, regarding practice less as an enactment of

policy and more as the site within which policy can be exposed. Their aim is not to relegate

"authorized policy" to a state of inconsequence but to fix the ethnographer's gaze on the cultural

practices performed in all manner of social activity (Sutton & Levinson, 2001, p. 2). They

question the commonly held assumption that holds policy formation and implementation apart.

Instead, the two are co-constitutive and there should not be such a significant rift between

government and the day-to-day actions of practitioners:

> We believe the now conventional distinction between policy formation and
>
> implementation as distinct phases of a policy 'process' implicitly ratifies a top-
>
> down perspective, unnecessarily divides what is in fact a recursive dynamic, and
>
> inappropriately widens the gulf between everyday practice and government action
>
> (p. 2).

The methodology employed in the current study hinges on the deconstruction of categories like these. Scholars often pit policy against practice or top-down against bottom-up. One alternative is to deem all members of the process as "creative agents" who "'take in' elements of policy, thereby incorporating these discursive and institutional resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation, and action" (p. 3). Those resources can take many forms, and when policy texts, local discourses, and teacher practices are all viewed as co-constructed cultural artifacts, their worth as political manifestations shine through.

Even so, Sutton and Levinson validate official policies, a necessary step in order for those policies to be appropriated. They write that "policy serves at various levels of government as a legitimating charter for the techniques of administration and as an operating manual for everyday conduct" (p. 2). This argument is exactly what I am trying to avoid, not because government policies never play this role, but because this approach privileges official legislation in advance. For one, a policy only acts as an operating manual in the moments when practitioners decide to use it as such; its status as a manual or policy is not secure. In some cases, the government's policy may in reality be locked away and ignored (Bunyi, 2005). And second, the negotiation of policy implies that in the process of forming new policies, practitioners only appropriate other policies. In other words, they bring policy texts and discourses, and *only* policy texts and discourses, into their repertoire. This is a fairly narrow understanding of policy, one that only considers teachers policymakers in the process of working with artifacts that are widely accepted as policies. Of course, these practitioners may call upon other resources as well even though they are not *de jure* discourses or materials. I hope to legitimize these moments of strategic appropriation/coproduction (of instructional practices, disciplinary techniques, assessment methods, etc.) as instrumental to the policymaking process.

Similar to my argument above, Bonacina (2011) asserts that most researchers who focus on teacher agency do so as a way to illuminate policy through its implementation. She understands this to be the study of language policy *vis-à-vis* language practices. This approach, while broadening the scope of inquiry, does not disrupt the distinction between policy (as stimulus) and practice (as response). Bonacina refers to Heller's (1996) work in a French-only school in Canada as indicative of this type of research. She writes of Heller that

> since the school explicitly adopts a French monolingual language policy, Heller
>
> interprets the use of English (and any languages other than French) as being a
>
> deviance from the policy and, therefore, as an act of 'rebellion' against the
>
> monolingual identity that the school is trying to impose on its pupils (p. 39).

Here we see how practices are instinctively compared to the school's code of conduct which, although certainly a valid account, does not legitimate the students' choices of expression as acts of policy formation themselves.

In contrast, Bonacina (2011) favors the merging of language use and policy in what she calls practiced language policy. In order to unveil the complex language patterns that emerge in a plurilingual classroom setting, she opts for a Conversation Analytic (CA) approach. By analyzing actual classroom talk, she was able to deduce reliable trends within periods of interaction. She found that the interlocutor positioned as teacher (whether the instructor or a fellow student) could determine medium of interaction in most cases but that this was mediated to some degree by language preference. Rather than portray these results as aberrations or even faulty parts to be fixed within the monolingual educational machine of France, she treats them as

authentic, systematic, and politically engaged. She concludes that "a broad CA approach to the investigation of the practiced language-in-education policy in the target classroom has led to the identification of the set of norms that the classroom participants orient to in their language choice and alternation activities" (p. 257). Unlike many authors before her, Bonacina equates *de facto* socialization processes to policy formation. Despite the fact that CA proved a natural framework for elucidating practiced language policies, it also limits the potential scope of the study to medium of instruction and medium of interaction. While the significance of this work is not in doubt (Bonacina & Gafaranga, 2011), a substantial gap in the research is left in its wake. Students are not the only ones constrained by policies in the classroom; teachers must navigate school and district expectations regarding curriculum, assessment, and instructional strategies. I would argue that these aspects of policy are also practiced and that those respective instructional norms simultaneously reflect existing and breed new attitudes toward languages in contact.

The authors discussed so far have rearticulated both what constitutes policy and why its inquiry matters. I would still like to argue that language policy studies could benefit from additional scrutiny of its key terms. Scholars continually search for policies in texts, discourses, and practices, and in so doing, misidentify artifacts as policies. By refocusing our lens, from ontology (policy as product/artifact) to ontogenesis (policy as process) (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007), we will see that instances of policy production may ultimately surface in texts, discourses, and/or practices, but that policy itself holds no material status.

2.1.4   Mappings and policies-in-the-making – An ontogenetic language policy

I would first like to distinguish between ontology and ontogenesis which is necessary to demonstrate the difference between the theory below and the work reviewed above. The

philosophical study of ontology deals with the nature of being and existence. For the sake of brevity, it is mostly interested in, among other issues, whether something exists and what it means for something to exist. Ontogenesis is a position, rather than a field of study, that sees an object or phenomenon only as process. Therefore, when observing the object, the observer witnesses only a snapshot of its development; the observed characteristics cannot be said to classify it as an existing "such-and-such." The purpose here is certainly not to chime in on the discussion of the philosophy of existence but to point out that because maps and policies are manmade inventions with social applications, there is value to placing the emphasis on development and process for they do not maintain their status (as maps/policies) outside of the realm of the social. In these specific cases of maps and policies, the ontological position holds that when certain properties are met, the map or policy can be said to exist. This characterizes the position taken by the authors above as their aim was to discern policies from texts and discourses which in turn frame practices. The ontogenetic position (reviewed below) maintains that the map/policy can be said to exist only in the moments of its production. It is always in progress and therefore never completed.

In order to develop this argument, I will extend an analogy to the philosophy of cartography (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007). At first glance, the differences between maps and policies may appear to outweigh the similarities. Upon further inspection, the points at which they coincide can be dissected to reveal possible new routes of inquiry for policy studies. First, what we generally conceive of as a map or policy is no more than a representation. Just as mapmakers project real-world spatial relations onto a surface as accurately as possible, policymakers inscribe and fix stakeholders' demands in official documentation. In both cases, the final product stands in for something else, (actual spatial relations on Earth's surface/how the school actually

operates) where inevitable disparities between representation and the represented are meant to be least consequential to the purposes of the document. It is crucial that these distortions be disclosed in order for users to fill in the gaps when needed (in cartography, this distortion results from what is called a projection, and any respectable map will publish the projection in the bottom corner for full disclosure).

Second, because of the unfeasibility or inconvenience to display all information, what is ultimately "published" is subject to power struggles (in mapmaking, see Monmonier, 1996; in language policy, see Johnson & Johnson, 2014). In many cases, entities with the most sway spin the representation to favor their own vision or serve their best interests. The implication for users/constituents, philosophers, and researchers alike is that the politics of mapmaking, curriculum turnover, data collection, and governance itself can be just as significant as the resulting product or policy (Zittoun, 2014).

Finally, both maps and policies are wholly social artifacts. They have no value unless they are in use. When a map is sitting idle in a drawer somewhere, it is no more than ink on a piece of paper. For all intents and purposes, and to return to our discussion of ontology, the ink and the paper *can be said to exist* even when sitting in the drawer. Only when an individual calls upon the map and she can make sense of the combination of colors, lines, and figures does it truly turn into a map. Likewise, when a Kenyan language policy document sits on a shelf in Nairobi for decades (Bunyi, 2005), does it really count as policy? The words on the page have no value unless they are being read.

To avoid confusion, for the remainder of this section, what is usually understood as a map, the product of a cartographer, will now be called a representation. What is usually understood as a policy, the product of a policymaker, will now be called a resource.

Some of the key concepts from Kitchin and Dodge (2007) will help us understand their position and how it pertains to policymaking. First, there is a technical aspect that guides how a representation looks on the page. These technical elements include all of the conventions that make one representation of a chunk of Earth different from another representation of the same swath of land or sea (e.g., the topographical lines on one as compared with the political boundary lines on another provide the reader with different information). The key here is that the reader must understand those conventions in order to transform the representation into a mapping. The implication is that cartographers' representations never improve along with the techniques used to make them independent of the reader's ability to process the new conventions and therefore produce a better mapping. This concept is known as non-progressivism (also Crampton, 2003) and is just as relevant to policy studies. One of the teachers in the current study said quite bluntly that when she does not understand a new instructional strategy as part of an initiative, she ignores it. As far as I am concerned, ignoring an initiative does not constitute an interpretation of it. It is for this reason that school districts put together trainings to teach new strategies.

Another element of the theory is the idea that each interaction with a representation results in an entirely new mapping in the reader's mind: "Maps are of-the-moment, brought into being through practices (embodied, social, technical), *always* remade every time they are engaged with; mapping is a process of constant reterritorialization" (p. 335, emphasis in the original). This is true of the cartographer who must make decisions regarding what to display and what to nix. It is just as true of the reader who is searching for the most convenient route from point A to B. Each mapping is new for three main reasons.

First, the individual's personal knowledge has changed since the last time she consulted the representation. If she has walked one of the streets and her knowledge base has expanded,

she can project it onto the new mapping which one could argue is now more accurate or complete. If she has not been here for quite some time, perhaps the very reason she is consulting the representation, that forgotten knowledge ultimately affects how she views the route she is mapping in her head. Because the mapping is co-constructed between the representation and the reader, that personal knowledge is highly relevant to how it will look. Personal knowledge plays an equally important role in policies-in-the-making. As a teacher becomes more and more comfortable with a resource, his use of that resource evolves. When he decides to work with a new strategy, he both draws on similar experiences to make sense of the new resource and gains confidence with it as he tries it out.

Second, the context/represented features may have changed. A street having undergoing a name change is little reason to purchase a new representation. The user can apply her new knowledge of the context to the mapping without needing to seek out an updated representation. The same is true for policies-in-the-making. Although some curricula attempt to plan for contingencies, it is impossible for curriculum materials to come with an unlimited set of contingency paths. A teacher may prepare an activity differently for a group of three than he would for a group of 23. Context-based decisions like these can be infinitely complex and are made in the moment.

Third, the representation/resource may be used for different purposes. A representation can produce a potentially unlimited number of route combinations, for example. The corresponding mappings for two routes may rely on the same representation but different sections of it. In policymaking, two teachers who plan extensively with the official standards may place greater emphasis on different standards. The resource as a whole has not changed, but the policies-in-the-making are not identical.

The reasons that each mapping/policy-in-the-making are new and different from the last sound similar to the way policy appropriation is described as sociocultural product, that there is agency in how the resource is interpreted (as filtered through personal knowledge) and applied (to the context using the appropriate elements). In the current theory, however, there is a key shift in focus from policy appropriation to policymaking. Instead of identifying a policy at the outset which can then be interpreted and applied, we concentrate specifically on the agent's process of policymaking in which resources are appropriated to solve a problem at hand. Those resources may or may not include an official document just as a mapping does not require the use of a predetermined map. One of the most important shifts that needs to occur is from the analysis of a policy to the analysis of the problem that the agent is attempting to solve.

When an individual is unsure of how to reach a destination, the problem is clear. She must determine a route from one address to another but currently does not have this knowledge. To solve the problem, she seeks out a representation (or multiple representations). But it cannot be any representation. If she is driving, it must be a road map. If she is taking public transit, it must include transport routes and schedules. It also must be at the appropriate scale (here scale is crucial). She may seek out a paper representation or simply ask a friend for directions. In either case, she produces the mapping in her head as she assimilates the information and runs it through her internalized database of personal spatial knowledge. One more point will make the notion of mapping even clearer. In the current age of internet-based representations (think of Google Maps), the user quite obviously becomes the mapmaker. She chooses the layers and features to be displayed – roads, public transport, satellite, terrain – and chooses the scale by zooming in and out. These are the exact same decisions that a cartographer makes when preparing a

representation for publication, but now those capabilities are widely accessible on any device with an internet connection.

What happens when one representation does not solve the problem at hand? Kitchin and Dodge (2007) argue that the user will overwrite that representation with more sources of information. Just as an atlas is a compilation of representations to tell the story intended by the cartographer, the reader also may require multiple representations to resolve the issue facing him. Why might the representation fall short? Perhaps it only displays half of the route, but if the user were to adjust the scale, the route would become illegible. By combining multiple representations at the appropriate scale, neither the context nor the route is compromised. Or, perhaps the route is presented in its entirety, but the information it provides is insufficient for the user to prepare the mapping in his head. Consider the plight of a tourist. With a paper representation in hand, the tourist begins to map out the route to his next destination. Unsure of street names, he decides to ask a passerby for additional directions. The local provides information that was not displayed on the representation, such as landmarks. The landmarks aid the visitor in creating the mapping in his head, and he even decides to mark the points directly onto the paper with a pen (hence the term overwriting). In this example, the tourist combines multiple representations – the paper and the verbal directions – to solve the problem facing him, to get from points A to B.

In our analogy, the paper representation is a policy document or set of physical materials. The verbal directions are other forms of discourses that may be even more potent, but are not encoded in a document. It is crucial to make one final point. The concept of overwriting does not imply that agents are necessarily overwriting an official/*de jure* policy. It simply means that they needed to combine multiple resources to adequately solve a given problem.

This issue of solving a problem in the context of official policies and bosses peering over employees' shoulders can cause its fair share of confusion. The goal of shifting the focus from policy implementation to policies-in-the-making is to afford the policymaker maximum agency. Does this mean that policies are never implemented for the sake of being implemented? Of course not, but the problem that the agent is solving is not one of *instructional virtuosity*, but of *job security*. If one's supervisor polices a given teaching strategy or curricular component that she considers of particular importance to her, the teacher may decide to implement it as expected. But it would be a mistake to argue that the *policy* is forcing the teacher's hand due to some intrinsic value (after all, who is afraid of a piece of paper?). It is the supervisor's position of power that creates the problem of job security for the teacher who must decide how to juggle the various pressures acting on him. In consequence, those decisions remain within his agentive powers.

The purpose of this section has been to propose an ontogenetic vision of policy, one that sees norms, regulations, statutes, and practices as part of larger processes. Because teaching and program development are inherently social exercises, there is value in considering an approach to policy that rejects a projection of individual policies and what they stand for as static. For example, one's knowledge may expand or atrophy through time, context may change, or a resource may be used for a new purpose. Because of the dynamic facets of educational provision, researchers in this field must incorporate models and theories flexible enough to stand up to this dynamism and concurrently afford their subjects maximum agency as a starting point. In the next section, this ontogenetic theory of policy-in-the-making will be discussed in the context of the present study.

2.1.5   The current study and policies-in-the-making

The theory of policy just outlined underlies the second half of the research question: How do teachers perceive the relationship between their own connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions *and their production of policy*? The production of policy refers to any episodes of policy negotiation or development. The ontogenetic position taken here stipulates that policies-in-the-making take center stage and stands in contrast to an approach that aims to define the policy climate in a classroom or school. It is to use these moments of policy production to gain a sense of the value of the social ties (connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions) from the first half of the research question.

2.2   A spatial, non-scalar politics of language in education

In one of the most influential pieces to date regarding the sociology of language, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) liken the physiology of language policy and planning to that of an onion. They

provide a schema characterizing various components in which policy decisions
and practices are realized. [They] argue that these components – variously
referred to in the language planning literature as language planning agents, levels,
and processes – are layers that together compose the LPP whole (the 'onion') and
that permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying
degrees (p. 402).

Over a decade later, Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) employ similar language as they wrestle with how macro, meso, and micro forces relate to one another in heteroglossic contexts. They warn that

considering language planning only as the property of those who hold the institutional power to effect their decisions, ignores the interplay between the macro and the micro which is fundamental to all language planning work. It is an approach to language planning which risks failing to consider how language problems arise and come to be perceived as problems at the macro level. It also risks failing to consider how the macro is actually played out in the local communities in which it is being implemented (p. 11).

Even though Ricento and Hornberger (1996) and Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) do not prescribe particular relations between the layers of the onion, they imply that the levels of social organization themselves somehow interact. I argue that it would be more telling to reveal which specific actors come together, how planning initiatives are co-constructed, and who wields more power in a given transaction to see how people actually produce cultures of assembly and regulation. Instead, predetermined frames of social organization are laid over the top of groups of actors. What are ultimately socially constructed scales (Marston, 2000) are anthropomorphized as if they can communicate, interact, and even follow instructions. We researchers run the risk of being enslaved by the structure, what Howitt (1998, p. 50) refers to as a "naïve and simplistic objectivism." Dorner (2012, p. 162), who studied the political dynamics of a bilingual community in France, goes so far as to say that

social systems are designed as multilevel-systems and always consist of at least a micro- and a macro-level. The individual actors are always participating micro-elements and constitute the aggregate macro-phenomenon by means of their contribution. At the meso-level, the operation of intermediary entities (e.g., associations or unions) can be observed, with these entities mediating between the micro-level of individual actors and the macro-level of e.g. the political system and thus substantially contributing to a balance of interests.

She suggests that intermediary entities, when present, are always poised between the micro and the macro. In essence, there are laws to political organization akin to the laws of physics. We are left with the impression that direct contact between actors at either end of the spectrum is limited or nonexistent. In practice, however, teachers may circumvent intermediaries, working directly with macro-level (nationally encompassing) standards (Glasgow, 2014). At the same time, agents that collaborate within (Valdiviezo, 2010) and beyond (Dementi-Leonard & Gilmore, 1999) the perceived community defy schemes of classification based on nested scales within a hierarchy. This indicates that the layers of the onion do not produce the politics, the people, discourses, and objects do.

Drawing on postructuralism and relational geographies, this section proposes an alternative to scale-based epistemologies in language policy. I argue that a spatial approach to language-in-education policy will yield valuable insights given that school-based changes affect spatial compositions (constellations of relations) and that the politics behind these changes enjoys its own spatiality (its own set of agentive relations). I will start by briefly reviewing reductionism which allows for space and scale to be used in the social sciences. Backlash against

such prescriptive notions of space preempted highly productive discussions of scale, social constructivism, and the relationality of space and place. In reviewing the commission of scale in studies of language in society, we will see that non-scalar methods have eluded most, but not all, authors in this area. To conclude this section, I will introduce Hillier's (2011) theory of spatial planning as a guide to how the current study is structured.

2.2.1 Reductionism

Reductionism, a necessary prerequisite for scale-based models of politics, was the primary driver of developments in the spatial sciences up until at least the 1970's. By equating space with territory, places are easily defined, categorized, and compared. Such an assumption allows for borders and boundaries to be taken at face value, implying that space can be chopped up into neat territorial units and that more or less expansive units constitute intermediate entities known as regions. It is this space-as-container perspective that permits a scalar view of politics to exist and flourish because many scales reflect territories (e.g., the national scale = the nation state; the municipal scale = the municipality). In education, the school, district, or classroom is both a territory and a scale (e.g., school-level changes).

Lefebvre (1974/1991) was the first to question the equation of physical territory with social space. He argued that space is no more than a social construct produced through language. When speakers invoke nation states or cities, they reproduce territory-based understandings of the world. Lefebvre was sure to point out that the discursive realm also influences the physical landscape. Nation states construct border walls and governments reign over territory. However, these borders are porous, and the effects of a decision made in one country do not stop at the edge of its jurisdiction.

This issue is crucial to understanding the deconstruction of scale for two reasons. First, scale is also a product of reductionism in the way that language reduces complex relations to individual scales or levels. Second, in some instances, space and scale are identical (nation state = the national scale), meaning that when one deconstructs scale, one must also reconceptualize space.

In the following section, I dig deeper into scale, another instantiation of reductionism in geography.

2.2.2 Scale

Many recent developments in educational linguistics are built on the assumption of scale as a fixed set of nested representational units. At the same time, geographers have worked to deconstruct scale, arguing that it cordons off space, a position that relies on territorially grounded notions of place. As a social construct and with no clear boundaries, scale is better off understood as a discursive commodity, the terms of which are seized and controlled by some agents and not others, or as an inaccurate portrayal of social organization that can be disposed of entirely. In either case, the greatest danger lies in applying scalar models *a priori*.

In this section, I will briefly review the debate within human geography. After providing examples of scale-based theorizing in the sociology of language, I will outline some of the alternatives to conceptualizing space, such as rhizomatic associations and networks. I will close by highlighting a few pieces in sociolinguistics that do away with scale (Duchêne & Heller, 2007; Kaomea, 2005; Pietikäinen, 2015) or draw attention to its discursive construction (Duchêne, 2008; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2013a).

Not to diminish the quality and influence of their work, twentieth century social scientists often took for granted nested orders of organization (Bergman, 1975; Coates et al., 1977; Cox, 1979; Mandel, 1962; Muir, 1975; Philbrick, 1957; Short, 1982; Smith, 1979; Tabb & Sawers, 1978). Most commonly followed was a three-tiered model consisting of the city, the nation, and the globe. Economists and political scientists were keen to identify the scale that housed a given phenomenon in order to recommend strategies to alleviate various types of inequality. This sort of analysis precludes any possibility for the role of inter-local, inter-scalar, and transregional connections in the cases in question. It also places greater emphasis on the scale itself than the context; because of the various ways scales may be constructed from one country to another, the same conclusions may not be applicable in other parts of the world.

Taylor (1982) is largely responsible for initiating the discussion on scale itself; prior to his article, it was exempt from critical examination as a concept. Taylor voiced his frustrations with the fact that the authors from the previous paragraph were glossing over such a crucial component of methodology. By neglecting to operationalize their use of the terms global, national, and urban, they ran the risk of talking past each other with findings that may lack any capacity for comparison. For instance, Bergman (1975), Muir (1975), and Cox (1979) dedicated less than a paragraph each to the topic. In addition, even though three scales were usually mentioned, Taylor lamented their propensity to focus almost exclusively on the nation state. Being predisposed to analyze federal decision-making and data distilled at the national level, they pass up the opportunity to explore how economic and political phenomena play out in other contexts. He goes on to write that

the most feeble aspect of all the books referred to above is the way in which inter-

relations between the scales are largely ignored so that no overall framework is

presented; all we are given is three separate hooks upon which to hang sets of

ideas at different scales of occurrence (p. 22).

In response, Taylor did not entertain a complete deconstruction of scale which was not to be

proposed for over twenty years. Instead, he refined the prevailing, overly loose conceptions of

each scale, specifying what a hierarchy of territory and organization might look like in the social

sciences.

From the 1990's onward, authors began justifying their use of scale. Aware of the pitfalls

of taking scale for granted, physical and human geographers began justifying their use of the

local, national, and/or global (Bessey, 2002; Brenner, 1999; Chapura, 2009; Cheng & Masser,

2003; Collinge, 2006; Flint, 2001; Leitner et al., 2008; MacLeod & Goodwin, 1999; McNeill et

al., 2005; Sadler & Fagan, 2004).

Many geographers focused their attention on the discursive construction of scale

(Mustafa, 2007; Swyngedouw, 1997), while others looked into what has been termed the politics

of scale/scalejumping (Marston, 2000). Individuals or organizations, unable to garner a result in

their favor, argue that the issue at stake is relevant at a different scale so as to earn another shot

at the desired result. Marston, for example, describes an organization's attempt at fighting to

save a park. When the *municipal* council ruled to have the park removed, the organization argued

that the property was part of *national* heritage, appealing to the federal government. In cases like

these, scale clearly does not exist independent of social practice. For this reason, Moore (2008)

writes that scale operates as both a category of *practice* and as a category of *analysis*. In the

former, the researcher pays attention to the discourses of scale, how language use produces, reproduces, and modifies scalar boundaries. In the latter, the researcher is influenced by these socially constructed scales in her/his analysis. Moore sees this as a clear problem because the scales do not reflect any natural category in the real world and therefore should be avoided as a category of analysis.

This very issue, the removal of scale from analysis, forms the foundation of the current study, and was presented in depth by Marston et al. (2005) in their alternative, what they call a flat ontology (the elimination of all vertical and horizontal scales from analysis).

2.2.3   Flat ontology and the sociology of language

Marston et al. (2005), whose piece certainly does not mark the end of the debate over scale, outline some of the pitfalls of the application of scale. Three of the most relevant to a discussion of language policy will be briefly covered, followed by specific examples from applied linguistics.

2.2.3.1 Conflation of scale as size and level

Marston et al. (2005) highlight that while scale is implicitly understood as a hierarchy of levels, there is little to no concrete evidence distinguishing vertical and horizontal iterations of scale. They argue that this confusion comes about simply as a matter of perspective, whether from the side, the top, or the bottom. They provide a list of terms that complement each other, half from a vertical epistemology and the others their horizontal counterparts. In language policy, the most commonly deployed term from their list, "layered," was made famous by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) with their onion metaphor, which continues to be used today. The horizontal

equivalent, "extensive," is rarely, if ever, mentioned. In possibly the most up-to-date textbook of language policy, Johnson (2013, p. 106) writes that

> educational policy in general and educational language policy in particular are generally conceptualized and researched as multi-layered phenomena and processes…. The goal of the researcher… is to slice through the onion to illuminate the various layers. Hult (2010) describes this as the 'perennial challenge' for the field.

I would in fact like to challenge this sentiment through the remainder of the section. First, I focus on the conflation of vertical and horizontal descriptors of the politics of language in education.

In their original piece, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) invoke vertical imagery by describing the educational edifice as layered. "[Each] layer permeates and is permeated by the others" (p. 408). Hornberger and Johnson (2007) explore these layered interrelations when comparing the cases of Philadelphia, U.S.A, and Cochabamba, Bolivia. I would like to draw special attention to the argument made that "negotiation at each institutional level creates the opportunity for reinterpretation and policy manipulation" (p. 527). In their section on the Philadelphia School District, they illustrate how two administrators use federally allocated Title III monies (budget aimed at English language learners) in different ways, one implementing a developmental bilingual program and the other a transitional program.

On the surface, and in line with common wisdom, a vertical explanation is perfectly suitable here. Title III originates from a higher layer of the onion to be interpreted by administrators. Administrators may even pressure the teachers, lower down the totem pole, to

implement their vision as they see it by arguing that, depending on the school, the developmental or transitional program was mandated by Title III; in neither case is this true. The interpretations then often flow through various layers of agents, both from the top down, and from the bottom up.

Marston et al. (2005) do not intend to supplant this approach with a horizontal geography, but insist that alternate explanations are possible, in this case by replacing the term layer with extension (a horizontal conceptualization of scale), which might look something like this: the Title III documents extend from the federal office outward to district officials and administrators who are apportioned funds from that pot. This branch of the Department of Education does not reside over any territory at all. Instead, its documents are sent directly to those individuals tasked with starting, changing, or upholding the relevant programs. The money is the stick that can be used if needed to keep an employee in line, not their rung on the ladder. If a teacher reads Title III him/herself, the central office enjoys a greater extension. In contrast, if the administrator pushes a certain reading of the document, this exemplifies the extension of his/her influence and contacts.

What is the benefit of reconceptualizing layers as extension? Certain discourses may extend well beyond the boundaries of its corresponding jurisdiction (just think of the clamber to follow in Finland's "successful" footsteps), while others that are federally administered may have relatively little impact on practice (think of the case of Kenya referenced earlier). By dismantling the proclivity toward vertical conceptions of politics, axes of influence and agency are easily recast along a horizontal plane.

2.2.3.2 The Trojan horse of binaries

Marston et al.'s (2005) second argument is not new. Scalar categories oversimplify reality in the way complex processes are often stuffed into a single layer and pit against the other layer(s). More importantly, each category, whether macro/micro or urban/rural, is passed hidden associations (hence the Trojan horse) that branch off of the core binary in geography, global versus local. The two associations included by the authors most relevant to our discussion of language policy would be structure (global) versus agency (local) and dynamic (global) versus static (local).

Structure versus agency, for instance, has become the platform for a discipline-wide discussion. We have known for quite some time that structures of policy (encoding of texts, relaying of those discourses/intertextuality, accountability practices, etc.) are upheld by agents and are sociocultural practices in and of themselves (Ball, 1993). At the same time, agents construct their own norms that do not neatly fit within the top-down or bottom-up structures. Of course, such examples are often seen as outliers and of little value unless they can be explained within the context of the wider structure. This analytical bias is problematic given the fact that these unpredictable practices are often the *most* democratic in their genesis (Foote, 2016; Valdiviezo, 2010). In the scalar paradigm, individual acts of agency are cast aside as rogue and not representative of wider patterns. This is unfortunate for the reason just mentioned and also because educators spend a considerable amount of time responding to unforeseen changes, at times rendering the structure completely irrelevant.

The following quote demonstrates a challenge with attempting to describe findings in either structural or agentive terms. Johnson and Johnson (2015, p. 238, emphasis in the original), who reflect on their own model of power in language policy development, write that "[our

model] introduces a *structure* to LPP processes even when we want to highlight *agency*."
Although their initial intention was to study administrator agency, by devising a model to explain
their results, they reduce that agency to a structure. The fact that structure has won out appears to
confirm Del Casino's (2006, p. 376) contention that "one side of the binary becomes the center
while the other is maintained in the margin." This Trojan horse was only allowed in because
Johnson and Johnson's (2015) methodology relied upon a vertically scaled vision of policy
development. Certainly one could find counterexamples where power extends beyond a single
layer of the onion, the basis for their model.

The way that policy is casually understood as implemented substantiates the second set of
associations, dynamic versus static. The policy that comes from the state or district
superintendent's office or from an administrator manifests itself in countless ways
(demonstrating its dynamicity) as each teacher uniquely implements it according to his/her own
views, classroom, and experience. But when one zooms in on an individual teacher, the policy
becomes static. Skilton-Sylvester (2003) is again a case in point. Of the four teachers she studied,
each one either used or did not use Khmer in class and promoted or did not promote Khmer
culture. While the categories she proposes may be overly stringent, the bigger problem arises in
the conclusion. In order to cultivate Khmer/English bilingualism in Philadelphia schools,
Skilton-Sylvester calls for more teacher development which is an odd suggestion given the
widespread nature of assimilationist sentiment in the United States. The assumption is that at
higher layers the politics is more dynamic, that district trainers will respond to the research that
shows the benefits of multilingualism and pass that along to the teachers. On the contrary, in the
very next paragraph she mentions that the nearby state of Massachusetts had recently abolished
bilingual education! This example reinforces Ricento's (1997) history of language policy in the

United States not as *progressive* or responsive to the needs of minorities, but rather *cyclical*. For instance, the clear support for bilingual education in the 1960's was met with fervent resistance by English-only advocates. The result was a regression in many states to transitional programs. More recently, while some states have expanded their maintenance and developmental offerings, others are working to do the opposite. The country has therefore witnessed a push-and-pull unfolding of language-in-education policy that cannot be attributed to one scale or group.

This is not to say that top-down policies do not matter or that professional development does not affect teaching practices. It is to say that the global is no more dynamic than the local, in this case that state-level policies and district trainings are not the only levers of change. Why can the teachers not observe one another to see how Khmer is used in other classrooms? Why can the teachers not reflect on their own practices or carve out more time to discuss language issues with bilingual parents? Why can they not read some of the research themselves instead of having it predigested at a workshop?

One of the ways authors attempt to take a more nuanced position in this discussion is to search for the interrelations between levels, sometimes called a multi-scalar analysis. While highly informative, one of the pitfalls to this approach that authors can potentially fall into is that conclusions are often drawn around the scales themselves, not the social practices that produced them in the first place (Moore, 2008).

Mortimer's (2016) piece on the values attributed to Guarani, Spanish, and hybrid varieties of Jopara in bilingual schools in Paraguay presents useful findings about how scales are discursively produced in the classroom. The way Spanish is indexically linked to correctness, the urban, and the official has "left rural, Guarani-dominant children marginalized while benefitting urban, Spanish-dominant children" (p. 58). This finding reveals the powerful implicit messages

that circulate in these schools, both in discussions of policy and in classroom episodes. However, the manner in which Mortimer concludes the article gives the impression that she herself believes in these top-down scales. She hopes to see the

> strategic circulation of ideologies, images, and discourses that complicate the indexical regularities between models of minoritized language speaker identity and lower sociolinguistic scales. It might explicitly produce models of minority-language speaker identity that can be used for scale-jumping (p. 67).

Scale-jumping in this case would be used by mother tongue speakers of Guarani at the expense of those still linked with the "rural" and the "backward," only reproducing the vertical sociolinguistic structure of these indexes. Does this mean that the goal is to eradicate the rural completely? Fortunately not, as Mortimer calls for Guarani and Jopara to be linked with education, cosmopolitanism, "and perhaps also traditional or rural" identifiers (p. 67). Why she chooses to equate traditional and rural is puzzling, but what I find more questionable is how she wants to see Guarani and Jopara *move up* from *lower* sociolinguistic scales (e.g., uneducated) to *higher* ones (e.g., cosmopolitan). Is the underlying message here that there is no tradition in the city and no substantial bases of knowledge in the countryside? Instead of buying into the hierarchies that consistently alienate a class or group in society, we should be focusing our energies on tearing down the very hierarchies that discursively produce these social inequalities.

Would the model proposed by Mortimer not reproduce the inequities in education; would pure equitability not be the flattening of these scales (Marston et al., 2005)? Perhaps a better solution would be a sort of consciousness raising (Freire, 1968/1970) on the part of all students

and staff, regardless of mother tongue, that explored the ways in which the notion of education is not opposed to (or above) the notion of rural, in which the cosmopolitan is not more advanced than the countryside, in which bullying of Guarani and Jopara speakers is acknowledged for the harm it does, or in which all languages are equally complex and communicatively potent. For otherwise, by moving up the ladder or toward the center, we simply create a new imagined (and real) ghetto or periphery for those Guarani mother tongue speakers who still reside in rural parts of the country or continue to be indexed as such (see Heller, 2013, in *section 2.2.4*).

I am not the first to challenge the use of the word "layers" in sociolinguistic inquiry. Hult (2010, p. 14), for example, finds the concept too rigid for how fluid and dynamic political interrelationships actually are:

> What are often theorized as 'layers' are essentially the result of an analytical lens. Let us use a microscope analogy to clarify this idea. One may choose a specific location in a linguistic ecosphere on which to train one's microscope. The 'level' we see, then, is a question of the power of magnification. Once we choose a power of magnification, we may then focus our view of an object of study to see different features of it, and more or less the surrounding context, depending on the focus.

Needless to say, Hult's analogy reproduces the vertical bias of our current analytical lens which does not stand up to scrutiny for many of the reasons explained throughout the paper so far. Consider two more arguments presented by Hult: "The processes at one scale are constitutive of the processes at the next highest scale, and the processes at that next highest scale condition what

can happen at the scale immediately below" (pp. 14-15) and: "A televised debate, for example, may take the same amount of time as a dinner conversation while extending over a much larger space" (p. 16). How does the first quote explain when teachers seek out additional resources for their classroom online? The discourses carried in those materials and the resulting policies produced by the teacher are not necessarily "constitutive of the processes at the next highest scale" (p. 14).

In the second comment regarding the televised debate, it is as though we have returned to a pre-Lefevbrian era (even though Hult's paper was published in 2010). The televised debate does not *cover* the nation-state. It is a means of *producing* and *legitimizing* the nation-state. Patriotism and national identification are reinforced by a national debate, strengthening the current Westphalian system (of nation-states) which has no meaning outside of the contemporary consciousness. It is also a misconception that a televised debate covers the entire nation given the elementary fact that many people around the world do not own television sets (which can be argued as a crucial barrier to democracy in many countries) or that some individuals were simply not watching it. The extent of the debate's broadcast is a direct function of many sociotechnical factors as well as the image of the nation-state in that place – I would imagine that separatists, for instance, make up a smaller or larger proportion of the viewership depending on whether sovereignty is in the program. In the same vein, the televised debate can be seen around the world, calling into question the validity of the national scale. And finally, if we are to play Hult at his own vertical game, would the dinner conversation jump above the debate in scale to the international if we have my great aunt in Brazil on speaker phone?

2.2.3.3 The *a priori* application of scale

One of the most persuasive and agreed upon reasons provided by Marston et al. (2005) to flatten scales is that they are commonly applied *a priori* to analyses whether appropriate or not (also Swyngedouw, 1997). The results are therefore colored by the scale instead of allowing the results to inform the development of the scale *a posteriori*. The most egregious example of the predetermined application of scales might be Eric Johnson's (2012) piece on structured English immersion following the passing of the assimilationist Proposition 203 (a law that forces all non-native speakers of English to receive exactly two years of sheltered English instruction upon arrival) in Arizona. He creates a scale-based model of analysis in which the macro realm houses the development stage of language policies, the meso the interpretation, and the micro the application of those policies. This model appears to be inappropriate as, three-quarters of the way through the paper, he notes that the principal feels that "'not a whole lot has changed…' since the law was passed in 2000" (p. 68). There is almost wholesale agreement in the literature that Proposition 203 has turned Arizona into a state that does not foster bilingualism (Murri et al., 2012). There seems to be a lack of consideration on the part of academics that the ordinance may in fact *reflect* assimilationist attitudes in the state (a clear case of correlation versus causation). In fact, many conveniently ignore the fact that bilingual programs have increased in Arizona since 2000 (U.S. Department of Education, 2015).

Of course, this single example is not enough; let us dig deeper into Johnson's findings. Because of the high number of English Language Learners in the schools in the district he studied (as high as 60%), the students were not given their own sheltered English course and instead were included in mainstream classes. The teachers were meant to support those learners during the normal course of the day, but very few teachers actually spoke Spanish and most did

not feel prepared to support emergent bilinguals. For this reason, instructional aides were in place to fill in with Spanish language support. Given the fact that there were far too few aides (and far too few hours in the day), teachers resorted to having their students work together, translating content when necessary. In his discussion, Johnson argues that this system of student bilingual grouping emerged out of an interpretation of Proposition 203. I did not find any evidence to substantiate that analysis in his article. Given the fact that the mandate requires 60 hours of sheltered English instruction (which they do not comply with), and that "'not a whole lot has changed,'" it seems that the officials in this district simply do not care about bilingualism (p. 68). This is not to say that the officials necessarily harbor assimilationist attitudes (one of the district officials was in favor of the use of Spanish in class), but that there may be constraints that keep their hands tied or the issue is not at the top of their priority list. For example, testing in English, an inability to budget for more instructional aides, and the lack of certified bilingual teachers would create the circumstances that Johnson describes in the district.

While his may not be the only plausible explanation, Johnson nonetheless decides to apply the three-rung scale prior to organizing his results. Throughout the paper he refers back to Proposition 203 and the tenets of the district's language policy even though his participants do not mention them of their own accord. It is only when he asks the principal if the school is compliant that she provides her analysis of the state policy.

Finally, it is clear that language policy in this district is not only developed at the state (macro) level as English-only policies at the schools were around from before 2000. At the same time, teachers develop policies based on their own capacities and class contexts to address what they feel are the needs of their students which they would not frame in assimilationist terms, but

in terms of student needs (they need English) and resources (we have no Spanish language support anyway).

The use of macro, meso, and micro in policy analyses is rampant in the literature (Baldauf, 2008) as well as local and global (Canagarajah, 2005; Lamb, 2004). But these are not the only scales applied *a priori* in the sociology of language, bottom-up thinking and decentralization being other examples. In the following paragraphs, I will take a closer look at the relationship between language-in-education policy and decentralization from Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh (2012).

Decentralization has been heralded as a means of creating the circumstances for the wider use of languages in schools in linguistically diverse countries. This argument laid the foundation for an edited volume that looks specifically at the case of Ethiopia (Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012). While not perfect, it serves as a model for other countries in Africa and Asia where mother tongue-medium education is a challenge due to the sheer number of languages spoken and lack of financial resources.

Two chapters in particular focus more heavily on decentralization, their authors calling for other countries to follow suit (Benson et al., 2012; Benson & Kosonen, 2012). The concept of decentralization emerges out of a scalar epistemology where the seat of political action is transferred from the federal scale to the regional. It is crucial to point out that inclusive educational projects do not depend on the scale in which the politics took place, but on the politics itself. Now that language-in-education decisions are in the hands of the nine administrative districts in Ethiopia, it would be naïve to assume that policies against mother tongue-medium education may never surface.

This debate over scale is ever more fascinating when we take a closer look. Ambatchew (2010), after downplaying the hype surrounding the supposed successes in Ethiopia, feels that "in line with its decentralization policy, the Ethiopian government should give schools a freer hand to select multiple media of instruction" (p. 207). This would be an improvement over the way the budget is "being controlled at a central level" (p. 207). It is certainly perplexing to read in one book that Ethiopia is decentralized and in another that it is too centralized. This issue harkens back to Marston et al.'s (2005) comment that scale depends on the perspective of the viewer. At the federal level, there has been unequivocal decentralization. From the perspective of individual schools, the system remains highly centralized. The problem runs deeper. Depending on the position of the researcher, whether "above" the region or "below" it, the result is all but determined in advance. Ambatchew's (2010) study revolved around teacher practices which is a convenient place from which to gripe about the ineffectiveness of government. The assumption here is identical to the one by Benson et al. (2012) and Benson and Kosonen (2012), that lower levels of government (in Ambatchew's case, the school) cannot be coopted by actors with exclusionary visions. This assumption goes against the fractal nature of hierarchy (Levick & Kuhn, 2007) where decentralization does not change the structure of the politics as more localized establishments mirror those further up the food chain.

Telling examples of this issue come from, among others, Smyth (1993), Topal (2012), Martínez (2011), and Monno and Khakee (2012). Smyth's (1993) title gives away his position – *A socially critical view of the self managing school*. Unsurprisingly, the contributions found that, although decentralization is touted for a variety of benefits, a whole host of forms of inequality were unchanged after the schools received more power. Topal (2012), examining locally led development projects in northern Mexico, writes that while "decentralization… is commonly

understood as an index and an agent of democratization," the projects he studied "failed to bring equal access to local state power by various local social groups" (p. 1166). Martínez (2011), who compared two citizen-based planning projects in Portuguese cities, found that in one, participation was amplified, while in the other, it was "neutralized" (p. 147). For these reasons, Monno and Khakee (2012) argue that what matters is not where participation exists (at the top or the bottom), but whether or not it is more than a mere token.

The purpose of these examples is to point out that decentralization may not constitute the key variable in the provision of mother tongue-medium education or other democratization efforts. There may even be a danger to these scale-based debates in how those terms can occlude other issues, such as teacher-administrator relations, the source of those inclusive discourses in Ethiopia which should be magnified, and the chokepoints in that country that in fact reproduce longstanding power geometries.

There are also questions surrounding the application of the local versus global binary. Work in this area has been instrumental in highlighting instances of linguistic imperialism which are sold on the basis of global competitiveness (Warriner, 2016). The spread of English has been attributed to its association with global commerce and internationalization, or more specifically, Westernization, taking the place of more concrete forms of integrative and instrumental motivation – to get to know a specific culture or because an industry is expanding in a given part of the world (Lamb, 2004).

The attempt to highlight the local in policy studies has become ever more prevalent since Hornberger wrote the following in 1996 (p. 11):

[I]n sociolinguistics more generally, and indeed the social sciences as a whole, scholarly attention has steadily shifted toward the individual and the local community as active agents in dialogue and interaction with their social environment, and away from a governmental, institutional, or societal level focus.

The local-global distinction often manifests itself in the call to link the micro with the macro (Hill & May, 2011). Unfortunately, locating the local or the micro is a greater challenge than one might expect. Dirlik (2001) challenges social scientists to look beyond the common sense meaning of binaries like these. He writes that "*the global* and *the local* are terms that derive their meanings from one another, rather than from reference to any specifically describable spatiality" (p. 16, emphasis in original). He invokes Latour's (1991/1993) railroad model to aid in explaining this notion. Latour (p. 117) asks whether a railroad is local or global:

Neither. It is local at all points, since you always find sleepers and railroad workers, and you have stations and automatic ticket machines scattered along the way. Yet it is global, since it takes you from Madrid to Berlin or from Brest to Vladivostok. However, it is not universal enough to be able to take you just anywhere.

If we were to deconstruct the genesis and evolution of policies-in-the-making, would we not find something similar? Would we not find relations that extend beyond the classroom or even the school? Would constraining factors that come from other sites (the district office or the

state/provincial capital) that appear regional or federal in scale not be the result of embodied interactions and decisions in those sites?

With these questions in mind, we move to what a non-scalar approach might look like with the hope of avoiding to reproduce the vertical (or horizontal) epistemologies we have come across so far. This returns us to the puzzle posed earlier of how to study language policy, not within predetermined scales, but relationally.

2.2.4   Rhizomes and networks

Marston et al. (2005) propose that flat ontologies (e.g., networks, flows, rhizomes) may constitute a suitable replacement for prevailing scalar, hierarchical methods. The rhizome, which was originally conceived by Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987), has been used widely in the social sciences. The rhizome provides an alternative understanding of organizational forms and patterns to the more conventional vision of relations dictated by a central power. Instead, points within a rhizomatic arrangement can freely associate with no obligation to follow a pre-determined pattern, usually some type of hierarchy. The rhizome is a substitute for arborescent conceptions of the organization of memories, computational structures, or politics. "As the name suggests, arborescent forms and structures may be imagined metaphorically as trees – linear, hierarchical, sedentary, striated, vertical, stiff, and with deep and permanent roots" (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p. 89). On the other hand,

> the rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily
>
> linked to traits of the same nature.... In contrast to centered (even polycentric)
>
> systems with hierarchical modes of communication and preestablished paths, the

rhizome is an acentered, nonhierarchical, nonsignifying system without a General

and without an organizing memory or central automaton, defined solely by a

circulation of states (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 23).

Plenty of authors in the social sciences have adopted the rhizome as an alternative to

conventional hierarchical thought (Ferrell, 2012; Jones et al., 2007; in education, e.g., de Freitas,

2012).

Instead of encouraging wholesale a movement toward network-based politics, this

dissertation follows Bevir and Richards (2009), Hirst (2000), and Dicken (2004), who argue that

even discernible hierarchies are themselves a network of interrelations, some that reinforce the

top-down structure and others that do not. They question the implication that policy networks are

new simply because they are a new concept in the literature. As Dicken (2004, pp. 10-11,

emphasis in the original) writes, "a network is not something new and different…. It is a *generic*

form of social organization. The question, then, is not whether something is a network or not, but

rather what kind of network it is." Bevir and Richards (2009, p. 3) similarly maintain that

> policy networks consist of governmental and societal actors whose interactions
>
> with one another give rise to policies. They are actors linked through informal
>
> practices as well as (or even instead of) formal institutions. Typically, they
>
> operate through interdependent relationships, with a view to trying to secure their
>
> individual goals by collaborating with each other.

Networks are therefore an alternative to thinking in terms of scale. In the current study, Hillier's

(2011) approach to networks and planning will be applied to teacher policymaking in bilingual schools. First, I review other non-hierarchical approaches to sociolinguistics and education.

2.2.5   Application of non-hierarchical methods to sociolinguistics and education

So far we have reviewed some of the work that supports research and theorizing from the perspective of a flat ontology. While not common, a few studies in sociolinguistics have embraced this theory of organization. At the point of transition from practice to analysis (Moore, 2008), these authors do not fall into the trap of scalar thinking like the ones mentioned earlier (Hult, 2010; Johnson, 2012; Mortimer, 2016) with the exception of Koyama and Menken (2013) below.

Similar to the argument I posed about the lack of nuance when discussing scale and decentralization in Ethiopia, Kaomea (2005) presents a "cautionary tale of a well-intended Indigenous studies curriculum [in Hawaii], which, when carried out without accompanying structural changes in school personnel and community power relations, has had many unanticipated and counterproductive effects" (p. 24). At the risk of being redundant, I reiterate that the scale of change does not necessarily translate into an inclusive and decolonized curriculum. Kaomea reports that the attempt to incorporate autochthonous history lessons has unintentionally reproduced colonial discourses that distort Hawaiian history, describing Hawaiians as an overly violent people. She stresses that this sort of shortcoming does not stem from some masterplan of colonialism to subjugate native Hawaiians. In fact, the project was well-intentioned from inception through development. Teachers commonly changed the indigenous studies lessons, not out of prejudice, but because of a lack of confidence or time or to spread a different message regarding ethnicity. Even though she hopes to see materials

developed from the Hawaiian perspective, she is fully aware that it is a hierarchical solution to a non-hierarchical problem. As Kaomea (pp. 37-38) puts it:

> As the metaphor of the rhizome suggests, a new Hawaiian-authored Hawaiian studies textbook alone will not have a major impact on elementary Hawaiian studies instruction without the support of the still predominately non-Hawaiian classroom teachers who will ultimately be the ones to decide if and how they will use the new text…. The classroom teachers occupy an anomalous position in these ideological struggles. Like shop foremen or plantation supervisors, they are neither purely labor nor management, neither all-powerful nor completely powerless in the way they represent the interests of those above (and below) them, and therefore are afforded at least some degree of agency and responsibility.

This is the first example that illustrates the sophistication of a non-scalar approach. The assumption that shifting the scale of social production will resolve issues of colonialism and equity is unfounded (see Martínez, 2011; Smyth, 1993; Topal, 2012). For this reason, Kaomea's final suggestion looks very different from the ones proffered by Skilton-Sylvester (more training from up the ladder) and Ambatchew (more freedom down the ladder). She would like to see

> non-Natives… work collaboratively with Native allies, listen closely to our [Native] wisdom as well as our concerns, interrogate unearned power and privilege (including one's own), and use this privilege to confront oppression and 'stand behind' Natives, so that our voices can be heard (p. 40).

Her goal is not to prescribe a specific solution which can easily be overtaken by the powers that

be. Instead, she trusts that with increased collaboration and communication among community

members, the curriculum can slowly and sustainably decolonize.

In Pietikäinen (2015), in which she employed rhizome-inspired discourse analysis, we

see that the global (in this case, a Sámi tourist destination) is not just a space for "large"

languages like English and Finnish, but also Sámi languages as restaurants, hotels, and excursion

operators use it to provide tourists with the authentic feel they came for. This goes against the

notion that value for endangered languages can only be found by recoiling into the local

(Massey, 1991, 1994). This more nuanced analysis, in which Pietikäinen drew links between

language, economy, and politics, was made possible by removing scale as one of the categories

of analysis. As Pietikäinen writes, "the discourses of commodification and carnivalisation…

temporarily open up appropriations of novel ways of using Sámi resources, especially in the

spaces of the new economy and cultural markets" (p. 221). She reminds us that as we ponder

language use and vitality as well as current paradigms of economic, political, and civil life, scale

itself is neither friend nor foe; we must look closer at the social practices themselves, their

ramifications, and how they discursively [re]produce existing/new scales. Although Sámi is

never considered global *a priori* among most writers, Pietikäinen found a very different story

when analyzing these discourses as part of a non-hierarchical rhizome. In one instance, a

restaurant prominently displayed its name to visitors in Inari Sámi. For Pietikäinen, the sign

forges a translocal link with the origins of its patrons (who come from all over the world) in a

language that many would otherwise consider acutely local.

Koyama and Menken (2013) employed non-scalar actor-network theory to analyze data

from two studies in New York City. Because of the increased emphasis on the testing of

emergent bilinguals after No Child Left Behind (NCLB), they found clear evidence of cheating

on the part of proctors and/or teachers, unfaithful scoring of open-ended questions, and other

forms of creative manipulation across the board that gave the false impression of progress on

assessments among disadvantaged students. Even though this knowledge was well known among

the educational elites (and at times their doing),

> NYC [New York City] Mayor Bloomberg and then Schools Chancellor Klein
>
> touted the increased state test scores as evidence of the success of their reforms.
>
> In Bloomberg's third mayoral reelection bid, his campaign publicly highlighted
>
> the achievement gap reduction between White students and Latino and Black
>
> students (p. 91).

These findings indicate how "through translations, [test scores and reports] become detached

from their origins and are then evoked as scientific evidence and authorized knowledge in

support of NCLB – to the detriment of bilingual education programming and pedagogy" (p. 96).

Although their framework was non-hierarchical and their results enlightening, they chose

to conclude with a scale-based suggestion. They are hopeful given the way educators "'open up

ideological and implementational spaces for multilingualism and social justice, from the bottom-

up,' even in the face of highly invasive and restrictive policies like NCLB" (p. 97, citing

Hornberger, 2010, pp. 562-563). Given the fact that throughout the research paper they expose

unethical practices on the part of teachers, placing our hopes in bottom-up change seems to be a

blind response to this challenge. There is a constant tug-of-war between discourses and ethics at

all levels of the educational structure, and perhaps there is a way to accentuate agency without implying that the scale of activity will be responsible for a predetermined change.

Duchêne and Heller's (2007) edited volume, *Discourses of endangerment*, presents a critical stance in its attempt to understand the ever more frequent tactic by non-linguists to invoke language vitality as an argument to effect change of some kind. Starting with the assumption that languages are social constructs incapable of being tallied, the authors do not favor any scale *a priori*. In fact, they recognize that binaries, like the ones listed by Marston et al. (2005), in many cases motivate these essentializing discourses: "we argue that discourses of language endangerment are discourses about some broader sense of endangerment, about some threat from outside (from some Other) to the social order" (Heller & Duchêne, same volume, p. 4). But the consequences are perhaps more severe:

> The language endangerment discourse… displaces concerns with speakers on to a concern with languages. For us this point flags the importance of exploring the reason why this displacement occurs…. That is, part of what is going on here has to do with attempts to maintain the language–culture–nation ideological nexus…. This is about more than essentializing languages, it is about the reproduction of the central legitimating ideology of the nation state (p. 7).

It is clear that Duchêne and Heller do not fall into the same trap that caught Hult (2010). They are fully aware that languages do not neatly *sit within territories*, but that each time we describe them as essential components of the state's cultural fabric we *produce the state* anew.

And finally, their rejection of scalar methodologies is made clear in the following excerpt:

> [The discourse of language endangerment] is used as much in cases in which languages are constructed through a powerful centralized state and its agencies (e.g., the legal system), as in cases where weak institutional structures are involved; it is used in cases where it is possible to claim huge numbers of speakers as much as in cases where there are very few (p. 9).

It is interesting to find that the same arguments are being thrust into the social arena with regard to Cherokee and Sámi and also French (in France and Canada) and Spanish (in Spain).

With their conclusions they attempt not to address the scales most at fault for passing along these ideas or those that are best poised to solve inequality, but the discourses themselves which seem to be reproduced at any and all levels. They write that:

> Linguistics and anthropology have contributed both to hierarchizing regimes which construct inequality… and to universalizing counter-discourses aiming at equality…. Rather than assuming we must save languages, perhaps we should be asking instead who benefits and who loses from understanding languages the way we do, what is at stake for whom, and how and why language serves as a terrain for competition (p. 11).

One more review will wrap up our discussion of non-scalar work in sociolinguistics. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013b, p. 2; emphasis in the original) reconceptualize the notions of center and periphery (as horizontal scales) in linguistic terms by exploring their discursive construction, as they call it, "processes of *peripheralization* and of *centralization.*" Although they resist the temptation to tell a single story of how these occur, they do provide a few examples. The center is usually associated with languages that are considered more mobile, standardized, global, and powerful, but at the same time inauthentic and boring. Heller's (same volume) chapter offers a poignant and damning response to Mortimer's (2016) conclusion reviewed above in which she calls for scale jumping. Heller (2013, p. 20) explains that:

> Even the periphery's resistance to its peripheralization has followed the logic of
> nation-state markets, simply arguing that it can be understood in exactly the same
> terms as the centre and should constitute a new one (producing thereby its own,
> new, peripheries): the decolonizing and linguistic minority movements seeking
> emancipation from centralized states or empires have sought to establish
> themselves exactly in the image of their oppressors.

Although many assume scale jumping to constitute an egalitarian exercise, Heller and I are not convinced. In the prevailing econopolitical structure, progress for some seems to spell marginalization for many.

2.2.6   Non-hierarchical associations in educational linguistics

Even though these few examples embody the general arguments that emerge from non-

scalar methods, plenty of additional studies have unveiled political relationships that do not conform to hierarchical imaginaries. The value of empowering various stakeholders in order to initiate, maintain, or improve mother tongue language education, bilingual education, or revitalization projects has been emphasized throughout the literature. Shohamy (2010) lists some of these possible stakeholders which "include teachers, test makers, principals, textbook writers and publishers, testing agencies, parents, school board members, and researchers" (p. 183). Hinton (2008), whose work in the revitalization of languages in California and around the world has inspired many groups to follow suit, issues her own list of who must be mobilized for the greatest chances of success. She highlights speakers, community members, experts in various fields, advocates, and outside consultants as all key in order for the many parts of the project to come together.

Both Shohamy (2010) and Hinton (2008) are cognizant of the complexity inherent in language education and revitalization efforts. It would certainly be difficult to categorize the matrix of stakeholders into a vertical structure, and given the fact that neither list exhausts the possible set of stakeholders, we must begin to think about how to best account for these complex political scenarios.

I would like to briefly demonstrate this complexity by highlighting some of the interrelationships that have affected language policy and planning developments around the world.

Lipka and Ilustik (1996), for example, describe how in Alaska a Yup'ik language teacher group "collaborates with elders, university faculty, and school personnel, making school transformation a possibility" (p. 46). They explain that teachers, who were once unaware of the stories that the elders could still tell in Yup'ik, were motivated to keep pushing for the

procurement of authentic materials. One of these, the Porcupine Story, "was revised and printed in book form, using a local illustrator, with the assistance of Southwest Regional Schools Bilingual/Bicultural Program" (p. 47). This example reveals how many actors need to be mobilized in order for a single book in Yup'ik to be published so that it can be used in schools and available in libraries.

These networks can often span half the globe (e.g., Hatoss, 2008) or complicate untested notions or territory/jurisdiction (e.g., Recendiz, 2008). Hatoss (2008), who studied Hungarian language programs aimed at second- and third-generation immigrants in Australia, found that schools depended on resources from Hungarian organizations based in Australia. Moreover, they forged direct relationships with NGO's in Hungary, taking advantage of groups with similar interests at times outside of the country of the program (Australia) and the generic political structure (as they were NGO's).

Recendiz (2008), who took part in a project in Mexico that spanned a much smaller distance, was still up against territorial constraints. Even though Mexico City is home to internal migrants from around the country, most schools have not received adequate resources to support non-Spanish-speaking students. Recendiz reported on a single school's attempt to better serve its sizeable Hñähñu-speaking student population. He focuses part of his chapter on a Querétaro community, what he calls a network village, because it maintains such strong ties to Mexico City ever since the 1940's. He then describes ways in which these ties were exploited by the urban school to increase its efficacy as a bilingual and bicultural space. They have worked diligently to prepare

intercultural gatherings which offer opportunities to exchange academic

experiences and strengthen the ties between the students of Santiago Mezquititlán

[in Querétaro] and the Hñähñu residents of the Colonia Roma [in the federal

district]. For example, in April of 2004, with the excuse of uniting the choirs of

the Ignacio Manuel Altamirano School of neighborhood I of Santiago

Mezquititlán and the Alberto Correa School of the Colonia Roma, a joint

rehearsal to sing the national anthem in Hñähñu was organized, in such a way that

it would be sung in the official ceremony honoring the flag on Monday in the

morning shift. After this first experience, the Scholastic Council made the

decision to continue practicing the national anthem in Hñähñu with all the groups

at schools (p. 114).

This sort of practice circumvents traditional political avenues and instead makes a direct link

between schools in two separate territories. This project, while not perfect, has made serious

headway, not only in improving attendance rates among Hñähñu students, but also in creating

cross-cultural awareness for students as well as teachers who have been studying Hñähñu

themselves.

Schools have also been used as models after which new language programs in other

countries have been based. The Māori preschool language nests in New Zealand, for example,

which were first opened in the late 1970's and early 1980's, became the inspiration for Hawaiian

language nests (Warner, 2008). Viewing intergenerational transmission as integral to language

vitality, Māori educators brought in native speaking elders to teach the language to preschoolers.

Soon after it was introduced in Hawaii, a similar program was established in the Cochiti Pueblo

community in New Mexico with the help of linguists (Sims, 2008). Even though these preschools have been hailed for fostering interest that resulted in the implementation of new measures, Benjamin et al. (1996) wrote that "they know how careful they must be about their community's future. They have seen first hand what can happen when foreign solutions are imported to solve internal problems…. They are leery of outside solutions" (p. 123). The fact that this sentiment remains widespread even after the successful adoption of a program from New Zealand demonstrates the problems that come with thinking in scalar terms. The scales themselves (inside versus outside; here versus there) did the community neither harm nor good. A model like the language nest, even if foreign-produced, can serve as inspiration for community members and validate their mission of Keres-language schooling.

McCarty's (2002) long-term ethnographic project among the Navajo community at Rough Rock, also in the American Southwest, reveals that a Hawaiian program stood as inspiration for Navajo-language schools as well. "In the fall of 1983, at the invitation of the elementary principal at the time, personnel from the Hawaii-based Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP) arrived at Rough Rock… to disseminate its approach" (p. 148). The KEEP visitors even spent time teaching in the classroom in order to expose the teachers to effective bilingual practices. McCarty also highlights the significance of the teacher-principal relationship for program development. During what would turn out to be the most successful period in Rough Rock's history,

> one additional development helped this process along. In January 1987, after the
> fourth elementary principal in 4 years resigned, the school board hired Dan Estell
> as principal. A non-Navajo who had married into the community, Estell held the

position of principal for 8 years, actively and enthusiastically supporting teachers'

efforts and lending administrative permanency to the bilingual/bicultural program

as it took shape (p. 150).

She also emphasizes how Rough Rock was built around pillars of community engagement that

served to simultaneously empower community members and improve the school's offerings.

The situation is of course much more complicated. For instance, while some of the

pressures from the federal government resulted in transitional language policies at the school,

without the grant money apportioned from Washington, D.C., the entire program would have

lacked the financial means to gain traction. All in all, McCarty's research, particularly given its

ethnographic, longitudinal methods, paints one of the most comprehensive pictures of bilingual

program development. She makes it clear that the confluence of seemingly random factors, or as

she calls it, serendipity, coupled with individual agency, produced the circumstances for Rough

Rock to thrive but also struggle. The diverse and at times unexpected relationships that were

forged between community members, teachers, students, researchers, administrators, and the

government complicate any attempt to explain the Navajo language project in scalar terms.

Many authors have attested to other relationships impacting policy changes in

multilingual contexts. Chiatoh (2011), for example, describes an inter-community framework

that has facilitated the expansion of mother tongue literacy campaigns in Cameroon. As he

writes, it "is thus one of joint participation with its specific character being community-to-

community self-supporting collaboration and networking. These functional systems facilitate the

achievement of greater impact and productivity through the building of local synergies" (p. 592).

It is important to note that this political structure connects a variety of speech communities, not a

single language. This reality complicates our understanding of ownership in cases of minority

language projects. When the desire for ownership crowds out opportunities for expertise sharing,

such thinking might limit the potential of the literacy campaign. In this framework, however, the

breadth of the program and the overall transfer of technical skills have in fact been quite

remarkable:

> This approach has been quite successful in the Northwest region where the
>
> Komm, Bafut and Lamnso committees have played a pioneering role in training
>
> neighbouring committees. The Komm Language Development Committee
>
> (KLDC) has contributed in helping the Aghem and Babanki committees set up
>
> their language programmes, while the Bafut Literacy Association (BALA) has
>
> assisted in training trainers of mother tongue education for the Mundani
>
> committee. The Nso Language Organisation (NLO) has also provided similar
>
> activities to the Oku and Noni language committees (p. 595).

The role of collaboration, particularly among minoritized groups, cannot be understated.

But Chiatoh's article does not delve into how the framework has triggered the development of

relationships at the individual level. In contrast, Bernard (1996) highlights the way a non-profit,

indigenous language publishing house in Latin America brought together representatives of

various speech communities throughout the region during trainings. Those moments become

more than a seminar on the role of written materials in language revitalization. They become

opportunities for individuals to connect, share their experiences, and plan among likeminded

activists.

One of the most clear-cut examples of individual relationship-building comes from López (1996) who outlines a Guarani literacy training from the perspective of the attendees. Due to its very nature, a training is generally understood as a site for the dissemination of ideas from a superior body. But this hierarchical slant overlooks the instances of organic political interaction that result from the complex merging of stories, perspectives, and trajectories afforded by the training. López notes how the attendees would break into groups and discuss the relevant issues, learning from each other and co-constructing future visions for Guarani planning and education. One of the most telling quotes comes in fact from one of the trainers who realized that, to her surprise, the dialogue was not as one-way as she had expected:

> But one day when I went up to the front of the room I didn't realize I was being corrected…. I learned a lot with my group because they were older than I was and they constantly gave me their advice. Instead of teaching them, they would teach me every day…. My literacy group was my best teacher. They taught me something new every day (p. 345).

While this comment is not surprising, unfortunately it is usually viewed as a secondary function of a workshop or training. However, when organization is visualized rhizomatically, this moment of student-to-trainer knowledge production must be acknowledged as equally valuable to the formation of a sustainable Guarani literacy campaign. In other words, the top-down training is deconstructed into its constituent vectors, nodes, and frictions that do not necessarily conform to the vertical structure of the workshop model.

Disbray (2016), who surveyed bilingual language programs in aboriginal Australia, also found that teachers spoke highly of trainings because of the opportunities they created for them to connect with other teachers. She also stresses the way the programs to some extent depend on and inevitably stimulate out-of-school partnerships. Community members provide support and validate these programs, and it is important to mention that the fact that school initiatives like the ones described by Disbray fortify parent- and community-school relations should stand as an invaluable result in and of itself.

The importance of colleague collaboration has not been lost in the language policy literature (e.g., Honigsfeld & Dove, 2015). Collaboration has been kindled in many dual language schools in the United States because they cannot find enough bilingual staff to teach both halves of the program. The solution in primary schools has been to hire English language teachers who then split two groups with a partner teacher who speaks the target/heritage language (like in the schools studied in this project). The nature and effectiveness of these teacher-teacher relationships depends on myriad factors, personality/work style unquestionably one of the most significant. This makes it nearly impossible to predict how planning sessions will unfold; at the same time, as these partnerships develop organically, they can be the site of innovation.

However, teacher-teacher collaboration is all but expected in schools. Other relationships that are often overlooked can also spur change. For example, Prieto (2009) found an instance of a reading specialist affecting a teacher's language organization in a bilingual program. Both Valdiviezo (2010) and Foote (2016) found that students and teachers became co-language planners because advanced and technical vocabulary in the medium of instruction was unknown. In Valdiviezo, the staff wanted to reinsert Quechua terms into math lessons instead of falling

back on their Spanish equivalents. The school Foote studied is the only in the world to teach in the Yangon variety of Burmese sign language, so students and teachers negotiate new vocabulary together. These examples do more than provide an alternative to top-down language planning/standardization. They paint an alternative politics of language and language-in-education issues that Foote considers more egalitarian than traditional school politics that favors a curriculum-to-teacher-to-student model.

The possible range of relationships that can emerge in the educational system is endless; those referenced here were only meant to demonstrate the value of thinking rhizomatically/relationally and in terms of networks. Before moving on, I will mention one final relationship that impacts decision-making in schools. Van Huy et al. (2016) explored the concept of intrapersonal tensions in administrators at a Vietnamese university, finding that while the implementation of the newly adopted language policy was mediated by the administrators' preferences, those preferences were not always straightforward. The administrators were not always certain of their opinions regarding the policies and therefore harbored internal tensions that affect university practices. Due to educators' constant evolution as professionals, Nambiar and Thang (2016) looked into reflection through blogs as a form of professional development, finding that teachers used the blogs to contemplate some of the more challenging episodes and aspects of their jobs.

In the theory employed in the current study, Hillier (2011) argues that because the future is inherently unknown and in progress, shifting the focus from outcome to points of political juncture becomes a practical approach. Such a conceptualization of planning takes well to a rhizomatic vision of organization where any actor can potentially connect with any other actor,

creating a future that would not have developed under other circumstances. Jaffe (2011, p. 222) says it well:

> How can minority language schools create the contexts of exchange and interaction that will allow school and society members to negotiate, through practice, a shared understanding of the desired outcomes (what kinds of speakers) from the schooling process? In other words, it points the way to a meta-assessment that opens up the debate on, rather than takes for granted, what minority language schools should and can do. Such a debate requires two-way communication between school and society.

The goal of bringing together school agents and community members supersedes the outcome-based approach that prevails in most school systems (e.g., disseminate knowledge, improve test scores, etc.) which can be leveraged to control the form schooling takes in very specific ways. This is not to say that the outcome does not matter. But as Jaffe implies, if the right relationships are in place and healthy, more appropriate forms of schooling and/or language planning can be developed that respond to the needs co-determined by the community itself. Now we turn to Hillier (2011) whose non-scalar theory of spatial planning directly informed the methodology of the current study.

2.2.7   Spatial planning across multiple planes

There seems to be an inherent contradiction in the language policy and planning literature. On the one hand, author after author points to the fact that planning goals and on-the-

ground outcomes rarely, if ever, align. On the other hand, they frame their conclusions in the same vocabulary of conventional planning, of eradicating those discontinuities. In 2006, Spolsky reviewed dozens of language planning projects, and instead of gauging their perceived value from the perspective of a linguist, he took them at face value, comparing the reality following the mandate with its initial intentions. He concluded that given the complexity and unpredictability of language use in society and political change, the vast majority of planning efforts end up as failures. This is one of the reasons cited by Weber (2014) for a more intentional inclination toward flexibility in the provision of multilingual education.

Perhaps the time has come for language policy and planning to learn from current developments in spatial planning theory that take into consideration the future's inherent unpredictability. For this dissertation, Jean Hillier's (2011) *Spatial* p*lanning across multiple planes* will inform both the methodology and data analysis in which teachers are viewed as spatial planners for the two reasons mentioned above.

In her piece, Hillier draws on the philosophies of Foucault and Bourdieu to prepare a theory of spatial planning that hedges its bets against eventualities from which a one-dimensional plan would be left susceptible. For this reason, and similar to Balducci (2008), she sees "spatial planning as a field of experimentation, where processes are based on communication and involvement of actors rather than the top-down imposition of goals and policies" (p. 505). This is a clear departure from the scale-based solutions proposed by Hornberger (1996, bottom-up), Skilton-Sylvester (2003, top-down), Benson et al. (2012, devolution), and Ambatchew (2010, greater devolution). These authors all have faith that the calculated resolution of a problem, emanating from a given scale, will do its job. If Spolsky's (2006) message is in any way prophetic, these supposed solutions may produce yet another basket of failures. Hillier's (2011,

p. 506) alternative begins by "tracing relational forces," so that, instead of "adopting predetermined solutions, strategic spatial planning might offer a 'genuine possibility' of experimentation."

How might this look? Strict plans (which can be visualized as a linear line) are replaced with broad planes that are home to a set of trajectories, each with its own probability of occurrence, but each also a realistic vision of the future. To simplify matters, Hillier urges the reader to imagine a short-term plane, where outcomes are more certain, and a long-term plane, where the set of trajectories is much wider. Let me provide examples from the cases studied in the current project. In one of the schools, the next four years will see the program transition from partial dual language, where some students continue to receive instruction entirely in English, to an all-school program, where all enrolled students will take dual language classes. This comes with foreseeable challenges. For example, even though the student body speaks over thirty languages, most of the non-Spanish-speaking students have been set aside in the general education program which is being lost each year as new grades are added to the dual language program. In other words, most students whose home language is not Spanish are currently placed in the English-only strand within the school which will no longer be possible when the entire school becomes dual language. As a result, it is no mystery that teachers will soon face more linguistically diverse classes in which all instruction is meant to be given in Spanish and English. The long-term demographic of the community, however, may look very different than it does today, making the long-term plane less predictable.

Consider the case of the other school in my study. Fifteen years ago, when the program was first proposed, it was partly done so on the grounds of providing first language instruction to the heavily Hispanic segment of the town's population. What was not foreseen was that, even

though most of the families in the school come from Central America, almost one-third *do not* in

fact have Spanish as their mother tongue, but rather Mam or Q'anjob'al (Mayan languages of

Guatemala). Does this constitute another policy failure? The issue is of course much more

complicated than mere mother tongue language support. But it certainly demonstrates the

unpredictability of the long-term plane and the need for flexibility in education planning.

Let us now turn to Hillier's (2011) proposal for the tracing of relations which forms the

foundation of the methodology. By "diagram[ming] and engag[ing] the interconnections between

elements," one can better understand how current practices came to be and explore possible

relationships that might lead to new strategies, ideas, and pathways that could respond to the

needs of tomorrow (p. 508). In other words, an imposed plan of bilingual teaching strategies, for

example, might be substituted with the forging of relationships that would feasibly result in new

teaching strategies; the difference between the two lies in the politics itself (just think of

Valdiviezo and Foote who describe more egalitarian language form planning). Hillier suggests

that connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions within the system be traced as future relations

cannot be proposed without knowing the current state of affairs. Connections and disjunctions

are self-explanatory, either a meeting up of two or more elements or a rift between elements. An

example of a connection in the context of a policy network might be two colleagues

collaborating in order to develop a new practice. A disjunction, on the other hand, may constitute

a teacher avoiding a particular colleague because the two do not work well together. A

conjunction is defined as the "joining of elements or processes such that one or some become

dominant to the detriment of others" (p. 509). In a policy network, a conjunction may exist when

a teacher seeks out regular advice from a trusted ally. Because the teacher routinely approaches

the same person or group for support, he/she minimizes the chances of interacting with other

agents. That specific link thus becomes "dominant." In attempting to illuminate these professional ties, emphasis is placed on the relationship between a specific node and an episode of policy negotiation with the intention of highlighting what new practices emerge from these forms of social connectivity and organization (Sørensen, 2009). This spatial position greatly informed data collection procedures (see *sections 3.3.3* and *3.3.11*).

Referring back to the discussion on scale, no relationship structure (i.e., top-down) was privileged *a priori*. Instead, any and all connections were deemed possible and equally potent prior to the interviews (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987). While human actors, discourses, and objects are all plausible points of connection for teachers (Latour, 2005), the central focus here is the coming together of individuals. This is a reflection of the spatial foundations of the paper where space is defined as the coming together of human trajectories (Massey, 2005). The research question is thus:

How do teachers perceive the relationship between their own connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions (Hillier, 2011) and their production of policy (Kitchin & Dodge, 2007)?

Hillier's (2011) theory also informs one element of the data analysis phase. By understanding the relational forces that helped produce the current circumstances, we can ask ourselves how those relations should inform future decisions regarding interrelations among actors. By reflecting on the findings in the study, we can, as she puts it, consider "interven[ing] and manipulat[ing] relational forces and their potential connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions" (p. 516). The key here is that the implications of the results do not lie in suggesting the replication of a given outcome, but rather reorganizing the process itself and the connections

among actors so that they will have the greatest capacity to solve the problems they face. It is about the facilitation of powerful and useful engagement that can produce creative changes and experimentation, not the imposition of specific practices and methods.

One of the main challenges was the development of an interview protocol that afforded reliability. Simply asking the teachers what *relationships* are most important would have lacked reliability because their responses are codependent on the *issues* connected to each case. For example, when a teacher is asked how important the teacher-parent relationship is, the response is all but predetermined, and there would be little substance to that episode. However, by discussing context, goals, policy, etc., certain relationships will emerge during the interview which I would then be able to probe in much more specific and substantive ways with follow-up questions.

3.	THE STUDY

Taking a spatial approach as suggested by Massey (2005) and Hillier (2011), the current study explores teacher agency in policymaking in bilingual schools by explicitly highlighting social relations. Before describing methods and participants, I outline dual language education, the form of bilingual education studied here.

3.1	Dual language education

This section provides a brief definition and history of dual language in order to describe the setting in which to place the two schools in the current study.

For the most part, dual language is the term used for full or partial (50:50) immersion, also called content and language integrated learning (colloquially CLIL), in the United States. Its history can be traced back to the 1960's when new bilingual schools opened in the image of Canadian English-French schools. These American programs were known as world language immersion and marked a shift in attitudes surrounding bilingual education at the federal level that saw full and partial immersion as viable options for both English native speakers and immigrant learners. Bilingual education in the United States goes back centuries, but program designs never spread around the country under a single name until the second half of the 20th century (U.S. Department of Education, 2015).

The transition from world language immersion to dual language speaks more to the social context of the current era than to any novel approach to educating emergent bilinguals (Lindholm-Leary, 2001). As the consciousness surrounding immigration grew, dual language became synonymous with what is now called maintenance bilingual education which is geared toward non-native speakers of English. Prior to the most recent boom in immersion in the United

States, the world language programs were mostly additive elite programs for native speakers of English. The focus on immigrant learners explains why most programs in the country are in Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabic, and Japanese. Surprisingly, animosity toward immigrants has not only closed down opportunities for bilingual education, most notably in Arizona, California, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, it has also served as a catalyst for dual language when Caucasian families realize that it can essentially resegregate communities (Dorner & Kim, 2016; Johnson, 2016). The heavy focus on the four restrictive states in the literature can cause some confusion. On the one hand, ethnocentric sentiments exist in all states and manifest themselves in various ways during the development of bilingual programs. On the other hand, the propositions passed in those four states do not outlaw bilingual education as many believe. In California, the number of dual language programs has actually increased since the passing of Proposition 227 (the same being true for Arizona). These laws have a greater potential to affect newcomers who arrive in a district that does not have a bilingual school where language support is meant to be provided in the form of scaffolding and sheltered instruction. As we saw earlier (Johnson, 2012), the reality for many newcomers has probably not changed much in some schools in these states. The laws seem to have a greater effect in the discursive realm in which conservative educators can latch onto the propositions to push their agenda and progressive educators and community members mobilize in resistance to the assimilationist rhetoric (for an example, see Newcomer & Puzio, 2016). This is a perfect example of what Tsing (2005) calls friction, that the status quo, which was already assimilationist, is accepted passively until an act triggers a realization of the issue within society.

Most immersion programs in the United States are now included under the umbrella of dual language. They are classified further under the terms one-way and two-way. Two-way

programs ideally maintain a 50/50 ratio of English native speakers and native speakers of the

additional language. These are examples of developmental maintenance programs, also known as

enrichment language education (Baker, 2011). Although one-way programs usually refer to elite

bilingual schools, the term technically covers any program where less than 1/3 of the enrollment

fits the complementary student category. Because of the wide variation in models, student

makeup, and teaching strategies among dual language schools, differences between this form of

education and immersion, content and language integrated learning (CLIL), and minority and

indigenous language education may be better explained in sociohistorical terms.

Neither the state of Washington nor the U.S. Department of Education keeps official data

regarding dual language education. The Office of English Language Acquisition in Washington,

D.C., which oversees bilingual education in the country, published a document on dual language

in December, 2015. Most states offer dual language programs, the vast majority in Spanish. In

Washington, based on the doctoral work of Marta Mickelson at the University of Washington, it

is estimated that more than twenty districts have started bilingual programs (out of 295 total

districts). The range of models is vast, from one-way elite programs in affluent areas to two-way

Spanish programs throughout the state as well as Vietnamese, Chinese, and Japanese language

schools concentrated in the Seattle area. Most programs end after primary school and conduct

50% of instruction in both languages. There are a few notable exceptions of 90:10 programs in

Spanish and Chinese where the minority language is privileged in instructional time.

The main difference in outcomes between 90:10 and 50:50 programs is related to

minority language proficiency. In most cases, because of the sociolinguistic dominance and

prestige of English, English outcomes do not depend on program type. In contrast, 90:10

programs have been shown to produce greater gains in the minority language for both English native speakers and speakers of the minority language (Lindholm-Leary & Genesee, 2014).

Both programs in the current study are classified as two-way, developmental, and 50:50. They are meant to cater to the needs of their communities by providing first and heritage language instruction to students from Spanish-speaking families. Having been founded relatively recently, the programs are part of the growing wave of dual language in the United States.

3.2   Context

The current study examines teachers from two two-way immersion, Spanish-English dual language schools in the greater Seattle-Tacoma metropolitan area. For the sake of anonymity, especially given the controversial nature of some of the teachers' comments, every effort will be made to avoid identifying the districts, schools, and participants. For this reason, exact statistics will be substituted with general figures.

3.2.1   Washington State

The state of Washington has witnessed a growing number of dual language (both one-way and two-way) schools over the past twenty years. Two-way schools, which are additive, non-elite programs, continue to be directed and apportioned funds by Washington State's office of Migrant and Bilingual Education. At the state level, the main document underwriting the operations in the office is the Washington Transitional Bilingual Instruction Act (TBIA). Even though two-way programs are not intended to be transitional, the TBIA maintains stated transitional aims:

'Transitional bilingual instruction' means: A system of instruction which uses two languages, one of which is English, as a means of instruction to build upon and expand language skills to enable the pupil to achieve competency in English (28A.180.030).

This goal has been recontextualized in most dual language schools to include the development of the first/heritage language as well as the concrete recognition that bilingualism, biliteracy, and to a much lesser extent, multilingualism, multiliteracy, and multiculturalism are beneficial assets to students. However, transitional policies and discourses continue to be present in these schools. The TBIA mandates state-wide testing in English (called the SBA), although students are permitted to receive limited first language support during testing. Limited English Proficient students (LEP's), whether in a dual language program or not, are required to take an English proficiency exam (known as ELPA). It should be noted that students registered as Native Americans also sit for this exam as well as an unknown number of English-dominant heritage speakers of other languages. While this policy appears racist from that angle, some administrators may consciously allow English-dominant students to take the exam in order to increase total funding which can then be used for students who genuinely need additional support.

The focus on transitional education can cause some confusion in the reporting of state data as well. Even though the office of Migrant and Bilingual Education is in charge of dual language education, full dual language programs do not report 100% of students as part of a transitional bilingual program. The statistic only covers non-native speakers of English who continue to receive additional financial backing from the state (as LEP's). English native

speakers and students who have successfully tested out of the ELPA are not included even though they make up a significant part of the dual language student body. For this reason, how many students actually attend dual language programs in the state is unknown as no figures are kept for dual language schools and districts.

At the federal level, Title III is the main source of funding that funnels through the state offices for bilingual education. Title III was enacted as part of the 2001 ordinance No Child Left Behind (NCLB) to support LEP's and immigrant students. Although the federal department of education has limited power in the United States, Malsbary and Appelgate (2016) argue that NCLB has affected schooling for emergent bilinguals. It requires schools to "report sub-group achievement data on traditionally underperforming students, which includes students who are classified as [English learners]" (p. 31). There is both an ideological element to this mandate as well as a flaw in logic. Menken (2010) explains that the heavy emphasis on testing that ramped up pre-NCLB standardized assessment norms propagates the belief that data collection will spur higher quality education. In the case of English learners, this argument is entirely unfounded. As Koyama and Menken (2013) point out, because test scores are mediated by the language of assessment, newcomers will consistently earn low scores. However, those students who have reached the expected level of proficiency no longer sit for the test, meaning the average score across the district or state will never increase unless it has been tampered with (see above). Therefore, NCLB has created the circumstances for non-native speakers of English to continually be labeled as "underperforming" and "liabilities."

For the sake of parity and program evaluation, both schools in my study had implemented some form of Spanish language assessment. These assessments were not mandated or prepared by the state and therefore had a different appearance to the English language tests.

The current Washington state language arts and math competency standards that students are expected to master are known as Common Core. Common Core was introduced in 2010 as a standardizing curriculum at the federal level which has been ratified in almost all states, though many are in the process of repealing it. The effect of Common Core is not usually discussed in relation to bilingual education, but as Bale (2015) notes, what is not included in the document is most significant in this case. The standards are originally prepared in English, the outcome being that immersion classrooms are often expected to use the school's Common Core-aligned curriculum even without materials in the target language.

3.2.2   Districts and schools

The two schools in this study come from different districts. Both districts are of medium size, one in a fully urban setting, which we will call Lafayette School District. The other caters to a smaller city and the surrounding rural community, which we will call Springfield School District. Both districts received above-average funding from the Office of Migrant and Bilingual Education that supported their bilingual programs because they have a higher-than-average proportion of immigrant and impoverished families. In the 2015-2016 school year, the superintendent's office apportioned on average $113 per student under the category "transitional bilingual." In the same category, Springfield SD received close to $130 per student while Lafayette received more than $250. The state also apportions funds under the category of "limited English proficient" which was at a state average of $20 per student for the same school year. Springfield received almost $30 and Lafayette almost $40. The higher values in both categories for Lafayette are due to the demographic makeup of the district as a whole in which non-native speakers of English are dispersed throughout. In contrast, because most Spanish-

speaking students in Springfield SD are funneled to the dual language program, the district has less overall linguistic diversity than Lafayette SD. The data at the school level are unfortunately not kept for these categories. The final funding category I would like to include is titled "disadvantaged." The average payout per student in the state was $236. In Springfield it was over $300 and in Lafayette over $400.

The schools themselves reported similar numbers of Hispanic students, transitional bilinguals, and students receiving free and reduced lunch. The school in Lafayette SD will be called Lafayette Elementary, the school in Springfield, Springfield Elementary. The enrollment in each school is almost equal, both between 500 and 700 students. Lafayette serves kindergarten-6th grade (ages 5-11) while Springfield serves kindergarten-5th grade (ages 5-10) (kindergarten being the first year of mandatory schooling in the United States). Although Lafayette has a larger proportion of non-white students throughout the district, the dual language school in Springfield has a greater proportion of Hispanic students and transitional bilinguals. The proportion of students on free and reduced lunch is identical (within 1%) between the two schools and near 90%. Hispanic students in both schools make up around 55% of the student body at Lafayette, at Springfield nearly 80%. The transitional bilingual numbers hover around 50%, but as mentioned earlier, there is little validity in the way this statistic is gathered. Both schools regularly test significantly below the state average, which in elementary schools, sees almost 60% of students pass the state exams in English language arts and math.

Both Lafayette Elementary and Springfield have languages other than Spanish present in their dual language programs. At Lafayette, which is in a more diverse community, more students speak or have as a heritage language Asiatic and East African languages and fewer students overall speak indigenous languages from Central American countries. Even though the

Hispanic population is greater in Springfield, linguistic diversity is just as pertinent an issue. In its case, as many as 1/3rd of some classes comes from rural areas in and around the Huehuetenango Department in Guatemala and speak either Mam or Q'anjob'al. Official numbers are not kept, and of those students, Spanish proficiency varies greatly. Even though the figures are not exact, the issue of instruction for Guatemalan students will surface again in the results.

Both dual language programs are more than ten years old. Lafayette needs four more years to finish its transition to full dual language program, meaning that all students are enrolled in the bilingual program (the dual language component of a school that runs a simultaneous monolingual program in English is known as a "strand"). Springfield has already finished its transition to a full program. Both schools run a partner teacher system, with two teachers sharing two groups of students (around 50 in total), one teaching in Spanish, the other in English. Two teachers at Springfield (and both pre-school programs) are standalone, teaching English and Spanish in the same room. In these cases, the teachers are expected to follow the same model as any teaching pair would, splitting the day evenly between the two languages (and keeping them separate), teaching the same subjects in each language as the rest of the school, and using the same official materials. The programs follow Gómez and Gómez's (1999) Dual Language Enrichment Model to varying degrees in which math is taught on the English side and science and social studies are taught in Spanish. Other than in kindergarten at Springfield (see *section 4.3.2*), students switch between Spanish and English class every day.

3.2.3   General underlying dual language principles

Content and language integration is generally understood to happen implicitly with a clear privileging of content and limited focus on explicit language instruction. Other than Gómez

and Gómez (1999), Guided Language Acquisition Design (GLAD) has become common knowledge for staff, with nearly all teachers in both schools receiving some form of training. Many teachers employ scaffolding techniques, graphic organizers, and cognate charts that are recommended by GLAD, all to varying degrees (also called sheltered instruction). The official language arts curriculum is Common Core-aligned, meaning it adheres to the standards outlined in the federal literacy program. In the specific curriculum used in the schools, prepared by Lucy Calkins et al. (2016) and considered to be a form of balanced literacy (Honig, 1996), teachers are officially expected to teach three genres, opinion, information, and narrative. Reading assessment follows an A-Z progression chart prepared by Pinnell and Fountas (2011) which is incorporated into Lucy Calkins' publications. Students are intermittently tested for their reading level in both English and Spanish. The consensus among teachers is that there is no official Spanish language arts curriculum, which as we saw in the TBIA, is not required. The *de facto* curriculum is the English language arts curriculum, and when supplementary materials are procured, teachers should directly align (ensure their aims match the federal literacy goals) those lessons to the Common Core standards.

Both districts have an official, annually updated document that outlines the dual language program. For the sake of anonymity, they will not be quoted directly. The goals for each program in both documents are almost identical. These include bilingualism, biliteracy, grade-level performance in both languages, and a positive regard for multiculturalism. As Lindholm-Leary (2000) explains, these are the goals put forward by most dual language programs throughout the country. Lafayette has the additional goal of a strong relationship with families and the community. Language arts instruction in early grades is not 50/50 for all students, but instead is weighted to the student's first language following Gómez and Gómez (1999). It must be noted

that this component of the model may be phased out in the next few years in Lafayette as I learned from an interview with a district official.

3.3   Methodology

In order to ascertain teachers' views regarding their connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions, the main source of data came from semi-structured interviews. To my knowledge, there has been no data collected surrounding policy production in bilingual schools using non-scalar methods. The literature reviewed in the dissertation so far has treated teachers as implementers of policy (low-level scale) or actors who gain power through bottom-up interference or change (also low-level scale). These methods can overlook the relationship between educators and colleagues, students, original policy texts, etc. Because of the lack of data from similar studies, I entered the field with very few expectations (Mitchell & Jolley, 2010) of who and what teachers actually interact with as they plan. Through my reading, I had formulated a list of possible sources of ideas that teachers draw from and the pressures that affect them but had no way of knowing the relative value of each for dual language teachers. This lent itself to an exploratory, qualitative study (Blessing & Forister, 2013) that afforded the researcher flexibility. Such a methodology informs hypothesis formation in this area of study as opposed to hypothesis testing as is done in quantitative research (Clark, 2010).

Interviews provided multiple advantages over other forms as the main source of data. Given the exploratory nature of the study, teachers' attitudes, opinions, and descriptions of experiences, which are best sought out in interviews, afford a depth and complexity of results (Seale, 2004). At the same time, flexibility is key when the range of responses is vast, a major benefit of the semi-structured interview. In the current study, some policy issues and

relationships were important to one participant but not another. With an overly structured interview format, I would have lost the opportunity to probe further about a given issue and also spent too much time on the same topic with other teachers. Another element of the semi-structured interview is the ability to reorder the questions on demand (Edwards & Holland, 2013). If not necessary, I would try to keep the flow similar from one to the next to retain comparability. However, when a certain issue was fresh in the participant's mind, or when he/she initiated a discussion topic, I wanted to have the capacity to tap into that moment which offered slightly more reliable and more in-depth responses. I also took copious notes so that we could return to topics later and for clarification which I used to combat personal bias.

There would have been clear validity issues with a survey as the main source of data. When asked about policy relations with colleagues, curriculum, students, etc., each response is tied to a particular issue. For this very reason, when the participant rates the value of a given professional relationship along a scale, it is difficult to ensure that the scored value is comparable to another rating as various issues are often tied to the same professional relationship. At the same time, we all hold expectations about how a school *is supposed* to operate, and responses will reflect those expectations as much as the *actual* day-to-day politics of the school. The interview was useful when dealing with these potential drawbacks because teachers could clearly draw links between a policy issue and a relationship. Although there is no way to quantify the strength of their attitudes, I still gathered a rounded picture of teacher networks in the two schools. In the same vein, I was able to gain a good sense of teacher expectations through the interview, especially given their length (most were between two and four hours). When a relationship did not emerge, that did not mean that it did not exist, but that perhaps the teacher did not feel it was relevant based on her/his own expectations. I used an additional method, the

survey, to deal with this issue specifically (see the survey below). Instead of instigating the discussion of a relationship at the beginning of the interview, which I was trying to avoid for the reasons mentioned above, I administered a survey with a list of possible professional links near the end of the interview.

Finally, memory usually falters on broad, general questions but is much sharper when the participant recounts specific examples and episodes. This issue is obvious during an interview but difficult to identify in a scale-based questionnaire. Discussions of administrators (who the teachers see at uneventful meetings) and workshops (which seem useful at the time but blend together later in their mind) can often result in superficial responses. The structure of the interview (outlined below) was meant to address this issue, once again keeping in mind that not all non-responses equate to a political disjunction as they may be a marker of a simple lapse in memory.

The capacity to ask open-ended questions is another key benefit of the interview (Bailey, 2007). They allow for more detail, but also, when used prudently, can aid in the collection of participant-focused responses. An overreliance on closed-ended questions in an exploratory study like this one can be a sign of leading questions and researcher-guided results. The challenge in an interview setting comes when some participants provide very little detail while others ramble (Royse, 2008). In most cases, my personal goal as the interviewer was to try to make the participants feel comfortable enough to provide details without leading them down a certain path. A couple of the participants did occasionally stray off topic, and when this occurred, I would refer back to the part of their comment where more detail would in fact benefit the study. It is important to reiterate at this point that the goal of data collection and analysis was the elucidation of each participant's political network and not an objective depiction of classroom

practices. While I did introduce certain issues (see the interview protocol below), I did so to avoid planting the relationships (the key focus of the study). If no relationships surfaced during discussion, even if I had introduced the issue under discussion, then there existed no social tie to be coded at the stage of analysis. While I cannot ensure that researcher bias played no role at all, I attempted to avoid suggesting the value of any social tie as this would have interfered with the reliability of the results. Additionally, as mentioned before, the survey of potential relationships was administered at the end of the interview so as not to influence interview responses.

Mitchell & Jolley (2010) point out the two major downsides in conducting an interview in a semi-structured/unstructured format. First, because follow-up questions are participant-specific, they cannot be compared from one person to the next. In the current study, I consider this a necessary evil because a fully structured interview would have stifled deep discussion. However, I did take an additional measure to address this issue when asking follow-up questions. By allowing the themes in the theory (e.g., conjunction) and the extant literature (e.g., negotiation of policy) to guide the follow-up questions, there remains a semblance of structure and comparability even though the topic of discussion varied.

The second downside of semi-structured interviews is researcher bias. No matter how organized the thematic structure of the interview, the follow-up questions will always show researcher bias. As I reflect back on my own performance, I can identify a clear bias that is also evident in the literature review of this dissertation. That bias, a general rejection of structure and hierarchy in political organization, was fairly easy to address in the thematic structure of the interview and questionnaire (by making sure to include questions about top-down policy). The bias is much more difficult to combat when asking follow-up questions on the fly, although I included this in my protocol, particularly with the two participants who offered me less of their

time. However, during coding and analysis, I not only cross-compared responses, but also responses to themes in the literature which include constructs based heavily on top-down understandings of policy implementation. Finally, I must be cautious when drawing conclusions regarding top-down structure because any lack of discussion in that area in the interviews may be a product of my own biases and may not reflect the participants' positions. As mentioned previously, I only coded for disjunctions when the participants explicitly discussed relationships in such terms as the lack of discussion of an administrator, for example, may reflect a flaw in the interview protocol and not the participants' opinions.

Due to the focus on agency, teacher perceptions, and the relationship between social network and policy outcomes, it made sense for the interview to be the main source of data. This comes with its own challenges regarding reliability. Although reliability, validity, and generalizability of results are terms that originate from quantitative research, considering these issues can greatly improve the accuracy of the results (Elliot, 2005). Before discussing the interview as a social practice which affects reliability, I would like to comment on the structure of the interviews. Although some participants preferred one interview, others two, and one participant three, and the lengths varied based on their availability, I used the questionnaire as a segue into the final component of the interview. The general flow of the interview was thus cut into two segments, pre-questionnaire and post-questionnaire. The purpose of the two segments was based on the following issue.

A possible mistake that an interviewer can make, particularly in an exploratory study like this, is to get straight to the point too quickly (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This of course can create a situation where the interviewer's understanding of the participant's position is superimposed on him/her. In the current project, there was an additional motivation. As mentioned above, each

relation spanning outward from the teacher maintains multiple values to the participant depending on the issue being discussed. For this reason, if I were to start the interview with the question, "Tell me about your relationship with parents/administration/partner teacher," the response would be tied to an issue that has its own value to the teacher. For instance:

Partner-teacher relationship – valued by teacher ⟶ What issue?

…or…

Production of curriculum – valued by teacher ⟶ Partner-teacher relationship – (not) valued because of (lack of) supporting role in the production of curriculum

In the first example, by getting straight to the point, I learn very little about what matters to the teachers and how they create meaning out of their world and experience as teachers (Atkinson, 1998). Instead, I put my own interests and understanding of their world first which, because of the theory underlying the project, is grounded in political interaction and organization. In the second example, I gain much more reliable data about a (single) meaning (of many) associated with the partner teacher because it originated from the participant's own view of education. The reality is that teachers do not always make the kinds of calculated decisions that researchers, or administrators, for that matter, expect. This creates a major challenge for those studying agency – where/in what moments does agency actually occur?

In order to allow the teacher's perspective to shine through and in a sense guide the interview, I used Johnson's (2009) heuristic for conducting ethnographies of language policy to set the stage at the beginning of the interview. I wanted to understand how each teacher viewed bilingual education at his/her school, education, the context, etc., to get a sense for what mattered

to that teacher. Given time constraints, this was not a perfect system, but what it allowed was for

relationships to surface organically during the first ¾'s of the interview. I could ask follow-up

questions during this time that at the very least would reflect some element of the teacher's

world. I hoped that this approach would keep participants from telling me what they thought I

wanted to hear regarding certain relationships. As I reflected on the interviews later, I was

pleased to find plenty of examples of positive comments, negative comments, connections,

conjunctions, and disjunctions, which gives me the impression that teachers were opening up

honestly about their experiences as educators.

Table 1. Overview of the data elicitation methods

List of data elicitation methods	Purpose
Semi-structured interviews with participants	Main source of data collection. Participants can ascribe value to relationships and policy issues, provide in-depth examples, and have more control over the direction of covered topics which are all key to agency-focused studies (see *section 3.3.3.*)
Questionnaire	Administered as part of the interview and oral comments recorded. Partly meant for corroboration, partly meant to allow participants to discuss agents and processes that had not surfaced up to that point (see *section 3.3.4.*)
Observations	Corroboration of interview responses, tailoring interview questions (when conducted prior to interview), and to gain a sense of the classroom context and teacher's practices. Use of modified Danielson Framework (see *Appendix*)
Site visits/field notes	To document context and emotional responses with an explicit focus on teaching practices
Photographs	To document classrooms with an explicit focus on signage, charts, materials
Document analysis	District dual language handbooks, Common Core state standards
Interviews/meetings with administration and other staff	To gain additional perspectives regarding the program, challenges, future

3.3.1   Johnson's (2009) heuristic for the ethnography of language policy

Johnson's (2009) heuristic includes goals, agents, social/historical context, processes, and discourses. Goals refer to the intentions of any policy, element of policy, or program. At the outset, I wanted to allow the teachers to describe dual language as they saw it, as it had been described to them when hired, and the short-term and long-term language and non-language goals they held for their students. Agents refer to creators and implementers of policy. Given the theoretical argument from the first part of the dissertation, agents are those individuals who are tied to any moment of policy production or negotiation, not necessarily implementation or enactment. This component was especially useful during follow-up questions. The context included the classroom dynamic for each teacher, meaning student makeup and language profile. The more experienced teachers opened up about the community and the historical development of the program. Processes include those opportunities, structured or otherwise, where policy production takes place. Johnson purposely leaves this category broad as it is unknown what processes might exist in the school/district in question. These were also follow-up questions in order to respond to an issue at hand and were included in the questionnaire (workshops, conferences, observations, etc.). The discourses of interest are those that come from the participant exclusive of any documented policy, those that do come from policy texts, and intertextual connections. The major discourses that circulated the schools became clearer to me as I conducted more interviews.

3.3.2   Policy issues – from Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 2003)

The policy issues are taken from Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, 2003) and include those that are within the purview of teachers in bilingual schools. The categories are:

Curriculum – What is to be taught and how it will be organized. Curriculum also includes student assessment; the category "evaluation" refers to policy evaluation, not student evaluation.

Methods – How the curriculum is to be taught; strategies and methodologies.

Materials – The specific texts and supporting items that satisfy the curricular standards and objectives.

Community – The relationship between curriculum development in the school and students' families as well as the nature of the interaction between educators and families.

Evaluation – How policy effectiveness is to be measured.

3.3.3 Interview protocol

The interview protocol (Table 2) for the twelve participating teachers is as follows:

Social and historical contexts – Teacher, students, school, community
How many years have you been teaching? In dual language?   What is your first language? What languages do you speak?   How many students do you have?   What is the language profile of your class?   How did you come to work in a dual language school?   Tell me about the community.   What are your long-term aspirations for your students?   How would you describe the organizational structure of the school?
Goals
What does dual language education mean at this school? What are its objectives?   Would you personally like to add anything? Do you hold any objectives for dual language that are not specified by the school?   How is the school doing in terms of how it describes the program versus reality?   What language goals do you have for your students for this year?   Are you aware of any federal or state policies that mandate language use in education?

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<u>Processes (Part 1) – Policy norms (and their emergence)</u>

The policy norms included (these come from Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, 2003)...
  Curriculum
      Could you explain to me how the school model looks here? What subjects in each
      language? The timing of when students switch classes? That sort of thing.
      How does curriculum work for your language, grade, and subjects?
      How is curriculum selected?
      Could you list the assessments your students have to take this year? This includes yours
      and any standardized assessments.
      Could you describe how you assess student growth, whether in content, skills, or
      language?
      Of those that we've discussed, what is your evaluation of the strategy for student
      assessment here? Do you prefer one type over another? Have there been any changes?
      Would you like to see any changes?
  Methods
    Content/language teaching/integration of content and language
        How would you characterize your teaching style?
        How do your students learn language in your class?
        You are both a content teacher and a language teacher. How do you manage both?
        Do you use any strategies to teach language or does the content drive your students'
        language learning?
    Translanguaging/bilingual activities/separation of languages
        How do you and your partner teacher split up the use of both languages? Are they
        strictly separated? Do you ever bring in the other language?
        What about your students' language practices?
        Do you have any rules regarding language use? Are there school rules?
        And what do you do if a student speaks in the other language? Or in a third language?
    Team teaching
        Talk to me about how partner teaching and planning is structured.
        Walk me through a typical planning session. (Also grade level meetings if applicable)
        Let's return to the subjects for a minute. On the one hand, the school model has each
        subject assigned to a class. But you are also a team teacher. Could you talk to me about
        this dynamic and the planning process, what is shared between the two of you (or
        among the grade level team)? Where do curriculum/materials/themes/strategies come
        together and where do they stay apart?
        What are the challenges and benefits of having a partner teacher?
    Materials
        Let's talk about materials. What materials are available to you?
        What is your impression of the materials themselves?
        What is your impression of resource availability at the school?
        Have you ever supplemented materials?
        Is there a dual language handbook in the district? Have you seen it/read it/used it?
    Community
        When and how often do you communicate with parents? Regarding?
        Have you gotten any responses from the community about the dual language

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program? Negative or positive?

About your class? Assignments? Activities? Etc.?

If parents were not discussed prior to the survey, they were discussed in the final segment of the interview.

Evaluation

Evaluation can potentially address each individual issue, so this also emerged organically.

As a teacher, where do you feel you have more flexibility and where do you feel you have less?

Agents (see survey on following page)

These were dotted throughout the interview.

During or after the survey, we dive into other relationships as needed

Parents, trainings, conferences, meetings, observations.

Given that the teacher's policy production tendencies have already surfaced, I can compare comments here with previous value judgments as well as ask follow-up questions for clarification. General, superficial comments are understood to be of limited value for drawing conclusions.

Follow-up questions

Because I didn't know what relationships would matter to them or if they would vary from participant to participant, many of the specific questions had to be follow-up questions. I would probe certain issues in a similar manner in each interview so that the data could be comparable. The policy norms above set the stage for what issues would be elaborated on for what teachers. Following Mason (2002), exact follow-up questions are not preset. Instead, I enter the interview with an idea of the themes that interest me based on the research question so that I can both probe in the appropriate moments while remaining flexible.

I used both general and focused follow-up questions (Magnusson & Marecek, 2015). In general follow-up questions, I asked for elaboration without realigning the focus of discussion. Focused follow-up questions aimed to have the participant explain the relationships and resources pertinent to the issue at hand.

I probed further if appropriate with three main foci based on the research question:

1) Is there a relationship (intertextual link) between school/district/state/federal policy and the teacher's perspectives? Even though my theory sees policy documents and discourses as just another resource (included in focus #2 directly below), there is a power dimension that cannot be overlooked – this notion has developed from sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis to language policy (see Johnson & Johnson, 2015, where this issue was applied at the agency level) and even network analysis (see Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006) in which this issue has been considered the biggest flaw in "flat" studies like mine. This also helps me pick apart the teacher's actual views and practices from school expectations.

2) What resources (in the broadest sense of the term) were appropriated in the production of

that policy and the shaping of ideologies, practices, discourses? This may include, but is not limited to, individuals and the context of their interaction; texts/discourses; materials and their sourcing; and experiences.
3) How was the policy negotiated? Was it contested? Is the teacher hiding it from superiors? Did he/she carve out or exploit implementational/ideological space (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007)? Has he/she passed it along to other colleagues?

This is how I got a fuller, deeper look at the way things work in the school. As I made clear in the literature review, too many authors take for granted that policy is negotiated without actually delving into the negotiation process itself. Who was involved? What issues were actually negotiated? Are the participants resisting top-down expectations or doing something else altogether? This is what I call the production of policy. It is where actors and resources come together and are purposely called upon and sought out in order to produce policy in the moment (see *section 2.1*).

It is quite clear that there is a heavy focus on issues that are politicized when issues that are not politicized can be just as significant. This is expected because I am looking at teacher agency. Their perceptions of the relationships are going to revolve around those issues that are politicized or that they wish were politicized. Discourse analysis is quite useful here as I can identify some of the circulating discourses/counterdiscourses that are/are not mentioned without being questioned.

One of the main limitations of this interview protocol is its general nature. This decision was not only theoretically motivated, but also meant to fill a gap in the literature. What I mentioned earlier in the paper was that because authors focus on an individual policy, their analyses are made *in terms of* the policy (i.e., compliance, transformation, resistance). To understand the production of policy, I need to allow the teachers to discuss their own experiences in terms of what matters to them socially, pedagogically, politically, and/or linguistically, which may or may not be the compliance or resistance of a policy. Just as there are downsides to conducting an overly specific qualitative study, there are downsides to mine as well.

However, in over half of the interviews, intriguing insights emerged. Teachers began contextualizing their decisions. For instance, they would discuss what appeared at face value to be a curriculum decision in terms of school model, partner teaching, even student discipline. The complexity of policy production started to shine through which was the goal of including

questions on a variety of topics. Even though the focus in most interviews ended up revolving around similar issues (which is quite telling), talking about discipline, assessment, and strategies opened the door for more sophisticated discussions. Uncovering complexity is a key purpose for interviews especially when studying perceptions of social organization (Mason, 2002).

It must be said that these very findings can be argued to be methodologically determined in that it was the general nature of the interview that may have allowed for the contextualization of teacher decision-making (which may or may not reflect reality any better than other studies). In the research papers I have critiqued, the methods and analytical frames seemed to guide results; the same can be said here. However, I am aware of this and am arguing for no more than the fact that the current study fills a gap in the literature. In some papers (e.g., McEntee-Atalianis, 2016), a specific language policy rests at the center of a policy network, the surrounding relations giving rise to that specific language policy. While this approach makes sense for understanding power in the organization in question (the United Nations), a policy-centric approach would do little more than mask the agency of teachers in the current study. I have made this argument previously with the example of Johnson's (2012) study in Arizona, and I will make a similar argument in the discussion with Mohanty et al.'s (2010) study in India. In both cases, it appears that a policy was inappropriately deemed the key driver of change when the agents studied made decisions with little regard for the policies the authors frontload in their papers. The main benefit of the egocentric approach employed here (which allows for the discussion of a variety of policies, not just one), is that it permits teacher agency to take center stage.

3.3.4   Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see *Fig. 1* below), which was administered ¾ of the way through the

interview, with the tape recorder still rolling, provided the teachers the opportunity to fill in the

gaps. It was not meant to produce quantitative data for comparative purposes but was used as a

stimulus (Mackey & Gass, 2012). I found that they would actually point out certain areas that

mattered to them as they filled it out. I was confident that by bringing up direct relationships this

late in the interview, comments and responses would be in line with the meanings surrounding

teaching they/we had produced so far. The goal here was not to fill in my data (which would be

unreliable) if certain relationships had not surfaced organically. It was to *provide the teacher the*

opportunity to discuss ideas that mattered to them that may not have emerged during the

interview up to that point. The questionnaire was divided into three main sections. In the first

section, participants were asked to approximate how often they discussed general policy issues,

operationalized as teaching strategies, classroom activities, curriculum development, or dual

language issues with various individuals, namely partner teachers, other colleagues,

administrators, or parents. The focus here was more on planning and reflection than on logistics

or individual student progress (such as with parents). The second section dealt with observations,

often considered by schools as a key opportunity for growth. The final section presented various

meetings and workshops to the participants to see how meetings are organized in the two

schools. In most American public schools, teachers are bombarded with meetings and

professional development programs. These are easy for administrators to sell as useful, but it is

important for teachers to provide their own opinion regarding meetings and trainings.

Reliability thus was a key topic during analysis as well as I tried to identify my own

leading questions, biases, missed opportunities for follow-up questions, and gauge which

relationships mattered to teachers in the final ¼ of the interview.

Figure 1. Questionnaire.

How often do you discuss teaching strategies, classroom activities, curriculum development, or DL issues with…

Your partner teacher?

☐ More than once a week

☐ Once a week

☐ Twice a month

☐ Once a month

☐ Less than once a month

☐ Never

Other teachers or support staff?

☐ More than once a week

☐ Once a week

☐ Twice a month

☐ Once a month

☐ Less than once a month

☐ Never

Administrators?

☐ More than once a week

☐ Once a week

☐ Twice a month

☐ Once a month

☐ Less than once a month

☐ Never

Parents?

☐ More than once a week

☐ Once a week

☐ Twice a month

☐ Once a month

☐ Less than once a month

☐ Never

How many times this school year have you observed a fellow teacher?

How many times this school year have you been observed?

    By whom?

Are any DL (dual language) meetings set up for…

All staff? ☐ Yes ☐ No   How often?

All DL staff? ☐ Yes ☐ No   How often?

All Spanish-medium teachers? ☐ Yes ☐ No   How often?

All English-medium teachers? ☐ Yes ☐ No   How often?

Same grade level?   ☐ Yes ☐ No   How often?

District-led workshops?   ☐ Yes   ☐ No   How often?

Externally led (e.g., researcher) workshops? ☐ Yes ☐ No   How often?

3.3.5   Observations

Classroom observations were used to triangulate the interview data regarding teaching

practices, provide context, and generate possible routes of inquiry during interviews. I purposely

chose to modify the Danielson Framework (see *Appendix*) because many American schools use

this framework during evaluative observations. The categories there kept me from focusing

solely on language which paints an incomplete picture of bilingual schools. I supplemented the

Danielson categories with language policy categories like translanguaging, scaffolding/sheltered

instruction strategies, explicit language instruction, grouping of students (commonly used to

allow speakers of the same language to support each other), corrective feedback, etc. About half

of the observations occurred prior to the interviews. We then referenced teaching episodes during

the interview when appropriate. Conducting observations after an interview can result in the

instructor changing practices to accommodate interview responses (Ary et al., 2010). However,

dual language teachers have twice as many students as mainstream teachers and are swamped for

time. I never witnessed teachers trying to do any of the lofty ideas they had mentioned during the

interview like bringing in the third language. While teachers were most likely on their best

behavior during observations, it is important to point out that I was not attempting to analyze

their in-class practices in any comprehensive sense (the focus of the study being on teachers'

perceptions of social relations). If no connection to a relational tie were made during an

interview, then those practices were not incorporated into the results. I made sure to observe the same group of students more than once for consistency as each teacher has two separate classes.

3.3.6   Field notes

I kept field notes which were especially important for site visits which included after-school interviews, observations, and meetings with administration. At their core, field notes are ultimately meant to accommodate for the researcher's inability to remember all experiences accurately at a later time (Watt & Jones, 2010). Firsthand participation is a highly useful way to get closer to the participants and the context (Emerson et al., 2011). In the current project, site visits gave me the chance to reconstruct a slice of the teacher's world from the textual data that form the backbone of the results. Because there is never one interpretation of an experience, it is important to focus the notes around what will be most beneficial to the wider project. In this case,

1) While I used formal interviews in the project, informal conversations during visits were not recorded. Notes were crucial to capture any ideas therein.

2) Palmer (2010) writes that both observations and theoretical descriptions can be included in notes.

   a. Observations of relevant episodes allow for its analysis at a later time.

   b. When an emotional response to (parts of) the site visit or an analysis of an episode occurs, the researcher can record the meaning that he/she ascribes to it in the notes.

Theory can inform field note taking for pragmatic reasons, but in all field notes, what is not written down may have been important to another observer. In this case, reflecting on teaching practices on the day of the visit was clearly guiding my notetaking.

Notes during formal interviews were also kept. These were used to facilitate follow-up questions and note important themes that emerged during the discussion which were used later during the cross-comparison stages of analysis.

3.3.7   Photographs

Photographs were taken of classrooms to document relevant artifacts. These commonly included materials, word walls, cognate charts, organizational charts, and thinking maps (see *Figs. 3-6*). Policies regarding instructional strategies often include when and how to bridge the two languages and/or teach metalinguistic strategies (e.g., with cognate charts) or how to scaffold content and language learning without falling back on the student's first language (e.g., with graphic organizers).

3.3.8   Document analysis

As mentioned in the first theoretical section of the dissertation, the aim of this project is not to see how top-down policies are implemented. However, I still reviewed the state's TBIA, both districts' dual language handbooks, the Common Core State Standards, the federal dual language document from December, 2015, and one of the participant's master's thesis which in fact dealt with dual language policy in the initial years of the program. These analyses allowed for cross-comparison later in the process. However, I do not subscribe to the notion that policy documents necessarily shape discourses and practices further down the line. Policy texts in

American public schools often exist to appease a superior and/or fulfill an official requirement. Teachers made it clear that the documents were resources that they typically used at the beginning of their tenure to acquaint themselves with the program or find ideas and did not read the entire text. The main exception is the Common Core Standards which many Spanish-side teachers used frequently because they had no aligned curriculum to work from. However, I urge readers to consider that this is more than a mere act of compliance. The standards offer a coherent plan, so even if teachers take issue with them, their extensive use of the standards may be due to the *real* benefits of sticking with the curriculum, not an uncritical compliance.

3.3.9   A note on specificity

Because studies in this field are almost exclusively trained on individual policies and it is routine to trust the ontological status of those policies, the current study may appear unfocused. This is because I chose not to center the interviews and observations around one issue, like medium of instruction.

However, like in a social network analysis, the focus of the study is found in the participants under investigation. As I mentioned in *Section 2.1.4*, the purpose of a study grounded in ontogenesis is to explore the process. The current study looks at the development of policies-in-the-making as a social phenomenon, and therefore the specificity of the study is found in its egocentrism, not in an individual policy (Borgatti et al., 2009; Crossley et al., 2015; Wellman, 1993). Egocentrism is an analytical technique from social network theory in which the researcher asks the individual to describe the network of relations immediately surrounding him/herself (this constituting the specificity of the study). If the focus were on a policy, as is

often done in this field, the researcher is not interested in one individual, and instead follows the policy from one site to the next through the layers of interpretation.

3.3.10 Participants

Twelve teachers participated in the study, six from each school. Two total, one from each school, were English-medium teachers. I did my best to explain to potential English-medium participants that they would provide me with valuable insight into understanding the school as a whole. Their unwillingness to participate may indicate that they felt less part of the broader dual language project. The two English-medium teachers that did participate may not be representative of their colleagues, but in some ways certainly do represent at least a small slice of English-medium instructors in the United States who speak the other official language of their schools. Ten teachers in the study were Spanish-medium. One teacher from Springfield was a standalone teacher who taught both English and Spanish. While she did not have a partner, she did have a team like the rest of the teachers at Springfield. All but one participant were female. This ratio is in fact nearly proportional to the actual figures of male and female teachers in the school. Four of the Spanish-medium teachers had fewer than three years of dual language experience. I refer to these participants as the new teachers in the results and discussion sections. The English-medium teacher from Lafayette was also new but did not face the same challenges as the curriculum and materials are provided in English, affording an easier transition. Of the remaining seven teachers, all had extensive primary teaching experience, and two from Springfield were with the school during the inaugural year of dual language.

I used convenience sampling, having contacted a total of four districts. Two declined to allow me to contact teachers. Of the two that accepted, I contacted as many teachers as possible,

but most either declined or did not respond to any of my inquiries. Fortunately, the two schools

were similar in terms of socioeconomic status and linguistic diversity.

Table 3. Participants.

Teacher	Language	Interview dates and lengths	Observations	School	Teaching experience
T1	Spanish	4-20-16 (1:02) 5-4-16 (0:52)	4-29-16 5-6-16	Springfield (kindergarten, T2's partner)	14 years (8 years dual language)
T2	English (in a self-evaluation, considers her Spanish good enough for working with kindergartners)	6-24-16 (3:16)	5-6-16	Springfield (kindergarten, T1's partner)	25 years (5 years dual language)
T3	Spanish (previously English kindergarten and standalone pre-school/grade 0, *de facto* integrated into the program but funded separately, the norm in the United States)	6-14-16 (1:15) 6-28-16 (1:55) 7-1-16 (0:15)	5-6-16	Springfield (1st grade)	31 years (8 years dual language)
T4	Spanish	4-21-16 (0:59) 4-28-16 (0:56)	4-29-16 5-13-16	Springfield (3rd grade)	3 years (1 year dual language)
T5	Spanish	3-18-16 (0:51) 5-3-16	4-8-16 5-13-16	Springfield (3rd grade)	4 years (4 years dual language;

		(0:51)			previously taught at the community college level)
T6	Standalone	5-18-16 (1:25) 6-8-16 (1:38)	5-6-16 5-20-16	Springfield (4th grade)	24 years (6 years dual language)
T7	Spanish	6-30-16 (1:51)	5-20-16 6-3-16	Lafayette (2nd grade)	4 years (first year dual language; her partner was also new and therefore she was not included in new teacher subset)
T8	Spanish	2-22-16 (0:52) 3-14-16 (0:52)	3-25-16	Lafayette (3rd grade)	9 years (6 years dual language)
T9	Spanish	7-15-16 (1:56)	5-25-16	Lafayette (4th grade teacher)	1 year (1 year dual language)
T10	Spanish	7-7-16 (1:51)	5-27-16	Lafayette (5th grade)	2 years (2 years dual language)
T11	English (speaks Spanish and was transferred to a Spanish-medium classroom the following year)	6-25-16 (2:55)	5-20-16 6-3-16	Lafayette (6th grade, T12's partner)	First year teaching (as an English medium teacher, not included in the new teacher subset)
T12	Spanish	7-10-16 (4:32)	5-27-16	Lafayette (6th grade, T11's partner)	22 years (5 years dual language)

6.2.1   Policy network analysis

The main source of data, semi-structured interviews, was analyzed in R Studio's RQDA program. The interviews were transcribed (corpus circa 230,000 words) and coded for various elements, mostly social relations, but also emergent themes to a lesser degree (Guest et al., 2012). The coding of social relations was done in the tradition of a selective, egocentric policy network analysis, a form of social network analysis (SNA).

SNA is used to identify the alignment and composition of agents (human and/or nonhuman) in some subset of society (Borgatti et al., 2009). This type of analysis hinges on the notion that relations between individuals are just as relevant as the attributes that an individual possesses (Marin & Wellman, 2011). Given the current study's focus on relationality, SNA is a much better fit than other forms of analysis that highlight one individual's ability to act upon a policy.

In this approach, social relations are known as ties. These ties link nodes (individuals or things) or groups of nodes. While most researchers who employ SNA are interested in the nature of social networks themselves (i.e., how does a variable affect network tendencies), more and more scholars exploring the relational production of society have begun to consider the role networks play in some instance of change. Some examples include cultural change (DiMaggio, 2011), the spread of social movements (Diani, 2011), and political change or course of action (Knoke, 2011), the focus of the current analysis.

Policy network analysis is aimed at understanding the relationship between social organization and political change. It can be used to analyze the nature of political networks or how social networks influence decision-making and political action. Marsh and Smith (2000, 2001; also Bevir & Richards, 2009; Kisby, 2007) argue that one of the possible goals of a policy

network analysis is to better understand how networks can shape outcomes. In the current study, those outcomes include any language-related policies that the participants had a hand in developing. Similarly, Knoke and Laumann (1982, p. 256) define the policy domain as a network in which "a set of consequential actors… [formulate], [advocate], and [select] courses of action."

To illuminate the perceived relationship between social ties and "courses of action," I coded for any and all ties that emerged from the interview responses. The three constructs of relationality that guided the study (from Hillier, 2011), connection, conjunction, and disjunction, were then laid over the coded data and used to organize results. These three concepts were how social ties were operationalized in the current study (for a detailed description, see *section 2.2.7*). Therefore, unlike in a thematic analysis or discourse analysis, results are first organized by social tie (e.g., teacher-administrator relations) and then by tie type (connections, conjunctions, disjunctions).

Social network analyses can be focused either on an entire organization and the crisscrossing links therein or on a single actor (known as an ego) (Borgatti et al., 2009). The latter, an egocentric analysis, was conducted here so that the work would resonate within the growing body of research on teacher agency in LPP.

Because the central focus of the study is on social ties, examples of policymaking are presented in the results for two reasons. First, the reliability of a participant's mention of a social tie during an interview is only as good as the associated information provided. As discussed previously, these examples ensure that the participant's memory of the role of the social tie in policymaking is not impaired. I therefore present the most detailed examples of policymaking in the results below as those are indicators of the reliability of the data. And second, because I am interested in political outcome (Marsh & Smith, 2000, 2001) or course of action (Knoke &

Laumann, 1982), these examples provide the underlying change in practice that in one way or

another resulted from the organization of the network. The examples help paint the picture of

bilingual education for the reader, the underlying purpose of this project.

3.3.12 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis methods proved useful for multiple reasons. As was just mentioned,

given that interviews themselves stand as social practices, the researcher can analyze them as

situated discourse practices. In addition, because I reviewed policy documents and had

conversations with other employees during site visits, discourse analysis was useful to highlight

the ideas circulating bilingual schools and to get a sense for how dual language education is

discursively constructed.

Scollon and Scollon (2004) developed a heuristic known as nexus analysis that sees

discourse events as emerging out of three main factors. The first, that discourses can be placed

within the context of the episode and the relationship between participants, reminds us that the

interview creates a setting that produces different results than if data collection had taken another

form. The cultural conventions associated with the interview, and the relationship between

(white, male) researcher and participant actively shape which ideas are presented and how.

Second, comments (and actions) of the speaker, both the researcher's and the

participant's, are products of his/her historical body, a concept developed by Nishida (1958) and

similar to Bourdieu's (1972/1977) habitus. As social creatures, we are continually socialized and

exposed to new concepts and ways of being. During an interview, the writing of a policy

document, and even the exposition of this dissertation, the actor's historical body is on display,

albeit only as a snapshot. As teachers are exposed more and more to a certain idea,

translanguaging, for instance, it infiltrates their historical body and comes out during discourse practices.

Most relevant to this study is the discursive indexing of relationships. The decision to include certain ideas and exclude others indexes the relationship between actors. It is important to note that for the most part this occurs subconsciously. When asked about classroom practices, teachers may reflexively highlight those that are underwritten by those in positions of power. At the same time, the way in which an idea is described and evaluated depends on the relationship between individuals. The indexing of relationships was analyzed and included in each results section. Teachers discursively imbed these indexes into their description of others which proves useful in my attempt to trace the organizational patterns within the school. Although a natural hierarchy was not applied to the contexts in question prior to data collection, these indexes can reveal how the participants understand power to be distributed within the school.

Taken together, discourses from interviews, documents, and site visits can also be compared. Johnson (2009) and Johnson and Johnson (2015) argue that looking for intertextual links (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Fairclough, 2010) is key when conducting ethnographies of language policy. However, in line with the theoretical underpinnings of this project, it is crucial that intertextual links not be assumed without evidence. Many authors appear to draw links between policy documents and interview data even when the actor has not drawn that link him/herself. In order for scales to be deconstructed, we must look for *direct* connections between actants, which at times may exist between policy documents and teachers and at other times may not. A specific section was not included for intertextual links, and any links were instead included when appropriate.

The main goal during data analysis was to identify social relations, underlying examples, and corresponding descriptions of policy production as they related to connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions with others. Discourse analysis, aimed specifically at illuminating the indexing of relations, served to support this goal by highlighting how the participants attribute power to the other agents in those (dis)linkages. We now move to the results where teachers' perceptions of professional relationships are described.

4.   RESULTS

Various relationships were discussed during interviews. The results are organized into four broad sections. *Section 4.1* refers to the parent-teacher relationship, *Section 4.2* partners/teams, *Section 4.3* administration, and *Section 4.4* other relationships. The first three relationships were prevalent enough to warrant their own sections. Those sections are then further subdivided according to connections, conjunctions, and/or disjunctions. The final subsection for each relationship is dedicated to how it was discursively indexed during interviews. The results are organized as such for two reasons. First, by focusing on a particular relationship in each section, each relationship/category becomes open to deconstruction. In this way, different participants' views of a certain relationship (and in some cases the very same person) sit side by side in the results. Second, organizing the data this way allowed for all the participants to be presented in a cohesive fashion.

4.1   The parent-teacher relationship

4.1.1   Disjunctions: "Parents are dedicated to working, working, and working some more"

Teachers almost unanimously agreed that the relationship between parents and teachers and parents and the school could be strengthened. Parent-teacher conferences represented the only platform through which they could establish a two-way dialogue with all parents. However, the time limits that constrain each individual conference and the fact that the schools only organize two during the course of the year leave teachers craving more. The end result of this system is that teachers prioritize their correspondence with families outside of conferences so that those who most need support receive it. These personalized conversations most commonly revolve around content/keeping pace, homework, skills/how parents can support their students,

behavior, and at times language use in the home and identity. This last issue may have been mentioned due to the nature of the interview but was mentioned nonetheless.

The perceived relationship between parent and teacher can be described as a disjunction because the participants consciously lamented the lack of conferences and the overt challenges associated with maintaining individualized contact throughout the rest of the year. Teachers pointed to their absence of free time as well as the parents' position as accounting for this disjunction. They explained that many families' schedules, which were full and demanding, made it nearly impossible for face-to-face meetings. Teachers also characterized parents as not wanting to question authority whether as an embedded cultural convention as first-generation immigrants or because of their position in the community. One teacher (T12), who was set to return to the Basque Country in Spain to work in an urban school in an immigrant-dominated neighborhood, considered both contexts highly comparable. In Pamplona, "The parents are sufficiently preoccupied with surviving. Survival is their objective" Interview, 10 July 2016) She felt this comparison was fitting to the families in Springfield: "There are many [parents] who can barely read or write and who are dedicated to working, working, and working some more" (Interview, 10 July 2016).

This sentiment was echoed by others who found that of the few parents who regularly came in and spoke with them, the majority had multiple children attending the school. For the most part, both teacher and parent did not enjoy ample free time to maintain strong ties. It must be mentioned that while the communities served by both schools mirrored each other in this way, the fact that the majority of staff members spoke Spanish was viewed to have strengthened school-community relations. The Spanish teachers whose partners only spoke English felt that they were forced to act as the key link to the home. Both English teachers in the current study

were bilingual and highlighted this as crucial to sustained communication with their students' families.

Of course, not all parents speak either English or Spanish. One of the participants (T2) recounted her relationship with a Mam-speaking mother (from Guatemala) who frequented the classroom in an effort to play a significant role in her child's education. The teacher described her desire to be present in cultural terms, that the school for many of these families was the "absolute best thing going on in their lives" (Interview, 24 June 2016). In this particular instance, the mother took the initiative to visit the classroom as often as she did which is not the case for the majority of parents. In my observations I witnessed parents touring the kindergarten or stopping by on special occasions. The teachers pointed out that along with a handful of after-school events, these were the main arenas of contact between groups of parents and teachers and that there remained plenty of room for improvement.

4.1.2   The odd parent-teacher connection

Although the majority of the participants identified a general disjunction between the classroom and community, a less salient theme emerged that saw more sustained and/or deliberate contact with groups of parents.

One teacher (T6) who possessed over twenty years of experience providing English as a Second Language instruction to immigrants (mostly mothers from Central America) continued to double her time as both a primary teacher and an evening community instructor. Recruiting a handful of parents from her elementary class each session, she emphasized that the increased facetime with some of her students' families dramatically affected the quality of that home-school connection. She cited her own experience in previous schools as shaping her current

views regarding the role of the family in education. She prefers a flipped model in which the

parent resides at the top of the school pyramid with both student and teacher directly below. She

stressed the importance of this model in neighborhoods like Springfield's with such a large

percentage of household members foreign-born:

>*Participant*: It's parent at the top and student and teacher at the bottom.
>
>*Researcher*: Together, okay.
>
>*Participant*: It forms a pyramid, and that's my visual for education because family
>
>>is first and foremost. When you ask them to give up their culture,
>>
>>you're gonna rip their hearts out. (Interview, 18 May 2016)

Although the dual language school has not completely restructured the way the community

interacts with the school at the level of decision-making, this teacher has forged a meaningful

connection with the parents in her evening lessons. Beyond creating more consistent

opportunities for dialogue, the English course allowed for her to incorporate themes into the

lessons that served to inform her adult students of what their children were experiencing in

school. For one, she intentionally scheduled the curriculum so that the content focus would

match up between the elementary class and the adult class. She hopes that by covering the same

vocabulary, parents may be more willing to reach out to their children in matters of education,

whether by helping with homework, discussing school, or by modeling appropriate student

behavior.

Second, in these class sessions as well as in a parenting course she has been running for

families at the school, she encourages practices that are meant to enhance student success and

productivity in the home: "We are talking about what, what it means to do homework, or what it means to have a good snack after school, or, um, what it means to be a good teacher of literature" (Interview, 18 May 2016).

Another participant (T3) at Springfield felt that fostering strong ties with the community requires a cultural sensitivity and should go both ways. While multiple teachers highlighted the learning of English as a key source of empowerment for immigrant parents, this participant hoped the school would do more in projecting its Mayan heritage. She provided one positive example, when, at the ribbon cutting ceremony for the school's new community garden, the principal addressed the crowd in Mam and Q'anjob'al. She saw this gesture as a step in the right direction that might serve to make those families feel more comfortable in what is otherwise clearly a space for English and Spanish.

4.1.3   Indexing parents as objects of policy

The manner in which parents were discursively linked to the policy process was telling in and of itself. Although the goal of the interviews was to allow the participants to invoke the relationships and resources they used in their decision-making, they rarely did so with respect to parents. Instead, I was forced to introduce the school-parent connection when most appropriate. Such a finding reinforces the perception teachers harbored outlined above that the ties were tenuous, limited for most parents, and directly related to student success, not policy.

The parent-teacher relationship was instead described as a policy therein that required nurturing, not as a possible source of influence in classroom decisions. When interpreting the disjunction between the school and the community, the teachers hoped to have more opportunities to meet with families and that the school would improve its correspondence with

families so that households would better understand the objectives and model of dual language. The indexing of parents in discourse will be reviewed below, but even as an object of policy, parents did not always receive the attention teachers felt they deserved. For example, one teacher (T8) stated, "I can't remember the last time we talked about parents in a meeting" (Interview, 14 March 2016). An administrator at Lafayette told me, unprompted, that they needed to commit more resources and brainpower to the community-school relationship component of the school's mission.

Participants mostly indexed parents and families discursively as objects of policy. In the context of the disjunction described throughout the interviews, most teachers wanted to see a strengthened bond for the sake of informing parents. This often took the shape of providing parents with strategies they can use to support their kids. One teacher (T1) described specific tactics she offered to a parent whose child was crying during reading time at home. Another teacher (T2) referenced a study conducted in an urban school district that she would like to see replicated in one way or another in her district. As she puts it, in the study, expecting mothers were offered a complimentary course on how "to be the best teacher in [their] child's life" (Interview, 24 June 2016). As a longitudinal study, when they followed up with the school-age children years later, they were outperforming their peers. The role of the parent also extends into the realm of language. For Spanish heritage language learners, multiple teachers stressed the importance of the family continuing to speak the language at home. For students who were not English-dominant, it was hoped that the parents would make the effort to improve their own English in order to be a role model for their kids.

A key issue in both districts was the need for participating families to have a clear and comprehensive understanding of what dual language entails, how it works, and any changes that

arise. A teacher (T1) who had been working at the school since the program's inception recalled that in the beginning, the district glossed over the logistics in its correspondence with families to minimize backlash. Another teacher (T2) from the same school pointed out that more recently the dual language information page that the district published had not been updated to reflect changes in classroom practices and therefore presented the program to parents in a disingenuous light. The same position emerged in Lafayette. One participant (T12) went so far as to equate the school-community relationship as a marketing scheme on the part of the district to get the parents on board with dual language. She mentioned, however, that even if they sought out the families' opinions, the attempt would most likely prove futile given some of the challenges they face referenced above. One of her colleagues (T9) mentioned that while the district occasionally sends out surveys to measure parent satisfaction with dual language, the surveys themselves are structured in such a way that the collected data show exactly what they wanted to hear.

While the theme of providing parents with information/education was the most salient, one of the Springfield teachers (T3) who had lived extensively in Guatemala indexed families from that country differently. During parent-teacher conferences, she made an effort to ask each willing parent to share a story from his/her experience during the Guatemalan Civil War. She explicitly characterized many of her students as refugees during the interview and was working to raise awareness of this issue among the staff (see *section 4.3.4*). An episode that she recounts between her and an administrator clearly illustrates the tension between the various ways staff members index foreign-born members of the community:

> *Participant*: I remember the day when we had some of our kids, some of
> our Guatemalan kids' parents had been picked up, hauled off to the

jail by ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement].

Researcher: Oh my gosh.

Participant: And I told him, 'They have to get them back. They cannot send them

back to Guatemala.' And he said, 'Why not?' I said, 'They'll be

killed….' And he looked at me, and he started to cry. [He said,] 'I

didn't understand that they're not illegal immigrants; they're

refugees.' And I said, 'Yes, Alex, the Guatemalans are refugees.'

(Interview, 28 June 2016)

She repeatedly referred to many of the families in the neighborhood as refugees, a counter-discourse given that they are usually described as immigrants or even intruders by long-standing community members and as in need of support by teachers.

Unsurprisingly, teachers perceive that the disjunction between school and family limits the influence of parents on the policymaking process. Moreover, even if that relationship were to be fostered, the way teachers discursively index parents as the object/recipient/beneficiary of policy gives the impression that families would remain underrepresented in the decision-making realm.

4.2   Partner teachers/teams

Because the majority of the participants taught in only one language, they would share their students with a partner teacher. While this was true of both schools, there was a slight difference in the planning setup. In Lafayette, partner teachers were expected to find time to plan together, and for the most part, they only planned with each other. In Springfield, partly because

the dual language program encompassed the entire school, partner teachers did not plan alone at all times, but also spent at least one day a week with their fellow grade-level colleagues. This unit was known as a team, and unlike at Lafayette, administration had set aside planning time in the official schedule to allow teams to meet. Each team was expected to prepare year-long plans and upload them to a shared site which they would reference and edit for the upcoming week/month.

After looking at some of the ways teachers described their relationships with partners and teams in general in the first subsection, I will present what appears to be a "new teacher conjunction" in the second subsection. For new dual language teachers, they rely heavily on their partners and teams as they gain experience, forging conjunctions with their more experienced colleagues. In the third subsection, I consider specific examples partner and team connections influence policymaking. This section makes clear the breadth of the effects of these connections as the policies-in-the-making cover various aspects, from planning/synching instruction between partners to literacy instruction (through a bilingual read-aloud and the incorporation of songs), literacy assessment, and discipline. In the final subsection, I explore how teachers index partners and team members in discourse.

4.2.1   Connection or disjunction? It depends…

Given that one of the goals of the current project is to deconstruct political organizational structures in the schools, it is not surprising that the quality of relevant relationships depends on a wide set of variables. Before delving into how and when the teachers invoked their partners or team members in the production of policy, it is important to consider how the participants generally characterized partner interaction.

The most salient variable that the teachers cited as affecting the quality of their partner relationship was personality. Multiple participants had experienced a change in partner at some point. They argued that just as a personality clash can hinder teamwork, when the two members mesh, the results can be outstanding. One participant (T10) who had recently received a new partner states matter-of-factly, "[my partner] and I have very similar classroom management, very similar expectations of kids, um, and like, our values align really well, and so it's really fun to teach with her 'cause I respect her" (Interview, 7 July 2016). This issue goes beyond workplace satisfaction as they pointed out that planning activities that span the two classrooms or intentionally planning for themes to coincide benefits students' cognitive and language growth.

One teacher (T2) likened the partnership dynamic to a marriage because the norm in American education is for educators to operate independently, a freedom that is lost in dual language programs. Another teacher had actually requested a change in partner and is now much more comfortable with her new team member.

Other variables that influenced the relationship include schedule, coordination, student behavior, and the compartmentalization of subjects. In many cases, the amount of time partners can dedicate to meeting with each other is determined by the luck of the draw. Coordination refers to the way remedial lessons force teachers to scrap previously planned themes. When a class requires additional support in one subject area, partner planning can lose its value as time that could have been spent coordinating themes and lessons is essentially tossed out the window. Teachers also appreciate having a partner to discuss student behavior and discipline, but at a certain point, behavior consumes a disproportionate amount of planning time and encroaches on planned lessons during class. Finally, because each subject is allotted to a language, teachers can find it challenging to draw links between classes. Even though possible connections exist

between math (in English) and science (in Spanish), the lessons covered on a given day may not be as conducive to coordination as other lessons.

4.2.2 "I don't decide anything:" The new teacher conjunction

In some cases, partners and team members viewed these relationships as dynamic, swinging between connection and disjunction. For others, especially those who had multiple years of experience with the same partner, they felt that they had normalized their schedule and manner of interacting to where their instinct when issues arose was to mention it to their partner. One teacher (T2) explained that she and her partner had grown accustomed to eating lunch together which, although informal and not usually a time used for addressing purely scholastic issues, reinforced their partnership.

At Springfield, grade-level teams use their time to prepare and edit year-long plans which form a foundation for the individual partners to work with how they see fit. For one partnership (T1 & T2), language stands as a key planning point, in explicit and implicit ways, during both team and partner sessions. In an explicit sense, they discuss what words, letters, and sounds to work with on given days. This focus on language appears to have more to do with the age group, in which literacy development is the year's critical goal, and less to do with the school's bilingual setup. In an implicit sense, one of the main elements they plan for is theme so that students are exposed to the same topics in both classes at the same time. As the English teacher (T2) explains, "In the winter, our unit is, um, animals and nonfiction literature…, and I'm gonna be studying animals and nonfiction in English, and I'm expecting her to be doing the same thing in Spanish…. That's definitely a for sure thing" (24 June 2016). She also points to collaboration

as necessary so that they can successfully meet their objective of teaching the same unit without repeating specific lessons, books, and activities.

While teams and partnerships were expressed as both connections and disjunctions for various reasons, there was evidence that for new teachers, these relationships represented conjunctions in their social matrix. One teacher (T5) who possessed extensive experience in the natural sciences and in teaching at the community college confessed that she was drawing heavily on her teammates to support her as she grew as a teacher in both a primary and bilingual setting. Another teacher (T12) made similar comments even though she had taught in bilingual contexts her entire career. She felt that having a support system in place, as opposed to shutting off the classroom to the outside world, eased the transition to a new school, community, and curriculum.

Two of the younger participants described the partner or team relationship as even more valuable to their success and comfort. One of the teachers (T4) explained that at the outset of the planning process each week, she would not make any of the preliminary decisions. The three other members of her team had the experience and knowledge of the curriculum and state standards to prepare an adequate calendar. In many cases, she and her partner could change specifics, but she stressed the value of knowing each week that she would stay on track and that if she needed an additional activity in Spanish, she could almost certainly request one from the other grade-level Spanish teacher.

Another participant (T9) who had only recently finished university greatly appreciated having a partner who not only had ample time to support her in her first years, but who understood how to apply the literacy curriculum, called balanced literacy (Calkins et al., 2016), to their daily lessons. Of her partner: "He came from the district office in the literacy department,

so I'm really lucky in that I had an experienced teaching partner…. My instruction would have been way worse if it weren't for him" (Interview, 15 July 2016). She went on to explain that planning sessions, particularly for literacy, were more structured and effective given her partner's experience with the balanced literacy model.

4.2.3   Role of partners in policy production

The comments so far only give a general sense of how teachers perceive the partner teaching scheme in their schools. Even so, there are clear political ramifications that in turn affect how teachers organize lessons, how they view curriculum, and how successful students will be in both classrooms. What remains is a discussion of the role of partner teaching in more substantive policy decisions. Connections were identified through actual negotiations that took place involving both partners with disjunctions described as scenarios in which they would have liked more consultation with a partner or team member. Given the theoretical foundations that underlie how the nature of policy is understood in this investigation, the examples sought out were not evoked in the context of an encoded policy. Instead, I was interested in how participants described negotiations with partner teachers that reshaped bilingual education in their classrooms.

Although no examples were presented, one of the practices many teachers engaged in was the analysis of state standards during shared planning time. Many teachers explained that they would lay out the standards as they prepared thematic and content-based plans for the upcoming weeks. This practice acted as a guide, keeping teachers on track, but it also meant that interpretations of the standards were negotiated among colleagues.

Some of the teachers provided vivid examples of their connection with their partners in how it resulted in new forms of instruction. As we will see below, one teacher even found that the negotiated changes created a feedback loop that improved their planning relationship.

One of the themes that emerged in many of the interviews was the idea of using planning time to match themes for the benefit of student learning and cohesion between the classes. A teacher (T5) in one of the earlier grades was adamant about how well this could work. She would not ask the students about what they had learned in the other class as "they would just make the connection" themselves (Interview, 18 March 2016). The kindergarten participants outlined their shared planning time, describing one of the goals as identifying the themes and embedded activities to create as much cohesion as possible while minimizing direct overlap.

Another teacher (T7) explained a strategy that she and her partner teacher had planned to use and that she wished could have featured more prominently in their day-to-day practices. The idea, which was suggested within the district's language learning office, was for one teacher to fill out half of a chart with her students in Spanish and the other teacher to continue the chart or translate it in the other language. This and the thematic coordination done between the two teachers unfortunately did not pan out on a regular basis because of disruptions that cut into the day.

Certainly one of the most powerful examples of organic policy production brought about within the context of partner teaching was described by a Spanish-side teacher (T10). Due to her personal belief in the value of read-aloud sessions at her grade level, and the fact that the dual language teachers are overcommitted in their schedules (this is not an exaggeration as they have no choice but to make cuts even though all components are expected), she wanted to explore possible ways to best incorporate this element into the day. Over her first two years as a teacher

here, she voiced her concerns regarding the lack of opportunities for read-aloud to the district office and school administration. The principal brainstormed possible solutions with her, and for the current year, she and her partner implemented a new literacy scheme. In essence, they split the three literacy components (workshop, independent reading, and read-aloud) into two blocks, assigning each block to one language each day. Prior to this shift, each student would have two sessions of workshop and independent reading every day, one in Spanish and one in English. Now they receive workshop and independent reading once a day with the literacy slot in the other class being used for the read-aloud. As the participant explained, this solution matched her own view that each literacy element should occur every day. It is crucial to mention that the two classes became more connected because not only would they draw on the read-alouds during literacy lessons (workshop), but they would also share the same book and alternate chapters in Spanish and English.

This single change in scheduling greatly affected the manner in which the partners planned for the day. Prior to the transition, and particularly with her previous partner, she described planning sessions mostly as opportunities to coordinate the Common Core standards. But now that they were sharing a read-aloud book, and each class no longer had its own isolated literacy sessions, they discussed materials and embedded themes more consistently when they met. As she says: "It was like, hey, we read this yesterday, there's this really great connection to symbolism, and like, when you do your mini-lesson (workshop), tomorrow, tomorrow, you should work off of that" (Interview, 7 July 2016). She further rationalized this approach in that no matter in which language the students have dominance, they will always hear half of the book in their dominant language which should scaffold their access to the other half of the text.

But policy production did not end there. After conducting read-alouds one day in Spanish and the next in English, the partners decided to modify the structure for the final leg of the year. Because during that time the students were to have two additional books on their plate, one in Spanish and one in English, switching the read-aloud each day affected the students' ability to gain any rhythm in their additional books which were tied to group discussions and other activities. For these reasons, each partner took the read-aloud for an uninterrupted three-week window, a decision she claims allowed the students to use that period to more successfully juggle their books.

These partners also planned for activities that did not feature specifically in the curriculum. For example, they incorporated a song of the week into the daily routine which would play in both classes in the morning. They consciously selected a greater number of songs in Spanish so as to tilt the balance toward that language. In the school year the study was conducted, their main purpose was to expose the students to new music with the hopes of singing along as a class by the end of the week. In the following year, the teacher informed me that they had begun printing out song lyrics to aid students with comprehension.

Another teaching pair (T1 & T2) developed a strategy for literacy and assessment that was not sanctioned by the school and that no other teachers used. The English teacher (T2) described how her partner suggested that, instead of keeping student journals separate in each language, they provide the students with only one journal that travels with them between classes. She displayed a clear satisfaction with this method even though it entailed more work and organization. One of the main benefits she cited with using a single journal came with its utility for student evaluation. This participant had been developing her own Spanish skills so as to support her Spanish-dominant students and connect with families. She felt that her Spanish had

reached the point where she could competently compare English and Spanish entries to gain a better sense of a student's biliteracy development. She specifically described that it was invaluable to have the capacity to easily corroborate literacy skills with students who appeared to be falling behind. If their skills were far superior in English, then she would have nothing to worry about. Whereas if the student was not keeping up in either language, she would confer with her partner to determine what steps might need to be taken.

Just as in the previous example, policy production was ongoing. The participant recalled a moment of negotiation with her partner that ultimately standardized the journal keeping process. While in some cases she had worked with students directly on their English entries, the partners decided that the only way for this activity to serve its purpose was if all student writing was done without instructional assistance. In this way each teacher would be able to measure student progress in both languages more accurately.

The same partnership shared other conventions so that students would understand that the same expectations followed them from one class to the other. For instance, the teachers had received a training on a set of disciplinary techniques that they both decided to use. In my observations of both teachers, I witnessed an extensive reliance on these techniques which forged a sense of uniformity and regularity. For similar reasons, they intentionally matched seating charts on both the Spanish and English sides. This practice had the added benefit of facilitating partner discussions regarding student progress and grouping.

As mentioned above, the fact that each subject is taught in one language can create a disjunction between partners. Even so, one teacher (T5) explained that she and her partner latched onto an opportunity to bring two lessons together on either side. In English language arts, the teacher was planning to include literature of colonization. Because the same topic is covered

in Spanish during social studies, they decided that it would make the most sense to piggyback one section off of the other. For the most part, they did stagger the lessons, with the Spanish teacher attempting to finish her colonization segment prior to her partner's starting a similar section in English.

Another participant (T8) recounted the way she would initiate literacy lessons in Spanish by asking her students questions about the stories they were using in English class. Because she and her partner reviewed their literacy materials during joint planning, she was able to formulate resonant questions that springboarded their thinking from the other class on a more consistent basis.

4.2.4   Indexing partners

For the most part, participants indexed their partners as equals and collaborators. Keywords that emerged that undergirded this form of indexing included *respect* and *collaborator*. We have already seen excerpts from the interviews that reveal this sentiment. One teacher (T2) felt that mutual respect stood as a key foundation for success and another had likened the partnership to a marriage. Near the end of the interview, that same participant expressed her opinions regarding what is needed for a dual language program to be successful. She felt that you must

> believe that you and your partner are not against each other; you are for each
> other, and you're supporting each other, and that, respect, respect that other
> person's work and their point of view as much as you respect and regard your
> own. (Interview, 24 June 2016)

The issue is slightly more complicated for teachers who had had a less positive experience with a partner. However, they still considered the partnership as significant to the overall student experience as they seemed disappointed that they had not worked together as much as possible. Partners in these cases were described less as collaborators and more as *potential* collaborators. The teachers recognize the benefits of maintaining a close relationship with their partner and wish that they would have worked together more smoothly.

New teachers indexed their partners slightly differently as *experts* and almost authority figures. We saw how, as compared to herself, one of the younger participants (T9) described her partner as an "experienced teaching partner" and was grateful for the extensive knowledge he possessed of the district's literacy program. Another teacher (T4) spoke of her teammates in similar terms, as experienced and reliable sources of knowledge. She greatly valued the support she received from one of her teammates with regard to science instruction, stating, "she has helped me with her ideas on how she does it [science] because she has been teaching for many years. She uses that curriculum, and she has just great ideas all the time" (Interview, 28 April 2016).

4.3   Teacher-administrator relations

This section reviews teachers' perceived relationship with administration during instances of policy production. Administration is understood as school and district officials, including principals and language learning specialists at the district office. Because policy negotiation is the key focus, participants only invoked their superiors' expectations part of the time. In other cases, when teachers felt an adjustment required the support or approval of an

administrator, they initiated the discussion and, in the majority of the examples presented, were successful in effecting a change in the shape bilingual education took.

The policy issues dealt with in the first subsection (intentional disjunctions) include literacy instruction (known as balanced literacy) and medium of instruction/translanguaging. In the second subsection (connections), teachers and administration together modify the school model, purchase shared schoolwide materials, and develop a new form of Spanish literacy assessment. While these policy topics may be different, the link holding them together is the fact that they emerged out of ties (or the lack of a tie) with administration.

4.3.1   Intentional disjunctions – "What she doesn't know is I do it all the time"

One of the challenges in identifying disjunctions is the lack of evidence that inherently accompanies a non-connection. However, in the case of the teacher-administrator relationship, disjunctions were strategically used to make space for new forms of education and therefore surfaced more consistently during interviews. This theme of intentional disjunction was salient in many interviews but did not come as a surprise given the extensive literature on the dynamics of educator agency (e.g., the forging of implementational and ideological space, see Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

Before going into the data, a brief note on balanced literacy will pave the way for the participants' explanations of their changes to the literacy block. Although employees refer to their literacy curriculum as balanced literacy, a term coined in California (Honig, 1996) which draws on the strategic mixing of whole reading and phonics (Weaver, 1998), they in fact follow an adopted curriculum prepared by Lucy Calkins et al. (2016) that now stands in for the term in this context. The key elements include what are called readers' and writers' workshops, time

slots that are divided into three main sections, a mini-lesson, independent work, and sharing. The instructor lesson books progress through the grades and are split into broad writing genres (e.g., narrative, expository). For the most part, teachers agreed with the underlying rationale of the literacy program but questioned its rigid sequencing, word-for-word scripting, lack of focus on oral skills, and dearth of supporting materials in Spanish. The irony here cannot be overlooked as one of the foundations of balanced literacy is its flexibility, that teachers need to utilize ongoing assessment and be in complete control of timing and activity management to accommodate learning styles and student needs in the moment (Pressley, 1998; Spiegel, 1998). In one teacher's (T11) explanation of the step-by-step structure of the curriculum, he emphasized that it makes sense to follow the workshop model because the teaching points and materials are pre-synchronized and laid out in progressive fashion: "[The lessons] are supposed to build on each other, and they generally do. Like, it's not, like, it's not a bad curriculum…. But there's not a lot of freedom to veer from it" (Interview, 25 June 2016).

Because the curriculum offered quality and administrators expected it to be implemented, teachers made changes mostly to the timing of lessons and segments as well as material sourcing (more often in Spanish) and which lessons to skip. In some cases, these changes were made and intentionally kept from administrators.

Consider this example from a teacher (T10) who was creatively reallocating time that was meant to be devoted to literacy to other activities she felt were shortchanged. It should be mentioned that the activities that she incorporated into the day were official, acceptable activities in the dual language program. However, the implicit message in the school is clear: balanced literacy comes first, and if the other elements do not fit, they are the ones to be cut. This teacher decided to make a few changes to the schedule that did not comply with this policy. First, her

partner, a bilingual instructional support staff member (not administration), and she together

decided to incorporate what in the dual language program is known as Language of the Day.

This block of time, which they placed at the beginning of the day, allows for activities that

otherwise do not fit into the master schedule. In their case, they implemented a song of the week

and used the remaining time to cover issues they evaluated their students to be in need of, such

as spelling and sex education. They had officially planned for a ten-minute slot, but this

participant admitted that she consistently used more time which cut into the literacy block. As

she said in this exchange:

> *Researcher*: You have this Language of the Day. And you said it was how long?
>
> *Participant*: Ten, fifteen. It usually ended up being more like fifteen. We'd say
>
> ten minutes for our scheduling purposes 'cause we shouldn't be taking that much
>
> time out of writing. So, like, to [the principal], we'd be like, 'oh, it's ten minutes,'
>
> but really it's like fifteen, sometimes twenty. (Interview, 7 July 2016)

She made it clear during the interview that both the district office and the principal supported

their efforts to include Language of the Day and that the scheduling challenge had to do with the

fact that they stole time from literacy which tops the school's priority list.

This five- to ten-minute reduction in literacy time was not however the only change they

made to that part of the schedule. She expanded Language of the Day on Fridays by completely

removing writing. In addition to this, the health instructor visited her class during writing time on

another day of the week, meaning that not only had she reduced the length of the literacy block

by up to ten minutes, but she had also dropped it to three days a week from the mandated five.

She described this change in similar terms to the quote above, as something she conveniently leaves out in her interactions with administration:

> Maybe she'd [the principal] be totally fine with it, but I don't know that she would be excited that we're cutting out that much writing, and so that's not something that I would just explicitly say, like, 'oh, by the way, we're only doing writing three days a week.' (Interview, 7 July 2016)

It is important to note her comfort level with the various changes she has enacted. She told me that in her third year as a teacher at the school, she has never felt as positively about how the schedule fosters student learning as she does now with the current setup.

A colleague of hers (T12) had also created an intentional disjunction with administration so as not to hinder the changes she had made to the literacy curriculum. She felt that if teachers wanted to change the structure of balanced literacy it was necessary to keep it from the principals because otherwise, as she put it, teachers were "robots." She explained that the way administration creates robots out of educators is by implementing a rigid curriculum not unlike the one they have currently and by threatening them (explicitly or otherwise) with a bad professional evaluation if they wander too far off script.

That said, this teacher took multiple risks by acting upon her agency. She described one of the strategies she would then use to give administration the impression that she was on task. One of her critiques of the literacy curriculum was that it forced the class to follow the same structure each and every day – mini-lesson, independent reading/writing, and sharing. In fact, the times of the sections and subsections are cordoned off to the minute. As she critically asks, "why

do I have to start every class with a mini-lesson of exactly ten minutes" (Interview, 10 July 2016)? She recounted instances when the students would return from specialist (music/gym) at different times, causing the first group to start reading independently as they wait. When the remaining students had joined them, she would gauge their level of concentration and if appropriate, waive the mini-lesson altogether. However, if an administrator happened to walk in during a moment that did not match the official procedure, she would immediately call all the students to the carpet at the front of the room (where they hold the mini-lessons) to give the impression that they were on task and were simply a few minutes late in starting.

Although this example is the epitome of an intentional disjunction given the significance of balanced literacy to administration and her premeditated method of avoiding a poor evaluation, she described an additional, less controversial change to the schedule. After pointing out some of the flaws in the curriculum, including the lack of opportunities for oral production, its boring nature, its age inappropriateness (too young for upper primary), and its rigidity, she stressed the importance of augmenting it with more stimulating material. She attempted to do this on a regular in what she called her "twenty percent." She had a personal affinity for short films and wanted to incorporate them into the day as a way to address themes like emotional development and evoke oral production in Spanish during small group discussions. Even though she described this time as hers, as time she seized from the schedule, in some cases the film would fit with the balanced literacy lesson: "Then, I might also apply [the film] to the [balanced] literacy lesson that I am doing" (Interview, 10 July 2016). In one example, she used the film to teach storylines in which they

even [drew] a comic strip of three or six frames about the short to explain what

plot is in a written story. So, we used the shorts as if they were a written story,

you know? Introduction, here's the conflict, this is how it's resolved, you know,

using the film like a written text. (Interview, 10 July 2016)

Another example relates to medium of instruction, an issue that was well defined in dual language. Teachers throughout both schools defined the program in terms of the division of languages from one class to another as well as the division of mother tongue speakers. In my field notes from a meeting with Springfield's principal, I noted how she went out of her way to tell me that the Spanish classes in the school were conducted in "*puro español*/pure Spanish" (Field notes, 17 February 2016). It is important to note that multiple teachers mentioned during interviews that they had become more and more aware over the years of the need to incorporate Mayan languages into the classroom which seems to indicate that the principal indexed of Spanish above those languages because she also pointed out this demographic reality during that meeting. In other words, by "pure Spanish," she seemed to mean no English; Mam and Q'anjob'al do not officially count. I did not witness teachers' use of Mayan languages during observations, but I did witness the use of other languages (i.e., Japanese) for fun in one class. However, during an activity in another class, I did assist a student by having him make links back to his first language after the teacher explained to me that he was new from Guatemala. This afforded me a better sense of context as I had no first-hand evidence of students using Mayan languages despite being told that they were important languages in the community. A teacher at Lafayette (T11) explained that while the district was providing trainings on

translanguaging, officials only felt it was acceptable in English class and that in Spanish class

teachers and students should restrict their use of English as much as possible.

Some teachers produced policies that brought both languages into play while others did

not. One participant (T1) described her principal's expectations, emphasizing the importance she

places on Spanish only. "She definitely, um, expects that Spanish is the only, like, that I do not

switch into English…. What she doesn't know is I do it all the time" (Interview, 20 April 2016).

This teacher made it clear during the interview that she does not constantly switch into English,

particularly at the end of the year. That was exactly the time when I observed her class and found

limited English on her part. However, the idea that in kindergarten students who felt

uncomfortable for any number of reasons (a common occurrence) or who were not grasping the

concept could not receive assistance in their first language did not make sense to her. Because

the principal insists on a Spanish-only room, the teacher pointed out that strategic disjunction as

a way for her to engage students and calm them down during challenging moments.

There seems to be a fine line, however, between intentional disjunction and rejection of

an administrator mandate. During an observation, I witnessed another participant (T3) provide

brief English explanations during a Spanish read-along session. When I inquired in the interview

about her purpose for doing this, she explained that she could tell when students were retracting

from the story due to a lack of comprehension, at which point she liked to draw them back in by

providing a quick English translation. She mentioned that the same was true when she taught

pre-school in English. The majority of students were non-native speakers of English, and she

would sporadically ask students for Spanish translations both as a form of on-demand assessment

and as a way for more competent bilinguals to support their classmates. If no one could provide

an accurate translation, she would either teach the content wholly in Spanish or explain it another way in English.

She stressed that this tactic represented only one of many strategies that she employed, such as preparing charts or supplying realia, to aid students in their attempt to access content. As she says herself, "I do everything that I know how to do in my bag of tricks to get these kids to understand" (Interview, 28 June 2016). In her case, and in contrast to the examples above, she would not create a façade in order to foster a disjunction between herself and the principal. If the principal walked in and she was speaking the "wrong" language, she would continue to do so. These actions resulted in less-than-stellar evaluations where she was docked points for failing to respect the policy meant to keep the languages separate.

This created a conjunction between teacher and principal during one of her evaluations, a moment of point-blank policy negotiation in which they addressed this issue together. She argued that by having *students* attempt translations, it did not contradict the policy that *teachers* do not mix languages. The principal agreed with her reasoning and loosened her position. Following this incident, the participant explained to her colleagues in the staff room how to avoid receiving a bad evaluation like she had. By limiting the use of the other language as instructors, they could actively appropriate students' mother tongues without reprimand.

4.3.2   Administrator connections

Other teachers were equally aware of and exploited administrators' positions of power. For instance, when the kindergarten teachers wanted to change the model itself, they knew that it would require approval from the principal. After recognizing that kindergarten students are not emotionally prepared to switch between two classes in the same day, the group appealed to the

administrator to allow them to modify the schedule. The change would have students remain in Spanish class two days a week, English class two days a week, with Friday designated half-and-half. The participant (T2) explained that the group first formulated the idea together before preparing a request:

> *Researcher*: How did that process of changing it in the school, how did you, how
>
> did that come about?
>
> *Participant*: (chuckles) The four of us teachers sat, and one of 'em said, 'this is
>
> what we'd like to do,' and so we sent our principal a note. (Interview,
>
> 24 June, 2016)

The principal asked them to put together a list of pros and cons and agreed to meet with them to discuss the issue. He granted their request but made it clear that the exception would not extend beyond kindergarten. When a new principal took over the school a few years later, they were asked to consider switching back for the sake of continuity. They politely declined on the grounds that student concentration and emotional stability outweighed the importance of program continuity.

In another case, teachers and administration worked in tandem to create a shared book room that included leveled texts in both languages. The participant (T6) who gave me a tour of this mini-library spoke as though it was the principal's doing because she blocked out funds for the project. However, when I probed further, it became clear that the project would not have come to fruition had the teachers not been clamoring for additional literacy materials: "[The principal] came here and the number one issue on the Spanish side is, we have nothing to read!

We don't have a library in our classrooms…! So teachers complained and complained and complained" (Interview, 18 May 2016). The participant frequents the room, pulling books for her students constantly.

The administrator-teacher connection also extended to include district officials. One of the challenges facing multiple Spanish teachers, that literacy assessment was unreliable, led them to reach out to a language learning specialist for support. The school uses a standard measure of literacy that pairs student proficiency in reading with a set of books of the same level. This system was developed in English, so the school adopted an equivalent battery of assessment measures in Spanish. After acquainting themselves with the tests, multiple teachers began to notice clear inconsistencies between students' measured Spanish literacy level and the level of the books that were appropriate for them.

Three upper primary teachers in particular had reservations with continuing to use those instruments, and they made their concerns known to the district office. The three teachers (including T10) along with two district officials sat down and developed their own assessment. One of the language learning directors for the district had faced a similar problem when teaching dual language herself and had already created many of the individual tests. Together they reviewed and updated those tests and filled in the levels that were missing. Figure 2 shows a sample ego policy network for T10, including this literacy assessment, the bilingual read-aloud, and her reduction in writing time.

Most teachers I interviewed appreciated the director and what she brought to the district. They described her as a supportive figure who was not only available to discuss challenges and suggest solutions, but who is "also willing to get down to the nitty-gritty" (T9, interview, 15 July

2016). On multiple occasions, including for the assessment instruments above, she has worked directly with the teachers on preparing materials and resolving issues.

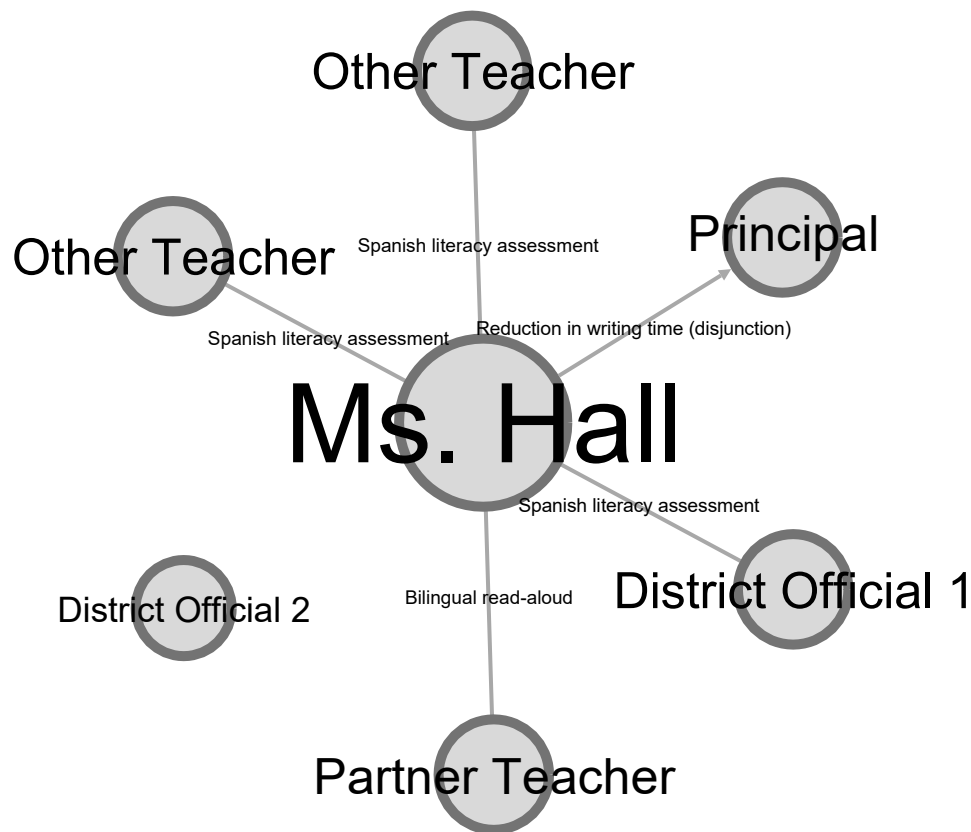The participants' comments, however, were not always so positive when regarding administration.

Figure 2. Sample ego policy network for T10 (Ms. Hall is a pseudonym). As indicated with the arrow, her disjunction with the principal is "directed" as it is not reciprocal. This approach to visualizing policy production emphasizes relationality as the form each individual policy takes depends on the interaction of multiple agents.

4.3.3   Unintentional disjunctions

Disjunctions took a variety of forms during interviews. The most salient of these was in instances when teachers had requested support and been effectively shunned. These comments also reveal quite a bit about how the participants indexed administration. In one case, a young

teacher (T9) in Lafayette School District asked the head of dual language what she felt were general, straightforward questions about resources and assessment as she acquainted herself with the program and dealt with the lack of materials in Spanish. To her dismay, she received no useful input and was left disappointed in that individual at the district office. However, the district soon hired two more employees in the language learning department. She took another chance by reaching out to them, and in those cases, received the support she was hoping for. The district was using a model for materials development that was a component of a training module known as GLAD (Guided Language Acquisition Design). Even though the district policy restricted the training to second-year teachers, the newly hired official taught her how to source materials and translate them to Spanish according to the GLAD unit model, for which she would be compensated.

Another teacher (T12) from the same school described multiple instances in which her requests had been placed aside. On one occasion, she had compiled a list of books in Spanish that she felt the school should consider purchasing for the library. These books would serve to support the Spanish teachers in their literacy units given the fact that they had almost no authentic Spanish materials to lean on. She explained that she was most disappointed by the manner in which they responded to her request, by courteously thanking her and clearly setting the list aside with no intention for consideration.

Disjunctions were also identified as unproductive connections between staff and administration. Multiple participants found staff meetings at times underwhelming and ineffective. They were criticized for revolving around data and student progress. A young teacher (T4) wondered why some of the meetings were convened in the first place. The meetings were unnecessary and stole from time she could have used to plan. Another disjunction that is

commonly voiced by American teachers around the country is the lack of administrator observations. Multiple participants considered this issue even more relevant in their case given that the school had only recently implemented a bilingual program, and district officials make sweeping decisions without understanding what actually occurs in the classroom, a finding that was corroborated during the survey portion of the interview. They categorized the observations that did take place in two ways, either for the purpose of the end-of-the-year evaluation or to show off the dual language program to superiors (e.g., the superintendent) or outside individuals. What is missing from these observations is any sense of constructiveness, that they will be used as evidence for future modifications to the program.

Finally, disjunctions were also described as points of confusion where mandates or messages from trainings did not make sense or contradicted other messages. A prime example of this comes from the push for translanguaging in Lafayette. One English teacher (T11) explained that they were originally trained to keep languages separate, but that because the district wanted to keep up with the newest strategies, they had prepared trainings on bringing the languages together in class. The mixed messages did not stop there – he pointed out that because most students come to school dominant in English, the district requested that only the English teachers incorporate Spanish into their classes (if they speak Spanish). Because of the confusion and the lack of time in the day, he continued to use Spanish in the same way as he had prior to the trainings, by supplementing instruction for newcomers and Spanish-dominant learners. One of the Spanish teachers expressed her discontent with the district's strive for translingualism. Even though she urges students to use Spanish during class because they already fall back on English almost exclusively, they began to use English even more, citing the school policy. In other words, the students themselves appropriated the notion of translanguaging, arguing that they had

a right to speak English in Spanish class because of that policy. This teacher saw this as a clear challenge because by the fifth grade, virtually all students preferred English over Spanish.

4.3.4   Administration supports other connections

One of the themes discussed in the literature review was the disguising of non-hierarchical linkages within vertically oriented spaces. One example came from Guarani language policy trainings (López, 1996). Although trainings are considered by their very nature and nomenclature top-down, we saw trainers learning from trainees as well as participants working together and co-constructing knowledge. But it would be unfair to ignore the role of organizers in setting up these workshops and creating the possibility for these connections.

Although this theme was less salient, I feel it is important to report not simply for the sake of completeness, but because it may be underrepresented. We are socialized to think hierarchically, so the fact that these comments emerged at all may be an indication that other instances have occurred and did not come up during discussion.

The only point shared among participants was that emphasizing the role of the principal in the early stages of the program's development. Teachers at Springfield were quick to point out both the flaws and qualities of the principals that have run the dual language program. But they agreed that the initial principal fought for the program, and that without him, it may not have survived. In fact, one of the teachers conducted a study for her master's on the early years of the dual language transition, and she highlighted this issue in her text. Without the support of administration and the green light from the district, future connections among staff members that ultimately produced the program in its current form would not have been possible.

There were challenges to this sentiment, not in the role of the principal in garnering support from the district and selling the idea of the program, but that administration stifles creativity. One teacher (T2) voiced her frustration with the way teacher learning communities are at times overly structured by administration. As she says with regard to those learning communities, "give us the freedom to do what we want" (Interview, 24 June 2016).

Even though participants at times criticized staff meetings, one teacher (T4) found them to be most useful when they were used as a platform for teacher-teacher learning. In some meetings the principal would use video to display authentic teaching practices. The participant herself had been recorded during instructional sessions. Even though the principal had called and organized the meeting, this participant found its greatest value to lie in the opportunity to learn directly from other teachers. That same participant expressed the usefulness of observing fellow teachers. Of course, an observation requires the scheduling of a substitute and is therefore usually limited to predetermined days which the principal sets herself. This participant explained that she took every opportunity to observe on those days.

In one final case, we see the principal acting as a gatekeeper for new organizational patterns within the school. As mentioned earlier (*section 4.1.3*), Springfield has a sizable Guatemalan population, and one of the participants in the study (T3) maintains a strong, personal connection with the country. She was disappointed with the staffs' lack of knowledge about Guatemala, specifically the hand the United States government played in the overthrow of the socialist president Jacobo Árbenz. Because his populist policies negatively affected the land holdings of the United Fruit Company, John Foster Dulles, the brother of one of the corporate executives, provided the military support for the opposition movement to stage a coup (Kinzer,

2013). The resulting civil war was one of the bloodiest in Central American history and continues to affect rural communities throughout the country and even the Springfield district.

The teacher felt that this knowledge was necessary for employees to better understand their students and their families. She took the initiative to locate a comprehensive article online that overviewed the history of Guatemala which she then sent to the entire staff. Although she only received two responses, the principal later sent out an email saying that the school would start an integration committee. A few teachers signed up to take part in the committee which would focus on how to address the challenges their Guatemalan- and Mexican-American families face. At the time of the interviews with this participant, the committee had only been formed and had not begun to meet. However, we can safely say that the principal played a significant role in the forming of the committee which will bring staff together to discuss these issues.

4.3.5   Discourse analysis

When the participants invoked administrative personnel during the interviews, there were instances when they drew intertextual links to policies. These links emerged organically and therefore shed light on what issues and texts are most relevant in these schools. Before covering these, I will briefly describe how administration was indexed.

4.3.5.1   Indexing administrators

A few clear themes emerged that help us understand how teachers view principals and district officials. These themes include *pawn*, *supporter*, and *dictator*.

One of the sources of disjunction between teacher and administrator that I reviewed above was confusion. Teachers attended trainings on translanguaging and left confused because of mixed messages and because the strategies were not appropriate for their context. But this was not the only example of confusion from trainings. Another teacher (T2) described a training on 21st century skills that made little sense, most likely because, as she puts it, those who ran the program were little more than pawns in the district's grand scheme.

She criticized the district's overemphasis on initiatives, expecting teachers to constantly implement new strategies. It would not have occurred to her that administration was receiving these directives from higher up if she did not have a family member who happened to be an administrator in another district:

I didn't realize that. I have a brother-in-law that's an administrator in a different meeting, and I mentioned that to him, and he said, 'Oh! You're doing that, too, huh?' [laughs] And that's what their district is doing, [in a sarcastic voice] 21st century teaching…. But it [the training] didn't make any sense to us. (Interview, 24 June 2016)

Other teachers described administration in similar ways. One participant (T12), in expressing her frustration with the top-down nature of school politics, made a connection between the structures in place and administrator demeanor: "It frustrates me that administration shows such a lack of confidence in us…, more than anything because they, the administrators, are receiving an order from a higher-up" (Interview, 10 July 2016).

Multiple teachers stressed the fact that administration was under pressure to report the highest test scores possible and that some of their decisions may result from this pressure. On the one hand, school funding is very much a function of proven student progress. On the other hand, even if they implement projects that are unsuccessful, they will not be held accountable for an idea that filtered down from above.

It became clear that when principals and district officials responded to the needs and requests of their staff, the tone shifted significantly. As we saw earlier, even though one of the district officials in Lafayette was criticized for not providing the support teachers needed, other officials were praised for being "willing to get down to the nitty-gritty" and essentially work alongside teachers (T9, interview, 15 July 2016). The example of the book room at Springfield is a case in point. The principal had heeded her staff's requests for shared bilingual literacy materials. The same teacher who gave me a tour of the bilingual library (T6) wished that the principal would take up the position of supporter more often: "She needs to stand up for us and be patient and get us the resources and let us develop what we need" (Interview, 8 June 2016).

She also felt that some of the superfluous paperwork, documentation, and assessment that she was required to fill out and conduct was impeding her ability to use her time as effectively as possible. For the most part, these were described as non-negotiable, giving the impression that administrators also comported themselves as dictators. For one, administrators had leverage over employees in the form of evaluations. We saw multiple examples of this in the previous sections. One teacher extended this issue to attending meetings. On some occasions, the meetings only served to eat up her time, but she had no choice but to attend.

4.3.5.2 Intertextual links

Throughout the interviews, there was limited mention of state policies and district handbooks (which I had instigated). Of course, as Ball (1993, 1995) has written, policies can be codified in official documents and can also be carried through discourse officially or otherwise. When teachers invoked administrators, they started to draw intertextual links to policies which may indicate the power of holding higher positions within the hierarchy.

A few of the examples of these that we saw in the previous sections included no mixing of languages (Springfield), translanguaging (Lafayette), and 21st century teaching (Springfield). Interestingly, these very issues were challenged by teachers and did not seem to play a prominent role in the classroom.

When teachers explained what creative practices they used instead, they often did not draw links to any specific discourse or text, but described them in terms of their experience and views. Examples of this would include the bilingual read-aloud and the playing of short films at Lafayette and the use of translation, realia, and gestures by the teacher at Springfield.

However, these examples do not exhaust the list of possible discourses that circulate the schools and ultimately influence instruction. The central reference points for teachers included, but were not limited to, the balanced literacy curriculum, the Common Core State Standards, and GLAD teaching strategies. Participants mentioned these unprompted during interviews, and I witnessed their employment during observations. For instance, balanced literacy was developed for English literacy instruction. However, when I asked a teacher (T4) following an observation about how she had prepared the science lesson she had just given, she explained that she had based it on the balanced literacy structure – instructional lesson, independent work, and sharing.

For this reason, it appears that the strongest intertextual links did not revolve around policy documents themselves, but the adopted materials within the school. As one teacher said, "this is a balanced literacy school" (T9).

With regard to GLAD teaching strategies, which include co-constructed content charts, graphic organizers, and thinking maps, teachers used these as their go-to form of content and language integration (see *Figs. 3-6*). The majority of dual language teachers had received GLAD training and incorporated some of the many tactics into their instructional routines. In many cases they qualified these methods on the basis of scaffolding, one of the catchphrases that circulate around the schools. They are also justified for transforming language into images and diagrams for their capacity to present content through a visual medium. When asked about what strategies she used specifically, one teacher (T3) said that "there's quite a few that I personally like, um, anything that creates visuals for the students" (Interview, 14 June 2016).

The purpose of identifying these circulating discourses is not so much to then evaluate the quality of practices. There is little doubt that GLAD strategies, for example, can potentially be employed in ways that help students access content and acquire linguistic forms. At the same time, there are clear challenges that accompany their use, such as which to call upon when and how often as well as how to improve upon them and meld them with other class activities.

However, I am interested in what these intertextual links reveal about the operation of the school. One key point here is that the prevalence of certain discourses crowds out other strategies, competencies, or even philosophies surrounding education, knowledge, and assessment. For example, because administration plugs GLAD techniques and provides trainings and teachers qualify their value, there seems to be a lack of discussion regarding the shortcomings of implicit language teaching methods and how explicit approaches may fortify

language instruction (see Norris & Ortega, 2000). Because teachers plan based on the Common Core standards, there are questions about what standards may not be present, how the standards relate to each other, and even if a standards-centered curriculum matches the philosophy of the staff.

These discourses are not the main focus of the study, and therefore I cannot go into much more detail in this section. However, these intertextual links do play a key role in the study. One of the theoretical underpinnings of the project maintains that the researcher should not impose a policy on the participants as it may not be as important to the staff as it is to the researcher. Here we can begin to elucidate what discourses matter (and therefore could be studied more in depth) and which mattered less to teachers (i.e., codified state policy).
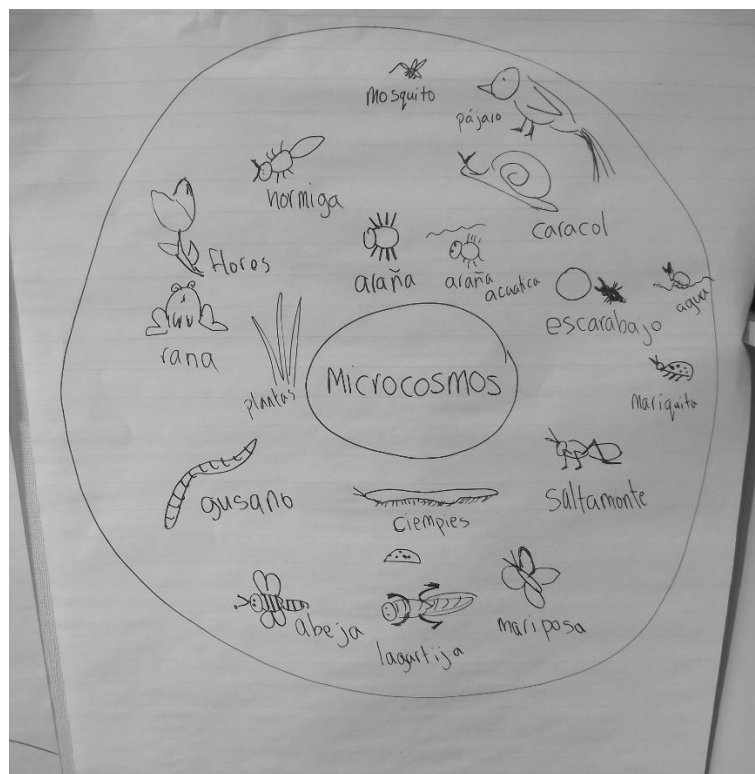

Figure 3. Photograph of graphic organizer. One GLAD strategy commonly employed to teach content and language simultaneously is the graphic organizer. This particular organizer was made during a third-grade biology lesson in Spanish.
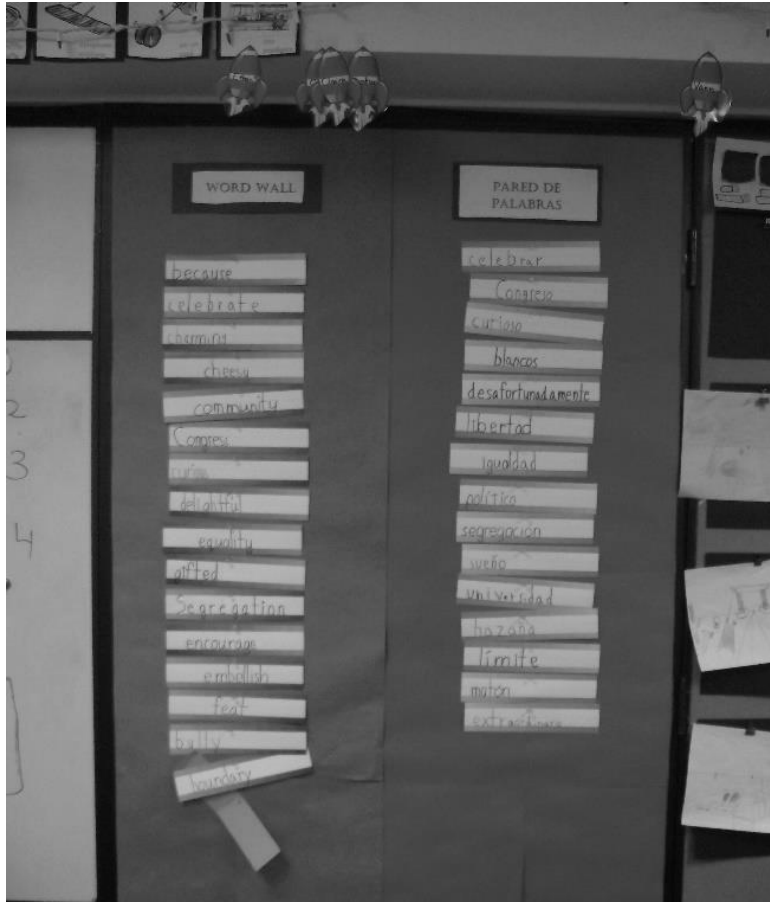
Figure 4. Photograph of word wall. Another GLAD strategy, known as a word wall, is meant to optimize wall space in the classroom by displaying relevant words from current units.
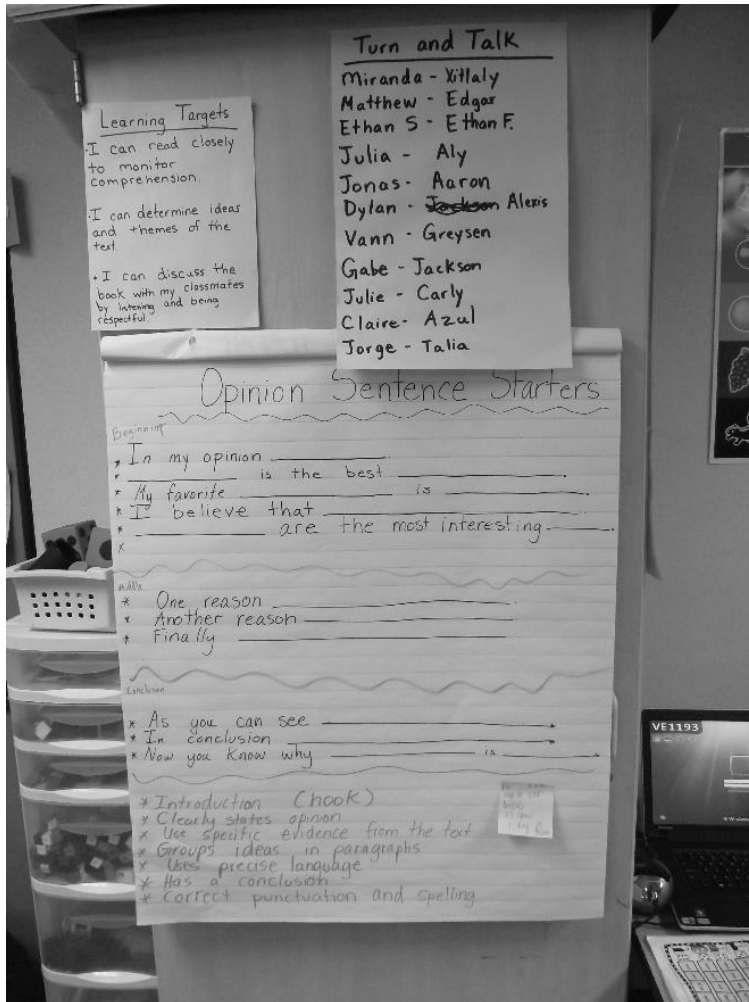
Figure 5. Photograph of sentence frames. An additional GLAD strategy, the sentence frame/starter, provides students with go-to structures that facilitate oral communication.
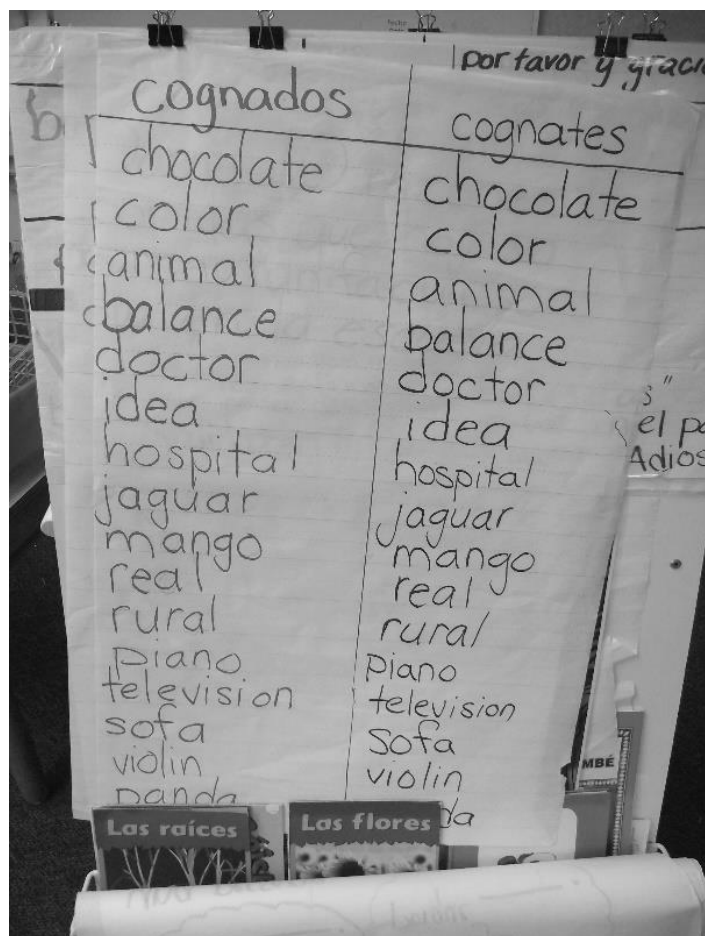
Figure 6. Photograph of cognate chart. Cognate charts are meant to teach vocabulary (and phonology) while building metalinguistic awareness through cross-linguistic comparison.

4.4   Other connections

Some of the connections that teachers have forged do not easily fit into categories and, for that very reason, reveal why conventional approaches often fall short of illuminating the breadth of political encounter. Many of these nodes and assemblages only have in common the fact that they do not constitute part of the educational hierarchy. It is still crucial to report on these findings as they demonstrate the diversity of linkages that exist within these settings. It must be noted that in some cases causation is much more tenuous than in others that we have

seen so far. However, the goal of the dissertation has not been to claim causation, but rather to trace relations in the context of participants' descriptions of policy development and negotiation.

One of the clear challenges facing teachers that surfaced time and again during interviews was the lack of authentic Spanish-language curriculum. Most if not all Spanish teachers had resorted to translating or producing their own materials. In fact, it appeared that this practice was the norm and encouraged by the district as they compensated teachers for translating lessons so that they would be available for reference and use in the future. However, this did not constitute the only method of preparing Spanish-language materials for class.

For the most part, Latin American governments publish their standardized public curricula online. One teacher attested to having used Chilean materials (from curriculumenlineamineduc.cl) in class while another had perused Mexican curriculum. In reality, there is little time to deviate from the master schedule unless the teacher carves that time out for herself or feels comfortable replacing an English unit with a comparable unit already prepared in Spanish. Participants had done this on occasion. For two teachers, they found that the popular website teacherspayteachers.com included activities in Spanish that they could incorporate into their classes. Another teacher did not receive the support she needed to develop social studies activities, so she brought in the textbooks that she had used as a student teacher in another district (even though they were also in English which she had to translate).

A related key concern dealt with the lack of supporting texts in Spanish. This has led multiple teachers to take it upon themselves to build out their own class libraries. They purchase books with their own money every year by addressing class needs little by little (see *Fig. 6*). One of the most creative and unexpected ways a teacher has procured Spanish texts was by applying for a concession of books furnished by the Mexican consulate in Seattle. The teacher had just

received the textbooks at the end of the year and passed them out to colleagues according to

grade level.

It is difficult to discern how much any of these examples make their way into day-to-day

practices. However, along the issue of explicit grammar instruction, of which most teachers had

Figure 7. Photograph of part of class library. The majority of the books shown in this photograph were purchased by the teacher over many years, some with the class budget and some with her personal money.

little to comment, it is crucial to mention that one teacher was in fact systematically

incorporating grammar lessons into class. She pointed out that while the school appears to have

no Spanish language curriculum, there is a set of basal readers in Spanish that the school

officially adopted when it first started its dual language program. The anthology includes

authentic stories in Spanish and accompanying lessons that address grammar and vocabulary.

Even though younger teachers were entirely unaware of these workbooks, the school purchases her a new class set every year because she requests it and, as she explained, it is the school's official Spanish literacy curriculum.

I am more interested, however, in the social connections that teachers invoked as they discussed policy. One of the tactics that administrators commonly employ to expose their staff to new practices and ideas is to invite outside speakers to present at school or district trainings. What was surprising was that the participants were especially keen to mention these presenters when they themselves had arranged the training. For example, the instructional coach at Springfield contacted Mary Capellini, one of the authors of the balanced literacy curriculum, and requested that she visit the school. After the training, one of the teachers (T5) was still left with pressing questions with regard to the use of the curriculum on the Spanish side. She decided to ask Capellini directly for support:

> I asked [Mary Capellini] to send me some more information in Spanish because we were talking about Spanish, we don't have the same availability [of materials]…. I was wondering if I could have those materials in Spanish because it's very good, but we have to translate everything, and that's not equity because that's our time, extra time. (Interview, 3 May 2016)

This teacher was not pleased with the fact that the Spanish-language staff had no choice but to search for additional materials or translate them from English. While this issue has presented itself in both schools and among most, if not all, teachers, her decision to reach out to the author is noteworthy.

Another participant recalled an episode that occurred when she was working at a previous school on a Native American reservation. Because the students were not learning to read, she personally requested that Jeffrey Reid, a developmental psychologist, speak at her school. They then brought in a superintendent from across the country to talk about his program in a Native American community which saw most students read at grade level and graduate. The fact that she found it relevant to mention these trainings is telling of how their positions matched her personal beliefs and how teachers feel ownership over trainings that they coordinate and request themselves.

Three specific policies that had been negotiated among staff members were originally considered as a result of a connection with entities that do not easily fit into the vertical imaginary of the school structure. For instance, one teacher explained that she and her fellow kindergarten team members had appealed to the district for a change in assessment protocol based on what was occurring in an entirely different district. They had seen that the district had replaced all formal kindergarten assessment (i.e., report cards, literacy measures, child development measures) with one program, known as WaKIDS, that encompasses each of the development measures kindergarten teachers are interested in. Surprisingly, the school had already adopted WaKIDS but continued to force the teachers to conduct the other assessments. With the knowledge that another district had scrapped all instruments but WaKIDS, the kindergarten team requested the same of their district:

We kind of made an appeal to the district, 'hey, we hear that some other districts are throwing out report cards and throwing out DIBELS testing [another

instrument], and they're just doing WaKIDS three times a year. Could we do that?

'Cause that, it would make more sense.' (T2, interview, 24 June 2016)

The district ultimately rejected the request. This does not lessen the fact that teachers both maintained a connection with another district and appropriated their knowledge into a moment of political engagement.

That same group of teachers attempted, this time successfully, to modify student placement procedures for kindergartners. As this participant explained, the metrics for student placement often leave much to be desired for young learners whose relationship with a given teacher is more significant than technical measures. In addition, as is common in dual language schools, the vision of placing English speakers with Spanish speakers for mutual support breaks down when a) the student body is not near 50/50 and b) such a sizeable proportion speaks Mam or Q'anjob'al. The result is that the first weeks of school are dedicated to reallocating students who are not comfortable in their assigned rooms. She told me that she and her partner teacher learned of an alternative method of placing students from one of the mainstream elementary schools in their district. The idea is that families can come to an event and meet with all four kindergarten teachers at the same time prior to the start of school and that the teachers will use their notes from that meet-and-greet to assign students to rooms. Here she (T2) describes the moment when she learned of this strategy:

One of the schools in town… was doing it, and we were at their meeting where

they were announcing it and [my partner] turned to me and said, 'we really should

do that.' So she went and talked to [the principal] and [she] found funding.

(Interview, 24 June 2016)

It is important to note that in both examples of policy negotiation within the kindergarten team, the assemblage of actors included both unexpected connections with other schools and districts and superiors who were needed in order to ratify the request.

Finally, one of the teachers, after voicing her discontent with the lack of detailed assessment instruments at Springfield, explained how she and her third grade team developed a performance task, an assessed activity. Because none of them had experience designing a performance task, they enlisted the help of the reading and math specialist who worked with their grade. Once again, the assemblage reflects both normalized patterns of organization (i.e., the team) and unexpected links (i.e., the specialist).

Other surprising connections were mentioned that should not be overlooked. One teacher witnessed the special education specialist in action and described feeling inspired by the strategies she was using to reach her students. A Spanish-side teacher had been explaining the ins and outs to an English teacher who was slotted to make the transition the following year. And a new teacher at Springfield recounted her observations of a more experienced colleague, telling me that she was disappointed at how short the observations were and that she had not had more opportunities to learn first-hand from her. These comments, while lacking robustness with examples of real changes to policy, reveal that informal interactions matter to teachers as they work through the challenges that come with bilingual education.

5.   DISCUSSION

The principal aim of the results section was to trace teachers' perceptions of connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions with other social actors. One key challenge that accompanies this process deals with the question of how to characterize these interrelations, whether as part of a larger, planned vertical structure, directly in opposition to that structure, or something else altogether. The brief discourse analysis sections shed light on this issue to some degree by exploring how the participants indexed colleagues, administration, and parents.

In addition, I placed an added emphasis on examples that illustrate the emergence of new practices (Sørensen, 2009) as a result of the social assemblages of which they take part. These examples certainly contribute reliability to the linkages that participants discussed. Moreover, by following Hillier's (2011) conception of spatial planning across multiple planes, which values relations over singular outcomes and projections, we can begin to visualize new forms of organization that may result in the development of more creative and novel practices. By reflecting on the findings in the study, we can, as she puts it, consider "interven[ing] and manipulat[ing] relational forces and their potential connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions" (p. 516). As I wrote earlier in the paper, by uniting the right individuals and addressing their needs, it may follow that together they can problem solve and create beyond the sum of their parts.

5.1   The deconstruction of scale and a note on validity

The purpose of removing scale from method is at its core simple. In some cases, participants will describe a relationship with an individual in drastically different terms than with another individual who is commonly understood to reside in the same layer. For this reason, it is

problematic to suggest that the layer is responsible for a given outcome when in reality it may stand to reason that it is attributed to an individual agent within the scale. By consolidating various teachers' comments, we can begin to deconstruct these scales and explore some of the nuances of policy production and assemblage. This brief section is for the most part aimed at demonstrating the validity of the research method, for one would expect specific relations to replace scales in a non-scalar study.

We saw scale break down in each of the results sections. In the first section, which dealt with parents, teachers made it clear that they communicated with families when students were falling behind or needed to address behavior. However, given time constraints, teachers felt they did not reach out to the average family nearly enough. That said, one participant did maintain regular contact with parents. As an afterschool community English teacher and parenting coach, she worked with some of her students' parents multiple days a week. She viewed those sessions she gave as valuable opportunities to inform families of the lessons that she was covering during the day and to instill confidence in them as educators in their children's lives. She did this by coordinating subject matter between her elementary class and adult class as well as by incorporating discussions of parenting and literacy into her afternoon sessions.

It is clear that parent-teacher connections depend on extraneous factors that make some linkages more likely and more customary than others. In one instance, however, a teacher's afterschool lessons opened an additional pathway to corresponding with parents. The fact that one teacher maintained stronger ties with parents than other teachers does not come as much of a surprise when one considers the research on parent-teacher relationships. As Hornby and Lafaele (2011) point out, teacher schedules and perspectives play a significant role in determining which teachers meet more regularly with parents. Of course, it would be unrealistic to suggest that all

teachers should run classes for community members. That said, the knowledge and experience this teacher possesses, with over twenty years of English teaching under her belt, cannot be ignored. Perhaps her experience can be leveraged in some way as colleagues and the school at large explore possible ways to bolster communication with families. This is not to say that she should necessarily head a committee on the parent-school connection or be consulted on decisions in this area. It is simply to say that as teachers characterize this relationship as deficient, there are methods of reinvigorating those ties that have been deployed under the same roof.

Scale also broke down in the second results section, partner teachers and team members. The examples of novel practices that emerged in instances of collaborative planning were fascinating. The participants made it clear, however, that such collaboration was a direct function of their relationship as partners which depended on personality, shared values, scheduling, and other variables. Multiple teachers described less-than-stellar partnerships they had endured. For one teacher, she eventually requested a change in partner and now could not stop raving about her current partner. For another, the relationship felt stale, not for lack of respect, but mostly because of scheduling complications. As a result, she was left feeling as though they could have been more creative and that most of their time spent planning was dedicated to logistics or conferring over individual students. In the literature on co-teaching within ESL, both Arkoudis (2006) and de Jong (2006) found differing levels of success depending on the partnership in question. As de Jong writes of teachers' opinions regarding the integrating of two groups of students into the same classroom with two teachers, "the success of the collaboration and implementation of the integration activities was highly dependent on the attitudes of the individuals involved. The teachers emphasized the importance of their own values, commitment,

and enthusiasm for integration (p. 33). The findings here also corroborate Arkoudis' (2006) argument surrounding the inherent complexities of co-teaching. Therefore, bilingual schools must pay close attention to the health of teaching partnerships and acknowledge that they will not, as if by magic, always function equally well.

For new teachers, the partnership was described at times like a saving grace. The challenges that come with starting out in a dual language school, such as planning literacy instruction with little to no curriculum in Spanish, can be overwhelming. Three relatively new Spanish teachers explained that they relied heavily on partners and team members for certain matters. These represented the most clear-cut examples of conjunctions in the study as they gravitated toward their partners and team members who provided them with guidance.

Scale would have also falsely reduced teacher-administrator relations to an uncomplicated point of interaction between layers. In reality, the interviews revealed that teachers at Lafayette at times skipped their direct school-level superiors and contacted the language learning specialists at the district office. However, multiple teachers were in agreement that one of the officials provided far more support than her colleague. When one participant realized that the Spanish literacy assessment instrument did not accurately gauge students' reading levels, she went straight to her go-to language learning specialist from the district who provided her with a solution and spent significant time developing leveled questions for a new testing mechanism. Such findings call into question the notion that the policy onion (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) or delta (Malsbary & Appelgate, 2016) accurately reflect how policy is interpreted and passed on from layer to layer, or from upstream to downstream. These layers are made up of many individual actors, and the relations between agents of different layers can often be more complex than one may expect. In other words, the relation between two individuals at

times may prove more critical in the development in a policy than the scales or layers within the organization.

It is clear that the relationships teachers described maintaining with parents, colleagues, and administration were dependent upon much more than just scale. While they hoped to improve communication with all families, time constraints left them prioritizing meetings with parents whose children most needed that extra push. For some, the partner teaching setup was a gift while for others, they reflected on that relationship in terms that left much to be desired. The same appeared to be true for administration, particularly in Lafayette, where one district official was sought out and her colleague was no longer called upon. These findings were, of course, expected to some extend and serve as evidence of the validity of the research method. No two linkages will exhibit the same characteristics, and in the current study, this reality must be reflected in the results. In the following subsection, I dive deeper into how these social assemblages take on and/or resist hierarchical forms.

5.2   Hierarchy

As was mentioned in the methodology section, relations that reflect the vertically oriented organization of the school must not be overlooked. Through the acknowledgment of these connections, a more complete picture emerges and non-hierarchical linkages can be contextualized within the broader vision of school politics. A hierarchical association is identified by direct superior-subordinate contact in formal settings, a request for permission, the imposition of standards or structures, surveillance, and the existence of a power imbalance between two entities.

When considering making changes, teachers clearly assessed whether permission was necessary per the circumstances. We saw various examples of participants appealing to administration, usually for modifications that would impact more than a single classroom or partnership. For instance, when the kindergarten team at Springfield reevaluated the model for their young students, deciding that kindergartners should remain in the same room for the entire day, they approached the principal for support. That same team also hoped to replace the full battery of student assessment instruments with a single online assessment program. Even though their request was rejected, they pitched the idea to the district, knowing full well that administration had control over assessment procedures. In another example, the principal of Springfield had recently installed a leveled bilingual library that partially resolved the teachers' lack of supporting literacy materials in Spanish. Given its collective nature, the project benefited from administrator action who could allocate school-wide funds to the effort. She had not initiated the project, however. It was her staff, who had complained over the lack of books in the school, who triggered the discussion regarding the value of a shared instructor library. While the practice of teachers appealing to administration may not occur every day, it is certainly not out of the ordinary in schools in the U.S. and beyond (Carnie, 2018). Some authors even support such forms of change within the school as it decreases the distance between principal and instructor (Ingersoll, 2003) and bolsters the teacher's sense of agency (Carnie, 2018).

Other settings of interaction clearly reflected hierarchical norms. Within-district trainings allow for administration to disseminate messages and promote novel strategies. One example in Springfield was 21st century education, in Lafayette translanguaging. The chain of command continued with meetings convened by principals all the way to the team setup at Springfield which included a team leader who handled correspondence with administration on behalf of her

group. In the case of Lafayette, one teacher (T12) mentioned that students appropriated the message that translanguaging was acceptable even though she, as a sixth grade Spanish-medium teacher, did not approve of English use in her classroom. This issue of students drawing intertextual links to district policy and even citing such messages against their teacher's wishes deserves further attention.

Just as interesting are the instances of intentional disjunctions that we saw in the administration section of the results. The disjunctions complement Hornberger and Johnson's (2007) concept of implementational and ideological space. A possible addendum to their theory may be the idea that teachers carve out space for themselves by intentionally forging rifts with administrators. It is important to note that one could argue that these disjunctions only develop because of and are justified along the logic of hierarchy. One of the teachers who played films in class and at times modified the literacy block actively attempted to keep school administrators unaware of these practices. Similarly, one of her colleagues had reduced literacy instruction from five days to three and by up to ten minutes each session. Because literacy topped the school's priority list, the teacher did not feel inclined to go out of her way to explain these changes to the principal. As she said herself:

> Maybe she'd [the principal] be totally fine with it, but I don't know that she would be excited that we're cutting out that much writing, and so that's not something that I would just explicitly say, like, 'oh, by the way, we're only doing writing three days a week.' (T10, interview, 7 July 2016)

These examples reveal the underlying weight of hierarchy in the schools. Changes that do not align with the vision of superiors are kept under wraps. What this means for how we understand policy implementation will be discussed later. For now, I would like to highlight the manner in which these disjunctions problematize the structure-agency binary. In these cases, teachers are exercising their agency in ways that affect the organizational structure of the school and complicate the hierarchy that permits the district to control what occurs within its classrooms. This argument will become more refined as we review the results further.

At the very least, it is clear that the student experience does not depend entirely on mandates from above. On the other hand, these intentional disjunctions are justified within, and therefore perhaps reproduce, the logic of hierarchy upon which the schools operate.

The discursive indexing of administration on the part of teachers also backs the claim that they perceive a hierarchical system to exist within the district. They at times described administrators as pawns who reported to higher-ups and regurgitated ideas and techniques that had filtered down from above. Others felt restricted by their principals as if they were under the reign of a dictator. By depicting administration in these ways, the participants reveal that the structures that dominate can at times snuff out creativity. This begs the question, how can we reconcile these forms of indexing and the creative practices that emerged within the schools? One possible explanation may have to do with the (lack of) spreading of those creative practices throughout the school. Whenever a participant would describe an unexpected practice (one that may be considered subversive), I would ask if she had shared the idea with colleagues or if others were currently doing it. I cannot point to a single example of these practices reaching beyond the walls of one teacher or one partnership. It is all too common for teachers to keep novel practices to themselves and limit collaboration with colleagues (Bovbjerg, 2006). In fact,

Hindin et al. (2007) even found that within predetermined collaborative groups, teachers'

tendency to share new ideas with group members was surprisingly limited. In the schools in the

current study, perhaps the instantiation of hierarchy limits the dissemination of unsanctioned

practices to some degree. This hypothesis is in line with the way teachers who sought to change

the model at large, like the kindergarten group at Springfield, did so by appealing to their

superiors. In fact, when that same team was inspired by another elementary school to rework

their method of allocating students to classes at the beginning of the year, they went straight to

the principal in order to implement this change.

This is not to say that teachers exclusively used vertically oriented language when

explaining their relationship with administration. In some cases, they indexed principals and

district officials as supporters, as colleagues who responded to their needs. This brings us to the

next section which looks at organizational patterns that developed in non-hierarchical ways.

5.3   Heterarchy

Examples of heterarchy that resist any classification within the preset political structures

of the school were not common, but this is a result of the fact that most relations can be

described in one way or another as part of a larger hierarchy. Of the most apparent included the

development of a Spanish literacy assessment tool on the part of a small group of teachers along

with district-level employees, skipping over the principals altogether. We saw teachers seek out

materials from other countries and other school districts as well as purchase books out of their

own pocket for their class libraries. The kindergarten team at Springfield took ideas from another

school within the district as well as from a district across the state. Teachers even drew links to

the reading specialist or the special education teachers, similar to what Prieto (2009) found in her dissertation.

These and other examples, while fascinating, can also be explained in structural terms. This leads us to the first original finding from the study, that hierarchy can support heterarchy.

5.4   Hierarchy-supported heterarchy

It appears that with the deconstruction of scale, both hierarchical and non-hierarchical organization can explain the same creative practices. Partner teaching, for example, is a regular, mandated installation that was adopted as a way to ease the strain of hiring such large numbers of certified bilingual teachers. In Springfield, team meetings are included in the master schedule and the groups are expected to prepare year-long plans and calendars that are accessible online to all staff members. In Lafayette, although the master schedule may not include shared planning time, administration still expects teachers to synch their own schedules in order to meet on a consistent basis. The development of bilingual read-alouds and bilingual journals clearly occurred outside of the established practices handed down from superiors. Moreover, they did not take shape out of a direct connection with administration. However, they were made possible by the partnership and team models that were district implementations. In fact, before deciding on the bilingual read-alouds, one of the partners had consulted the principal to brainstorm adequate ways of incorporating read-alouds into the day.

The establishing of the immigrant support group at Springfield constitutes another example of hierarchy supporting heterarchy. Because the principal allocated the resources and set up the committee, it appears at first glance to be a clear-cut instance of top-down planning. What ensues, however, tells a different story. The committee members are from the staff and

retain much of the ownership of the decisions that are made. In short, the principal brought staff

members together, and what they create as a committee is up to them and unpredictable.

Meetings, while usually a platform for administration to lay out plans, were heralded by

one teacher for their capacity to bring diverse teaching practices to one place. When the principal

displayed video of instructors in action, staff were connected directly with their colleagues. Such

a finding was also highlighted in Disbray's (2016) piece that I covered in the literature review.

Similarly, teachers who attended the state bilingual conference were exposed to ideas from

teachers from around the state; it was the school that organized and footed the bill for the

excursion. One of the new teachers who was still learning how dual language operated enjoyed

observing one of her more experienced team members as she could pick up operational and

disciplinary strategies from her colleague. Teachers have long heralded colleague observation as

one of the most fruitful forms of professional development (Boyle, Lamprianou, & Boyle, 2005).

Research of this topic within bilingual schools or in support of newcomers merits attention.

These direct connections between the observing and observed teachers are only made possible by

administration who can clear time for the teacher to leave the classroom and provide her/him

with a substitute.

5.5   Reviewing hierarchy and heterarchy

Most connections and disjunctions do not fit neatly within one of these categories. The

majority display characteristics that both reinforce and challenge the vertical nature of

policymaking in these schools. In the first section, we saw that in order to make systemic

changes, teachers appealed to administration (reinforcing the hierarchy). However, the source of

the idea may have originated from a fortuitous encounter with an individual from another school

or district (challenging the hierarchy). In the third section, examples demonstrating the inverse were presented. Superiors leveraged their own power to create structures that brought colleagues together. The connections and conjunctions that resulted, whether from partnerships/teams, observations, or attending conferences, teachers were afforded less structured opportunities to learn and the freedom to create. In other words, an official at an elevated position within the organizational pyramid forged connections that resist hierarchical classification.

Most work in the language policy arena takes a narrow perspective grounded in a hierarchized/vertically oriented vision of planning and change. To resist top-down ordinances that are often equated with inequality means to plan from the grassroots or from the bottom up (Hornberger, 1996). Chimbutane and Benson (2012, p. 8) call this where "bottom-up meets top-down." The only alternative that I uncovered in the literature is Filipović and Vučo (2012) who, drawing on complexity theory, call for a heterarchical approach to language planning in Serbia. They dedicate the first half of their article to revealing the flaws of previous standardization efforts in the country that were mechanized and centralized cases of language management. After defining hierarchy (as technicist) and heterarchy (as a complex system), they write that "speech communities can be organized as either technicist or complex organizations/systems" (p. 3).

This argument does not reflect the findings from the current study as most examples displayed characteristics of both. Within the education literature, American schools have even been called debureaucratized bureaucracies (Ingersoll, 2003), places that, from the outside looking in, give the appearance of a structured hierarchy, but are full of non-hierarchical connections. In line with this notion, my results therefore resonate with Moulaert & Cabaret's (2006) theorizing of network approaches to the studying of social organization. They question network theories for their lack of consideration of the role of power within the network. All

relations are viewed as equally potent and all members are viewed as on equal footing after the study has been conducted. Of these problematic notions in the literature they write:

> Hierarchy is considered implicitly as a source of inefficiency in coordination because of the 'transaction-paralysing' influence of domineering power and the reluctance of hierarchical systems to mutate 'for the good'. Therefore networks are preferable: they will smooth out coordination inefficiencies and neutralize the uncreative powerful agents. It is exactly on this issue that the worst confusion of the real and the normative occurs: 'real' human organizations have many desirable network features; but they are also profoundly determined by power relations and institutional structures, two issues on which network theories are not very informative (pp. 59-60).

In the current study, scale was removed *a priori* in order to allow all relations to shine through regardless of their probability. In analyzing the data, it appears that key linkages reflected and reproduced hierarchies because teachers at times appealed to gatekeepers (those with power) for major changes. At the same time, higher-ups were responsible for creating a system that fostered non-hierarchical connections. In other cases, the networks of organization defied hierarchies altogether. In sum, by taking a non-scalar approach, I could identify real organizational patterns which assumed both centralized (because of power discrepancies) and decentralized characteristics (see also Ingersoll, 2003), a finding that seems to corroborate Moulaert & Cabaret's argument. What appears to be missing from Filipović and Vučo's (2012) piece on Serbian language planning is the consideration that the standardization project showed

any attributes of a free-forming network or that their heterarchical model would foster or be subject to power imbalances.

This paper's results benefit from the discourse analyses which revealed that in their manner of describing relations, teachers indexed power into their interview responses. By removing scale, it was possible to identify political hierarchies, some of which reflect a vertical imaginary and others that do not. In some cases, administrators were indexed as pawns or dictators who were subject to the domain of their superiors and disburse their power over their staff. In other cases, the power imbalances did not reflect an expected hierarchy. Parents were indexed as the object of policy when they could have been viewed as sources of input, change, and political action within the school. Most participants indexed their partners and team members as of equal standing. New teachers, in contrast, instead viewed their closest colleagues as experts and authority figures.

5.6   Structure and agency – Structure is agent-dependent

Many of the connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions that teachers discussed can be explained in terms of either structure or agency. And this appears to be the norm in the literature. The two are most commonly described as antithetical, and, as Del Casino (2006, p. 376) writes, "one side of the binary becomes the center while the other is maintained in the margin." Derrida (from Gorman, 2015) has taken a slightly different position, arguing that both sides of the binary exist in a symbiotic relationship of both/and. His point is well taken here and resonates with the non-scalar theory presented by Marston et al. (2005) who implores social scientists to avoid an overreliance on precut scales that reaffirm binaries and their affiliates. Scale is a potent advocate

of structure as we saw again and again throughout the literature review. For this reason, the findings tell us about the dynamics of structure and agency in the political process.

One way to operationalize structure is as the sum total of policies in a given institution and the mechanisms in place to ensure their faithful implementation (Barakos, 2016). Because policy in the current paper is understood as constantly in a state of production and ontologically insecure, structure is instead operationalized as the matrix of social networks that make up the spatial complex of these classrooms, schools, and districts. It is through these interrelations that policies are developed, negotiated, and brought to life. By removing scale, I hope to have questioned the widely assumed associations that align with the global-local binary. These include structure (global) versus agency (local), dynamic (global) versus static (local), and there (global) versus here (local). All social actors possess agency, and all social actors can influence the structures and norms that are taken for granted. All agents are reflective beings and change, no matter the level of the hierarchy on which they reside. And all agents are tied to both the local and the global as their connections bring them into contact with others near and far.

By analyzing teachers' connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions, it became clear that structures of organization were agent-dependent. For one, teachers made conscious decisions to link up with or disband with certain individuals.

Over and over, the participants explained the importance of maintaining a positive relationship with their partners which was a function of personality and shared values. In one of the cases, when a teacher was not pleased with her partnership, she requested a change of partner. In doing so, she exercised her agency in a way that modified the structure of organization in the school. It was not an example of developing policy; it did, however, affect *future* negotiations and the reality of instruction in her classroom. In another case, a group of

Spanish-medium teachers who sought support for their balanced literacy instruction invited the author of the curriculum, Mary Capellini, to the school.

In other cases, teachers carved open implementational space (e.g., bilingual instruction, reducing writing time, etc.) by forging a disjunction with administration, by strategically severing ties with supervisors in key moments. This clear manipulation of social organization was a significant component in the design of these policies. Researchers who have done work in this area usually identify the layers of policy development to better understand at what junctures ideological and implementational spaces open up. This can intensely reify the vertical imaginary of the school politic. In the oft-cited article that presents a model for studying these spaces, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) place a major emphasis on policy interpretations, leaving social dynamics of policy untouched. In reviewing the findings from Johnson's work in the Philadelphia School District, they pay close attention to how district officials open or close spaces for bilingual education:

> Although both Emily and Lucía [district officials] advocate bilingual education,
> their beliefs about language education and applied linguistics research color their
> respective interpretations of Title III, which, in turn, influences the course of
> language policy in the [district]. Emily's interpretation of Title III as flexible and
> her beliefs about bilingual education research created and supported ideological
> and implementational spaces for additive bilingualism in the [district's] language
> policy, whereas Lucía's interpretation of Title III as rigidly English-dominant and
> her own beliefs about language education have engendered a shift in [the
> district's] language policy toward transitional programs (p. 520).

This approach to studying implementational space highlights the interpretation itself (which is crucial) but does not take into consideration the agency these district officials acted upon in forging connections with staff and limiting connections with those who want to dismantle their programs as they see them. This element would seem to be equally as important as the interpretation itself: how much of an impact their ideological positions ultimately have has much to do with the effort they expend in selling them as gospel to their colleagues throughout the district. Otherwise they may just be empty words or be overtaken by another position.

In the current study, implementational space was studied as a social phenomenon. The teachers' agency did in part shine through in their personal beliefs regarding classroom practices. But I also pointed out the intentional disjunctions they forged which, as an additional act of agency, afforded them even greater space to teach in ways they felt most appropriate. These disjunctions serve as another example that structure is agent-dependent. Through attempts to invisibilize their actions and practices, teachers improve their chances of retaining the changes they have made in class and keeping those ideological spaces open. These intentional disjunctions include the "twenty percent" that a Lafayette teacher used to show films and encourage oral production in Spanish as well as the reduction in writing time by one of her colleagues.

Two sets of practices that emerged from partner teaching are especially notable here in that they demonstrate how easily structure and agency can begin to blur. The development of the bilingual read-aloud exercise depended on a partnership with a strong foundation – the two teachers devised the idea together and needed to be willing to share the same book. The participant in the study explained that their communication changed after commencing the read-aloud as they began to discuss themes from the book. Additionally, they adjusted the read-aloud

schedule half way through the year in response to other changing circumstances. This begs the question, where does structure end and agency begin? Their partnership (an organizational structure) morphed as a result of an act of agency in the development of a novel practice. They then adjusted the structure of the read-aloud scheme, an activity they had created for themselves, as the year wore on. Some might call this a bottom-up practice, but there was no evidence that they had passed it along to anyone else and the principal was in full support of their incorporating a read-aloud into the day.

Another example of the blurring of the binary is the kindergarten partnership's bilingual journal. It was a practice that once again depended on a well functioning partnership. Just as with the previous example, it underwent a negotiated modification after being installed in order for its assessment potential to be fully reached.

These examples reflect the deconstruction of structure and agency espoused by Decuypere and Simons (2016) who provide an overview of relationality in education and the socio-materiality of learning. They write that "relational thinking discards traditional distinctions between agency and structure. Just as agency is never the sole feat of one singular actor, what is conventionally designated as structuring factors (e.g., order, stability) is equally enacted relationally" (p. 374). In other words, the identification of either side of the binary is tricky as they are co-constitutive of each other. Structures are designed by agents; agents are affected by structures. Neither can fully predict an outcome, but neither can exist without the other. As de Freitas (2012, p. 594) similarly argues:

> It is important to conceive of the agency of the assemblage in terms that do not
> simply reduce it to a static structure imposing fixity on the active agents within it.

The power of the assemblage is not merely negative as a constraint or passive as

an enabler.

In the context of the schools in the current study, assemblages of partners, colleagues, and administrators were both ordered in some ways and subject to the actions and decisions of those within them. As the lines blur, it is crucial to point out that the practices that were observed and described emerged out of both the attractive and repulsive forces of the relations of actors within the schools, districts, and communities. When the teachers develop new practices, like bilingual read-alouds and bilingual journal keeping, they have produced their own structures that in turn affect their relations with partners in unanticipated ways.

When we think about how agency and structure interact, the findings here echo the cautionary sentiment espoused by Van Waes et al. (2016, p. 306) that in schools, "the balance between fostering network awareness and imposing network building is a delicate and critical one." We turn to this very issue of tinkering with organizational patterns next.

5.7   The manipulation of relations and re-*forming* the school

School reformation is almost exclusively discussed in outcome-oriented terms. How can we bolster students' viability in the global marketplace (with bilingual education)? How can we make students more successful readers and writers (with better literacy-focused instructional strategies and activities)? How can we facilitate language acquisition in bilingual schools (with research-based initiatives)? How can we improve our student body's standing on the state assessments (by adapting curriculum to the testing standards and competencies)?

These examples of reform are outcome-oriented, meaning that they can be monitored for success and failure and policed. This goes a long way in reproducing the hierarchy we saw above and may even snuff out creativity in the teaching profession. From a relational perspective, school reformation takes on a whole new meaning. Forms of schooling are viewed interrelationally, in the manner that individuals interact with one another and that students and educators engage with objects and discourses (Latour, 2005). Along this line of thinking, Decuypere and Simons (2016) advocate a research agenda that explores forms that school practices exhibit. "This could allow for sustaining, perhaps reinventing, a specific mode of existence for educational research itself that would… offer *propositions* so as to recompose certain settings and think about what it means to re-*form* education" (p. 383, emphasis in the original).

This approach resonates with the theory of spatial planning that guided this study. The evolution of a community, in this case a school, may have just as much to do with who interacts (and who does not) than with the comprehensive plan laid out on the table (Hillier, 2011). By studying the relational constitution of the setting, we can begin to see what organizational forms promote creative practices. We can then consider "interven[ing] and manipulat[ing] relational forces and their potential connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions" (p. 516). This approach seems to retain the capacity to allow structures and hierarchies to play their part in fostering non-hierarchical linkages. Those linkages will in turn result in novel, unforeseen practices that in many cases address the needs of the school (and in other cases may not). In instances where those practices are deemed unsuccessful, they affect only one or two rooms during the appraisal stage, and in any case, manifest a culture of experimentation.

From the results that we explored in this study, there are ways that the schools might consider re-forming themselves. Some of the practices that emerged from partnerships clearly demonstrate that the fostering of partner- and team-based connections can be beneficial to the landscape of instruction in the school. Some of the examples I reviewed in the results section include the bilingual read-aloud, bilingual journals, the standardization of disciplinary conventions between partners, covering the same theme in both rooms, reviewing material covered in one language in the other class, and poring over state standards with partners and fellow team members, among others. Of course, the new teacher conjunction with partners, which saw recently hired teachers draw on the experience of their partners, is also pertinent to this discussion.

On the flipside, when partners did not have the chemistry they would have liked, participants described the relationship as underwhelming. What can this tell us about school organization? First of all, when a school operates on a partnership model, which is common for bilingual schools, the health of those partnerships must be a top priority. Of all the professional relationships, one can argue that none is likely more intense or time-consuming than the partnership. It is also safe to say that the effect a well functioning partnership has on the student experience can only be positive. In fact, all of the examples of the development of creative practices came from teachers who had professed a high degree of respect for their partners. For a more detailed discussion of collaboration in the school, I point the reader in the direction of Vangrieken, Dochy, Raes, and Kyndt (2015) who reviewed the relevant literature on the topic. Personality factors have been shown to affect colleague collaboration (Main, 2007), and that scheduling meeting time (Flowers et al., 2000) and meeting consistently (Saunders et al., 2009) are also important, findings that resonate with the teachers' comments here.

Second, administration must ensure that teams and partners have ample time to meet *if they want it*. At Springfield, the schedule included time for planning, but at Lafayette, the teachers were essentially on their own. My point is not that partners should be forced into meeting a certain number of days a week. However, if the time is not allocated to begin with, the partnership may suffer.

My main argument here is about protecting this relationship and recognizing its potential for experimentation. When a form of organization is demonstrated to have merit, the school should take measures to protect the form, not the instructional strategies themselves.

Finally, there is a hidden disjunction that cannot be overlooked. When asked if other teachers in the school conducted bilingual read-alouds or journals, the participants responded in the negative. It is possible that by bringing teachers from different grades together, some of these practices may spread. In fact, Bovbjerg (2006) pointed out that one of the critical problems that can develop out of collaboration in the school is that it in fact hinders inter-group collaboration. This may not be the only explanation, though, as this dynamic may be indicative of a deeper issue. Why is it that novel practices do not circulate through the school? The reason may lie in the intentional disjunctions teachers harnessed in order to carve out space for their own practices. The more control they retain over their creative practices, the greater the chances they can create the illusion that administrators have the final say, ultimately protecting those practices that matter most to them. This is no more than a hypothesis, but if true, it would point to a systemic shift that must take place in schools if we are to witness any sort of democratizing revolution within the wider system. That change would be to celebrate experimentation, flexibility, and agency in order to transform the culture of education from all sides. In other words, by

encouraging invention and creativity, perhaps those webs among staff would be spun organically and not as a result of a directive.

The fact of the matter is that teachers' intentional disjunctions with administrators were leveraged so as to create space for other creative practices which included the showing of short films and the inclusion of oral activities in Spanish, the removal of elements of balanced literacy, and translanguaging (at Springfield). If we simply outed these practices, it may be that principals or district officials would smother them. It is for this reason that we must pay attention to the organizational patterns that evolve and the underlying power imbalances in a given setting, for the practices themselves, and what it means to adequately educate a child, are ideological battles that are waged in the context of the connections, conjunctions, and disjunctions that exist there. I disagree with Van Huy et al. (2016, p. 72) who write that "the conflicting policy positions taken up by each participant" act as "a critical barrier to… policy enactment." From this angle, there appears to be a correct resolution or answer that exists within the policy itself and that any barriers to its enactment should be minimized. But, by squashing administrators' and teachers' sense of uncertainty, we also devalue experimentation and the critical questioning of new initiatives. Similarly, if we were to shine a light on intentional disjunctions, agency would be reduced even further, handing more power to administrators and undermining checks and balances.

One final point of re-formation must consider the teacher-administrator relationship. There were clear instances of non-hierarchical linkage in the school and organic connections between teachers and administration that were leveraged to solve problems. But these examples do not mean that the current setup is perfect as is.

The intentional disjunctions indicate something about the atmosphere in the schools. The fact that the participants had respect for their administrators and the system of bilingual education they were developing highlights the way protocol, curriculum, and schedule can take priority over creativity. As one teacher (T12) said: "What happens is that every day I get frustrated by these, by this lack of confidence the administrators show in us, you know? It's like they don't trust the work we're doing. It's a shame" (Interview, 10 July 2016).

How then could we re-form the school in ways that incorporate agenda-setting/cohesion and flexibility/unabated agency. First and foremost, the intentional disjunctions play a significant role that should not be overlooked. They are not a problem to be eradicated, but a symptom of the atmosphere described in the previous paragraph. They increase the level of experimentation in the school even if new ideas rarely spread from room to room.

Teachers also appreciate and call upon administration for support. The tension between administrator as supporter and administrator as leader/pawn/dictator is interesting. It requires further study, but there is little doubt over the value of teacher support systems of which principals and district officials certainly have a part to play.

Moreover, there are possibilities for administration to open up spaces of connection among teachers, colleagues, parents, community members, and intellectuals in a non-monopolizing manner. One of the key roles for administration here is to foster collaboration while paying close attention to how those new structures detract from other forms of collaboration. This was a key finding from Bovbjerg (2006) who astutely pointed out that the forming of teams within the school can result in less collaboration across team lines (which I can tentatively attest to from the investigation of Springfield).

For this very reason, the fostering of connections is not an all-out call for decentralization. As Umekubo et al. (2016, p. 478) concluded from their study of a district-wide collaboration campaign, "districts can foster school-level innovation and improvement by setting clear and coherent district policies and accountability mechanisms, and at the same time giving principals and teachers considerable flexibility in finding the best way to achieve results." While this approach may not be perfect, at least the authors attempt to reconcile the agency within broader structures. The opportunity here is for those mechanisms to be nuanced and less based on scale. When a staff member is confronted with a challenge that others have already dealt with, perhaps there is a connection that can be encouraged.

For example, when teachers at Springfield are thinking about their relationship with parents, could their colleague who provides instruction to parents on a daily basis possibly have insight into the matter? When teachers are considering implementing a read-aloud but are worried about how to accommodate it in the schedule, could the partners we witnessed develop the bilingual read-aloud not be of some assistance? Most importantly, patterns of organization will morph and evolve as a result of acts of individual and collective agency, and those changes should be acknowledged, for the social circumstances from which they emerged may be powerful forces in planning quality and effective bilingual education.

6.   CONCLUSIONS: THE PRODUCTION OF POLICY

One of the two theories (the ontogenetic theory of policy) developed in this dissertation dealt with how to approach language policy as a concept. In most studies, a text, discourse, or practice that concerns some element of language, such as medium of instruction, acts as the main focus. As I outlined in the literature review, there are a few problems with this approach that have not been widely addressed. First, every component of a bilingual school is ultimately a language policy decision. Given that content and language are integrated, any decision regarding content, curriculum, model, or discipline affects language perceptions and outcomes. Second, by fixing the policy of interest in advance, the researcher is superimposing his/her values onto the site of analysis which may or may not match the values of the agents in question. In a similar vein, the status of the policy is predetermined; such a judgment cannot be made until after data collection to discover truly how isolated the policy is from others and how significant it is in the school. And finally, when the researcher poses questions about a policy, the resulting intertextual links cannot always be trusted as they were planted (like a leading question).

For the most part, the theory of policy production developed here operated in the background, simply as justification for taking the concentration off of an individual policy. Although the ontogenetic understanding of policy did not have a substantial effect on data collection in a deductive sense (which would have entailed consciously seeking out instances of overwriting and non-progressivism during data collection), we can look back and consider if and how these concepts resonate with the sorts of policy change uncovered in the current study. One hypothesis that surfaces holds that compliance and resistance become less meaningful, an idea that goes against much of the work in the field.

Starting with the idea of non-progressivism, I argued that new policy installments do not inherently improve practices or have a direct carry-over to student success. Because a newly presented strategy or protocol is remade every time a social actor calls upon it, it takes a new form depending on contextual factors and the personal beliefs and preexisting knowledge of the agent. The tension between grammar teaching and grammar-less, content-based instruction is a case in point. There are certainly benefits for teachers to incorporate explicit instruction into their lessons (Norris & Ortega, 2000). At Springfield, the teachers have access to older curriculum materials in Spanish that link stories with grammar points. But insisting on the use of these readers would miss the nuance of how teachers produce policy in their classrooms.

Only one participant actively taught these anthologies because she enjoyed many of the stories and appreciated the grammar element. However, over the years, she tweaked her use of the materials and was even critical of the way the grammar was presented. Because of the evolution of her instruction, it is fair to say that the policy of grammar instruction does not solely lie in these curriculum materials as the teacher must determine how and when to incorporate them into the day. The policy is also more than a mere interpretation. As she develops a more complete opinion of the lessons, she becomes more comfortable with those particular lessons. This dynamic poses some critical questions with regard to the progressivist nature of curriculum change in schools. How can the provision of new materials and strategies be expected to have the intended effect when staff must feel comfortable with them, a learning curve that may take years?

The second concept, overwriting, maintains that teachers not only appropriate policies (Sutton & Levinson, 2001), but non-sanctioned materials and strategies as well in order to solve a problem at hand. These types of practices have been noted in the literature, but are either

classified as interpretations of the *de jure* policy or a rejection of it. One of the examples of

overwriting from my data does not seem to fit either of these explanations. The teacher who I

described earlier as carving out her "twenty percent" of the day did so mostly in order to

incorporate short films with themes relevant to her students' lives. By squeezing in these videos,

she is clearly exploiting implementational space (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007), and in doing so,

approaching literacy from an angle very different from the balanced literacy curriculum she is

expected to apply. Now consider the following excerpt in which she (T12) refers to one film in

particular:

> There's a very good one that's called, um, I can't remember off the top of my
>
> head, but it tells the story of a pencil. So it starts by talking in first person. Then, I
>
> might also apply it to the [balanced] literacy lesson that I'm doing. Because, for
>
> example, with this video, with this short film about the pencil, we even did a
>
> storyline. Like, what it looks like. We have spent a lot of time talking about
>
> storylines, we've even drawn comics, with three or six panels that tell the story of
>
> the film, in order to explain what plot is in a written story. So, we're using the
>
> short films just like they were a written story. Introduction, here is the conflict,
>
> how is it resolved, you know, using the film as if it were a written text. (Interview,
>
> 10 July 2016).

What is interesting here is that in one activity the teacher has both rejected the official

curriculum and invoked it (and probably improved upon it). This example complicates

longstanding notions of compliance and resistance. If I were to have foregrounded the policy

itself, it would have appeared as a clear instance of a teacher making a change based on her own beliefs. However, by viewing policy as produced in the moment, we can see that her use of overwriting is more complex. In the need to spruce up the lessons and relate to her students, she shows a short film. But she also sees the need to teach literacy cohesively, and the most appropriate way to do so is to tie the video back to the very curriculum she is supposedly rejecting.

Such a practice cannot be easily explained with the analysis presented by Mohanty et al. (2010) who consider a case of teacher agency in schools in plurilingual communities in India. They describe how teachers incorporate languages other than the official language of the state and how they allow students to translanguage in the classroom. Mohanty et al. (p. 227) explain that

> from the top-down perspective, the classroom practices of the teachers can be seen as subversive. When this is pointed out to the teachers, their views are different. Many teachers defend the linguistic (and cultural) hybridity of the classrooms as inevitable and necessary in the real-life local context.

These educators do not reference their respective states' policy texts when justifying their practices. For this reason, and as the authors astutely recognize, it would be inappropriate to label these practices as a rejection of the *de jure* policy. Rather, they are employing other resources to design policies that "address the immediate issues and problems that they face" (p. 222). Unfortunately, in their conclusion, Mohanty et al. fall back into the trap of ontology. They write that "in their own ways, [the teachers] resist and contest the state policy…. It is quite clear that

the agency of the teachers in the classrooms makes them the final arbiter of the language

education policy and its implementation" and that they do so "by improvising" (p. 228). The

teachers are certainly contesting policy, but not necessarily the one inscribed at the ministry of

education. They attend workshops, connect with colleagues, and reassess students' needs,

(re)producing and negotiating policy all the while. By designating these educators as

improvisers, Mohanty et al. reveal little about the dynamics of state-backed policy enactment as

they would be hard-pressed to find a teacher in any country or classroom who has never

improvised. Worse yet, this rhetoric relegates the other resources at the teachers' disposal, in this

case personal experience as multilinguals, professional experience and contacts, and reflection

on the context, to second-rate political commodities. And because the teachers do not consider

the state policy as binding (have they even considered it at all?), why they are deemed the final

arbiters of policy as opposed to the initial designers is beyond me.

Although I need to gather more data, it does seem fair to say that in some instances

teachers do more than simply interpret and implement policies. By conceptualizing them as

constantly in a state of production, we can avoid making the mistake of taking a document at

face value (or an isolated practice or circulating discourse) and look more closely at how the

policy was produced in the moment and for what purpose.

It is also surprising when researchers who have conducted a study on agency form their

conclusions around supposed structural constraints. Mohanty et al. (2010), for instance, refer

back to the state policy even though the agents in their study did not find it of much significance.

Would it not be more fitting to draw conclusions on the teachers' terms? If they do not consider

their actions subversive, then it might behoove the authors to attempt to explain those findings in

that way.

With regard to scale (the other key theoretical development), by removing it from this study, we paid closer attention to direct connections, and in doing so, were able to at least partially deconstruct categories like structure/agency and hierarchy/heterarchy. At the same time, policy was reconceptualized from an ontologically stable artifact to be implemented to a process that is never completed.

The main purpose for making these arguments was to shift the focus from the scales to the relations between individual actors. In doing so, I hope to have illuminated examples of hierarchical organizational patterns that supported non-hierarchical linkages that resulted in novel practices. Moreover, agents were not wholly subject to structures of organization as they modified them in their own ways. For these reasons, it seems we should not be afraid of one or the other (structure/agency), but take a closer look at how we can forge connections that may allow problems to be solved and try to be flexible enough and receptive to the idea that the patterns of organization themselves may evolve through time in unexpected ways. More research from a non-scalar perspective is encouraged as a greater sensitivity to the relational underpinnings of political change can only enrich the field of language policy and planning.

7.   LIMITATIONS

As one of the first studies of agency in language-in-education policy to completely remove scale and conduct an egocentric policy network analysis, there are some limitations and possible routes for improvement in future studies. For one, it can feel at times that there is a lack of context when centering the focus of policy production on individual teachers. To combat this, I included background information on the communities, schools, and curricula. However, with the official interviews only conducted with teachers, there inevitably remain gaps in context. This is less a limitation of the non-scalar analysis employed and more a challenge associated with studying agency. This issue fits within the ultimate methodological question linked to the study of agency in which the researcher's understanding of agency does not neatly match the actual agentic powers of the participants as they navigate contextual constraints (for further discussion, see Dean, 2015).

Secondly, the use of a selective network analysis comes with its own set of pros and cons. As opposed to a non-selective analysis, a selective approach to SNA does not attempt to identify all nodes in a participant's network. The benefit to this approach lies in the structure of data collection in which leading questions regarding the value of particular relationships are minimized. On the other hand, the necessary evil of a selective analysis is that some relations will inevitably be missed. Future studies should incorporate non-selective analyses in order to more comprehensively map agents' political networks in bilingual schools while understanding that such an approach entails a greater chance of leading questions/social desirability bias with regard to the value of individual ties.

Sticking with the issue of bias, researcher bias is an additional concern in the present study. With the literature review heavily concentrated on non-hierarchical associations, I may

have unconsciously sought out less conventional political relationships both in the interviews and during coding. In order to combat this, I included administrators in the post-interview survey. Additionally, I made sure not to identify non-relations as disjunctions. In other words, participants had to explicitly state that they avoided or wished for more contact with a colleague in order to code that tie as a disjunction. In one case, multiple teachers at Lafayette explained that they did in fact prefer working with one district official over another (a legitimate and corroborated disjunction). However, I made sure not to discuss any lack of interaction with other administrators as significant as that may have been a result of researcher bias.

Power dynamics, a key focus of most studies of education and policy, can be difficult to disentangle when all relations are considered equally likely. As Moulaert and Cabaret (2006, pp. 52-53) argue, "in real-life situations, the ideal network configuration embodying equal stakes and reflexive cooperation is most of the time a distant one," and authors who take these positions "[overlook the networks'] real nature as to power relations, organizational inertia, communication failures, etc." With this said, I do feel that there is a place for rhizomatic studies in the discussion of power. Because organizational structure is not defined in advance, unexpected power imbalances can emerge that may have been overlooked in hierarchy-based analyses. For future policy network analyses in language-in-education policy to be more adept at capturing power dynamics, researchers can combine the proposed understanding of policy here with critical discourse analysis (see Barakos, 2016). In this way, relations are more accurately described while at the same time power imbalances can be identified.

Finally, one suggestion for future studies would be the observation of shared planning time between partner teachers. As the focus of the study was on social relations, and not an objective analysis of instructional practices themselves, direct observations of planning time

would have provided both fodder for possible interview questions and corroboration of accounts of partner teacher relations. Unfortunately, this proved impossible for logistical reasons. Perhaps a conversation or discourse analysis of partner/team planning sessions may serve as the foundation of a future study of policymaking in bilingual schools.

8.   FURTHER RESEARCH

Because most research in language policy is scale-based, the gaps that remain open for future research are extensive. For example, thinking spatially can allow for fruitful collaboration between human geography and the sociology of language. The possibilities afforded by the spatial sciences revolve around at least three main areas. First, researchers can continue to explore the relational development, negotiation, and contestation of language policy. This means not just looking at direct relations (i.e., nodes and ties) as was done here, but also at how communities of language users are relationally constituted, often indirectly (see Amin, Massey, & Thrift, 2003). Second, authors can continue to build on developments in the spatial sciences, such as considering more seriously the application of spatial planning theory to language planning (Hurdus, 2018). Third, scholars may find it useful to carry on the exercise of deconstructing socially constructed boundaries (in terms of territory/jurisdiction, scale/hierarchy, organizations/networks) to better understand how they produce reality and/or inaccurately reflect it.

There also remain clear opportunities to employ discourse analysis more intentionally than was done in the current project to understand how ties are indexed in a network and shed light on internal power discrepancies. One possibility for doing so would be to draw on Foucault's (1991) theory of governmentality and to specifically illuminate the process of subjectivation within a network or assemblage (see Hansson, Hellberg, & Stern, 2015). This approach allows for a more nuanced description of network dynamics, namely how individual actors are turned into particular types of subjects *by others* (denoting a power imbalance) and how they then either engage in self-governance in line with those expectations or resist them. Incorporating these theories into analysis would address one of the shortcomings of the current

study, that power remains difficult to highlight solely within a social network analysis framework.

While this particular study focused on teacher agency, any policy change from any context can potentially be analyzed from a spatial perspective. Beyond language-in-education policy/acquisition planning, corpus and prestige planning, language in public space, community language teaching programs, language use in officially monolingual contexts, the starting or removal of bilingual programs, or any legislative moves can serve as the focus of a non-scalar analysis. These studies also need not be restricted to a selective, egocentric analysis as used here. Non-selective and non-egocentric network studies come with their own benefits and drawbacks, but in the long run, the field will ultimately profit from methodological diversity (which should continue to include actor-network theory and sociomaterialism as well).

Finally, further theorizing is needed with regard to both agency and scale/structure. While plenty of studies are concerned with agents and their active influence on policy, the notion of agency itself is rarely, if ever, discussed. By looking to sociology (e.g., Archer, 2000; Burkitt, 2018; Hitlin & Elder, 2007), perhaps those within the field of language policy can think more critically about such a key concept.

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Appendix. Modified Danielson Framework used for classroom observations. Modifications are indicated with additional indentations.

Classroom Environment	Observations

1. Teacher interaction with students
   a. Language of teacher-student interaction
   b. Reasons for language shift?
2. Student interaction with other students
   a. Language of student discourse	

3. Importance of content a. How meaningful is the content/lesson? 4. Expectations of learning and achievement 5. Student pride in work	

6. Management of instructional groups
   a. Language distribution (similar level, native speaker-nonnative speaker, high-low, other languages)
7. Management of transitions
8. Supervision of volunteers and paraprofessionals
   a. Language of support staff-student discourse	

Instruction	Observations

1. Expectations for learning
2. Directions and procedures
3. Explanations of content
   a. Integration of content and language
   b. Methods for introducing vocabulary
4. Use of oral and written language
   a. Medium of instruction
   b. Use of explicit language instruction
   c. Fostering of metalinguistic awareness	

5. Quality of questions 6. Discussion techniques 7. Student participation a. Evidence of/teacher response to translanguaging/multilingual meaning making	

8. Activities and assignments
9. Grouping of students
   a. Scaffolding strategies
   b. Differentiated instruction
10. Structure and pacing	

11. Lesson adjustment 12. Response to students a. Corrective feedback (positive feedback, recasts, comprehension checks, timing, etc.) 13. Persistence	