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**VOICES OF THE CLASSROOM POLICYMAKERS:
HOW TEACHERS MAKE SENSE OF AN ENGLISH-ONLY POLICY**

A Dissertation in
Curriculum and Instruction

by

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ABSTRACT

American public schools represent the cultural and linguistic diversification of the United States population. Teachers across the country are more and more likely to have students that represent various languages and cultures in their classrooms than ever before. Responsibility for the treatment of students is mediated by federal, state, and district laws and policies. In 2002, an English-only ballot initiative was passed in Massachusetts, reversing the pro-bilingual orientation of earlier federal efforts designed to welcome linguistic diversity in schools. The challenges from the new policy required teachers to reorient their approaches to language diversity and these students immediately after forty years of pro-bilingual policies. This study explores how teachers, through their role as policymakers characterize the responsibilities of schools to these children during an English-only era.

A review of the literature on policy implementation and analysis, sensemaking theory, and individual and social notions of discourse provided a theoretical framework for this research. A case study approach guided this study, using a series of three, in-depth interviews with each of the five participants. Data analysis included coding and categorizing the data, while identifying the major themes that emerged. Participant responses over time were closely examined and developed into five major themes and several sub-themes.

The major themes that emerged from the study were: time and curriculum, influence of biography, networks and divisions, contextual factors, and leadership. Through these themes, there is evidence of multiple discourses within and among the participants as they made sense of the English-only policy. Despite this diversity among

themselves, the participants also used discourses to create categories and binary distinctions. Similar to the initial ballot initiative, the participants see the policy as either black or white with little to no middle ground. In reality, it is impossible to place the participants within the binary distinction that they have created because they existed somewhere between the two extremes depending on the context of our discussions. Their sensemaking process blurred the boundaries between the two sides of the English-only debate and has implications for policy research, teacher education, and professional development.

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Chapter One

Introduction

There is a barrage of emotions and images that engulf me as I think back on the five years that I taught English language learners in Massachusetts. Starting out as a teacher in a two-way bilingual program, I then became a teacher in an English-only program due to the state ballot initiative: Question 2. My initial excitement about my new teaching job as a bilingual educator became overshadowed by the realization that program choices are often made through a political process that considers students, teachers, parents, and administrators differently than I had wished. I was frustrated and disheartened by this policy change.

In the years following the language policy change, however my job position went through three different transformations. While continuing to teach and advocate for ELLs in the classroom, I began to get involved with policy implementation at the school, district, and state level. I was trained by the state and provided professional development seminars on issues of culture, second language acquisition, and sheltering content instruction for teachers in my school and district. The policy change had provided me with an avenue to explore diverse forms of collaboration with fellow teachers that helped me to develop professionally and personally.

After reflecting on those five tumultuous years, I realized that for me Question 2 was both a curse and a blessing. At first, the disappointment of its passage was overwhelming, but as a result I was afforded opportunities that I never anticipated, but am extremely thankful for. While mine is only a singular experience, it reveals the complicated nature of policy change that is neither “all good” nor “all bad,” but a little bit of both and something in between. Policies, such as this one, have the potential to be dangerous for certain members of a school community, such as bilingual teachers and administrators and ELLs and their families. Talking to those who have lived through this policy change is at the heart of understanding its potential danger.

American public schools represent the cultural and linguistic diversification of the United States population. The fastest growing group of children in the nation is children from immigrant families who speak a language other than English at home and come from Mexico as well as other Caribbean, Central and South American, African, and Asian countries. This flow differs from previous immigrant populations that arrived primarily from Europe during the 19th and early 20th centuries. One of the challenges of the new diversity is that students speak more than 350 languages (García, Jensen & Scribner, 2009; Goldenberg, 2008). Of the approximately 14-million language-minority students in the public schools, 5 million of them are classified as English language learners (ELLs) (NCELA, 2007a; NCELA, 2007b). ELLs are language-minority students whose proficiency in English prevents them from fully participating in mainstream, academic English instruction (Goldenberg, 2008). Teachers across the country are more and more likely to have students that represent various languages and cultures in their classrooms than ever before. This study explored how teachers characterize the responsibilities of schools to these children.

Responsibility for the treatment of students is mediated by federal, state, and district laws and policies. Within the past twelve years, the state governments of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts have responded to the language-minority students by establishing policies that create English-only programs in schools. These English-only policies differ in two ways from the federal and state policies of the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. First, they were state ballot initiatives, marking increased efforts and desire by voters to prescribe treatment of certain groups of students at school (Mora, 2009). Second, the English-only policies reversed the pro-bilingual orientation of earlier federal efforts designed to welcome linguistic diversity in schools (Capetillo-Ponce & Kramer, 2006; Crawford, 2002; Mora, 2009; Wiley & Wright, 2004). The challenges from the new policies required teachers to reorient their approaches to language diversity and these students immediately after forty years of pro-bilingual policies.

According to Shulman (1983): “In practice, policy is transformed as it moves through the system, receiving its final stamp at the hand of the ‘street-level bureaucrats’ with ultimate responsibility for taking the actions mandated by the directive” (p. 500). The ‘street-level bureaucrats,’ a term coined by Weatherley & Lipsky (1977), refers to the classroom teachers who directly or indirectly enact any variety of policies in their classrooms on a daily basis. However, Darling-Hammond (1990) argued that policy analysts rarely listen to teachers. Since teachers interpret policies within schools and classrooms, paying attention to teachers is fundamental to understanding policy and its effects. Elmore (1979-80) explained that “backward mapping,” dictates that an understanding of policy can only be reached by talking to teachers about their experiences with it. Research has been lacking in this area and is much needed (Crispeels, 1997; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005). Investigations into the school- and classroom-level effects of policy could lead to an increased understanding of how teachers participate in policy implementation and development through the lens of their local context.

Teachers make a multitude of decisions on a daily basis that influence their own lives as well as those of students, parents, and colleagues. Many times these decisions, and the thought process that goes into them, are an attempt to make sense of events that have affected the circumstances surrounding their teaching (Weick, 1995). While talking with others about an event, an English-only policy for example, and their interpretations of that event, discourses are revealed that are simultaneously both individual and social. These discourses are reflections of the teachers’ sense of the history, community, demographics, and politics that surround issues of bilingual and English-only programs. Teachers are making sense of these discourses within their classrooms while also negotiating other events that they are involved in both in and out of the classroom. Oftentimes, the negotiation of discourses involves conflict and struggle that results in the prioritization of one discourse over others (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault, 1978). This study

investigated the simultaneous, and sometimes conflicting, personal and social discourses that emerged when teachers talked about the changes in language policy during the last decade.

In order to understand the social and personal forces within the transition from a two-way bilingual policy to an English-only policy, I conducted interviews with five teachers from a single elementary school in Massachusetts. Following Seidman (2006), I engaged each teacher in a series of conversations in order to present the historical and present conditions surrounding the daily negotiations of these language policies among teachers, students, administrators, and community members. Such talk belies assumptions that educational policies are forged in negotiations among officials, that policy texts have singular meaning, that incentive to follow policies are transparent, and that consequences of policies can be calculated. Although this is not the entire story about language policy change, the words of these teachers suggest that biography and context matter greatly in policy studies.

Background

Throughout the past twelve years, state ballot initiatives have been employed in the states of California, Arizona, Oregon, Colorado, and Massachusetts. English-only models of instruction have replaced bilingual programs in three of those five states. In 1998, Proposition 227 passed in California and two years later Proposition 203 passed in Arizona. A similar measure, SB 919, failed a year later in Oregon as well as in Colorado (Amendment 31) in 2002, only to have passed in Massachusetts (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). Specifically in the case of Massachusetts, Question 2 was a ballot initiative that was voted on during the 2002 mid-term elections. Question 2 passed by a 61% to 29% margin, with 10% of voters leaving the question blank, thus replacing the various bilingual education programs in the Massachusetts public schools with sheltered English immersion (SEI) programs (Galvin, 2002a & 2002b).

Leading up to the election in Massachusetts, the information that voters received through media outlets included mixed messages about the research on the effectiveness of bilingual education. Proponents of Question 2 reiterated their principle motive of ensuring that students

learn English, yet struggled to articulate how that could best be achieved (Capetillo-Ponce, 2003). Ron Unz, a California businessman, developed the proponents' platform. As the chairman for the national advocacy organization, *English for the Children*, Unz provided financial and vocal support for the English-only ballot initiatives in other states as well as in Massachusetts. Opponents of Question 2 voiced their concerns about replacing multiple programs with a single "one-size-fits-all" model while focusing much of their energy on the clause in the initiative that stated teachers could be sued for using a child's native language during instruction time (Galvin, 2002a). The passage of Question 2 in Massachusetts and the creation and implementation of the resulting law, M.G.L. Chapter 71A (2002), is one example of how public opinion regarding the changing demographics of our country has directly dictated how students should be taught in the classroom.

An informational bulletin that was disseminated to voters prior to the 2002 elections stated that voting YES on Question 2 would "require that, with limited exceptions, all public school children must be taught English by being taught all subjects in English and being placed in English language classrooms" (Galvin, 2002a, p. 7). Much of what was proposed in Question 2 holds true for the subsequent law that was created by the Massachusetts legislature. According to Chapter 71A (Ch. 71A), all ELLs are to be placed in an SEI classroom for one year, after which they are to be transferred to a mainstream classroom. In both locations, learning, instructional, and assessment materials must be in English. Also, ELLs must take standardized tests annually (starting in kindergarten) in order to assess their language proficiency, literacy development, and academic subject knowledge. In addition, parents of ELLs can apply for a waiver to not be placed in SEI classrooms if their child is over 10 years of age, already knows English, or has special needs. Lastly, Ch. 71A opened up the possibility of teachers and school officials being sued for teaching in an ELL's first language, failing to implement the new policy, or issuing waivers incorrectly (M.G.L Ch. 71A, 2002). Clearly Ch. 71A prescribes both how and in what

language students are to be taught, and the types of materials and assessments that teachers may use.

The opponents of Question 2, and the subsequent establishment of Ch. 71A, disagreed with the new policy for various reasons. They considered SEI programs to be an “inflexible and overly simplistic approach” to teaching ELLs and argued that, “there is more than one proven method to teach English” (Gavin, 2002a, p. 8). According to Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary, & Rogers (2007), there are a variety of successful programs used with ELLs and native English speakers that provide valuable instruction in both English and the native languages of ELLs. Such programs provide “literacy and content instruction to all students through two languages” and promote “bilingualism and biliteracy, grade-level academic achievement, and multicultural competence for all students” (Howard, et al., 2007).

The opponents of Question 2 also argued for professional discretion based on research evidence. They maintained that local school districts should be allowed to choose the approaches that they believe best fit the needs of the ELL population in their individual districts (Gavin, 2002a). The new law would not allow districts to offer, in addition to an SEI program, an array of other programs to teach English, some of which incorporate the native language of ELLs during instruction. A comprehensive review of research on language policies and instruction concluded that the use of an ELL’s native language for instruction promotes academic achievement, particularly in the area of reading (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). Therefore, the opponents of Question 2 had research supporting their beliefs that there are other, successful program options out there for ELLs and that districts should have the autonomy to make the appropriate educational choices for their students.

Over the past few years, three large-scale reports have discussed the results of Question 2 and Ch. 71A on ELL students’ learning (de Jong, Gort & Cobb, 2005; Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy, 2007; Tung, Uriarte, Diez, Lavan, Agusti, Karp & Meschede, 2009). De Jong, et al. (2005) talked with the administrators closely involved in the

implementation of Ch. 71A in three separate districts about the programmatic changes implemented at the district-level. They found that the administrators in these three districts used their knowledge of the law, their faith in bilingual education, and their understanding of the local context within their district as they translated the new policy into practice (de Jong, et al., 2005). The nonprofit Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy Report (2007) examined the state's role in improving teaching practices post-Question 2 by presenting the profiles of three schools in Massachusetts with large populations of ELLs that have been making noteworthy progress on state standardized tests for English proficiency and the content areas. The three schools that were profiled met two out of three Annual Measureable Achievement Objectives (AMAOs) due to high scores on state standardized tests of English proficiency, English language arts, and math and surpassed their state-determined targets for student progress toward English proficiency (Rennie Center, 2007).

Lastly, the Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy recently published a report (Tung, et al., 2009) whose main objective was to inform those affected by English learning policies, including local and state policy makers, educators, advocates, families and communities, about the academic experience of English learners in the city of Boston resulting from the establishment of Ch. 71A in 2002. They found that the gap between Boston's ELLs and native English speakers has not narrowed since the installation of Ch. 71A due to the significant distance between the policy and its implementation, the difficulty with rapidly implementing a disruptive policy change, and the lack of consideration for the time and resources that would be needed in the schools.

Statement of the Problem

Although these studies reference and tap into teachers' knowledge, they did so without special attention to context and individual understandings. Having an in-depth view of the local context within which teachers operate on a daily basis is important because there are many factors at play simultaneously. While both the Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy report

(2007) and the Mauricio Gastón Institute's report (2009) considered teachers through focus groups or one-time, brief interviews, their voices were sidelined and overpowered by statistical data on test scores and engagement indicators, such as attendance, drop-out rates, and grade retention. In order to understand the impact of Ch. 71A, not only is it necessary to consider teachers' perspectives and engage in in-depth conversations with them, but it is also crucial to prioritize their voices. The aforesaid studies were designed to provide large-scale evaluations without paying attention to context and how policy is liquid and transforms to the shape of schools and classrooms. Thus, there is a need for an in-depth study on teachers' perspectives of how this policy change affected their understandings of their own actions and their students.

Traditionally, teachers have been viewed as the receivers of a policy, thus being perceived as having a passive role in the implementation process (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Fowler, 2004; Honig, 2009). In this view, a policy is developed, is passed down through the educational system, and lands in the hands of school-level administrators and teachers to be carried out according to how it was written. This view does not match up with the reality of schools, teachers, classrooms, and students (Edmondson, 2005; Edmondson & D'Urso, 2007; Honig, 2009; McLaughlin, 1987; Shulman, 1983). On the contrary, individuals at various levels of the education system interpret any given policy as it makes its way to classroom teachers. Classroom teachers then exhibit agency by making sense of the policy and negotiating its impact on students and classroom life. In this sense, teachers are policymakers on a daily basis and play an active role in policy interpretation. Ultimately, the ways in which a policy is interpreted and enacted at the classroom level by teachers may be very different than the intentions of its authors.

Listening to teachers' voices recognizes the active role that they play as policymakers within the context of a classroom. On a daily basis, teachers are responsible for reworking and transforming policy according to the needs of their students, their teaching philosophy, and any number of other factors that are prevalent in their classrooms and schools. Therefore, if teachers' interpretations of policy are not the foci of policy research then a policy study is incomplete. By

providing teachers the opportunity to reflect on what the policy has meant to them as individuals, to their students and families, and to their school we have a more intricate view of policy enactment. Listening to teachers' voices can complicate the ways in which we look at policy development and implementation in order to make it more locally based and therefore useful.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this case study is to explore how teachers in a particular elementary school make sense of an English-only policy that was established as a result of a ballot initiative in Massachusetts. This study began with Shulman's (1983) notion that teachers are policymakers and they actively choose how to respond to a particular policy in ways that make sense for them within the unique context of their classrooms. Individual and social discourses emerge during discussions about their sensemaking processes that may represent conflicting beliefs (Foucault, 1978). The presence of two or more contradictory discourses within a teacher's voice is as much a result of personal experiences as the surrounding social context (Bakhtin, 1981). Teachers choose to prioritize one discourse over another as they engage in sensemaking discussions about a new policy, thus showing that human interactions might not conform to the assumed structures of policymakers. This study is of importance because it validates and publicizes the voices of teachers within the realm of policy implementation. Often times, district and state-level leaders and politicians can muffle their voices. Knowing how teachers make meaning of a top-down policy initiative that aims to significantly influence the education of ELLs is a crucial step in determining and understanding the far-reaching impact of this policy.

This case study explored how teachers in an elementary school in Massachusetts interpreted the changes within their state, district, school and classroom surrounding the establishment of Ch. 71A. Understanding how teachers interpret and reflect on the impact that this policy had in their individual classrooms is important to identifying and comprehending the myriad of factors that play a role in teachers' decision-making processes. This research study sought to contribute to knowledge meant to inform teachers, school-based administrators,

policymakers, and teacher educators who are invested in exploring the experiences teachers have with an English-only policy that directly influences the education of ELLs.

Research Questions

The aim of this investigation was to explore how teachers make meaning from their response to school-based changes as a result of a new language policy. Other study-related objectives included the following: (a) to identify what influenced how teachers responded to the English-only policy, and (b) to ascertain how teachers' prior and current experiences play a role in what they perceive as being the future of their school's dual language program. The primary question this study sought to address was: How do teachers make sense of a fundamental change in language policy in order to participate in, respond to, and make decisions about language curriculum and instruction?

Relevant sub-questions included the following:

1. What themes emerge when teachers discuss the issues surrounding the language policy and program at their school?
2. How do they use these themes?
3. How do teachers refer to their agency and agencies of others in the unfolding of the language policy?
4. How do teachers characterize the responsibilities of their school to the ELL population?

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it speaks to a multitude of issues within the realms of education and policy. Students who speak a first language other than English is the fastest growing segment of the student population in the United States today (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). Understanding teachers' responses to a language policy that directly affects the education of this growing population is a key concern of this study. Also, this study speaks to the value of understanding teachers' thinking practices as they relate to making sense of a language policy in a classroom setting. This investigation contributes to the pool of educational research and

knowledge that is concerned with how teachers negotiate the demands of language policy while working to meet the needs of ELLs. Lastly, this study employs the social theories of sensemaking (Weick, 1995) combined with individual and collective discourses (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault, 1978) to examine teachers' perspectives.

Over the past twelve years, the citizens of the states of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts have made decisions in the voting booth that significantly impact the education of ELLs. On the whole, voters have limited information about effective programs for ELLs and may not realize that these states' new initiatives contradict the spirit of past federal laws and court decisions surrounding bilingual education (Mora, 2009). After the dust settles, teachers are faced with the difficult task of making sense of a new English-only policy within the context of their classrooms. The new law's requirements oftentimes conflict with a school's program design, educators' past teaching practices, and the needs of ELLs. Ultimately, individual teachers decide on a daily basis how to deal with these conflicts in ways that are meaningful for them and their students, thus partaking in the act of policy interpretation and implementation.

Teachers' voices and involvement are necessary when conducting research that examines the effects of policy. Talking to teachers about their experiences with an English-only policy will contribute to our understanding of their role as policymakers (Crispeels, 1997; Darling-Hammond, 1990; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005). A great deal can be learned from engaging teachers that work with ELLs in meaningful discussions about their school and classroom contexts. Any examination of policy needs to focus on local site characteristics and be conceived, based, and conducted locally (August & Hakuta, 1997). Therefore, it is crucial to tap into the experiences of teachers who are members of that locale and have an insider's view of the situation.

This study is significant because it examined ways that teachers discussed their responses to an English-only policy with regards to their particular classroom context. This study highlights the ways in which teachers identify and make sense of the multitude of effects from the policy.

The findings address what the teachers believe to be the principle consequences of the policy and how they have impacted their teaching. The study also aims to prioritize the voices of teachers as they discuss the effects that a period of policy change had on them while simultaneously addressing the needs of the ELLs in their classroom.

Limitations of the Study

A limitation of the study is the small number of participants. While this is a common feature of a case study, it must be noted that only the experiences of these participants are represented in the findings. The beliefs and opinions of additional teachers who work at the school site were not investigated. However, the discourses the participants use to talk about their experience represent both individual and social forces (Bakhtin, 1981 & Foucault, 1978). Therefore, the social discourses of others will be apparent in their talk about the policy. Also, the fact that the interview questions were untested prior to the commencement of this study is another limitation. The chosen questions were open-ended and gave teachers the opportunity to reflect on their experiences, thus allowing for flexibility with the participants during data collection.

Definitions of Key Terms

English Language Learner (ELL) – Students who speak a first language other than English and are in the process of learning English.

Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) – An instructional program for ELLs that includes “explicit, direct instruction about the English language intended to promote English language acquisition” and “approaches, strategies and methodology that make the content of the lesson more comprehensible to” ELLs (MDESE, 2009, pp. 2-3).

English-only – Includes both school programs and policies that assign English as the primary language of instruction and instructional materials and discourage the use of languages other than English throughout the teaching and learning process.

Dual Language Program – Programs that “place immigrant children in a position to help native English speakers become bilingual, while the English learners also become biliterate” (Linton & Franklin, 2010, p. 175)

Two-way Bilingual Program – One type of dual language program, more specifically “a bilingual program in which students develop language proficiency in two languages by receiving instruction in English and another language in a classroom that is usually comprised of half native English speakers and half native speakers of the other language” (MDESE, 2009, p. 3).

Sensemaking – Individuals take part in the reflective process of making of sense of how, why, and with what effects a particular event occurred. It involves social interactions with others within a specific context, therefore making it both collective and situated in nature (Coburn, 2001, 2005 & 2006; Weick, 1995).

Discourse – A way of thinking that manifests itself through language and is representative of both individual experiences and social interactions. Discourses are social constructions that serve various functions for people depending on the context and simultaneously represent an individual’s words as well as the words of others (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault 1978).

Heteroglossia – The existence of two or more voices, which are often conflicting discourses, within an individual’s particular context (Bakhtin, 1981).

Contact Zone – The point at which competing discourses clash and an individual decides (consciously or subconsciously) to abandon one over the other or reshape them to serve particular functions (Bakhtin, 1981).

Chapter Summary

The organization of this study commences with this first chapter, which included the following sections: Introduction, Statement of the Problem, Purpose of the Study, Research Questions, Significance of the Study, Limitations of the Study, and Definition of Key Terms. The major concern of this research was to explore how teachers interpreted a mandated English-

only policy and made meaning of the effects it had within their local context. The principle research question was: How do teachers make sense of a fundamental change in language policy in order to participate in, respond to, and make decisions about language curriculum and instruction? The limitations of the study in terms of concerns about the number of participants and the interview questions were discussed. A list of terms and their definitions was included in order to aid readers in their understanding of key ideas that are woven throughout the upcoming chapters.

The second chapter is comprised of a literature review in which issues of policy implementation and analysis, sensemaking theory, and individual and social notions of discourse, are considered and related to the study. These areas of research provide a theoretical framework through which to examine the data. Chapter three provides a description of the qualitative methods used in data collection and analysis. Specifically, a description of this research as a case study is given, as well as details about the research site and the participants. The themes and sub-themes that emerged from the qualitative analysis of the data are presented in the fourth chapter. The presentation of themes and sub-themes address what influenced the participants' sensemaking of the new language policy and how. The fifth chapter closely examines the relationship among the themes and sub-themes in order to understand the presence and purpose of multiple discourses. This final chapter also provides implications of the findings and some recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

The purpose of this literature review is to inform the reader about how teachers engage in the process of sensemaking with regards to the implementation of an English-only policy in their school. In addition, this review looks at what influences the discourses that teachers used when discussing this policy during the interview process. The background for this study is based on a review of literature by philosophers, theorists, and researchers concerned about effective programs for ELLs, policy implementation, sensemaking theory, teachers' voices, and discourse analysis. The literature review is designed to help readers gain a better understanding of how teachers make sense of an English-only policy in their individual contexts through discussion.

In order to conduct this study, I brought together three distinct bodies of literature – school reform and policy, sensemaking within organizations, and social theory. Tyack and Cuban (1995) explain that outside school reforms have a poor record in 20th century American schools. They recommend a more organic approach in which reform originates from insiders, including teachers. Honig (2009) argues that reform implementation can be understood as the intersection of policy, people, and place, and Datnow & Park (2009) suggest that sensemaking of teachers within school reform is vital. Coburn (2001, 2005, & 2006) suggests that many forces surrounding policy influence teachers' sensemaking of their experiences within school reform. Bakhtin (1981) theorizes that those forces are embedded within the language of teachers as they communicate about their lived experiences within school reform. Through this line of reasoning, I designed my study of how the teachers of the Bayside School make sense of the English-only policy in Massachusetts during the first decade of the 21st century.

To demonstrate the reasoning behind my decision-making, I separated the bodies of literature that I reviewed into three sections and provide background information that supports the design and basis for this qualitative case study. The first section examines educational policies

and their relationships to ELLs in the following areas: (1) policy implementation research, (2) language policies and programs for ELLs, and (3) policy implementation studies in Massachusetts. The second section discusses literature relative to teachers' relationships to policy. The literature in this section explores the teacher's role as an insider and a policymaker, which provides insight into the need for research on individual teachers' sensemaking processes as it applies to English-only policies. This second section includes these topics: (1) an inside-out perspective on policy, (2) teachers as policymakers, and (3) sensemaking theory. Lastly, the third section of the literature review addresses the importance of investigating the discussions teachers engage in when making sense of policy and is divided into the following subjects: (1) talk, personal histories, and social themes and (2) individual and social discourse. This literature creates a framework for understanding teachers' voices as they make sense of their past, present, and future within the context on their experiences with the implementation of an English-only policy in their school.

Policies Affecting ELLs

In order to fully understand the language policies that affect ELLs and their teachers, it is important to first provide a brief background of reform policies in the United States. This review will highlight the shift in focus of policy implementation research over the past few decades and present the main dimensions of current research. Future research endeavors for policy implementation will also be explored as well as theories that aim to capture the complexities of policy. The second subsection is a review the language policies in the United States that have sought to directly influence the education of ELLs. The programs that were a result of these policies will also be discussed, specifically the designs that pertain to this study, such as dual language programs, two-way bilingual programs, and English-only programs. The third subsection will take an in-depth look at three large-scale studies that were conducted on the implementation of Ch. 71A in Massachusetts. Their strengths and weaknesses will be discussed in ways that make room for my investigation of how teachers make sense of that same policy.

Policy Implementation Research

Recently, Honig (2009) conducted a review of decades of policy implementation research in order to identify the lessons that can be learned and to suggest directions for research in the future. One of Honig's main findings is that "implementation outcomes can be understood as a product of the interaction among policy, people, and places" (p. 334). Such an approach to policy implementation research seeks to understand the on-the-ground realities of teachers, students, and schools. By confronting the complexities that affect policy implementation, researchers hope to produce useful and useable knowledge for teachers, administrators, and policymakers (Honig, 2009). However, policy implementation research experienced a few alterations prior to arriving at this point (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 2009; McLaughlin, 1987).

During the 1970s and 1980s, the early decades of implementation research, studies focused on whether or not new policy programs worked and to what extent implementers were faithful to the original policy designs (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 2009). Educators and school-level administrators infrequently carried out the policies as the initial policymakers had intended. As a result, implementation research began to focus on investigating ways for policymakers to wield more control over implementers in order to align each other's interests (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 2009). Simultaneously, another line of research began to look more closely at what happens when policy is implemented in order to understand how policy, people, and places interact.

Berman & McLaughlin (1976 & 1978) introduced the term *mutual adaptation* in order to explain how implementers adapt policy demands with consideration of local, contextual factors. Educators and school-level administrators then began to be seen as diverse and engaging actors, or "street-level bureaucrats" in the process of policy implementation (Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977). Into the 1980s, the focus of policy studies began to expand and consider a wider range of implementers, including not just teachers, but other school and district leaders and staff. This line of research also brought forth an interest in the places that matter to implementations, such as

specific classrooms, schools, programs, communities, and districts (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 2009). Honig (2009) summed up the shift of research on education policy implementation by stating:

Whereas past research generally revealed that policy, people, and places affected implementation, contemporary implementation research specifically aims to uncover *their various dimensions* and *how and why interactions among these dimensions* shape implementation in particular ways (p. 336).

Therefore, the scope of education policy implementation research was widened to include policy designs with consideration for its goals, targets, and tools. In addition, the people who influenced policy implementation included the targets named in a policy, those not formally named, and the implementers and their sub-groups. The ways in which these groups of people participated in various communities and relationships involving policy were also investigated. Lastly, ‘place-based studies’ began to emerge as government organizations and agencies as well as the historical-institutional patterns of states and districts were examined (Anyon, 1997; Honig, 2009).

The goal of this nuanced approach to education policy implementation research is to discover “how particular policies, people, and places interact to produce particular results” (Honig, 2009, p. 228). Other dimensions include the belief that “variation in implementation is not a problem to be avoided but a reality of complex systems that could be better understood,” as well as the use of theory and qualitative methods and research designs to strengthen the research approach (Honig, 2009, p. 228). Education policy implementation is a social act that takes place among educators and students in a particular location over time. The ways in which these policies play out in diverse contexts are impacted by the political, historical, and cultural factors connected to these people and places. Future research endeavors should seek to discover the complexities of policy implementation by understanding the patterns of variation within schools and among teachers and by using theoretical frameworks and qualitative methods capable of capturing these dynamics (Datnow & Park, 2009; Honig, 2009).

Based on a review of the research, Honig (2009) suggested three theoretical frameworks that seek to identify the complexities involved when people, places, and policies interact over a period of time. Of particular interest to this study is Honig's identification of theories of organizational learning that view policy implementation as a socially situated series of events influenced by implementers' biographies. Specifically, Honig (2009) argues, "Implementers must interpret or make sense of information from experience. That is, they grapple with whether and how to attend to information and, in that process, render information meaningful and actionable; what some scholars call 'interpretation sensemaking'" (p. 341). This form and use of sensemaking theory, as discussed by (Weick, 1995), will be discussed in the second section of this literature review as a way of understanding how teachers make sense of their experience with an English-only policy over time.

Language Policies & Programs for ELLs

Acting both covertly and overtly, language policy is a political activity used as a means of social control (Gándara & Gomez, 2009; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). The purpose of language policies implemented around the globe is to police language use in public settings when competition exists between two or more languages for status in a society (Gándara & Gomez, 2009). According to Ruiz (1984), there exist three ways in which policymakers view language policy: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. Within this orientation, there is tension among concern for language use in multilingual settings, freedom of language use as a civil right, and appreciation of what the use of multiple languages can offer a society. Throughout the history of the United States, "language policy has veered between tolerance and oppression;" while certain groups of people see the diversity of languages as a resource, others perceive it as a potential threat (Edwards, 2004, p. 94). Currently, the United States does not have a formal language policy that regulates the use of language in the public sphere; there are only language policies in the field of education. In order to appreciate the

complexities of modern language policies in the United States that regulate the use of language in school, we must look into the past.

Early history of language policy in the United States. The history of education language policy in the United States is “characterized by contestation, accommodation, and controversy” (Gándara & Gomez, 2009, p. 584). In earlier times, language policy fluctuated depending upon increased immigration and world events (Edwards, 2004b). Contrary to popular belief, diversity among the languages spoken by people in the United States is not a recent phenomenon. Our nation’s history tells many stories about various groups of people who spoke languages other than English at home, in their communities, in schools, and at work. According to the 1790 census, 25% of the overall population spoke a language other than English at the time. The founding fathers did not deem it necessary to designate English the official language due to the fact that it already possessed this status despite the lack of a formal endorsement (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

Attitudes towards other languages were tolerant for the most part during the early years of colonization. During the pioneer days, language policy in the United States was pragmatic: the language of instruction was the language of the community where a school was located (Edwards, 2004). However, our nation’s past is also checkered with discrimination and persecution, some de facto language policies, based on one’s language and commonly linked to racism. For example, African slaves were forbidden to speak their native tongues for fear of organized rebellion (Wiley & Wright, 2004).

The control of language use in the schools took the form of removal, corporal punishment, and legislation (Edwards, 2004). Native American children were taken from their families and placed into English-only boarding schools in order to rid them of their culture and language (Wiley & Wright, 2004). For the first time in 1879, Native Americans were removed from their reservation and forced to attend an English speaking school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Soap was used to wash students’ mouths out if they spoke their home languages in school

(Edwards, 2004). Official language policy in schools goes back nearly one hundred twenty years: “Laws mandating English as the sole language of instruction began appearing on the statute books in the late 1880s and by 1920 some thirty-seven states had passed similar legislation” (Edwards, 2004, p. 100). Clearly, English has historically been used as a means of social control and for many symbolizes loyalty to our nation as well as what it means to be an American (Capetillo-Ponce & Kramer, 2006; Wiley & Wright, 2004).

Official government restrictions on language are also a large part of our nation’s history. Limitations were placed on bilingual as well as foreign language instruction as a result of tensions created by World War I (Wiley & Wright, 2004). However, despite the prevalence of various groups opposing English-only policies during the first half of the twentieth century, they were unorganized and unsuccessful (Edwards, 2004). During the 1950s and 1960s, ESL ‘pull-out’ classes began to appear in schools. ELLs were taken away from the regular classroom for a period of time on a daily or weekly basis and were given ESL instruction (Edwards, 2004b). Similar programs still exist today.

Mid-twentieth century: A shift in U.S. language policy. The second half of the twentieth century brought on many social changes at the national and global level. Through various forms of ethnic revivals, people around the world began asserting their rights as a way to express their cultural identities (Edwards, 2004). Some of these events include the post-colonial independence of new nations, the civil rights movement in the United States, the United Nations’ work on human rights, and an increase in mass communication and media. The first piece of influential federal legislation defending the rights of linguistic minorities was Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Not only did it recognize the important role of other languages in education, but it also became illegal to discriminate against or deny anyone access to federal programs based on race, color, or national origin. After the Civil Rights Act was passed, Latino groups in the southwest who were frustrated by their children being placed in ‘sink or swim’ English-only

classrooms filed various lawsuits (Edwards, 2004). Their intention was to initiate requirements within schools that would specifically address the language needs of their children.

During the 1960s, educators began exploring bilingual education programs and other alternative resolutions to the challenges they faced educating non-English-speaking children (Edwards, 2004). In 1967, thirty-seven bills were introduced to Congress that dealt with bilingual education. At the beginning of the following year, the Bilingual Education Act was passed, but lacked funding and did not actually encourage bilingualism (Gándara, Losen, August, Uriarte, Gómez, & Hopkins, 2010). Follow-up guidelines were issued requiring school districts to comply with the law; some did and others did not.

The next significant language policy came in 1974 in the form of the Supreme Court decision: *Lau v. Nichols* (1974). Initiated in a California school district, this decision determined that ELLs were disadvantaged because they could not understand the language of instruction, thus recognizing their right to have access to the same curriculum as native English speakers (Edwards, 2004; Gándara, et al., 2010). School districts were required to facilitate their access at their own discretion. Since compliance of this decision was inconsistent, the Office of Civil Rights published official regulations for school districts to comply by called the Lau Remedies in 1975. This framework provided districts with guidelines of how to instruct and assess ELLs, requiring schools to offer bilingual education programs. In February of 1971, Massachusetts was the first state to pass a law mandating the implementation of Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE) programs in its schools (M.G.L. Chapter 71A, 1971). As the amount of bilingual education programs offered across the country grew, they also faced grave challenges such as securing adequately trained teachers and appropriate instructional and assessment materials (Edwards, 2004).

The English-only era. During the last couple decades of the twentieth century, the social equity of the agenda of the 1960s and 1970s came under increasing threat (Edwards, 2004). In 1981, a former California senator introduced legislation into Congress that sought to make

English the official language of the United States, thus beginning the modern English-only movement (Gándara, et al., 2010). While the legislation was not passed at the federal level, twenty-three states successfully passed similar measures (Wiley & Wright, 2004). The reauthorizations of the Bilingual Education Act during the 1980s continued to allocate funding for bilingual programs, but increasingly placed more emphasis on English-language programs (Edwards, 2004).

The public tone towards bilingual education also began to shift during this time. Only 45% of media reports from 1984 to 1994 were favorable to bilingual education programs while 87% of academic publications had favorable conclusions (Edwards, 2004). Leading up to the 1998 elections, media coverage in California played a crucial role in the passage of Proposition 227, the ballot initiative replacing California's bilingual education programs with an English-only program. Two years later, the bilingual programs in Arizona met the same fate with the passage of Proposition 203. On the federal level the tone was changing as well. In 2002, the Bilingual Education Act was replaced with Title III¹ of the No Child Left Behind Act, whose primary emphasis was on the rapid acquisition of English (Edwards, 2004). Later on that year, the citizens of Massachusetts voted in favor of a ballot initiative, Question 2, that replaced the 1971 law with a new Chapter 71A, thus establishing English-only programs in the public schools.

Despite the growing diversity of the United States, both demographically and linguistically, current policies display language restrictionism as opposed to validation and acceptance (Capetillo-Ponce, 2004-2005; Enciso, Katz, Kiefer, Prince-Dennis, & Wilson, 2006). Within the past few decades, a recent shift in thinking for a significant amount of the population has been marked with a lack of appreciation and respect for ethnic and linguistic diversity (Capetillo-Ponce & Kramer, 2006; Crawford, 2002; Wiley & Wright, 2004). This change has resulted in people increasingly equating the English language with national cohesion and national identity, at the expense of those who speak other languages. Wiley & Wright (2004) argue that

¹ <http://www.doe.mass.edu/ell/titleIII.html>

for the past two decades there has been “a steady *undertow* of resistance to bilingualism and bilingual education” (p. 143), thus negatively influencing those who are bilingual, multilingual, or involved in bilingual education programs. According to Edwards (2004), “it is no accident that opposition to bilingual education coincided with the highest levels of immigration since the early twentieth century and with the rapid growth of the Latino population” (p. 120). Capetillo-Ponce & Kramer (2006) also claim that a recent increase in anti-Latino and anti-immigrant literature has had a negative influence on the linguistic diversity of these groups and our society as a whole.

Problems, improvements, and research needs: The future of U.S. language policy.

Currently there are various issues that continue to affect the development of language policies that encourage the use of languages other than English in instructional settings. Some of these problems exist outside of the school community, while others directly involve administrators, teachers, and students. Edwards (2004) identified changing political priorities and continued popular prejudice of certain minority groups that speak languages other than English as two outside problems affecting language policies. In addition, there is a continued need for communities to support and advocate for the language learning of ELLs (Edwards, 2004). School-related problems include inadequate funding for language programs and a disregard for the inherent value of ELLs’ first languages by some mainstream teachers (Edwards, 2004).

While the journey of language policies in the United States has recently been marked with restrictions on the use of languages other than English within schools, there are also improvements that deserve mentioning. In particular, Edwards (2004) identified four areas where improvements have occurred. First, among teachers and school administrators, there is an increased understanding that ELLs do not need to abandon their first language in order to learn English. Additionally, language competency in one’s native language as well as English has received greater recognition within school communities. As a result, the third improvement is the expansion of curricula in order to include a broader array of languages other than English. Lastly, programs that include the teaching of minority languages have received more support because

minority taxpayers and voters have more political power than before (Edwards, 2004). These improvements have taken place in schools, communities, and homes, thus having the potential to impact the education of ELLs on multiple fronts.

In terms of future research endeavors that involve an examination of language policies, Gándara & Gómez (2009) have a couple of suggestions. Rather than having a “language-as-problem” orientation toward language policy, Gándara & Gómez (2009) argue for a “language-as-resource” orientation (Ruiz, 1984):

Language policy in education can promote better educational outcomes for all students if it shifts from the narrow research focus on which program best addresses the “language problems” to a richer research agenda on the possibilities for enhanced achievement for all students by examining language policy through the lens of language as a personal and societal resource (pp. 592-593).

Research studies of this orientation would seek to discover how languages other than English are positively used within particular language policies in order to enhance the learning process. The languages that students bring with them to the classroom would be viewed as a valued source of knowledge and experience. With regards to programs that offer instruction in languages other than English, Gándara & Gómez (2009) make the following research recommendation: “If dual language education provides the advantage of a second language for all students as well as narrowing of the achievement gap among groups, it would seem to be an area ripe for serious research attention” (p. 592). Therefore, research is needed in the realm of language policy with specific regard to dual language programs and an orientation towards languages other than English as positive contributing factors to academic achievement.

Instructional programs for ELLs. The aforementioned history of language policies in the United States clearly had a significant influence over the programs offered to ELLs in the Massachusetts public schools. Of particular interest to this study are the following three programs that are currently offered in public schools across Massachusetts at varying degrees of

intensity: dual language, two-way bilingual, and sheltered English immersion (SEI). All of these programs were offered both before and after the passage of Question 2. However, the number of dual language and two-way bilingual programs decreased after 2002 while the number of SEI programs has greatly increased. While similar ballot initiatives were passed in both California and Arizona, the Massachusetts law was changed by the legislature to continue to allow the existence of dual language programs, specifically two-way bilingual programs (Gándara, et al., 2010). This concession was possible in part due to the political clout of a successful two-way school in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Despite this modification to the original ballot initiative that leaves hope for bilingual education, dual language programs are rare in Massachusetts. Their rarity is due to superintendents' lack of support, turnover in program leadership, and the political climate in the state that is negative toward immigration and bilingual education (Linton & Franklin, 2010).

The site chosen for this study, the Bayside School, is a K-8 school in Massachusetts that currently has a dual language (Spanish and English) program in the elementary grades. Dual language programs include programs that “place immigrant children in a position to help native English speakers become bilingual, while the English learners also become biliterate” (Linton & Franklin, 2010, p. 175). There are many variations to dual language programs including: the chosen second language, time spent in both languages, curricular expectations, student demographics, and teacher expectations. In the upcoming chapters, I provide a more descriptive picture of what the dual language program at the Bayside School currently includes.

Overall, the objectives of dual language programs consist of the promotion of cross-cultural understanding, high academic achievement, and first- and second-language development (Edwards, 2004). A key element of such programs is the focus on the creation of equal status between the two languages used, which helps to facilitate positive intergroup relations (Genesee & Gándara, 1999; Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, & Christian, 2006). Another crucial element is the involvement of middle class parents and the social capital that they bring to the

program. Seeking out these programs, middle class parents bring both resources and influence to the table (Gándara & Gómez, 2009). Parents who choose to place their children in dual language programs believe that they provide the social, linguistic, and academic skills needed to be successful in today's global society (Edwards, 2004). According to Genesee, et al. (2006), dual language programs show the most promise for the academic and linguistic success of ELLs because of the linguistic contributions of the two groups of students and the shared equal status of the two languages.

A two-way bilingual program is a certain type of dual language program that can be offered. More specifically, a two-way program is “a bilingual program in which students develop language proficiency in two languages by receiving instruction in English and another language in a classroom that is usually comprised of half native English speakers and half native speakers of the other language” (MDESE, 2009). Two other important components to most two-way programs are the 50/50 break down of time spent in each language and the emphasis on the equal status of both languages. In 1989, the State Street Elementary School opened with a two-way bilingual program in English and Spanish. For the most part, students received 50% of their instruction in English and 50% of their instruction in Spanish among native English speaking and native Spanish speaking classmates. In 2001, the State Street School became the Bayside School when it moved to a new building and expanded to include grades K through 8 within the same Massachusetts school district. During the next couple of years the two-way program changed its name to a dual language program and modified the overall structure of the program. These changes will be discussed further in chapter four.

The third program for ELLs that is important for this study is *sheltered* English immersion (SEI), also known as *structured* English immersion. The term structured English immersion was first coined by Baker & de Kanter (1983) and based off of French immersion programs in Canada that were successful. Over the past few decades, various researchers and educators have made many attempts at clearly defining SEI programs. Such a definition is of

particular importance to the states of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts who implemented SEI programs throughout their public schools as a result of the ballot initiatives. According to Clark (2009), the six components of effective SEI programs are:

1. Significant amounts of the school day are dedicated to the explicit teaching of the English language, and students are grouped for this instruction according to their level of English proficiency.
2. The English language is the main content of SEI instruction. Academic content plays a supporting, but subordinate, role.
3. English is the language of instruction; students and teachers are expected to speak, read, and write in English.
4. Teachers use instructional methods that treat English as a foreign language.
5. Students learn discrete English grammar skills.
6. Rigorous time lines are established for students to exit from the programs (pp. 44-45).

Similar to dual language and two-way bilingual programs, SEI programs can take on many forms depending on administrators, teachers' expertise, and students' needs.

Specifically in the case of Massachusetts, the passage of the ballot initiative, Question 2, in 2002 led to the establishment of Chapter 71A. This new law replaced bilingual education programs with SEI programs (Gavin, 2002a & 2002b). According to Ch. 71A, all ELLs are to be placed in an SEI classroom for one year, after which they are to be transferred to a mainstream classroom. In both locations, learning, instructional, and assessment materials must be in English. Also, ELLs must take standardized tests annually (starting in kindergarten) in order to assess their language proficiency, literacy development, and academic subject knowledge.

According to the Massachusetts Department of Education (2009), SEI is an instructional program for ELLs that includes "explicit, direct instruction about the English language intended to promote English language acquisition" and "approaches, strategies and methodology that make the content of the lesson more comprehensible to" ELLs (pp. 2-3). While there is no defined SEI

program currently at the Bayside School, teachers employ some of the components mentioned above, which will be further discussed in upcoming chapters.

Policy Implementation Studies in Massachusetts

An analysis and critique of the implementation of Ch. 71A is crucial in order to identify its ideological assumptions. Of equal importance is the elucidation of the realities for school districts that materialize as consequences of the policy's development and implementation (Mora, 2009). In particular, there are three studies (de Jong, Gort, & Cobb, 2005; Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy, 2007; Tung, Uriarte, Diez, Lavan, Agusti, Karp, & Meschede, 2009) that have investigated some of the consequences of Ch. 71A at the city, district, and state levels, all of which make recommendations for program and policy development. These large-scale reports also discussed the results of Question 2 and Ch. 71A on ELL students' learning. Below, I will briefly describe each study and explain how my study fills the gaps that they leave.

De Jong, Gort & Cobb (2005) conducted an investigation into three medium-sized districts in Massachusetts and how they responded to the passage of the English-only ballot initiative in 2002. The researchers conducted one semi-structured interview lasting sixty to ninety minutes with each district administrator who was closely involved in the implementation of Ch. 71A. In addition, they analyzed documents that outlined district policies regarding ELLs both before and after the passage of Question 2. Specifically, de Jong, et al. (2005) focused their data analysis on identifying programmatic changes and the impact of provisions of the law that specifically discouraged the use of the students' first language. These provisions included: the use of the students' first language in SEI classrooms, one-year SEI program length, and the waiver requirement.

This study showed how the administrators in these three districts used their knowledge of the law, their faith in bilingual education, and their understanding of the local context within their district as they attempted to translate the new policy into practice. Both their experience and expertise are useful attributes that could be beneficial to other administrators and educators in

districts across the state. While I appreciate the use of one-on-one, semi-structured interviews as a method of data collection, I wonder what is actually happening with teachers at the classroom and individual level in those three districts. Bilingual directors and other administrators can make programmatic changes, but it is within the teacher-student interaction within a particular context that determines how policy is instituted in the classrooms. De Jong, et al. (2005) fall short of exhibiting what the enactment of Ch. 71A actually meant for teachers at the school, classroom, and individual level.

The Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy is a non-profit organization in Massachusetts that conducts non-partisan, independent research in order to inform the public, shape effective policy, and improve public education so that every child has the opportunity to be successful (Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy, 2007). In 2007, the Rennie Center published a report whose purpose was to investigate how the policies and practices affecting ELLs in the state of Massachusetts had developed since the elections in 2002 that established Ch. 71A. Specifically, the report examines the role that the state played in encouraging the improvement of teaching practices. The report presents the profiles of three schools in Massachusetts with large populations of ELLs that have been making noteworthy progress as determined by state standardized tests for English proficiency and the content areas. The three schools (one high school, one middle school, and one elementary school) were chosen based on the size of their ELL population, the poverty rate of the school's population, the number of Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives (AMAOs) that were met, and the percentage of ELLs that were making progress toward English proficiency.

Within the Rennie Center report, a case study was presented on each district that displayed the data collected through classroom observations, document analysis, one-on-one interviews with administrators, and focus group interviews with teachers and parents. The data from each district were analyzed and categorized into the following predetermined topics: structure of the program, educating ELLs, the transition process, staffing and professional

development, and supports for ELLs (Rennie Center, 2007, p. 8). After presenting the three case studies according to the aforementioned, preconceived topics, the authors then identified themes that appeared across the three cases. Recommendations were discussed as to the next steps that should be taken with regards to policy and practice at the state, district and school level.

In general, the Rennie Center for Education Research & Policy report (2007) declared that Ch. 71A is ambiguous about how districts and teachers can best serve the ELLs in Massachusetts and stated: “Overall, it is unclear whether and how practice has changed at the classroom level” (p. 1). Two of the Rennie Center report’s final recommendations are significant for my study because they touch on the use of teacher knowledge and experience when examining policy. The first recommendation is to “encourage flexibility and experimentation with innovative approaches to meet the needs of ELLs,” which strongly connects to valuing individual teacher’s interpretations of policy at the classroom level (Rennie Center, 2007, p. 20). The second recommendation is to “offer opportunities for schools to share practices,” which was not an initial concern at the state level, but may be occurring haphazardly within schools and districts (Rennie Center, 2007, p. 20). Lastly, the Rennie Center report calls for further research into appropriate standards, pedagogical practices, and materials that are beneficial to students. While this report presents compelling case studies of three different schools and their instruction of ELLs, an appreciation for the stories of individual teachers and what the development and implementation of Ch. 71A has meant for them within their individual contexts is missing. Clearly what is needed more are opportunities for teachers to voice their own experiences in order to share and discuss with others their concerns of practice at the classroom level.

The Mauricio Gastón Institute for Latino Community Development and Public Policy completed a report more recently (Tung, et al., 2009). The researchers’ main objective was to inform those affected by English learning policies in Massachusetts, including local and state policy makers, educators, advocates, families, and communities. From 2003 through 2006, the Mauricio Gastón Institute examined the academic experience of English learners in the city of

Boston resulting from the establishment of Ch. 71A in 2002. The researchers analyzed demographic and enrollment information, state standardized test scores (MCAS: Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System), state and local documents, and transcripts of interviews conducted with personnel of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (MDESE) and the Boston Public Schools.

The Mauricio Gastón Institute's report determined that the gap between Boston's ELLs and native English speakers has not narrowed due to the significant distance between the policy's intent and its actual implementation, the difficulty with rapidly implementing a disruptive policy change, and the lack of consideration for the time and resources that would be needed in the schools. Tung, et al. (2009) recommend that a statewide study, similar to those done in California (Parrish, Linqunti, Merickel, Quick, Laird, & Esra, 2006; Wright, 2004) and Arizona (Arizona Department of Education, 2004; Wright & Pu, 2005), be done in order to develop a "better understanding of the status and trends in the education of English learners in Massachusetts, particularly after the sweeping change in policy and practice that Question 2 represented" (p. 109). If the conclusions of the statewide study mirror those of the one done in Boston, Tung, et al. (2009) conclude that the correct course of action would be to either drastically improve the implementation of SEI across the state or change the current English-only policy.

The Mauricio Gastón Institute's report presents data and findings from an extensive three-year period that were collected and analyzed by a team of researchers from diverse fields, such as education, policy studies, and public and community service. The public was informed of the current academic performance of English learners in Massachusetts' largest and most diverse school district. Tung, et al. (2009) provide a diverse set of recommendations for districts and schools to consider as a result of their research efforts. However, the focus of such large evaluative studies such as this one and the report produced by the Rennie Center (2007) fails to consider what can be gained from the perspectives of individual's and how they consider themselves to be affected by the new policy.

Although teachers were included in these studies, they were not spoken to individually, on multiple occasions, over an extended period of time. These studies have one entry point for teachers and it was restrictive, communal, and structured, thus not allowing room for their individual stories and experiences with the policy. Teachers in classrooms are at the point of implementation and their voices are invaluable resources that we should listen to in order to better understand how they make sense of Ch. 71A in their particular pedagogical situations. By listening to the individual histories of teachers that reveal the consequences for them and their students, we acknowledge their professional experience and recognize that they take action rather than just being acted upon. In addition, valuing teachers' perspectives allow us to witness the enormous variety in the ways that a single policy is implemented, which presents us with more opportunities and possibilities for meeting the needs of ELLs.

Teachers' Relationships to Policy

The literature reviewed in this second section elucidates the inextricable link that exists between teachers and policy implementation. The first subsection examines the traditional reform process that originates outside of schools and classrooms, rarely taking teaching contexts into consideration. Tyack & Cuban (1995) argue for an insider's perspective to policy development and implementation that appreciates the intricacies of how people and places shape policy. The second subsection focuses on the role that teachers play as policymakers within schools and classrooms. Rather than sidelining teachers' voices and experiences in the policy process, they are seen as playing an active and crucial role in policy interpretation. The final subsection reviews the literature on sensemaking theory and how it can be used to understand how teachers interact and respond to policy in meaningful ways.

Inside-out Policy Perspective

Those who live and work outside of the public school system commonly propose reform and policy changes. The viability and sustainability of reform efforts coming from the outside may be thwarted due to the outsiders' unfamiliarity with "the everyday lives of teachers, their

practices, beliefs and sources of frustration and satisfaction” (Tyack & Cuban, 1995, pp. 113-114). As a result, these reformers may not fully be able to comprehend the complications that the insiders (educators, administrators, parents, and students) face in undertaking the major changes that a new policy presents. Tyack & Cuban (1995) compare such reforms to “shooting stars” that may attract a great deal of media attention upon presentation, but wind up “burning up and disappearing in the everyday atmosphere of the school” (p. 111). While it is challenging to disregard reform ideas that receive a great deal of media publicity, educators are rarely consulted and may be mistakenly viewed as part of the “problem” that is being assigned a solution by others (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 2009). Often times, neither the context of individual schools and classrooms, nor the culture of teachers and their right to professional autonomy are considered in the reform process (Shulman, 1983; Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

This common practice of school reform, which results in one-sided policy development and implementation, is seen with the implementation of the English-only policy in Massachusetts (de Jong, et al., 2005; Rennie Center, 2007; Tung, et al., 2009). Day by day, week after week, and month after month a language policy, crafted by “outsiders,” impacts the teaching practices of many educators, as well as students’ school experiences. The powerful ways in which classroom teachers use their professional wisdom to make decisions, respond to and (re)create language policy in their particular contexts should be taken into account throughout policy development and implementation (Edwards, 2004; Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005a & 2005b; Gándara & Gomez, 2009; McLaughlin, 1987; Shulman, 1983; Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Varghese & Stritikus, 2005). Such a model would make good use of the expertise of teachers and encourage reformers to “focus on ways to improve instruction from the inside out rather than the top down” (Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

Taking an inside-out perspective places value on the local knowledge and involvement of the members of a school community in the enactment of policy (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Honig, 2009; McLaughlin, 1987). To what extent are the experiences of a single teacher in her

classroom, school, and district indicative of what is happening for other educators across the state? However small, other teachers and administrators, with bilingual education and ESL backgrounds or not, can likely relate to particular aspects of an individual's story because it speaks to their common experience with educational reform. If compiled, the holistic value of all of these experiences, including those of parents and students affected by the English-only policy change, holds the potential to seriously impact the policy process (Crispeels, 1997; Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Mora, 2009). Consequently, a changed process of policy development and implementation would recognize that, "reforms should be designed to be hybridized, adapted by educators working together to take advantage of their knowledge of their own diverse students and communities and supporting each another in new ways of teaching" (Tyack & Cuban, 1995, pp. 135-136). In the end, educators will be able to preserve what is valuable about their practice and change what is not, with the help and guidance of fellow colleagues and other members of the school community.

Closely related to the validation of teachers' professional and local knowledge regarding their students, the curriculum, and the school/district culture is the use of autobiographical or self-study qualitative research to improve schooling. Both the interview questions (Appendix A) and the series of interviews (Seidman, 2006) in this study encouraged the participants to look inward and reflect on their beliefs and experiences. Self-study research is a natural form of inquiry because educators' experiences are recorded in narrative form and then engaged with in various forms of reflection on and inquiry into those experiences (Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001; Feldman, 2003). By studying ourselves as educators, we become involved in an analysis of our own constructions of the world in an attempt to develop an understanding of our situation in relation to others. Feldman (2003) argues that "for us to change how we teach requires us to change who we are as teachers," which I would take one step further and apply to the policy process. Therefore, in order for us to change how policy is developed and implemented, we are required to value insiders' perspectives while investigating our own involvement in and impact on that process.

Such an investigation has the power to have direct effects on policy influencing teachers, students, and schools because “the aim of self-study research is to provoke, challenge, and illuminate” while incorporating the historical context of our present situations (Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001, p. 20).

By reaching a deeper understanding of teachers and their roles within various educational contexts, we are capable of legitimizing their knowledge gained through experience and enacting change in the policy process. Through a form of self-study that involved reflective interviews, this study examined how the development and implementation of an English-only policy impacted the professional practices and identities of teachers in a single Massachusetts school. In essence, the teachers disclosed the ways in which they made sense of the changes that were occurring in the state, their district, their school, and their classrooms. This investigation shows how personal as well as historical and current contextual factors need to be considered in order to improve both the academic experiences of ELLs in Massachusetts and the professional experiences of the educators that work with ELLs.

Teachers as Policymakers

In the past, research has ignored and sidelined teachers and the role they play in policy development and implementation (Darling-Hammond, 1990; Fowler, 2004; Honig, 2009). According to this passive view of teachers, a particular policy is developed, is passed down through the levels of the educational system, and arrives in the hands of school-level administrators and teachers to be carried out according to how it was written. This smooth journey is rarely the case and fails to align with the dynamics of schools, classrooms, teachers, and students (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987).

Another way to view teachers’ relationship to policy would be to see them as active participants in the policymaking and implementation process rather than purely conduits (Darling-Hammond, 1990). This alternative view of teachers, places them at the center of the

process as policymakers themselves (Menken & García, 2010; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shulman, 1983). According to McLaughlin (1987):

At each point in the policy process, a policy is transformed as individuals interpret and respond to it. What actually is delivered or provided in the aegis of a policy depends finally on the individual as the end of the line, or the “street level bureaucrat” (p. 174).

Therefore, teachers are inherently and unequivocally policymakers by the sheer fact that on a daily basis they respond to policies in unique ways within the context of their schools and classrooms.

Policy studies research over the past few decades (Coburn, 2001; McLaughlin, 1987; Tyack & Cuban, 1995) supports the fact that teachers reconstruct, adapt, and transform policy at the classroom level. The decisions and sense teachers make ultimately shape how policy plays out in practice, which may mask the intent of the original policymakers and writers. The variability that exists in how teachers implement policy in the classroom is the rule and not the exception (Coburn, 2001; Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 2009). More often than not, teachers are going to make policy within their classrooms in ways that the initial writers of that policy never anticipated. At times this variation can be attributed to teachers’ displaying resistance to the policy (Fowler, 2004), but it can also be attributed to the influences of their own biographies and contexts on the policy.

Recently, a large-scale study was conducted in California that recognized and highlighted teachers’ role as policymakers in the classroom. The Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning conducted a survey of more than 5,000 California teachers in order to investigate the effects of the English-only policy by listening to their voices (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005b). Specifically, the researchers wanted to learn about the challenges that these teachers face with regard to educating ELLs. The authors (Gándara, et al., 2005b) claimed that prior to this study, teachers were seldom, if ever, asked about the challenges that they face in their classrooms, but that their advice should be valued and acted upon. According to the California

teachers, their principle challenges include: few professional development opportunities targeted on working effectively with second language learners, a lack of time and instructional resources, and complications as they struggle to effectively communicate with the parents and families of ELLs (Gándara, et al., 2005b). In this study, teachers were viewed as important policymakers whose experiences can contribute to our understanding of policy implementation. The authors made one final recommendation reiterating the importance of listening to the perspectives of classroom policymakers: “Policy-makers and professional development providers across the state would be well advised to consider this fresh voice from the classroom when planning improvements for California’s teacher development system” (Gándara, et al., 2005a, p. 4).

Sensemaking Theory

Sensemaking theory from a contemporary point of view is used to understand how people (co-)construct understandings of events, make decisions about how to act, and negotiate the details of those actions (Coburn, 2001; Datnow & Park, 2009; Porac, Thomas, & Baden-Fuller, 1989; Spillane, Resier, & Reimer, 2002; Vaughn, 1996; Weick, 1995). The literature exploring sensemaking has expanded and connected with studies involving policy implementation (Coburn, 2001, 2005, & 2006; Datnow & Park, 2009) since Weick’s (1995) work that involved sensemaking within larger organizations in general. Sensemaking emphasizes the active role of the teacher in building understanding and making sense of situations in which they find themselves (Weick, 1995). As a theory, sensemaking explains a way of understanding the process of making sense of policy through the actions of constructing, filtering, framing, and creating. This subsection discusses the following aspects of sensemaking: a definition of sensemaking, the distinguishing characteristics of sensemaking, and sensemaking and policy studies.

Definition of sensemaking. Sensemaking has been utilized to make meaning in multiple fields, such as management (Porac, et al., 1989), science (Vaughn, 1996), psychology (Weick, 1995), and education policy studies (Coburn, 2001, 2005, & 2006; Datnow & Park, 2009; Spillane, et al., 2002). As a result, it has generated many definitions of how individuals make

sense of events and actions. According to Weick (1995), “sensemaking is about the ways people generate what they interpret” (p. 13). In other words, sensemaking is the process through which people arrive at the meanings and interpretations they make about events, people, or actions.

There is also a duality to sensemaking because it “is about authoring as well as reading” (Weick, 1995, p. 7), therefore addressing how the sense we make of a situation is constructed as well as how it is seen by others. Individuals take part in the reflective process of making of sense of how, why, and with what effects a particular event occurred. It involves social interactions with others within a specific context, therefore making it both collective and situated in nature (Coburn, 2001, 2005 & 2006; Weick, 1995).

Sensemaking operates under the premise that individuals make retrospective sense of the situations in which they find themselves (Weick, 1995). This study looked at how teachers made sense of the effects and changes surrounding an English-only policy in their school.

Sensemaking is therefore based on the principle that it is an active, ongoing, social process dependant on context. In sensemaking, every individual’s knowledge base and constructed meanings are also based upon her/his experiences. This notion can apply to how teachers, both individually and collaboratively, make sense of the events surrounding their teaching through lenses of context and biography.

Distinguishing characteristics of sensemaking. Weick (1995) identified seven distinguishing characteristics of sensemaking that contribute to an informed understanding of the theory. First, sensemaking is grounded in identity construction, thus beginning with the individual who is the sensemaker. By putting our thoughts into words through interactions with others, sensemaking can alter, affirm, or shift an individual’s identity. The second key distinguishing characteristic is that sensemaking is retrospective, causing the individual to look back at past events in order to address the current situation. This retrospective view can lead to reflections that produce many possible meanings of events. Third, sensemaking is “enactive of sensible environments” meaning that individuals play an active role in producing part of the

environments in which they live, work, play, etc. (Weick, 1995, p. 30). Therefore, we are active constructors of the world around us and reflect on past events in ways that have the power to changes us profoundly.

The fourth and fifth distinctive characteristics of sensemaking are its social and ongoing nature (Weick, 1995). Sensemaking is a continuous process that involves, usually at the level of analysis, other individuals through thought, action, or both. The activity of sensemaking adapts to changes and displays recursivity. Sixth, sensemaking is focused on and by cues individuals extract from the environment. The sensemaking process is shaped by what we see, hear, feel, and witness, which is highly dependent on the context in which we are living and interacting with others. Lastly, the seventh distinguishing characteristic of sensemaking is that it is “driven by plausibility rather than accuracy” (Weick, 1995, p. 55). Not only is accuracy not necessary, but it is also not possible because the meaning of events is constantly negotiable, changing, and flexible according to the individuals that are affected by it.

According to Weick (1995) all of the aforementioned characteristics contribute to an individual’s sensemaking process. When asked what is necessary in sensemaking, Weick (1995) responded:

The answer is, something that preserves plausibility and coherence, something that is reasonable and memorable, something that embodies past experiences and expectations, something that resonates with other people, something that can be constructed retrospectively but also can be used prospectively, something that captures both feeling and thought, something that allows for embellishment to fit current oddities, something that is fun to construct. In short, what is necessary in sensemaking is a good story (pp. 60-61).

Although there is no overarching order or structure to the way in which individuals relate to these characteristics and engage in sensemaking, they all play a part in the process.

Sensemaking and policy studies. Recently, there is a growing body of research within the field of policy studies that uses sensemaking theory to theorize how individuals in schools implement instructional policies (Datnow & Park, 2009; Spillane, et al., 2002). This research aims to identify how the formal networks and informal alliances among teachers shape the sensemaking process (Coburn, 2001), how school leaders shape teachers' sensemaking (Coburn, 2005), and how problems are framed during policy implementation (Coburn, 2006). In all of her research, Coburn views sensemaking as a social activity that is both collective and situated. Teachers' sensemaking processes are rooted in social interactions and negotiations with others, usually colleagues, and are embedded within their particular contexts, schools, and classrooms. These features of sensemaking shape teachers' responses to events and structure the priorities they make, thus influencing who talks to whom about what, when, and where. On a daily basis, teachers make any multitude of decisions. These decisions and the thought process that goes into them are an attempt to make sense of events that have affected the circumstances surrounding their teaching.

In sensemaking theory, the meaning of information and events is not given, nor static, but is inherently problematic (Coburn, 2001). Therefore, both individuals and groups are constantly constructing their own understanding and interpretations of events over time. In her research, Coburn (2001, 2005, & 2006) specifically looks at the implementation of reading policy in elementary schools in California. Using a case study approach, Coburn (2001) concluded that the collective aspect of teacher sensemaking is shaped by two factors: the patterns of interactions among colleagues and the character of their conversations. These conversations played an integral role in how teachers negotiated between their individual biographies and experiences and the social messages and events surrounding the reading policy.

Coburn (2001) realized that the actual policy was only one source of pressure that the teachers perceived: "To focus on formal policy alone is to misinterpret all that teachers are responding to and grappling with as they work to improve their practice" (p. 162). In reality, the

teachers' interpretations of the policy were complicated and messy, thus not necessarily making sense of the reading policy in ways that the policymakers had hoped. Rather than viewing this misinterpretation as a failure, Coburn (2001) argued that "sensemaking is both necessary and unavoidable" (p. 162). Sensemaking is a meaningful process that teachers engage in while working in a community that is multi-faceted and dynamic.

Continued research on teachers' sensemaking processes and policy implementation revealed another dynamic: the influence of a school level administrator. Coburn (2001) argued that principals played an important role in the sensemaking process of teachers by shaping where sensemaking happened, what messages about policy were disseminated, and how these messages were framed. However, more research was needed in this area. Coburn (2005) then looked more closely at how school leaders shaped teachers' sensemaking around reading policy and concluded that principals' understanding about reading instruction and teacher learning played a crucial role. Principals and other school leaders also engage in sensemaking as they come to understand how teachers make sense of policy (Coburn, 2005 & 2006; Spillane, et al., 2002).

The relationships between school leaders' and teachers' can be strained if they "construct different or conflicting interpretations of the appropriate response to policy" (Coburn, 2005, p. 346). A gap in the research on sensemaking and policy implementation exists at these points of divergence. The effects of the differences in policy interpretation among teachers and school leaders have not been explored fully within the literature (Coburn, 2005 & 2006). Another avenue that has gone uninvestigated is the sensemaking interactions that occur between educators who hold various roles and positions of authority. Coburn (2005) concluded that, "the ways in which individuals jointly construct their understandings of policy is shaped by and in turn shapes authority relations," and should be explored (p. 373).

In particular, my study presents a more nuanced version of Coburn's take on sensemaking theory. I argue that there are individual and social discourses working through the teachers' talk as they engage in sensemaking discussions about Ch. 71A. These discourses reveal

social forces that are embedded within their talk and the ways that they articulate their positions. The teachers have prioritized and used certain discourses over others according to their individual biographies as well as their social interactions with others in the school community. My study takes a close look at the language that teachers use when describing their personal histories: past, present, and future. Within their talk during a series of in-depth interviews, social forces are evident when the time is taken to look for them.

By talking with these teachers on more than one occasion about the English-only policy in Massachusetts, I gained a multifaceted sense of what has influenced their sensemaking process. Looking from a social theory standpoint, I can see the social interactions that have taken place around the teachers speak through them. This study identifies the common social discourses among the teachers at one school when discussing how they have made sense of the English-only policy. The following section will review the literature on social theory, in-depth interviewing, and discourse that informed this study and contribute to our understanding of sensemaking.

Teachers' Voices & Discourses

This study is an exploration into the school- and classroom-level effects of Ch. 71A in order to understand how teachers make sense of the change in language policy. I seek to understand the social and personal forces that influenced teachers during this transition by placing particular attention on context and individual understandings in order to have a more intricate view of policy enactment. The teachers' interpretations of the policy are filtered through their individual life stories and social forces. They come from a particular perspective and background that affects the ways in which they make sense of Ch. 71A. Based on their background experiences, they could see limitations, opportunities, and challenges that the policymakers never imagined. It is crucial to tap into their biographies because their individual interpretations are perspectival.

Through conversations with the teachers, in the form of semi-structured interviews over a period of time, their lives and experiences become animated. Multiple voices are present in their

sensemaking process; some are official and professional while others are personal and informal. The multiple and sometimes conflicting voices, or discourses, bring their experiences to life and reveal that policies are forged in negotiations among teachers and students, have multiple meanings, and reveal surprising consequences. Engaging in conversation with teachers leads to the presentation of the historical and present conditions surrounding the daily negotiations of the language policy that take place among teachers, administrators, students, and community members. In the two upcoming subsections, I will explain the theory behind why talk with teachers is important. More specifically, I explicate why individual, semi-structured conversations with teachers over a period of time serves the purpose of investigating individual experiences as well as the social forces on those experiences (Lemert, 2005; Seidman, 2006). I then discuss how Foucault (1978) and Bakhtin (1981) inform my understandings of discourse and how both individual and social forces come into play.

Talk, Personal Histories, & Social Themes

Through meaningful talk and interactions with others, one will have the opportunity to reflect on life experiences that will make the process of meaning making transparent. I have chosen to take on Seidman's (2006) approach to research because he believes that using talk to share the stories and details of one's life will lead to deeper ways of knowing and understanding ourselves and others. In particular, I chose to collect data according to Seidman's in-depth interviewing structure rather than using another type of interview protocol because my goal is to have the participants reconstruct their experiences regarding my topic of study. Discussing, building upon, and exploring one's experiences cannot be achieved through other interview methods that may be briefer or more structured. According to Seidman (2006), in-depth interviewing "is a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other important social issues through understanding the experience of the individuals whose lives reflect those issues" (p. 14). Clearly there is great value in an in-depth, individual perspective of one's concrete experiences

and the way in which it can elucidate facets of a larger, complicated, social issue that has previously been left unexamined from that particular point of view.

The interview questions that I developed (Appendix A) from Seidman's (2006) framework elicited stories from the participants because they were open-ended and gave the participants the freedom to decide what and how to share with regards to my research topic. The potential for interviews to be a forum to tell stories about one's life experiences is powerful because the use of narrative is a natural form of inquiry and reflection (Briggs, 1986; Bullough & Pinnegar, 2001; Feldman, 2003; Seidman, 2006). The entire sequence of three interviews was unstructured prior to meeting and talking with each participant for the purpose of allowing for individual considerations and attention to diversity among participants. Through this process, I was able to place each participant's comments within the contexts of their individual lived experiences, thus strengthening their authority.

A social phenomenon, such as the English-only policy, is best understood through the words of individuals whose daily happenings are based (entirely or in part) on that social phenomenon (Seidman, 2006). The participants' stories are important as data and speak to the problem that I was investigating because they start with the insider, who is the expert of her/his own experiences. The stories revealed through in-depth interviewing provide participants and myself with a way of knowing and making sense of their world. The opportunities to have these conversations is crucial because, according to Seidman (2006), "In the process of selecting constitutive details of experience, reflecting on them, giving them order, and thereby making sense of them makes telling stories a meaning-making process" (p. 7). Therefore, conducting in-depth interviews served my aim of gaining a deeper appreciation for the impact and meaning of the English-only policy on individual teachers.

When talking with teachers, they spoke personally about their lived experiences, and in part their statements are also representative of larger school and societal discourses about ELLs, immigration, language, and schooling in America. Not only am I interested in identifying each

participant's personal understanding of their experiences with Ch. 71A, I am also interested in the presence of larger social themes. The discourses that we use to tell our individual stories aid us in the discovery of our own understanding of social things, such as policy or our interactions with others (Lemert, 2005). According to Lemert (2005), "Individuals are who they are only partly because of what they do with what they have. They are also who they are because of what the wider social world gives or takes away" (p. xiii). Therefore, the stories that the teachers used to speak about who they are and what they do have been greatly influenced by social forces as well as personal understanding and biography. It is through the telling of their stories and experiences that teachers can discover and put into words the sense they have made of Ch. 71A.

Discourse: Simultaneously Social & Individual

This study examines the discourses that teachers use when they talk about the ways in which they made sense of the implementation of an English-only policy in their school. The discourses that they employ are simultaneously social and individual, meaning that they can be traced throughout both personal experiences and social interactions. For the sake of this study, discourse is a way of thinking that manifests itself through language and is representative of both individual experiences and social exchanges. Conceptualizing language as *discourse-in-use* helps us to understand events, social forces, and our interactions with others in new ways that allow us to ask new questions (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Madrid, Otto, Stuart-Faris, & Smith, 2008). According to Bloome & Clark (2006) who coined the term, "The concept of *discourse-in-use* focuses attention on how people adopt and adapt the language and cultural practices historically available in response to the local, institutional, macro social, and historical situations in which they find themselves" (p. 227). Therefore, it is crucial to understand discourse as something that exists within a context, both influencing individuals and being influenced by individuals.

Language and discourse are key components of how we construct our lives and participate in social events on a daily basis. The discourses we use to talk about our worlds are contextually based within individual lived experiences, but are also shaped by larger social

forces: “While people live their lives ‘locally,’ interacting with others, moving in and out of and across events, they also are influenced by broad social, cultural, political, economic, and historical processes” (Bloome, et al., 2008, p. 24). Research involving the discourses that people use, “is conducted to expose the possibilities and consequences of various discourses, with their attendant ideologies, practices, and preferences,” as they pertain to contextual factors (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 52). This study has aimed to accomplish that by talking with teachers about the effects of the policy, understanding their responses within the context of their school, and analyzing their discourses to reveal their individual and social nature.

The work of Foucault (1978) and Bakhtin (1981) has further contributed to my theoretical lens through which I viewed the discursive practices of the participants. According to Foucault, discourses are social constructions that display a “tactical polyvalence” with diverse power capabilities and functions depending on the context in which they are taken up (p. 100). Therefore, certain discourses may be more powerful for some individuals than for others by both shaping and consequentially being shaped by individuals and their contexts. For example, the teachers may be more likely to discuss certain topics alone with me than they would during a faculty meeting with the principal and other colleagues present. For this reason, individuals can use discourses strategically and intentionally, and people can use multiple discourses to defend, support, and/or protect their arguments and beliefs.

For Foucault (1978), the use of varying discourses is a complex and often unstable process that involves the deliberate employment of diverse discursive elements. During this employment, it is enlightening to see how a discourse can function by enabling, limiting, or opening up possibilities to explore further. An individual thus uses a discourse in various ways to position oneself in relation to a particular occurrence, experience, or issue. However, Foucault saw discourse as only one of a multitude of social forces that contributes to the creation of our existence (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005).

Foucault (1978) was interested in how discourses are produced and then produce subjects by claiming that

Discourses create, shape, and bound social life. They are naturalized over time and become the implicit rules about what counts as knowledge, who may use such knowledge, and how individuals and collectives are constructed within such knowledge schemes. In other words, discourses function to create, sustain, and reproduce particular versions of reality and to render others obscure (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005, p. 159).

As a result, certain meanings, actions, and wordings can be made to seem absolutely normal and natural in particular instances while others are deemed abnormal. Foucault's approach to discourse "never pretends to capture the whole of any social formation and instead sets out to describe the uniqueness and oddities of its practices, the play, and slippage among their relations" (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, p. 4). Examining discourse would never lead to an identification of all the possible meanings because individuals and social forces are constantly reforming these meanings within their specific contexts.

I also found Foucault's (1978) assertion that "there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy" to be significant in this study (p. 102). This acknowledgement has opened the door for me to examine the possible contradictions among the participants' use of varying discourses over time. In this light, discourse can be seen as "a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance, and a starting point" employed by a teacher who is trying to make sense of a new language policy (Foucault, 1978, p. 101). Realizing the possible contentious nature among discourses helps to explain why some teachers spoke of the opportunities presented to them and students as a result of the English-only policy, while others spoke of concerns and frustrations. Interwoven throughout our discussions were references to their own lives and experiences as learners, which clearly played a large role in determining which discourses they engaged in and how.

Bakhtin (1981) contributes to Foucault's (1978) notion of discourse through his focus on the contentious relationship between authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse. According to Bakhtin (1981), our engagement with various discourses is a process of "assimilating the words of others" with our own in an attempt to make sense of our own experiences (p. 341). Involved in this process is *heteroglossia*, which is the occurrence of two or more contradicting voices (or discourses) at any given time in an individual's particular context. Our world is inherently *heteroglossic* due to the often-conflicting coexistence of different discourses (Bakhtin, 1981). Therefore, we take up the discourses of others and use them as a basis for our own interactions with people in particular contexts, thus influencing our behaviors, actions, and words. While taking up a discourse, we use it strategically to perform various functions, which may result in the positioning of people in particular categories, similar to how Foucault (1978) argued that discourses are employed.

Bakhtin (1981) also discusses the antagonistic relationship that is evident between authoritative discourses and internally persuasive discourses, which exist simultaneously. An authoritative discourse represents the "received and static knowledge" of others that functions as a particular way of thinking (Britzman, 2003, p. 42). Authoritative discourses are often based on a line of thinking that comes from a theoretical deduction as opposed to actual experience. Therefore, an authoritative discourse could represent particular assumptions that one possesses about ELLs or what is involved in learning English prior to having direct contact with ELLs of their real-life experiences. In addition, the discourses that are presented in Ch. 71A, disseminated through state and district sponsored literature, or used by administrators can be viewed as authoritative for the classroom teachers because they are the words, ideas, and beliefs of others. Similar to Foucault's view of discourse as capable of arranging and mapping our words and behaviors, an authoritative discourse also creates "normative categories that organize and disorganize our perceptions," which can result in a competition between these normativities (Britzman, 2003, p. 42). The extent to which an authoritative discourse aids in determining our

perceptions of the world is related to the rigor with which we examine these categories and refuse to view them as displaying the natural order or truth about something or someone.

In contention with authoritative discourse is internally persuasive discourse, which acknowledges the existence of contradictory social practices that are often “in opposition to socially sanctioned views and normative meanings” (Britzman, 2003, p. 42). An internally persuasive discourse is an “everyday discourse” that reflects what one thinks for her- or himself and has the potential to change and evolve while interacting with others (Ball, 2006, p. 66). One’s own words, thoughts, ideas, and beliefs are present in an internally persuasive discourse and may not have its authority acknowledged by others. For Bakhtin (1981), an individual often experiences an inner struggle between the authoritative and internally persuasive discourses that takes place at a “zone of contact” where these discourses both partially belong to the individual while partially belonging to the other (p. 345). Therefore, the “internally persuasive discourse is a discourse of becoming” as we struggle to take what we already know and decide to expand it, abandon it, or keep it (Britzman, 2003, p. 42). The “zone of contact” resembles Foucault’s (1978) assertion that one individual can simultaneously be employing the strategic use of different and often contradictory discourses in a process of “trying things on” to see how they fit (or don’t fit) with one’s context, behaviors, and beliefs.

In this study, discourses are considered to be social constructions that serve various functions for people depending on the context and simultaneously represent an individual’s words as well as the words of others (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault 1978). At any given time, a teacher’s individual teaching context can be talked about and understood through the lens of two or more contradicting discourses. To some extent, a variety of discourses are present in the teachers’ thinking and have been prioritized in ways that make sense for them. Not only is the *heteroglossic* nature of teachers’ voices a key consideration, but also how the interaction of contending discourses contributed to their understanding of Ch. 71A and their interactions with it.

Conducting in-depth conversations with teachers about their experiences with the English-only policy allowed personal and social discourses to emerge and be explored in an attempt to better understand the role of teachers as policymakers. Through these discussions, both authoritative and internally persuasive discourses are evident and are often conflicting. Both Foucault and Bakhtin provide a framework within which to consider the point of conflict, or “contact zone,” where authoritative and internally persuasive discourses collide, as capable of providing valuable pieces of information or insight into one’s experience and use of particular discourses.

Chapter Summary

Chapter two investigated the issues related to teachers making sense of the English-only policy in Massachusetts. It specifically addressed research related to policy implementation, language policy, programs for ELLs, sensemaking theory, and teachers’ voices and discourses. The key ideas from this literature review link concepts and research to provide a framework for gathering and analyzing data in this case study. I will use the research, theories, and beliefs presented in this chapter to compare, contrast, and discuss my findings in chapters four and five.

In the first section of this chapter, I discussed the reviews of decades of policy implementation research that reveal the need to understand the on-the-ground interactions among policy, people, and places. Education policies are implemented and negotiated among individuals with unique histories, living and working in particular contexts. Research that addresses the complexities of these interactions within a social setting is needed.

Language policies are employed within schools around the globe in order to dictate the language use of students and teachers. Understanding its history will lead to heightened awareness of the current concerns regarding language policies in the United States. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, people of diverse ethnic, racial, or religious statuses experienced times of acceptance as well as prejudice and bias. Between the 19th and 20th centuries, there was a significant change in the languages spoken by the majority of immigrants coming to the United

States. Currently, immigrants are predominantly from countries where languages other than English are spoken, as opposed to being from English-speaking countries, which was the norm two centuries ago. Shifts in immigration patterns have also caused shifts in language policy. The culturally and linguistically sensitive policies of the 1960s and 1970s have been recently replaced with restrictive English-only policies.

Instructional programs for ELLs have also transformed over time. Dual language programs, specifically two-way bilingual programs, integrate the teaching of English plus another language (commonly Spanish) to both native English and non-native English speakers. Sheltered English immersion (SEI) programs have taken the place of many dual language programs, focusing primarily on the teaching *of* English and *in* English. Recently, three large-scale studies have been conducted in the state of Massachusetts in an attempt to understand the language policy (Ch. 71A) that mandated SEI programs. While these studies provide some useful information, they are too far removed from the realities of teachers and students within the classroom. My research is about understanding the teachers' interpretations of this policy within their school community and fills the gap left by those three studies.

In the second section of this chapter, I reviewed literature that pertains to teachers' relationships with policy. Looking at policy development and implementation from an insider's perspective will help us to gain a better understanding of the contextual factors that play a role. Specifically engaging in a form of self-study will encourage participants to articulate their own experiences with and interpretations of language policy. On a daily basis, teachers are active policymakers by making unanticipated interpretations in response to policy. Listening to and prioritizing the voices of teachers within the realm of policy studies is crucial.

This section also shed light on sensemaking theory in general, its distinguishing characteristics, and how it is useful within the realm of policy studies. Coburn's (2001, 2005, & 2006) research with teachers, reading policy, and sensemaking reveals the dynamic, social, interactive nature of policy interpretation within schools. My study about teachers making sense

of the Massachusetts English-only policy differs from Coburn's work due to my focus on the individual and social discourses that speak through them during their sensemaking process. The teachers' biographies as well as their social interactions in and out of the school community influence the discourses they prioritize and use to discuss the policy change. The focus on temporal sensemaking through a series of past, present, and future interviews is another difference between our research.

The third and final section of this literature review focused on understanding the individual and social forces that play a role in the teachers' use of varying discourses. Engaging teachers in a series of in-depth interviews provides them with the opportunity to reflect on how they have made sense of Ch. 71A. Their talk is indicative of individual experiences as well as larger social issues. Diverse discourses are evident in the stories they share about their lived experiences with the language policy. These discourses often conflict with each other and are used in different contexts, by individuals, for particular purposes. Closely examining the discourses can reveal their simultaneously individual and social nature. The existence of conflicting discourses within an individual or a single context is evidence of *heteroglossia*, which involves the occurrence of two or more voices in the same location. The *heteroglossic* contexts of the teachers cause them to prioritize one voice (or discourse) over another as they discuss Ch.71A. This process of prioritization is revealed through their talk and contributes to our understanding of how they have made sense of this policy change.

Chapter Three

Methods & Methodology

As the primary researcher, I devised the methods, collected the data, and analyzed the data for this study. Therefore, my theoretical lens greatly influenced the methods of this case study. I believe that people's intentions drive the actions that they take when making sense of an event in their lives (Weick, 1995). The stories that are told through their individual biographies as well as the larger social forces that they come in contact with during their daily interactions with others influence their intentions (Lemert, 2005; Seidman, 2006). In this study, I sought to identify these intentions through the language of the participants as they talked about the English-only policy. During these conversations, both individual and social discourses were evident and influenced each other as the teachers made sense of the policy (Bakhtin, 1981; Foucault, 1978).

This study focused on how teachers in a semi-urban kindergarten through grade 8 school in Massachusetts make sense of an English-only policy (Chapter 71A) that was enacted throughout the state in 2003. I chose a qualitative approach to research in order to explore the meaning that people "ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2007, p. 37). Qualitative research includes a process of data collection that displays sensitivity towards the individuals under study and a process of data analysis that uses induction to ascertain patterns and themes (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2002). Specifically, this research was designed around a case study approach to qualitative research.

The purpose of this study was to explore how teachers in a single Massachusetts school interpret and negotiate the changes surrounding a new English-only policy. This third chapter will describe the methods used in this case study through the following sections: research questions, case study rationale, methods, data collection, data analysis, and validity and fidelity. The organization of this case study follows research from numerous researchers prominent in case study (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Stake, 2000), interviewing (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2007;

Seidman, 2006) and basic qualitative research (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Research Questions

The principle focus of this study was based on the following “central question” (Creswell, 2007, p. 107): How do teachers make sense of a fundamental change in language policy in order to participate in, respond to, and make decisions about language curriculum and instruction? This question seeks to understand how teachers make sense of classroom- and school-based changes as a result of a new language policy. This broad research question allowed for in-depth interviews of teachers who identified the themes that influence their sensemaking and how their prior and current experiences play a role in their anticipations for the future. Under the umbrella of the “central question” were the following sub-questions to guide the study:

1. What themes emerge when teachers discuss the issues surrounding the language policy and program at their school?
2. How do they use these themes?
3. How do teachers refer to their agency and agencies of others in the unfolding of the language policy?
4. How do teachers characterize the responsibilities of their school to the ELL population?

The central research question and the sub-questions originated in my review of the literature (as discussed in chapter two). After initially reading the de Jong, et al. (2005) study and the Rennie Center report (2007) I had questions about teachers’ individual interactions with Ch. 71A. Then the Mauricio Gaston Institute’s report (Tung, et al., 2009) was released, which caused me to further inquire into teachers and policy sensemaking. My research questions emerged from a review of the literature that surrounded these three studies about the English-only policy in Massachusetts.

Why a Case Study?

In order to address the above research questions, I took a case study approach to qualitative research. For this study, the case is the Bayside School in Massachusetts. A case study approach allowed me to explore the meaning that teachers in this school have made from their individual experiences with a social phenomenon by investigating what was common and what was particular among them (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Stake, 2000). A single case is defined as a bounded system that is the object of study through in-depth procedures of data collection (Creswell, 2007). In order to understand the bounded case, I draw on the school's historical background, its physical setting, other contexts that surround the case, and the participants within in the case (Stake, 2000). Finally, the case of English-only policy interpretation and the school setting are presented through a detailed description and the identification of "case-based themes" (Creswell, 2007, p. 73).

Case studies are particularly useful in research designs that involve policy analysis because they seek to confront the complexity of the interactions between policies, people, and places (Honig, 2009). This case study investigated the complexities and local particulars of teachers' interpretations of an English-only policy within a bounded system over time (Dyson & Genishi, 2005; Merriam, 2002). The bounded system for this case study is a single, K-8 school within a semi-urban, medium-sized district in Massachusetts. In particular, this is an intrinsic case study because the focus is on gaining a better understanding teachers making sense of the Massachusetts English-only policy within a single, particular school (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2000). This case study is not only bounded by the physical boundaries of the school, but also by the eight years that have passed since Question 2 passed and the community of teachers, parents, and students affected by this change.

Similar to other qualitative case studies, I, the primary researcher, was responsible for collecting and analyzing of data, exploring individual meaning and understanding, using "an inductive investigative strategy," and ultimately presenting a rich description of the case

(Merriam, 2002, p. 179). This case study approach allowed me to probe into the complexities of the participants' interpretations of an English-only policy within this case, thus revealing that the production of meaning depends on context (Dyson & Genishi, 2005).

Methods

Research Site

The K-8 school presented in this case study was chosen because it is located in Massachusetts and has a Dual Language program with a long history in the district. In order to gain access to the school, I contacted the district's Title III Elementary Coordinator who assisted in the study's approval by the principal, the assistant superintendent, and the superintendent. The school site, which will be referred to as the Bayside School (a pseudonym), is one of nine schools in a district of nearly 5,000 students. The school building was opened in 2001, but prior to that the school was housed in another building, called the State Street School (a pseudonym), since 1989. The State Street School was a K-5 elementary school, so the expansion to becoming a middle school occurred after the move to the new Bayside School in 2001. A Two-way bilingual program was established at the State Street School shortly after its conception and initially continued at the Bayside School.

Currently, there are 490 students and 40 teachers at the Bayside School. The largest demographic group of students represented in the school is Latinos/as at 50%, while the remaining population is 40% Caucasian and 10% other. Students whose first language is not English represent 34.5% of the school's student population with 15.7% of the students classified as LEP (limited English proficient). Free or reduced lunch is a service received by 63.9% of the students at the Bayside School, thus categorizing that group of students as coming from a low-income background (MDESE, 2009/10).

In order to serve this student population, parents can place their child in the Dual Language Program or the Classic Education Program. The Bayside School's website provides information to the parents and the community about each of these programs. These descriptions

are useful in understanding how the school defines itself and provides background on the case.

On the school's website, the Dual Language program is described as such:

“The goal of our English-Spanish Program is to build bilingual and bi-literate students. Students learn to develop their primary language and acquire a second language while learning in all content areas. In our 18 dual-language classrooms, students whose first languages are English or Spanish read, write, and study content in both languages.”

Also found on the school's website is the following description of the Classic Education program:

“Through developmentally appropriate curriculum activities, materials, and strategies, students work at their individual developmental level. All students in grades K - 5 participate in a Spanish FLES (Foreign Language in Elementary Schools) program. Students in the sixth through eighth grades take a Spanish world language class.”

At each grade level for K-5 in the Bayside School there are three classrooms. One is the Classic Education Program, one is the Dual Language Spanish classroom, and the last one is the Dual Language English classroom.

Participants

The majority of the participants are currently teachers at the Bayside School, and the names of all participants are pseudonyms. Initially, only teachers who had worked at the Bayside School since 2002 were invited to participate in this study. Two teachers (Cheryl & Donna) responded to my Recruitment Letter (Appendix B), so I emailed a few other teachers at the school that I had known when I worked in the district. After this personal contact, two more teachers (Anita & Berta) agreed to participate. During the first couple of interviews with these four participants, they mentioned Kelly, the district's Title III Elementary Coordinator, on multiple occasions because she used to work at the Bayside School. I was also familiar with her work at the school, so I asked her to participate and she agreed. In December, the school's principal,

Perla, of eight years announced her retirement. Because of this news and the amount of times that the participants mentioned Perla during our interview sessions, I asked to conduct a single interview with her and she agreed.

Information about the grade levels, programs, and years in the school and district of the participants are provided below in Table 3.1. All five of the participating teachers hold Massachusetts state teaching certifications in their grade level and subject area. Three of the teachers are Caucasian, native English speakers and two are Latina, native Spanish speakers. All of the participants are bilingual English/Spanish speakers, displaying varying degrees of language proficiency in the two languages. Additional biographical information regarding the teachers was collected through interviews in order to better understand their backgrounds and will be discussed in the findings section.

Table 3.1

Profiles of Participants

Participant	Grade	Program	Years at School	Years in the District
Cheryl	5	Classic	7	11
Donna	4	Dual Language Spanish	2	4 Prior to that: 19 years in Boston
Anita	1	Dual Language Spanish	7	9
Berta	3	Dual Language Spanish	6	16
Kelly	All elementary	ELL Support (until 2007) Title III Elementary Coordinator (since 2007)	7	20
Perla	K-8	School principal	8	11

Role of the Researcher

The researcher is the key instrument because s/he gathers all of the information during data collection (Creswell, 2005; Merriam, 2002). The researcher decides who to interview, what data to collect, how to collect it, and how to analyze it. However, a major challenge of the researcher role in a case study is the potential for bias. The researcher's perspective needs to be identified and monitored as data is collected and interpreted (Merriam, 2002).

In this case study, my research perspectives are guided by my background and prior teaching experiences. As a researcher, I have recognized and reflected upon these experiences. I clarified my own views by disclosing and recognizing my background as a Caucasian female, a former teacher of ELLs in Massachusetts, and a bilingual speaker of English and Spanish. As a researcher, reflecting on my experiences as a bilingual speaker and teacher of ELLs, it was evident that this study held personal significance to me.

The act of reflexivity in research requires the researcher to self-disclose one's ideas and context with her/his life that relates to the topic of study (Creswell, 2005). From 2002 through 2007, I taught ELLs at another elementary school in the same district as the Bayside School in Massachusetts. As a teacher in a two-way program, I lived through the months leading up to the 2002 elections and faced the changes that ensued at my school and in the district in the following months and years. Due to this professional connection, I was able to gain access to the district and the Bayside School in particular. During my time working in the Massachusetts school, I either worked with or had professional contact with Anita, Berta, Kelly, Perla, and the assistant superintendent.

I knowingly chose to conduct this study at the Bayside School because I was familiar with the school's history of having a Dual Language program. The main benefit of my personal and professional connections to the school and district is that the participants viewed me as an insider. I knew the district's and the state's political history with bilingual education and the English-only policy through first-hand experiences, which were recognized and appreciated by

the participants. During the interviews, there were certain times that the participants did not have to explain concepts to me in detail. Between the participants and me, there existed a comfortable level of mutual understanding of topics, terms, and policies that have political and historical significance in the state, the district, and the school. The participants and I also shared a common knowledge base of topics surrounding ELLs, bilingual education, English-only policies, standardized testing, curriculum, and language acquisition, which positively facilitated our discussions.

While there are many benefits to my close connection to the district and the Bayside School, there were also challenges brought on by this professional and personal association that I had to overcome. At times, the participants' reactions to the English-only policy and the ensuing changes in their school differed from my own experiences at a similar school within the same district. Occasionally I was surprised by how the participants made sense of the policy change and personally did not necessarily agree with their assessments. All of their responses were not what I had imagined. This policy was contentious for many of us who were involved in bilingual education at the time, but was tempered with other positive and rewarding professional opportunities that also came our way as a result of it.

However, I did not let these feelings come out during the interviews because of the impact that a negative reaction may have had on the participants' stories. I took precautions to be a responsive, open listener and be fair about how the participants are represented in the data collection and analysis phases. Specifically, I practiced deliberate naiveté by exhibiting "openness to new and unexpected phenomena, rather than having readymade categories and schemes of interpretation" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 28). I was also aided by following the guidelines of qualitative research that are discussed in this chapter.

Potential researcher bias has been acknowledged and considered, especially with regards to validity. The use of triangulation among the three interviews per participant as well as member checking and peer reviews were employed to guard against inappropriate influence of the

researcher's perspective. The fact that the researcher is the primary instrument in this case study is viewed as a benefit to this study as well as the realm of qualitative research. My prior experiences as an educator in Massachusetts are the events that sparked the development of this study. The personal connections that researchers have to their topic, their participants, or their research site positively contribute to the rich and descriptive nature of qualitative research.

Data Collection

Procedures

Due to our prior professional relationship, I contacted Kelly, the Title III Elementary Coordinator for a school district in Massachusetts, via email and explained the nature of the study. Kelly then passed the information on to the district's superintendent and assistant superintendent for approval. Once district approval was received through the form of a consent letter from the superintendent, I contacted the principal of the Bayside School with the explanation of the study. Based on the principal's and my prior positive professional relationship, she was open to having the study conducted at the school. The principal and I then met to discuss the study and create the initial list of potential participants. I placed the Recruitment Letter (see Appendix B) that outlined the study in the school mailboxes of those potential participants. The teachers who agreed to participate were given the Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research (see Appendix C).

Interviews

The primary source of data for teachers' sensemaking process was a series of three in-depth, semi-structured interviews. After finalizing the sample, each participant and I scheduled the series of three, sixty- to ninety-minute interviews. The series of three interviews took place over a span of two to ten weeks for each participant depending on their schedule availability. I allowed the participants to choose where to conduct the interviews. The locations that they chose included: their classrooms, the school library, and public coffee shops. For the most part, the interviews took place on weekdays in the afternoon.

I followed the method of in-depth interviews that is presented by Seidman (2006), in which each interview has a different focus. The first interview was focused around the following prompt and questions: *Tell me about the changes surrounding the implementation of Ch. 71A. What did it mean in your classroom? How were you involved?* During this interview the participants shared their personal life and teaching history up until the present time. The second interview focused around this prompt and questions: *Tell me about your current curriculum and teaching. What is it like now? How are you involved?* With this question I learned about the details of the participants' current work and teaching experience as it pertains to the topic of study. The third and final interview focused on these culminating questions: *What is the likely future of Ch. 71A and the current practices regarding ELLs in schools? How will you be involved?* Given what has been discussed in the first and second interview, this third question encouraged the participants to make sense of their experiences and reflect on its meaning both at the individual and the communal level.

An interview protocol (see Appendix A) was used to conduct each interview. Based on a review of literature and in collaboration with the committee members, I developed the questions. Overall, I asked the teachers about their past and present experiences with the English-only policy in their school and district, as well as their hopes and predictions for the future. However, I did not restrict the interview to only those questions. Additions and deletions were made to the interview protocol based on what the participants felt comfortable discussing. Most of the interviews ended up taking the form of an informal conversation between two colleagues. I kept them talking by showing sincere interest in the stories they were sharing and asking clarifying questions that encouraged them to expand or provide more details. At times, the participants did venture off topic, straying from the open-ended questions, at which time I allowed them to finish their story or make their point before asking another question focused on the topic. For analytic purposes, I audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim all of the interviews.

As recommended by Merriam (2002) and Creswell (2005), I generated a method for managing and organizing data. I created a file for each participant that included interview questions, notes during interviews, in-process memos, transcriptions of interviews, and any other documents that added to the documentation of the validity of the study. The following Table 3.2 provides information about the date and duration of the first, second, and third interview as well as the total time spent with each of the participants.

Table 3.2

Data Organization

Participant	Interview #1: Date and Duration	Interview #2: Date and Duration	Interview #3: Date and Duration	Total Time of Interviews
Cheryl	November 23 44 minutes	December 14 1 hour, 4 minutes	December 21 57 minutes	2 hours, 45 minutes
Donna	November 24 1 hour, 15 minutes	December 30 1 hour, 9 minutes	January 27 1 hour, 3 minutes	3 hours, 27 minutes
Anita	December 14 1 hour, 7 minutes	December 22 45 minutes	December 29 44 minutes	2 hours, 36 minutes
Berta	December 17 51 minutes	January 5 1 hour, 12 minutes	January 29 47 minutes	2 hours, 50 minutes
Kelly	January 5 43 minutes	January 29 45 minutes	February 12 52 minutes	2 hours, 20 minutes
Perla	February 7 40 minutes	NA	NA	40 minutes

Data Analysis

My data analytic method allowed me to adapt to the emerging topics while recognizing the influences of my theoretical perspective. According to Dyson & Genishi (2005), the key qualities of qualitative data analysis are its reflexive and inductive character. The researcher grounds the analysis process in the nature of the collected data and constantly reflects on the relationships among the data. By first organizing the data, then reducing it into themes, and finally representing the findings the researcher is able to create meaning from the collected data (Creswell, 2007).

In this study, the process of data analysis was flexible and recursive so that the themes emerging from the data were thoughtfully integrated and synthesized. Given that data collection and analysis are processes that occur simultaneously, this study was no exception (Merriam, 2002). Due to this concurrency, I was able to make adjustments along the way with interview protocol and choice of participants. I created the Participant Organizational Matrix (Appendix D) for each participant, placed it in their files, and used it during the data collection and analysis processes.

Analyzing Interviews

In order to be responsive to the participants and the topics discussed during the interviews, I transcribed the first interview prior to holding the second interview with the same participant. The same procedure was followed for all participants and for the second and third interviews as well. In addition, I wrote an in-process memo (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995) at the conclusion of each interview in order to supplement the notes taken during the interview. Both the notes and in-process memos described in detail how the participant and I moved through the interview, including all follow-up questions and specifics on how data was gathered during their discussion. This additional information aided me in viewing each interview as a co-construction created by both the participant and me, similar to Kvale & Brinkmann's (2009) notion of *inter views*.

Using the transcripts, notes, and in-process memos, I then engaged in the process of analytic coding (Dyson & Genishi, 2005) in order to determine the conceptual importance of how the participants talked about their experiences. Initially, I engaged in categorical aggregation and sought out patterns within and among the participants (Creswell, 2005; Stake, 2000). From these patterns, a list of categories began to develop. The data was then marked visually through the process of open coding that labeled the categories, which denoted both patterns and contradictions among the data (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). In reviewing the categories, themes representing common insights among the participants about the English-only policy began to emerge. Then, I named the case-based themes and used them to provide a thorough description of the case (Creswell, 2005).

Validity & Fidelity

I took various steps to establish the validity of this study, as suggested by Johnson (1997), Merriam (2002) and Seidman (2006). According to Merriam, internal validity addresses how well research findings constitute the participants' experiences, which were investigated by conducting interviews. I employed the strategy of triangulation by paying close attention to information that was consistent in all three interviews conducted with a single participant. The repetition of particular aspects of the participants' experiences over time helped to contribute to its validity. I transcribed each interview verbatim before analysis. Member checking was done with all participants on two occasions. After the interviews were transcribed, I contacted the participants via email and invited them to respond to the raw data in the form of transcriptions. Once clarifications or additions were made to the raw data, I contacted the participants again with my initial findings and encouraged them to provide feedback. In a couple of cases, a participant and I had additional email, phone, or face-to-face conversations in order to discuss and clarify data.

In addition, I conducted peer reviews with colleagues who are familiar with the topic and others who are not in order to share and discuss the emerging findings and tentative

interpretations (Johnson, 1997; Merriam, 2002). I employed an “adequate engagement in data collection” by conducting three, separate, in-depth interviews with each participant and actively seeking discrepant or negative cases (Merriam, 2002, p. 31). My position and relationship with the topic under study were revealed through reflexivity to all participants and readers during the data collection, analysis, and presentation stages (Johnson, 1997; Merriam, 2002). Lastly, in order to contribute to the fidelity of this research, I created an audit trail and detailed “how data were collected, how categories were derived, and how decisions were made throughout the inquiry” (Merriam, 2002, p. 27). By keeping track of the methods, procedures and decision points of this case study, I can show that the findings are consistent with the data that were collected.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the methods and methodology used for the study. The research questions directed this study towards a case study research design. Detailed and specific information was provided in order to give a vivid picture of the site and the participants. My role as the researcher was examined to inform the readers of how an interest in this study came to be and assure them that precautions were taken with regards to potential bias. Data collection procedures took the form of a series of three in-depth interviews with participants. The data sources and collection process were discussed within the context of the site. Ethical considerations were made in order to protect the anonymity of the site and the participants. Data analysis involved the process of identifying patterns, coding, and thematically interpreting the nature of how teachers made sense of a fundamental change in language policy. Triangulation, member checking, and peer reviews were used to establish the validity of the findings. The following chapter four provides a detailed description of the themes that emerged and the data contributing to those themes.

Chapter Four

Findings

The purpose of this case study was to explore how teachers in a particular elementary school make sense of an English-only policy that was established as a result of a ballot initiative in Massachusetts. I examined the teachers' past, present, and future experiences with this policy in a semi-urban K-8 school. This overarching question guided the research: How do teachers make sense of a fundamental change in language policy in order to participate in, respond to, and make decisions about language curriculum and instruction? The following sub-questions assisted in guiding the research for this study: (1) What themes emerge when teachers discuss the issues surrounding the language policy and program at their school? (2) How do they use these themes? (3) How do teachers refer to their agency and agencies of others in the unfolding of the language policy? (4) How do teachers characterize the responsibilities of their school to the ELL population? In this chapter, I will answer the first and second sub-questions. The third and fourth sub-questions will be addresses in chapter five.

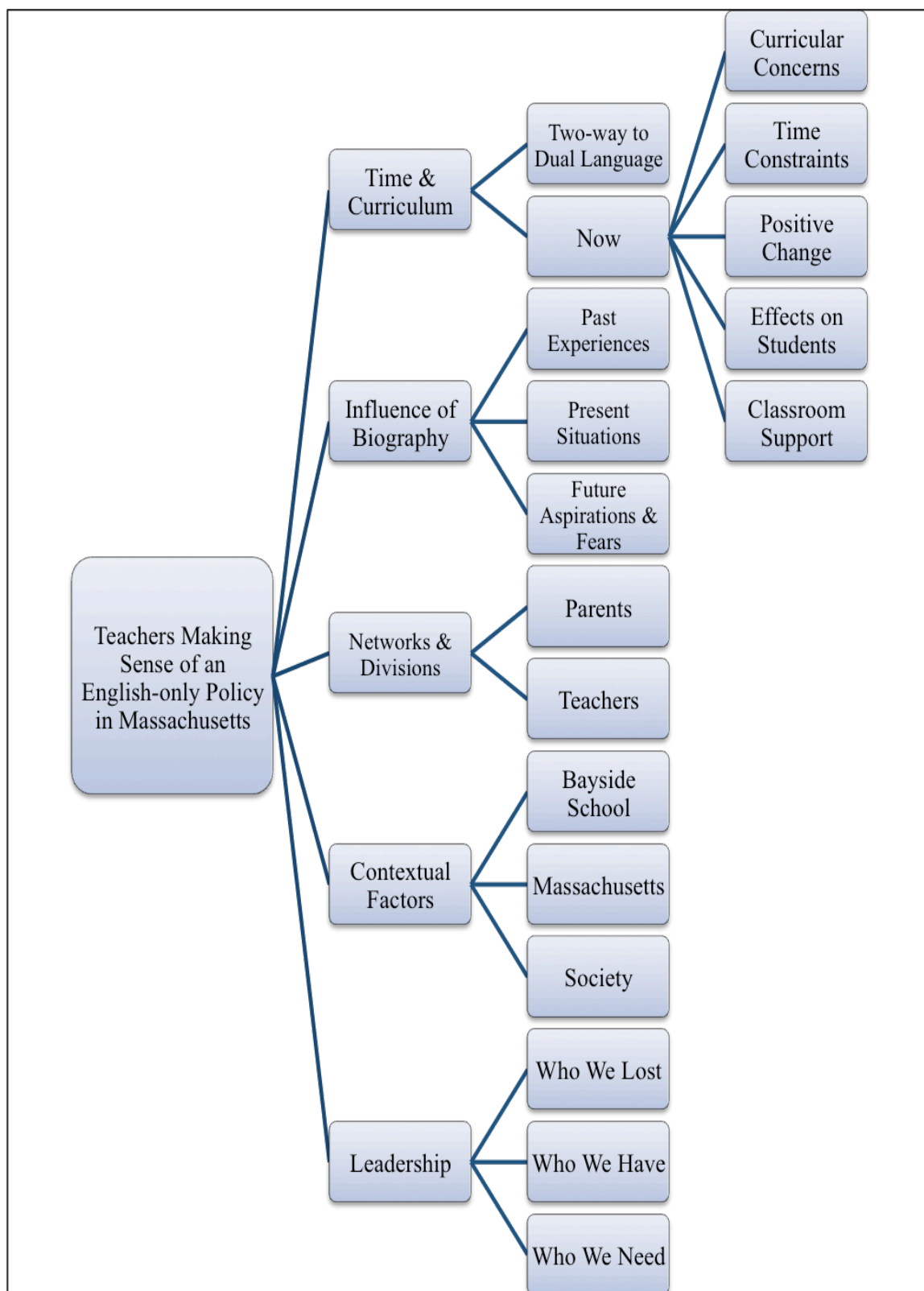
As explained in chapter three, I collected data from the following five participants in the form of a series of three interviews. Cheryl is a fifth grade teacher in the Classic program and has taught at the Bayside School for seven years. Donna has taught the Spanish side of the Dual Language program in the fourth grade for two years, but also worked in the district in the late 1980s. Anita, born in the Dominican Republic, is the first grade teacher on the Spanish side of the Dual Language program and has been at the school for seven years. Berta, born in El Salvador, has taught the Spanish side of the Dual Language program in the third grade for six years. Kelly taught at the State Street and Bayside School as a bilingual and ELL support teacher for more than twelve years combined. For the past two years she has been the Title III Elementary Coordinator in the district for all of the seven elementary schools.

The first in-depth interview investigated their past experiences, the second focused on their present context, and the third explored future aspirations and fears. Notes were taken during each interview and combined with an in-process memo written at the end of all interviews detailing how the participant and I drove the discussion. I conducted the interviews, transcribed them, and subsequently analyzed them for major codes, categories, and themes.

The upcoming sections of this chapter discuss the themes that emerged from the data. While reading through the interviews many times and finding patterns in their talk about their relationships to the policy, I noted five major themes and various sub-themes. The five major themes are: (1) time and curriculum, (2) influence of biography, (3) networks and divisions, (4) contextual factors, and (5) leadership. The following sections identify and describe in more detail each of the themes and sub-themes associated with them. Within the presentation of these findings, I blended the three interviews and the five participants' remarks into each theme and sub-theme. Figure 4.1 outlines the themes and sub-themes that emerged out of this study.

The first major theme, *time and curriculum*, reveals how the participants made sense of changes made in the Spanish curriculum and the time spent instructing in Spanish as a result of the language policy. *Influence of biography* is the second theme that examines the ways in which the participants used their past and present experiences, as well as their future hopes and concerns, to interpret Ch. 71A. The third theme, *networks and divisions*, presents the dynamics of the relationships that the participants perceive between the teachers and the parents and among the teachers themselves. The participants also discussed the *contextual factors*, the fourth theme, that influenced their interpretation of Ch. 71A. Lastly, the fifth theme, *leadership*, examines how the participants discussed the program's, the school's, and the district's leaders of the past, present, and future.

Figure 4.1 Overview of Themes and Sub-Themes



Time & Curriculum

The first theme that emerged from the interview data is the notion of time and curriculum and how they connect to the changes that happened within the Dual Language program as a result of Ch. 71A. All of the participants spoke in a way that identified the sense of “then” and “now” for both time dedicated to teaching in Spanish and the curriculum used when teaching in Spanish. In this section, I will present the participants’ descriptions of what “used to be” in the program as well as what currently is happening. The participants also discussed how they perceive the changes affecting the students and the support that they receive in the classroom.

From Two-way to Dual Language

After Question 2 was passed in 2002, there was confusion about how the new policy would affect the curriculum and time spent teaching in Spanish because “the law wasn’t clear to many people” and “it was being interpreted differently to whomever best it served” (Donna, 11/24/09, #1). The final legislation gave two-way bilingual programs an exemption from the law, and some programs around the state “were able to maintain their integrity...but in [our school] it was completely overhauled” (Donna, 11/24/09, #1). Despite the exemption, time spent teaching in Spanish in the Bayside School decreased because the new policy put an “exterior validation” on the already existing desire in the school and district to cut the program (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

At the same time discussions began in the Bayside School about changing the name of the Two-way bilingual program. Many teachers felt that if the time spent in English and Spanish was not going to be divided equally 50/50 then it shouldn’t be called a Two-way program. They finally decided on changing the name to Dual Language because that was the name that other similar programs in the state were using:

The Dual Language came out to just a nice name to keep the language alive or at least the opportunity to teach Spanish...but I can't even call it Dual Language myself, it's just, it's like 20% or less of what it used to be before (Anita, 12/17/09, #1).

However, with the change in time and name came other complications:

One of the issues that came up was how much can we or should we be informing the parents that there's been a shift...[the principal] didn't want there to be any disruption in the parents' perception of [the program]...Some of the teachers felt strongly that there should have been more openness about how we were shifting away from what we used to do...I played a vocal role about agreeing with people that we needed to be direct with people about what we were doing with the program (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

Both then and now the school was not clear about what the program should be or include in terms of time and curriculum. While the participants are grateful that the program is able to continue, they also lament the changes. Anita expressed, "I am very happy that it is still provided, just not in the same amount of time or intensity or with the same goals" (12/14/09, #1). According to Berta, "It's more of an enrichment program for our middle class [students]" rather than also focusing on the native language instruction of Spanish speakers (12/17/09, #1).

The Two-way bilingual program that was established at the State Street School in the late 1980s looked very different than the current Dual Language program at the Bayside School. For most grades at the State Street School, there was one homeroom made up of native Spanish speakers and a partner homeroom with native English speakers. The students in these two classrooms were all put together and then divided in half as equally (linguistically) as possible. Instruction in the content areas was offered in Spanish one week (in the Spanish classroom) and English the next week (in the partner classroom) (Anita, 12/14/09, #1). The participants shared slight variations of this model based on grade level, student needs, and teacher preferences, but for the most part it was followed as described above. As a parent of two students in the program, this is what Anita recalled:

What happened is that there used to be a curriculum, well established in both languages. You teach this week, these are the standards. He teaches in one language and she in the other. It's just a matter of using the right books and materials, but still it's the same content (12/14/09, #1).

The students learned grade-level standards for Math, Science, and Social Studies in both languages. There were classroom materials and books provided in both languages. In terms of literacy, students became literate in their native language first, but reading and writing in both languages were integrated throughout the content area instruction. Berta remembered that “they used to do a lot of writing in Spanish” and “we used to do guided reading [in Spanish]” (1/5/10, #2 & 1/29/10, #3). Overall, the instruction time in Spanish “was more academically substantial” than it is now (Berta, 1/29/10, #3). The interactions among the students also looked different:

Before, the [program] was truly a mixture of native Spanish and native English speakers and it was a collaboration. During the English week the native English speakers would help out and during Spanish week the native Spanish speakers had their strengths and the kids saw that (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1).

Both the time spent learning in Spanish and the general curriculum have changed over the past decade, with positive and negative aspects.

Curricular Concerns

The participants’ main concern about the current Spanish curriculum in the Dual Language program and the Classic program is that it does not exist. The students in the Classic program receive a Spanish language class twice a week and the students in the Dual Language program receive a block of instruction in Spanish at least four to five times a week. However, both of these programs lack “a clearly articulated curriculum” (Kelly, 2/12/10, #3). Currently, and for the past several years, “There is no written curriculum” and that’s really “frustrating” for both the Classic teachers and the Dual Language teachers (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1 & 12/21/09, #3). As a result, “you have to just plan as you go and you can’t save your curriculum from year to year” (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1).

When asked what would help to improve the Dual Language program, Berta responded, “To have a written curriculum...it’s not written down. It was in the past, but not now. We need something that we can see” (1/29/10, #3). In order to remedy this problem, the teachers in the

Dual Language program and the Spanish teachers in the Classic program have met periodically to discuss curricular concerns. According to Anita:

At that committee we kind of bring to the table what we think we should be doing. It's not set in stone that we should do this and that. So we try to extend... it's just trying to build more [on what the students] have on the base that they have. Incorporating something new is up to the teacher (12/22/09, #2).

Despite the effort that the teachers have put forth during these meetings, the Bayside School has yet to develop a written Spanish curriculum for the two programs that exist from grades kindergarten to fifth.

Due to this lack of a written Spanish curriculum, the participants have had to create their own curriculum in many ways. Cheryl teaches one of the two Spanish blocks to her students each week because of a scheduling conflict with the certified Spanish teacher. Although Cheryl is still learning Spanish, she “spent five weeks in Mexico and the principal decided that was sufficient” enough for her to teach the forty minute Spanish block (11/23/09, #1). When asked what she teaches during this time, Cheryl responded:

I try to feed off of what [the Spanish teacher] does. If she is doing months and days of the week then I'll try to review vocabulary. I'll play games with them and we have songs. So I'll make up a song in English and they say the words in Spanish and they can remember it both ways. Things that I see them needing in class, if we're doing something in Science or Social Studies, I'll try to include some of those words (12/14/09, #2).

Even though they teach in different programs and grades, Anita's experience is not that different than Cheryl's:

When [Question 2] happened...you had to create your own curriculum and you had to find your own resources and adapt it to the level of time you had, the amount of time that had been provided for [teaching in Spanish]. So...it's pretty much vocabulary and short

phrases and some here and there, but that was something that we as teachers needed to invent, we needed to invent a new curriculum in Spanish because it was not viewed as a subject [anymore] (12/14/09, #2).

Because of her affinity toward writing curriculum, Donna has put a lot of effort into creating the fourth grade Spanish curriculum:

I teach Spanish. The curriculum, because of the Dual Language program, used to be a program where the content was being taught in Spanish along with whatever the frameworks were for [Massachusetts]. Over the years it has kind of changed, but I decided to bring that back (12/30/09, #2).

Everything that Donna does during the Spanish blocks is project-based and connects to the Science and/or Social Studies curriculum. When asked how she went about developing the projects, she responded, “I just decided over the course of the year, kind of like flying by the seat of my pants, what I wanted to do and I worked on it over the summer” (12/30/09, #2). Despite her efforts, Donna confessed:

I really feel that with the program now we’re not really even teaching Spanish, and some [students] sink...so I teach to the standards. We’re doing Spanish in Social Studies and Spanish in Science. We are even going to write a five-paragraph essay in Spanish (11/24/09, #1).

Clearly, the development of a Spanish curriculum, from the perspective of the participants, has been difficult for the Bayside School to establish since Question 2 was passed. However, they understand its importance and closely connect the successful development of a Spanish curriculum to the amount of time that is designated to the teaching of Spanish.

Time Constraints

As briefly mentioned in the previous section, Ch. 71A brought about significant changes in the time spent teaching and learning in Spanish. In the Classic program, students receive two forty minute blocks of Spanish each week, which according to Cheryl is “not enough time” to

cover everything (11/23/09, #1). There are three homerooms at each grade level from kindergarten to fifth grade with one in the Classic program and the other two in the Dual Language program. Therefore, Donna, Anita, and Berta teach Spanish to both of the Dual Language classrooms, four or five days a week, separately. Each block is about an hour long. While they are teaching Spanish to their homeroom, the other Dual Language teacher on the English side is teaching Math, and then they switch for the second hour and do the same thing.

For the participants, the decrease of time teaching in Spanish has been one of the biggest changes with the new language policy. Instead of teaching nearly the entire day in Spanish, they are teaching only a small fraction of that. For Donna, the program is now “a glorified FLES² program. I mean I am blessed to be able to do that, I enjoy teaching in Spanish, but it is nothing compared to what my daughter had when I started [State Street School]” (11/24/09, #1). Despite this decrease, both Anita and Donna try to fit in as much Spanish as possible throughout the school day for their homeroom students. In Anita’s classroom, “they are immersed into [Spanish] vocabulary and me talking to them all day long in both languages” (12/14/09, #1). Donna regretfully realized the difference in time for the two Dual Language homerooms: “My homeroom will get a little more just because I have more flexibility with my class. The [students of the] teacher who teaches my students Math, I only really get them for four hours [a week]” (12/30/09, #2).

An additional concern about the time-spent teaching in Spanish is what message it sends about the value of the Spanish language. For Anita, the amount of time dedicated to teaching in Spanish is directly connected to how much it is valued within the school community. The time decrease also lessens the value placed on what Spanish-speaking teachers and students have to offer the school (Anita, 12/14/09, #1).

² A FLES (Foreign Language in the Elementary Schools) program is one that teaches a foreign language (usually Spanish) to native English speakers once or twice a week, which is similar to how foreign languages are taught in middle and high school.

With the decrease in instruction time has also come a decrease in preparation and planning for teaching in Spanish, which also diminishes its importance. The participants talked about how they have no prep time built into the school day for the teaching that they do in Spanish. Not only is time needed to prepare for teaching, but also to meet and develop the much-needed curriculum. While the Spanish teachers in both programs meet periodically with Valerie (the bilingual support teacher), it is less often than before: “Before we used to have meetings once a month and Valerie was the coordinator. We would sit down [and plan together]. Now we can’t do that. There is no time or money for us” (Berta, 1/5/10, #2). In order to solve the concerns over the time dedicated to planning and teaching in Spanish, Kelly proposed a solution: extend the school day and the school year (1/29/20, #1/2 & 2/12/10, #3).

A Positive Change

There is one aspect of the curriculum that the participants talked positively about and at great length: the end of the year bilingual presentations. This addition was made two years ago. The teachers and students at each grade level collaborate in planning and performing a bilingual presentation to the school community on a topic they have chosen. According to Cheryl, these presentations have established a purpose for learning Spanish, particularly in the Classic program, and have “unified the program” (11/23/09, #1). The teachers and students have the freedom to decide what their presentation is going to be about. The presentations have enabled Donna to incorporate Social Studies and Science themes with the Spanish language (12/30/09, #2). Anita incorporates a variety of activities: “I sometimes do different things. I do plays, I do games, I do stories, and skits from a book or something to do with what we’re doing in the classroom” (12/22/09, #2). Not only are the presentations done for the enjoyment of the teachers and students, but also as a show for the larger school community:

All parents, friends, and family come...they have seen the children comfortable or fluent in reading at the first grade level, reading in Spanish, and communicating. There is some comprehension and they can do a skit, play out a book or story, and they sing songs, and

they do games. They go home and they practice at home and they teach their parents songs and all that (Anita, 12/14/09, #1).

The presentations provide the opportunity for the teachers and students to show the parents and families what they have been learning in Spanish. The participants realize that to a certain extent, the presentations are used to maintain parental and district support for the Dual Language program.

Effects of Curriculum & Time on Students

While discussing their concerns about the changes in curriculum and time due to Ch. 71A, the participants mentioned how these changes are affecting students both positively and negatively. The participants are worried about the students' progress in learning Spanish:

Since 2002, the kids that come to the fifth grade know less and less and less. My friend that taught the Spanish class on the Dual Language side would say, "Every year I have to have a new curriculum because the kids I have don't know enough for me to teach what I taught the year before" (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1).

In another interview Cheryl also stated: "Every year they were progressing, but the kids aren't progressing [now]. There's a lot of frustration with the teachers who are trying to teach Spanish because the kids are at all sorts of levels" (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3). Due to the changes in students' needs and knowledge from year to year, it is challenging to develop a cohesive curriculum.

Clearly the quality and quantity of language instruction depends on the teacher. The participants have mentioned that there is a lot of teacher turnover in the school and students at each grade level receive different amounts and types of Spanish instruction with different teachers. These fluctuations also play a role in what and how the students learn in Spanish. Berta also sees a connection to the support that students receive at home in Spanish:

Their progress in Spanish is not really substantial. The ones that are learning Spanish is because they are learning at home. The other ones they don't learn at home. They learn

a song, they learn a dialogue, but they are not really *learning* the language, like it could be (Berta, 1/5/10, #2).

In considering why students are not progressing in learning Spanish, Cheryl believes that possibly they do not “find relevance in it” (11/23/09, #1).

The participants mentioned how the program positively impacts the students, particularly the ELLs. Learning in Spanish helps with their motivation: “They are struggling in English, but then when they are learning a play in Spanish, it's easy and they want to do it every day” (Berta, 1/5/10, #2). Donna talked about how it helps her ELLs with confidence and pride:

They were just all so proud that they were able to share their food and their culture. I think they get a lot of validation with all of that, even with the limited amount of time in Spanish because they have teachers that relate [to them]...they can relate to the culture, it validates them (12/30/09, #2).

During Spanish class, the native Spanish speakers “like to be the leaders. They like to be the helpers” and “it is their place to shine” (Cheryl, 12/14/09, #2). Overall, “the kids are looking forward to [the presentation],” which allows them to apply and share what they have been learning in Spanish (Donna, 12/30/09, #2). To a certain extent, Berta is pleased with the program: “The good thing is that the kids interact more with each other” (Berta, 12/17/09, #1). Therefore, while the nonexistent Spanish curriculum and the decrease in time spent learning in the language have had a negative impact on students, the current program continues to build students’ confidence and offers them valuable opportunities to interact with each other in both languages.

Support in the Classroom

A final concern of the participants is the lack of support that they receive in their classrooms, particularly when teaching in Spanish. According to Donna, “none of the Spanish teachers get help,” which is partially due to budget cuts and partially due to the decreased importance of teaching in Spanish (12/30/09, #2). Valerie, the bilingual support teacher, used to

come into the Dual Language classrooms and work with the teachers, particularly with Spanish reading groups, but “they don’t want Valerie to teach in Spanish anymore” (Berta, 1/5/10, #2). Berta believes that this was not Valerie’s preference: “I know she was told not to give any more time to Spanish” (1/5/10, #2). Anita also mentioned how the support she needs is being used elsewhere:

You can ask for support but you're not going to get it. It's not consistent, one day yes and then they have somebody and they're pulled out because something else is taking over that is more important. It's always a matter of money and who gets it first (12/14/09, #1).

From Berta’s perspective, having an additional teacher in the classroom while teaching Spanish would be beneficial: “If we had more support that would be so awesome...we’re only surviving with the Spanish” (1/5/10, #2). However, Cheryl has a different view of the support she receives in her classroom: “I feel like I have so much help. I really cannot complain about that...I feel like my kids are well serviced” (12/14/09, #2). Clearly there is a difference between the support that the Dual Language teachers and Cheryl, the one Classic teacher, receive in their classrooms. Causes for this difference may include budget cuts, the decrease in Spanish instruction time, and change in the value and importance placed on teaching Spanish.

Theme One Summary

Issues surrounding a Spanish curriculum and the time spent planning and instructing in Spanish have impacted how the participants have made sense of Ch. 71A. The participants’ concerns about curriculum and time influence their sensemaking of the policy by exposing the devaluation of the bilingualism and biliteracy promoted in the Dual Language program. From their point of view, the teachers and students associated with the program are no longer a priority within the school or district, as evidenced by no Spanish curriculum, less time dedicated to Spanish, and less support in the Spanish classrooms. However Cheryl, the one Classic teacher, attested to having a great deal of support in her classroom.

The implementation of the policy in the Bayside School was interpreted as a confirmation of already existing concerns about the effectiveness of a bilingual program. Ch. 71A has ironically restricted teachers and provided them with more autonomy at the same time. They are restricted by the time constraints, but have a great deal of freedom with the curriculum and the presentations. The participants view these changes in relation to how the program used to be before the policy change.

Influence of Biography

When presented with a new text, whether it is a book, a conversation, or an educational policy, we all use our past experiences to make sense of this text. The participants did just that while discussing issues surrounding Ch. 71A and the Dual Language program at their school. They made connections to personal experiences that have greatly influenced their response to the policy, their interactions with ELLs and their families, and their approach to teaching. The teachers in this study defended their beliefs and explained their response to the policy by describing experiences from their past and present, as well as aspirations and fears for the future. The structure of a series of three interviews focused separately on the past, present, and future, allowing the teachers to deeply embed their beliefs and responses in the context of their individual lives. The findings of this second major theme will be presented in a similar fashion—through the sub-sections of: past experiences, present situations, and future aspirations and fears.

All of the participants shared aspects of their personal lives and beliefs throughout the series of interviews. Presenting this information in a past, present, future format provides the background knowledge needed in order to better understand how these teachers made sense of how Ch. 71A took shape in their school. While talking about their past experiences, the teachers told stories about how they became teachers and more specifically, teachers at the Bayside School. They shared defining experiences that have shaped their beliefs about language teaching and learning. The teachers also spoke about their current experiences and how they become motivated. Lastly, the participants shared their individual aspirations and concerns for the future

of the Bayside School, of the Dual Language program, of Ch. 71A in Massachusetts, and of their professional and personal lives. The lens through which these teachers look to make sense of the English-only policy is greatly influenced by their past, present, and future biographies.

Past Experiences

During the first interview, teachers were asked to talk about how they came to be teachers and specifically how they came to work at the Bayside School. The teachers revealed events from their past, some from their childhood, and told stories about defining experiences in their lives. Four of the participants also shared their perspectives as parents and how that influenced their beliefs and actions. Anita and Berta also made references to their experiences as ELLs.

Both Cheryl and Kelly spoke of how as far back as they could remember they have always wanted to be a teacher. Family relations and expectations clearly have an impact on the professions in which children show an interest. Teaching was not the expected career choice for Anita when growing up in the Dominican Republic, but she was surrounded by teachers: her mother and two aunts. After receiving a degree in Psychology in the Dominican Republic, Anita would help out her mother and two aunts by substituting for them when they were unable to be in their classrooms. Anita admitted that at the time, “I didn’t know that I was really falling in love with [teaching]” (12/14/09, #1).

Three of the participants shared experiences that involved their children and influenced their views of ELLs and Ch. 71A. Both Anita and Berta consider themselves to be English language learners, “Every time I have the opportunity with pride I say that I’m an ELL” (Anita, 12/14/09, #1). Also, they have raised bilingual children who currently range in age from teenagers to adults. After her children had started school, Berta kept hearing news reports about Latino students’ lack of progress in public schools: “Then I was wondering why they didn’t make progress. It didn’t make sense that they didn’t make progress. I was very idealistic and I thought that groups of [Latino] students could make it” (12/17/09, #1). These concerns motivated Berta to become a teacher in a Spanish-English bilingual program in Massachusetts. Anita also shared

her perspective as a parent whose two children, now teenagers in high school, were in the Two-way and then the Dual Language program at the Bayside School. Anita reflected on the impact the policy change had on their language and literacy skills:

As a parent, I remember my children coming home with lots of work in Spanish. I needed to be involved and maybe it wasn't appropriate for parents who don't have [Spanish] at home. But I can also see children now, students at the high school level, that were in the program with my own children. How beautiful they can read, and they can also communicate to a certain level. You can see that that foundation in Spanish is still there. If they would have been able to continue that there would be very little difference between them and my own children (12/14/09, #1).

The students that Anita was referring to are the native English speakers who were in the Two-way program prior to and during the early years of Ch. 71A. Due to changes in the program over time, they received less and less instruction in Spanish.

Donna also shared her experiences as a parent whose native English-speaking daughter was in the Two-way program when it began at the State Street School in the early 1990s. She was in charge of hiring the staff when the school opened for kindergarten and first grade in 1988. Becoming a bilingual teacher and administrator was not something she had expected as a new high school history teacher in Boston in the early 1980s. Donna had been laid off and then offered a position as an ESL/Spanish Social Studies teacher because she spoke Spanish. It was also happenstance that Kelly became a bilingual teacher at the State Street School in 1990. At the time she did not have her bilingual certification, but because of her Spanish abilities and interest in working with underprivileged children she was offered a job.

The participants told stories from their past that were defining experiences and greatly influenced their teaching careers. Cheryl grew up in the city where the Bayside School is, graduated from the high school, and then returned to substitute after receiving her teaching certification. During her senior year she worked with the Latino club at her high school to offer

Latin dance lessons after school in hopes of having the attendance at the prom be more representative of the large Dominican student population. Cheryl's mom and the mother of a Dominican classmate, who was a seamstress, got together to make the girls' prom dresses. Cheryl recalled, "It was just really neat to know someone else's story...that's what I love, finding connections, and figuring out how people are all the same" (11/23/09, #1).

Berta, Anita, and Donna all recalled defining experiences that were connected to their jobs as teachers. Berta talked about the criticism that she received as a bilingual teacher in a different Massachusetts elementary school around the time of the 2002 elections: "It was oppressive. It was not just that I couldn't teach Spanish it was that they got angry and they questioned you as a teacher. They didn't see how I was helping the students" (12/17/09, #1). She eventually left that school and came to work at the Bayside School in 2004. Anita's experience as a Spanish Reading Recovery teacher prior to 2002 solidified her desire to work with struggling readers and to get her Master's Degree in Reading, which she hopes to finish in the next couple of years. After being the director of bilingual curriculum for the district that the Bayside School is in, Donna started her own bilingual curriculum consulting business in 1990 and worked with schools all over the state until 2005. This allowed her to be involved in something that she really loved, "That's my thing. We all have strong suits" (Donna, 12/30/09, #2). As a result, Donna is very passionate about working on the current curriculum for the Dual Language program at the Bayside School. The participants chose to speak about these experiences when asked about their past because they reveal events that have significantly affected their lives and careers.

Present Situations

The participants shared aspects of current personal experiences and philosophies that influence their teaching. Within this sub-theme are individual accounts of the participants' present situations in their classroom and the school, which are greatly affected by who they are. Many of these experiences help to motivate the teachers to continue teaching and have to do with their interactions with their students. Anita expressed these sentiments about her job, "And here I

am, still teaching first grade. It is my sixth year. I love it,” (12/14/09, #1) and helping her students, “Where does that child fit better, to learn better and also feel good about himself or herself? That’s my drive” (12/22/09, #2). While Anita intensely enjoys her job, she also spoke about how Ch. 71A has affected her personally:

[Ch. 71A] was not for children that were speaking English, but for the children who were not speaking English not to be taught in languages other than English. But it has hindered everyone around that because English-only has limited the resources for all languages as well and people like me who felt so proud of being able to share my knowledge are shut down (12/14/09, #1).

Berta experiences negativity about the program too and enthusiastically shared this response, “When somebody criticizes the Dual Language program then I work harder (*Laughing*). That’s my Salvadorian pride!” (1/5/10, #2). Berta admitted that her current focus is on her students within her classroom, so she tries not to get involved in public debates about the program that take place among other teachers in the school. She is clear and confident in her response:

I get along fine with the principal, but if a teacher wants to get along with the system, you have to be very careful about what you say. This is my classroom and I get along fine with everybody, but then I don’t say anything (1/5/10, #2).

However, Berta is extremely aware of how her interactions with her students can positively affect their learning experience. Berta mentioned the benefits that she sees from the relationships she develops with her students:

[My students] get the experience that I speak with an accent. They get the experience that I look different. They do get the experience that even though I am not the normal New England teacher, they still can have a relationship with me and we can talk about many things. We understand each other and they know where I was born (1/5/10, #2).

The other participants also talked about how relationships with students and other teachers positively contributed to their present experiences at work. These individual preferences

and feelings are significant pieces of the individual participants. Donna gains her motivation from her students' reactions and excitement for learning (12/30/09, #2).

For Cheryl, both the individual and collective development of her students is important to her and she is pleased with how her students are interacting socially this year.

Since Kelly is currently in an administrative position at the district level, she enjoys working with other teachers and administrators around the district and the state as they respond to the needs of ELLs. Kelly attends meetings for the Massachusetts ELL Council "to talk about how the program is structured, but also how the leadership of their programs are structured" in hopes of bringing new ideas back to the school (2/12/10, #3). At the district level, Kelly visits the elementary schools to see how she can support the teachers and remarked, "I really like helping people in the classroom" (1/29/10, #2). The current teaching experiences of these participants are clearly affected by their relationships and interactions with students and teachers, which greatly impact their motivation. These accounts are part of the participants' individual biography in the present and are unique to each one.

Future Aspirations and Fears

Lastly, the participants shared their personal hopes and concerns relating to the future of Ch. 71A, the Dual Language program, and their own professional careers. In December, while I was in the middle of data collection, the principal of the Bayside School (Perla) announced that she would be retiring at the end of the school year. Most of the participants saw this coming and firmly expressed their personal aspirations and fears for the future after her announcement. Of immediate concern was the establishment of a search committee that was representative of the student and teacher population, "We [had] to elect representatives to be on the committee that is going to meet the new candidates and there was not a bilingual teacher [that was elected to be on the committee]" (Berta, 1/29/10, #3). In addition, the teachers were worried about the attributes of the interview candidates and hoped for someone who is bilingual, "has worked with a diverse population," believes that "all children can learn and that everyone is a stakeholder" (Donna,

1/27/10, #3), and is “excited” and “clear about the mission of [the Dual Language program]” (Kelly, 2/12/10, #3).

The participants held opinions about the future shape of the program, both agreeing and disagreeing with each other. Cheryl would like to see the Dual Language and the Classic program become integrated somehow in order to quell teachers’ “frustration,” the “racial separation” of students and parents, and the underlying sense of educational “inequity” (12/21/09, #3). While Cheryl makes broad suggestions, she is unsure of how a new integrated program might look, “I don’t know what the real solution would be. There is a lot of debate over just doing away with the whole program entirely and integrate the kids in every year like you would in any other school” (12/21/09, #3).

Anita, Donna, Kelly, and Berta have a different perspective on what the future of the Dual Language program should be, but they all agree that it should continue. The main difference between these four teachers and Cheryl is that they are directly involved in the Dual Language program, which is potentially the cause for this change in perspective. All four of them hope for more time during the day dedicated to teaching Spanish, and Kelly specifically advocated for an extended school day. Anita particularly would like to see other languages added to the program to make it “more intensive” (12/29/09, #3). Using European countries as an example, Anita stated:

So few countries speak only one language. [Multilingual education] doesn’t take away from the first language. It’s just adding something and opening doors for people to communicate and to know each other or to share knowledge and still celebrate that they have a background in a culture and the first language. That’s what I meant when I said heavy or intensive. It’s just giving more time and more opportunities for development (12/29/09, #3).

More time spent teaching and learning both English and Spanish was not the only hope these teachers had for the future of the Dual Language program. Berta and Kelly mentioned the

need for a clearer Spanish curriculum that is developed in collaboration with other teachers.

Another concern of Kelly and Donna is the need to “recruit actively” for teachers that are qualified to teach in a Dual Language program (Kelly, 2/12/10, #3). In addition, all four of these teachers spoke of the importance in strengthening the connection between Spanish-speaking parents and the school community.

During the final interview, the participants were asked about the future of the English-only policy in Massachusetts. Not only did they respond with what they think will be the likely future, but they also talked about what they hoped would happen, which didn’t always coincide with each other. Among the teachers there was a mix of optimistic and pessimistic views of the future of Ch. 71A, as well as a sense of insecurity over what might happen. Despite her desire for the law to change, Cheryl expressed pessimistic views about the continuance of Ch. 71A:

I think yeah, they’re gong to stick with [Ch. 71A]...the people that are making the policy, have they been in the classroom? Have they been in a school? Do they know what it’s like? I don’t know and it’s frustrating because I do feel like a lot of things we hear don’t make sense on an every day, classroom level...I don’t see it going away anytime soon. I wish it did (12/21/09, #3).

Donna contributed similar sentiments about the policy:

I don’t think it’s going to change. They have too many battles to face for them to face that battle...unless things really go down and they would revisit bilingual education in some shape or form. I don’t think it’s a good climate either politically or academically. I really don’t...the way things are perceived, the more Spanish that someone has the less likely they will have academic success. I don’t think that’s going to be changed (1/27/10, #3).

On the other hand, Anita and Kelly held more hopeful views for the future of Ch. 71A. Both have experienced a change of tone in conversations with colleagues and believe in the

possibility that a reexamination of the policy could be on the horizon. Anita expressed these sentiments:

I like to be optimistic...the pendulum could come back. I think I see that people are talking about it more. Wherever I go I can hear people talking: "This is not working," or "This is not really as great a thing as it was presented." I don't see the thrill in people saying, "Oh yes, English-only!" like back when it happened...actually, I hear concerns about, "I don't think this is working. This has to be changed" (12/29/09, #3).

While Kelly is still unsure of the future, she too is optimistic:

It's hard to say, but the Massachusetts Council of ELL Administrators has been somewhat active in that. They feel like there's much more openness because they're looking at it from the current push towards education reform, which is a little more progressive: let's really look at what works, let's be open to anything, let's try anything...they're hoping that within these new education reform bills there is open language that leads the way to alternatives (2/12/10, #3).

These beliefs expressed by the participants not only reveal their personal views on the issue, but also its complicated nature. Having lived and worked through the 2002 elections when Question 2 was passed and then turned into Ch. 71A, they understand the realities of the political process. Their understanding influenced what they think the future will hold for this English-only policy. Donna expressed her awareness of how the political system works: "It's hard to change and go back after something has been changed, unless there is data...but even that's not helping" (Donna, 1/27/10, #3). Anita also explained her outlook: "Deep in my heart I believe that this is just politics. That's what it is. It's not necessarily Science and it's not necessarily an approved method or the best education-wise. I think it's all politics" (12/29/09, #3).

When asked about their own professional and personal future aspirations, the participants honestly shared their individual hopes. Donna and Kelly talked about their interests in pursuing

positions at the administrative level, but are unsure of when they would actually make this change. Donna admitted:

I vacillate between going back into administration work versus teaching. I see this year there is a void, especially with the process that we're going through now at the school in terms of [looking for a new principal]...so I go back and forth on that and I say that I couldn't possibly do this right now...I'm very content being in the classroom. Where can I make the most change? (1/27/10, #3).

Kelly expressed her interest in becoming a principal, especially after the position opened up at the Bayside School. However, she has also enjoyed her current district-level administrative job:

There are two possible routes. One is to be much more localized out of a school, which I feel is probably my true calling in terms of leadership at that level. I really like working with faculty. I like working with kids...there's no job that's more important, I think.

Great schools usually have great principals. So with that said, I also like what I'm doing [now] (2/12/10, #3).

Kelly continued to discuss the time commitment that comes with being a principal and does not want to take that on in the near future because of her young daughter.

Cheryl and Anita see themselves pursuing something different for their professional futures, but still hope to stay connected to teaching. For nearly a decade now, Anita has wanted to become a reading specialist and sees that in her near future. Her intention is to get her Master's degree in reading, obtain a reading specialist teaching certification, wait for her children to graduate from high school, and then move south to a warmer climate. In the short term, Cheryl intends to continue working at the Bayside School, having finally reached a comfortable level with her teaching. In the long term, Cheryl possibly sees herself pursuing a different career for part-time work.

Berta also hopes that she will be able to continue teaching at a school with a Dual Language program. However, our discussion about her personal and professional aspirations was

overshadowed by other concerns. Our last interview took place shortly after the faculty meeting when they had to vote for the teacher representatives for the new principal search committee. Two separate votes took place and both times the three teachers chosen were native English speakers from the Classic program. During this interview, Berta expressed her frustration with other colleagues' negative opinions of the Dual Language program and teaching in Spanish. Berta only mentioned her professional future briefly, "Hopefully I am still in the bilingual program. It would be nice to have respect and recognition from your peers and from the educational system. We don't have it" (1/29/10, #3). In other interviews, all of the participants also expressed concern that there was no one representing the interests of the teachers and students in the Dual Language program on the search committee.

Theme Two Summary

In conclusion, all of the participants used their individual biographies to make sense of the new language policy. The participants used their past bilingual and bicultural experiences to evaluate Ch. 71A. As a result, their positive experiences as language learners did not always coincide with the purpose of the English-only policy. There is a disconnect between what they value as bilingual and bicultural individuals and what the policy has put forth. The participants do not all agree on what the future of the Dual Language program should be or what the future of Ch. 71A will most likely be. They made sense of the policy through their feelings of personal investment in the present and future of the school and the Dual Language program. Ch. 71A has threatened this investment, which has resulted in uncertainty and a mixture of optimism and pessimism for the future.

Networks & Divisions

The third theme that emerged from the interview data is the notion of networks and divisions that existed and continues to exist between teachers and parents and among colleagues within the Bayside School. The participants spoke very positively about the support they have received from parents and other teachers both prior to and after the passage of Question 2. This

support took the shape of collaborating, building relationships, and believing in the Dual Language program. However, the participants also shared stories of negative experiences that they have had with parents and teachers. As a result, divisions have emerged out of these disagreements, which the participants believe negatively affect the Dual Language program and therefore influence their understanding of the language policy. I begin this section by presenting the networks and divisions with parents and will then discuss those among the teachers at the Bayside School.

Parent Networks

In a dual language program, there is diversity among the parents with regards to language, ethnicity, background experiences, country of origin, and socioeconomic status, to name a few. The participants were very aware of these differences and how they result in parents having different relationships with the school and teachers:

There are different groups of parents. There are parents who are very proactive. They are sort of like the English-speaking parents who are very proactive in the school, sign their kids up for the Two-way program, and wanted the Two-way program. Some are parents in bilingual families. One parent is Spanish-speaking and one is not, [but] felt very strongly about that and were disappointed with the fact that the program was being cut down in terms of the Spanish side. There are a lot of other parents who aren't as active.

They like the general idea [and] brought their kids there. [They] like the teachers and trust that they're doing a good job (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

Over time, the involvement of Spanish-speaking parents is something that Donna believes is changing for the better: "I think that as the years have progressed the Spanish-speaking parents feel more comfortable in the school" (12/30/09, #2).

The parents in the Dual Language program value language learning and want the program to be successful. This parental support is crucial for the life of the program (Donna, 11/24/09, #1 & Kelly, 2/12/10, #3). At the start of the Two-way program at the State Street

School in the late 1980s, there “was a tremendous buy-in from the community” with “a very active group of parents” (Donna, 11/24/09, #1). A certain amount of cachet was attached to the program at the State Street School and then at the Bayside School, which was a result of parental support. Anita is confident about the positive influence of this support: “I can tell you with no doubt that our program is standing strong somehow because of the parents more than anything else...parents here are a big part of the pie. And they want their kids to be here” (Anita, 12/14/10, #1). Berta also expressed her unquestionable conviction that there is a strong group of parents who desire this program: “I am teaching students of higher middle-class from English-speaking homes and the parents are invested in the kids learning Spanish. They are appreciative of that” (1/5/10, #2).

The participants were not shy about expressing their belief that the connections with the parents and their involvement in the Dual Language program are needed for its survival. According to Anita, “The parents are a great push for [the Dual Language program] and they are also a big voice” (12/29/09, #3). Maintaining the health and strength of the parents’ support of the program is a principle concern of theirs because “the only hope we have is the parents” (Berta, 12/17/09, #1). Not only do the teachers appreciate the support, but they are aware of how much influence the parents, particularly the PTO, have within the school and district:

The PTO, they have the power...I don’t think we [teachers] have any clout...if [the district] decided to close the Dual Language, they will have to answer to the parents. Not all of the parents, but the PTO parents. I think we have the support of the PTO parents.

That’s why we are here (Berta, 12/17/09, #1).

Despite the force and power of the parents, the participants also showed concern for the future of the program, as previously discussed. This concern was heightened when the faculty at the Bayside School had to choose representatives for the search committee for the new principal. Parent representative also had to be chosen and the participants were worried that there were no

native Spanish-speaking parents asked to participate. However, some English-speaking parents in the Dual Language program noticed their absence:

I also saw the American parents, white blondes, asking in the school council why there is not a bilingual teacher on the committee. Music to my ears! (Laughing) Music to my ears! You know what? It made me more committed. (Crying) I'm sorry. Those are the parents who give me their children for 180 days and some people don't think it has any value, but the parents think it does. (Crying) So, it meant a lot. I'm going to teach them better (Berta, 1/29/10, #3).

Clearly, the positive interactions that the participants have had with the parents have a constructive impact on the Dual Language program.

Parent Divisions

The participants divided the parents into different categories through their speech. Based on their experiences with both English-speaking and Spanish-speaking parents, the participants compared these two groups to each other, talked about each group separately, and addressed concern over the parents' influence at the Bayside School. Currently within the district, there are concerns about student placement because parents are able to choose which of the seven elementary schools to send their child to. This current system favors some parents (English speakers who know the city) over others (non-English speakers who are new to the city):

The problem is that because of the school choice issue parents who are well educated find out about what they think is good. Then they build a little cohort and that becomes the place to go and pretty soon everybody wants to get in. They get the applications in and...to make a long story short the places that are left end up getting the kids who come in at the end whose parents don't know the system or are late arrivals (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

While this concern has been around for many years, the access that Spanish-speaking parents have to the Bayside School has improved, but still lags behind that of the English-speaking

parents: “The Spanish-speaking parents have more access now, but it’s not of the same caliber [as the English-speaking parents]...the cadres of people that are PTO are white” (Donna, 12/30/09, #2).

In our first interview, Cheryl brought up the division and differences that she perceives among the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking parents, which also separates the Classic and the Dual Language programs:

On the Classic side, I have a lot of the middle-class parents who give me supplies and come on field trips and help me out...a lot of the lower income families who also happen to be the Hispanic families, they don’t have money for field trips, they don’t have school supplies, the parents don’t come to parent teacher conferences. So the teachers on the Classic side I think are afraid, “Oh I’m going to have those parents and I’m not going to get what I have anymore. I’m going to have to deal with *those* parents.” That’s the divide (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1).

Cheryl contributed to this notion of division in our final interview by relating it to the race and socioeconomic status of the parents:

There's the racial separation that is starting to happen because now a lot of the native Spanish-speaking families will say, "Well, okay, we'll just go to [the Dual Language] side because the teachers can communicate with us." The native English- [speaking parents] are gravitating towards the Classic side. There seems to be a big racial divide, which I think is the main reason. It's a matter of inequity. When you ask parents for beginning of the year supplies or to come in and volunteer and help us out, the Classic side ends up getting more because of the socioeconomic levels of the two groups (12/21/09, #3).

In addition to comparing the two groups of parents, the participants also talked about the drawbacks of each group separately. Participants categorized the Spanish-speaking parents as “more limited” linguistically, which may contribute to the fact that “they are not vocal. Yeah,

they want [the Dual Language program], but they are not outspoken” (Cheryl, 12/14/09, #1 & Berta, 1/29/10, #3). In general, the Dual Language program is considered to have “less parental support” because the Spanish-speaking parents do not attend as many conferences or school events as the English-speaking parents (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3).

Right after the passage of Question 2, Anita felt a change in how she was treated by the English-speaking parents:

The attitude with some parents in the beginning...I felt that it was a bad thing to be a Hispanic around here. I felt that I was not good or not good enough because we spoke another language, other than during the baseball season! During baseball season you feel welcome and you're greeted and smiling, but other than that forget it (12/14/09, #1).

While Cheryl did not receive any of this negative treatment, she witnessed it among her students' parents. She shared one instance in particular:

We have some resistant parents and that translates to the kids. We had one mother who refused. She did not want her son to say the Pledge of Allegiance in Spanish, "And if I call the school and I hear Spanish I will hang up the phone!" I said, "Well, you're going to hear Spanish when you call" (11/23/09, #1).

On a different occasion, Cheryl witnessed a Spanish-speaking family being forced to move from a table by an English-speaking family at a school event. As a result, Cheryl came to this conclusion: “We need more representation in the school and in school activities and in the PTO, so that these families feel like they are part of it. I realized that night that they don't feel welcome in our school” (12/21/09, #3).

The notion of the parents' power and influence in the Bayside School is another point of division among parents and teachers. As discussed in the previous section, the participants realize that parental support and involvement in the Dual Language program have contributed to the program's survival over the past decade. However, some teachers believe that this participation has come at a cost:

We've had real problems with parents having entrée [to the school and the classrooms] when they shouldn't...these are white parents i.e. stakeholders. They get pretty much whatever they want...if anything unites this faculty, it's that the parents have too much entrée (Donna, 1/27/10, #3).

Anita expressed a similar sentiment: "The PTO here is very strong, sometimes too strong" (Anita, 12/22/09, #2). While the teachers recognize the importance of involved parents who value and support the program, there needs to be a balance: "I still think you can get parent buy-in without making them feel like they're running the school" (Donna, 1/27/10, #3). Berta however, expressed a different opinion:

Here there is a group of teachers with strong personalities...they are a group against the parents. Surprisingly, their positions can be very difficult to understand...they think that the school should be stricter with the parents, "[The parents] have too much leeway, coming and going." I am the other way. I said to the parents, "The door is open, come anytime you want"...I have problems with the parents that don't come to school, not with the ones who live here! (1/29/10, #3).

Among the teachers and parents at the Bayside School, there are clearly divisions that exist. Mixed into these divisions is a sense of appreciation and pride for the parents' support and involvement in the Dual Language program. Despite the divisions, the participants recognize the value these parents bring to the school and the important place that they hold in their professional network.

Teacher Networks

Throughout the interviews, all of the participants shared their experiences collaborating with other teachers in the Bayside School, in the district, and across the state of Massachusetts. The participants talked about why creating these networks with other teachers is important. This network of colleagues that each participant goes to for support includes both individuals and

groups of people. The participants also mentioned what collaborative experiences they hope for in the future.

Building and maintaining positive, support networks among teachers is an asset to the Dual Language program. It is important to talk not only to other teachers in the school, but across the district and the state about what good ELL instruction looks like (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2). With collaboration comes a more knowledgeable and involved staff. Creating opportunities for involvement paves the way for increased interactions among colleagues:

I think the more that people have been involved in that kind of teaching and the more that there's a good relationship between bilingual people, the bilingual/ESL community, and the regular education teachers the stronger that is. Because then I think communication happens (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

As a result of these interactions, Anita believes that a sense of awareness is created that positively contributes to how others view the Dual Language program:

It's being exposed to the program and they might turn around and say, "Wait a minute, this isn't bad, this is good." They can become sympathetic and you can feel like, "Oh good, we have somebody else on our side now" (12/14/09, #1).

Individual colleagues have had a significant impact on the participants and how they've made sense of Ch. 71A. In the initial round of interviews, Anita, Berta, Cheryl, and Donna spoke about their interactions with Kelly and recommended that I speak with her. It is because of these requests that I asked her to be the fifth participant in this study. They said that she had been in this school system for a while and was a real support for them as the Dual Language program was changing (Donna, 11/24/09, #1 & 12/30/09, #2). As a previous ELL teacher at the Bayside School, Kelly "could give a good retrospective" and was a "read advocate" for ELLs (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1 & 12/21/09, #3). The participants mentioned a special education district administrator, Carol, who also used to be a teacher at the Bayside School. Cheryl turned to Kelly and Carol for support when she began teaching at the Bayside School. The participants also

mentioned other individuals in the Bayside School, such as Valerie, the bilingual support staff, and Maria, a teacher of Mexican-American descent. These teachers have helped the participants with ideas for lessons and units, with translations, and with classroom materials.

Networks among teachers at the Bayside School were created as a result of membership to different groups. Prior to the passage of Question 2, the teachers in the Two-way program “talked to each other, but there wasn’t a central place to go and talk about what we as a department were going to do about this” (Kelly, 1/29/09, #1/2). After the passage of Question 2 and as the program began to change, the Dual Language teachers “had meetings and we kind of created some themes for each grade to be taught in Spanish. But then that changed later on and everybody was pretty much on their own” (Anita, 12/14/09, #1). Although the collaboration has decreased in the past few years, Berta is thankful for the team effort among the Dual Language teachers: “That’s how we are surviving” (12/17/09, #1).

The teachers also belong to grade level guided reading groups. For the most part, these groups of teachers meet every two weeks. During these meetings they talk about student progress, choose books, and plans lessons. “Working as a team” is helpful because the participants can share ideas and get feedback from colleagues (Berta, 12/17/09, #1 & Anita, 12/22/09, #2). Cheryl talked specifically about the team of fifth grade teachers and how they have been a positive support for each other:

I like our team dynamic in fifth grade. We really cooperate and like I told you in the past, we don’t separate Dual Language and Classic. We really integrate. We really have some great projects that the kids do (12/21/09, #3).

There are also networks that the participants mentioned that extend beyond the Bayside School. For example, the district group of ELL teachers has become more cohesive: “Overall, I think we’ve built a little bit more of a team spirit with the people who are part of our group” (Kelly, 2/12/10, #3). The Bayside School has collaborated with the Spanish Embassy in Boston on

various projects and for hiring staff. The participants briefly mentioned the connections they have made as a result of their attendance at statewide seminars and conferences.

These individual and group networks have had a positive impact on the participants and they expressed hope for these collaborations to continue and/or expand. Cheryl's hopes include: "I would like to see our staff continue to be supportive of each other," and "I just really want to see the K through 8 model used more. I want to use the middle school kids more in the elementary school classrooms" (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3). Berta shared her desire to see the Dual Language teachers and the guided reading groups meet more often and collaborate on additional projects (1/29/10, #3). Lastly, Kelly expressed her interest in expanding the teacher/mentor program: "I think everybody should be mentored by somebody who is a great teacher. You should know what it looks like and sounds like to be in a great classroom" (2/12/10, #3).

Teacher Divisions

The participants divided the teachers of the Bayside School into different categories through their speech. Based on their experiences with their colleagues, the participants talked about the effects of these divisions for the program, the school, and themselves. Clear lines were drawn between grade levels, the Classic and Dual Language programs, and the "old" (State Street teachers) and the "new" (Bayside teachers). These divisions played a large role during the faculty discussions about choosing representatives for the new principal search committee.

When asked about the current school climate among the teachers at the Bayside School, the participants responses were downbeat. The participants identified divisions that have negatively affected the overall spirit of the faculty. According to Cheryl, "Morale is low the past few years, we're very divided. It's very frustrating. I feel like I'm back in high school again. I relate with the new teachers and I relate with the veteran teachers" (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1). Donna attributed the overall low morale with the school having a "lack of direction" (12/30/09, #2). The participants also talked about a general feeling of negativity coming from other teachers. Anita sees this play out in the form of priorities:

It's easier to cancel a meeting, an ELL meeting, than cancel any other type of meeting. And at trainings...you can hear teachers say, "Here we go again." The attitude of the teachers, it also doesn't welcome...it's like [ELL concerns are] not even in second place. If it has to do with the ELL students or instruction it's like, "Oh, again?" (12/14/09, #1).

Specifically, the participants mentioned a division existing between the upper and the lower grades in their kindergarten through eighth grade school. This division is nothing new:

Very divided. Very divided. You know, when I came to this school, they had division. They have divided, but they were divided way before I came here. The thing is that it's like two schools in one. One is the middle school and one is the elementary (Berta, 1/5/10, #2).

Cheryl also sees this division because teachers don't communicate from one grade level to the next about what is covered in the twice a week Spanish class offered in the Classic program (11/23/09, #1). Some of this division may have to do with a lack of common time for the teachers to plan together: "Because it's a big school, it tends to be really separated. I rarely see the middle school teachers or the first floor teachers. I actually think it would be really neat if we had more time [together]" (Cheryl, 12/14/09, #2).

Another division that the participants perceive exists between the "old" State Street School teachers and the "new" Bayside School teachers. Cheryl senses a divide between the mindset of the teachers:

What I still see is more of an attitude. There are some teachers who really miss [the State Street School and the Two-way program] and they still lament the loss, "Oh, remember the good days? Remember when we were like this?" And there are other veteran teachers who just feel, "Hey, you know what? Oh well. Move on" (11/23/09, #1).

This division has created different groups of teachers within the Bayside School and Cheryl feels that "it's a little cliquey" (12/14/09, #2). The relationship among teachers may still be affected by events that took place during the transition from the State Street School to the Bayside School.

According to Kelly, “There was a sense from the prior superintendent that the people at the [State] Street School were a little overpowered and needed to be brought into line” (1/29/10, #1/2). Bringing those teachers “into line” manifested into a negative mindset about the teachers in Two-way/Dual Language program.

The participants shared their ideas about why the division between the Dual Language and Classic teachers exist. According to Berta, Spanish is not only one of the languages of instruction, but is also a subject matter with value:

There is a lot of division. There is a group of teachers that are very bitter with the program. They would like the program to go away. They say that it's not right to glorify one nationality and they think that's what happens when you emphasize Spanish. What I say is that at this point, and it's true, is that it comes from a group of immigrants, but Spanish is an academic subject too (1/29/10, #3).

The division is further complicated by some of the teachers in the Classic program pushing for everything to be in English:

It is very separated between the Classic and Dual Language sides. I see a lot of Classic teachers saying, "Well this is the Classic side so everything will be in English." I see some of the older veteran teachers with that mindset of, "No, I'm not interested in learning Spanish. I'm not interested in putting an effort out there. If I have to communicate, I'll have Sonia do it in the office." So I'm wondering if as [teachers] have come up through the Classic thread, this is what they're used to (Cheryl, 12/21/09 #3).

According to Kelly, this division was partially created by the movement of students from the Dual Language into the Classic program:

Sometimes there were [Classic] teachers feeling like if there's a problem with a kid then [he] gets sent to them. There was tension. There was some backlash from people who had their own issues about whether or not teaching a second language was a good idea. (1/29/10, #1/2).

Therefore, the division between the Dual Language and the Classic teachers manifested itself over time and is closely connected to those teachers' opinions of the Spanish language.

Another division talked about by the participants exists between the teachers and the school and district administration. Donna partially attributes the faculty's low morale to their view of the administration:

The morale is low for two reasons...one, the lack of direction and two, the ongoing divisions with the administration that have exacerbated and frustration with the system because a year and a half ago people were just let go (12/30/09, #2).

To a certain extent, perhaps the faculty are concerned about their own job security and that of their fellow colleagues. Cheryl feels supported by the administration, but knows that fellow teachers have "a lot of negativity towards the administration" (12/14/09, #2). As a result, Cheryl expressed, "I think the climate could be better. I think there's a lot of negativity. I think a lot of people are waiting for some kind of major change with regards to the administration" (12/14/09, #2). Berta also shared her frustration with the administration and hopes "that the new administration is going to be a little more supportive" (1/5/10, #2).

The most recent division that has occurred within the Bayside School was caused by the search for a new school principal, which began while I was conducting the interviews. During faculty meetings, the teachers have disagreed about who the three faculty representatives on the search committee should be. While this is a current event within the school, the participants' concerns relate to the divisions that have already been discussed in this section. I conducted interviews with Donna and Berta shortly after the faculty meetings occurred and they talked about the teacher division at length. Some divisions manifested themselves along racial lines:

People have now divided. Not necessarily intentionally, but people are divided. They are divided and...they're bringing it down to race. I don't necessarily think that's the reason [for our disagreements]...division by race...any time that's brought into the mix it gets very heated (Donna, 1/27/10, #3).

Other divisions have appeared along cultural lines: “That’s the other thing that angers the English-speaking teachers, when the Spanish-speaking teachers said that [the candidates] have to be bicultural” (Berta, 1/29/10, #3). The entire faculty voted for the teacher representatives on more than one occasion, which led to “a lot of bitterness and fighting and nastiness, disrespect, unprofessionalism” (Donna, 1/27/10, #3). During these discussions, “Old issues came up and it digressed to personal attacks” (Donna, 1/27/10, #3). Berta also felt that some of the tensions are a result of past events: “Some people were crying, saying that the bilingual group years ago got preferential treatment” (Berta, 1/29/10, #3).

Theme Three Summary

The networks and divisions among parents and teachers have influenced the participants’ sensemaking about Ch. 71A. Because of these relationships, the participants have placed their colleagues and the parents into two different categories: those who support the Dual Language program and those who do not. The participants made these distinctions based on linguistic, racial, and economic factors. Their networks have affirmed their beliefs in the benefits of the Dual Language program and the drawbacks of the English-only policy. On the other hand, the divisions they experience put the program and their beliefs in jeopardy. Among the participants, there are differing beliefs about the role that parents should play in the school community that affect how they have interpreted the policy. There is also contention regarding the unequal treatment, representation, and access of Spanish-speaking parents in particular. The networks and divisions with colleagues and parents have either helped or hindered the participants’ efforts to make sense of the policy change.

Contextual Factors

The fourth theme that emerged from the interview data is the contextual factors that surround a school. These factors are connected to the Bayside School, the state, and the American society at large. The participants believed these factors influenced, both positively and negatively, how they made sense of Ch. 71A. The existence of these additional factors and their

effects show that it is virtually impossible for me, as the researcher, to isolate the instances when the participants only talked about their experiences with Question 2 or Ch. 71A. All of their experiences with this language policy are also linked to other contextual experiences, issues, and concerns, which I discuss in this section. I divided the contextual factors into three separate sub-themes: (1) Bayside School factors, (2) Massachusetts state factors, and (3) larger societal factors. Each of these sub-themes is discussed below.

Bayside School Factors

Throughout the series of interviews, all of the participants mentioned additional factors pertaining to changes within the Bayside School. In addition to the new English-only policy, these factors also played an important role in the teachers' responses. Despite specific curricular and time changes to the Dual Language program that directly affected teachers, students, and parents, the factors discussed below were also influential.

According to Kelly, the Two-way program established at the State Street School in 1988 began to decrease instruction time in Spanish in 2001: "I think it was about when we moved into the new building at [the Bayside School]" (1/29/10, #1/2). This was the year prior to the passage of Question 2. The school changed both location and names during this transition, and it expanded to include grades six, seven, and eight. This expansion continues to be a challenge nearly ten years later: "We're trying to utilize the K through eight aspect in the school because we haven't quite done that yet" (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1). On top of all of these changes, Perla became the new principal of the Bayside School in the fall of 2002.

At this time, Kelly was at the Bayside School working as an ELL reading specialist and recalled that in addition to the change in language policy at the state level, there was a great deal happening at the school:

It was changing from an elementary school to a middle school with not a lot of resources. The district didn't have a lot and the leadership there was not strong. A lot of people were just trying to hang on and make sure there weren't discipline issues. A lot was

going on at the same time [as Question 2] and people's main preoccupation was that as much as anything...people got very heated about some other issues. What's the tone of the school? There was a feeling that there was a drop in the level of expectations around discipline and self-control coming from the top and the feeling that the school was in serious trouble (1/29/10, #1/2).

Kelly continued by saying:

I really think that those things sometimes superseded whatever else was going on in the building. A lot collided at the same time...all of that was happening at the same time: moving into a new building, adding on those grades, a new administrator...and a little bit of backlash against people who were outspoken and *then* the law comes. It was like a perfect storm (1/29/10, #1/2).

A perfect storm is a critical situation that arises from a rare combination of unpredictable, and often negative factors. Within this perfect storm, Question 2 was only one among a combination of adverse factors that affected the Dual Language program at the Bayside School.

During this tumultuous time, the community within the new Bayside School was trying to establish a cohesive identity, which is a struggle that is still in process. The current reputation of the school is closely linked to the Dual Language program and the Two-way program that it once was: "There's still some sort of cachet [among the parents in this city] and what's left over from the Two-way program" (Donna, 12/30/09, #2). The uniqueness of the program appears to be an important factor because "that's what distinguishes [the Bayside School] from all the other schools in [the city]" (Anita, 12/29/09, #3). When asked about the future of the program, Cheryl was unsure of what the school's identity would be without the program: "That's what makes our school unique. Aside from being a K through 8 [school], it's being a dual language school. Would [getting rid of the program] take away our identity? I don't know" (12/21/09, #3).

The current questionable state of affairs within the program is further complicated by its past. Figuring out the identity of the school and the program is nothing new:

That was always an issue in terms of: what's the identity of the school? That was an old issue. When we say we're a Two-way school people who aren't in the program get mad about that saying, "That's not all that we are." There were a lot of identity issues that were in the school because it got the most publicity for [the Two-way program]. We would be in the paper for showing kids doing something cute and bilingual. There was some resentment on the part of other staff members because [the Two-way] was the cool program (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

Cheryl also shared her impressions of the program and its identity when she was a substitute teacher at the State Street School:

Everyone was on the same page when it was [State Street], before English-only. I feel like [the Two-way] was a program that everyone was invested in and excited about and it made us stand out, "This is what our school does. This is something great that we do." And when our focus fell apart, I think a lot of the teachers lost heart...it's like people took away something that we're proud of and excited about (11/23/09, #1).

While the State Street School and the Bayside School went through various changes over the past decade, so did the Two-way and Dual Language programs. The participants identified the schools' and the programs' reputation among other educators and the district community as an additional factor that influenced their view of Ch. 71A. At times, establishing their identity as a school with a bilingual program conflicted with both the language policy and community members.

Another contextual factor was the participants' concern about finding and keeping teachers that are qualified to teach in a dual language program. According to Kelly, "It takes a lot to run a Two-way program. It's very hard to find staff. That's the biggest thing" (1/29/10, #1/2). Donna also spoke about the challenges of finding teachers who are linguistically qualified: "[In the mid 1990s] the quality of teachers went down. It was difficult to get good Spanish-speaking teachers...we always wanted native Spanish-speaking teachers, but if you can't get a native

speaker you have to go with somebody else” (11/24/09, #1). While finding teachers who have the abilities to teach in a dual language program is clearly a challenge, Anita believes that the benefits are worth it:

It’s a positive thing because students can see teachers coming from other countries who speak the language and they come and share their lives and aren’t necessarily Latino or from the Caribbean. [They’re] other faces, other cultures. It’s been a good thing. I hope it continues (12/14/09, #1).

Once the school has hired qualified teachers for the Dual Language program, the next step is retention, which has been a struggle for the Bayside School. Anita stated, “Every year so many teachers are in and out” (12/22/09, #2), which according to Berta, has had a negative impact on the program, “I think they had a very strong program here for a few years, but the teachers left” (1/5/10, #2). The lack of teacher retention has made it hard to collaborate with colleagues and keep track of student progress:

I have seen a lot of turnover with the Spanish side of the Dual Language. Part of it, I think, is that we get a lot of [foreign teachers] who might be coming for a year or two and are kind of transitory (Cheryl, 11/23/09, #1).

Cheryl continued by saying:

I’d like to see us continue to get teachers from different backgrounds. I think that’s important for our kids...we had a teacher from Spain. She’s here for a year and then she’s going back. There seems to be a lot of movement in the Dual Language side (12/21/09, #3).

When asked what she meant by “teachers from different backgrounds,” Cheryl responded, “Teachers who have emigrated, so they can relate to kids who are immigrants” (12/21/09, #3).

The final Bayside School factor that had an impact on the participants’ interpretation of the policy is the student population. Starting in the mid-1990s, Donna saw the attrition rate of white, native English-speaking students increase “because of the [parents’] fear that the kids

wouldn't do as well [on the state's standardized tests]" in third and fourth grade (1/27/10, #3).

However, the standardized testing was not the only reason:

I know that for a while there was a lot of attrition, my daughter being one of them...[the parents were] not believing in the [State Street] school for a variety of reasons. Lots of the children who left went to private school (Donna, 1/27/10, #3).

While some teachers, administrators and community members may think that the attrition began with the passage of Question 2, some of my participants believe that it started after the Massachusetts Education Reform Act was passed in 1993.

The participants discussed how the policy directly impacted students. Berta in particular expressed her concerns about this on multiple occasions. Some of Berta's concerns included how best to help immigrant students socially transition to life in the United States due to problems at home, separation from parents, and depression (12/17/09, #1). Berta was unsure of how the experience of immigrating and the Dual Language program at the school would affect the "psyche of the child," "I don't know what are going to be the long-term effects for them" (12/17/09, #1). From Berta's perspective, there is a lack of support offered to the ELLs who are new to the country and are often the most needy (1/5/10, #2). Throughout her interviews, these were the most serious concerns to Berta:

When I see the newcomers, that's where the shock is. They look traumatized and I think they are referred a lot for all kinds of problems. There is no joy. They are depressed and that's not how education should be (12/17/09, #1).

While the current program may not offer all that Berta hopes for the ELLs that are new to the country, she firmly believes that the current Dual Language program is building the confidence of both native English and native Spanish speakers. In particular, the native Spanish speakers find "sheer pleasure" in reading and writing in their native language (Berta, 1/29/10, #3).

An additional aspect of the student population in the district and the Bayside School that the teachers mentioned is changing student demographics. Cheryl, Donna, and Anita talked about

the differences that they witness within their classrooms. Cheryl stated, “I’m actually getting more minority students in my classroom...I find I have more diversity as the years go on and I don’t know if that’s because the Dual Language program isn’t what it used to be” (11/23/09, #1). This year, Cheryl has noticed that the ELLs are more excited to learn, have increased knowledge of vocabulary, and positively collaborate with other students (12/14/09, #2). Donna has also noticed positive changes in her students: “The demographics of [the city] have changed. We’re not getting as many new [immigrants]. These kids have a stronger [Spanish] language base, which is good because now I’m teaching these kids literacy in Spanish” (11/24/09, #1). In collaboration with the principal, the majority of the ELLs in the first grade are being placed in Anita’s homeroom. Anita sees this as a positive change because she can better address their needs as a group (12/22/09, #2).

Kelly’s perspective is a bit wider after eighteen months as the district’s Title III Elementary Coordinator, but she recalled the changing student demographics from the Bayside School:

A lot of the [ELL] kids in the program weren’t bilinguals...they just don’t have a good strong Spanish base either. There were too many things that they just didn’t know the words for. The issue of playing off the strength of the kid was complicated (1/29/10, #1/2).

The kids that Kelly was referring to are first or second generation children born to native Spanish speaking parents. Berta agreed with Kelly’s assessment of the ELLs’ linguistic knowledge: “The first language has been lost. Every year the students come with less Spanish...they have become, to a certain extent, stronger in English, but they’ve lost their first language” (Berta, 12/17/09, #1). However, Kelly then identified an additional concern:

[Poverty is] the issue. For poor kids we don’t do as well by [them]...We should be looking at what do we do that is different for the kids who don’t come from two parent homes that go to the Science Museum (1/29/10, #1/2).

In addition to many immigrant families with parents working multiple jobs, the socioeconomic status of other students' families is "solidly middle class and you have some upper middle class," but "the range can be huge" in terms of students' needs (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2). This diversity of backgrounds and experiences, as well as languages poses a challenge for the Dual Language program: "You're trying to balance those enrichment activities with the mediation that lots of kids need around other things" (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2). As Kelly has pointed out, addressing the needs of all of the students in the Dual Language program goes beyond their linguistic needs. The native English speakers and native Spanish speakers can also come from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds, which present additional factors to consider.

Massachusetts State Factors

Massachusetts state factors have influenced the interpretation of Ch. 71A for the participants. In 1993, the Massachusetts Education Reform Act was passed and consequentially the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS) was designed. The MCAS is a standardized testing program that tests all public school students and measures their performance on the state learning standards. In 2005, the Massachusetts English Proficiency Assessment (MEPA), a specific form of the MCAS, was established to assess ELLs' language proficiency in reading and writing. The MCAS are first administered in third grade and then alternate grades and test topics through tenth grade. The MEPA however, is administered to all ELLs, every year, from kindergarten through grade twelve. The participants talked about how both the MCAS and the MEPA have played a role in how they make sense of the English-only policy.

The participants have all had experiences with the MCAS and expressed their opinions about these tests, both positive and negative. Being a fifth grade teacher, Cheryl is responsible for preparing her students for the Reading Comprehension, the Mathematics, and the Science and Technology MCAS exams. This task is a challenge: "I feel like it's getting harder and harder with the MCAS. Spanish isn't on the MCAS, so we need more time now for Science and Social Studies" (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3). She also talked about how her instruction time has been

infringed upon: “I feel like slowly things are taken away. You can’t do this big project because that takes away from MCAS” (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3). From her point of view, the English-only policy has had a positive impact on test scores:

I think [the English-only law] probably is good for things like MCAS scores and testing scores because if [the students] are getting a set of vocabulary in one language, maybe they’ll pick it up quicker...I imagine that if they are learning in two languages maybe it takes them longer to learn two sets of vocabulary, I don’t know (12/21/09, #3).

Donna has also had experience with this line of reasoning. After the Education Reform Act was passed in 1993, concerned parents took their children out of the Two-way program at the State Street School saying that, “The kids aren’t doing well [on the MCAS] because they speak another language. They don’t do well on the MCAS because they’re not learning English” (Donna, 11/24/09, #1). This struggle continues today: “If the MCAS [scores] don’t improve, the program could be, from what we hear, the Spanish will be eliminated” (Donna, 12/30/09, #2). Clearly there is pressure for the students to perform well on the tests. Common planning and professional development time are used to discuss the MCAS. However, teachers also receive mixed-messages from the administration about teaching in Spanish versus preparing for the MCAS (Donna, 12/30/09, #2). After their first year in the United States public school system, ELLs are required to take the same tests as their native English-speaking peers: “Now I have three [ELLs] in my class this year who [arrived to the country] last year and they had no English. I am teaching the five paragraph essay for the MCAS and they have to do it!” (Donna, 11/24/09, #1). This requirement clearly frustrates educators.

Berta agrees that it is too much pressure for ELLs to have to take the MCAS so soon after their arrival to the United States (Berta, 12/17/09, #1). According to Berta, the MEPA exam is “brutal” and she equated it to a “crime” for students to have to go through it (12/17/09, #1 & 1/29/10, #3). The pressure to perform on the exams permeates much of what Berta does in the classroom: “Everything depends on the MCAS, the test. It’s the hoops that the system puts in

front of you and if you can jump through those hoops then you are holding your own” (12/17/09, #1). Berta realizes that “the MCAS have been designed for a type of student to shine” and for other students it can be like a hole that they can never get out of (Berta, 1/5/10, #2 & 1/29/10, #3). When asked about a rewarding experience Berta responded, “Believe it or not when I see the MCAS and I see a lot of *Proficient* and I see the Hispanic students get *Needs Improvement*” (Berta, 1/5/10, #2). Despite her negative feelings towards the MCAS, these exams can also contribute to her sense of accomplishment as a teacher.

As a first grade teacher, Anita is only directly involved in administering the MEPA to her ELLs. She did not talk a great deal about how the MCAS affects her instruction on a daily basis, but she did share her overall impression of the testing:

I’m talking about teaching and the outcome of that because a lot of teachers say, “Okay, my children are passing the MCAS...I’m doing a great thing,” and they are, but they don’t follow up with what else is going on or what comes after that. I can’t just look at the scores or results from one year. I have to think ten years from now (12/14/09, #1).

Anita expressed the importance of having a long-term view of her students’ success: “I’m not teaching them for one year. I am teaching them for the rest of their lives...it’s not my responsibility just to prepare them for the end of the school year. I think it’s more than that, beyond that” (12/14/09, #1). For Anita, both the MEPA and the MCAS exams provide a one-time score of student achievement and she believes that her job as an educator is to teach her students knowledge and skills that last a lifetime.

Kelly also expressed some reservations about how the MCAS affects ELLs: “I’m not on board with the testing matter. Telling me that you should care about how a kid does in the first year they get here when they take the test” is unreasonable (1/29/10, #1/2). The pressures to do well on the MCAS stem back more than a decade: “The Two-way program [at the State Street School] started to get much less Two-wayish because of the pressures around education reform and getting kids to speak English and getting them ready to take the MCAS” (Kelly, 1/29/10,

#1/2). To a certain extent, these pressures have led to “a fair amount of [teachers and administrators] just deciding what they want to do on their own under the umbrella of getting the MCAS scores up” (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2). The response to these pressures is complicated by teachers’ relationships with their students: “I think people are operating also under a lot of pressure to produce on the test and teachers feel very connected to their kids, of course” (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2). In our final interview, Kelly spoke more about the contentious relationship between the teachers, the pressures to perform on the MCAS, and meeting the needs of the students:

Is MCAS or any other standardized test incorrect? I don't believe it's completely incorrect because I think that in some ways it has raised the bar. I know that in Massachusetts it has in terms of what good instruction should look like. People are doing things differently since that test was implemented. Sadly, all good things can be twisted and I think it's gone way overboard. I think saying to a 10th grade student arriving from another country that he has to pass MCAS this year or he won't get a diploma and therefore will have no options, that's criminal. It's foolish. Of course that kind of stuff doesn't make any sense. Some objective measures need to be in place to measure progress and to hold all of us accountable. People should welcome that. In general, the teachers resist the craziness. Good teachers want to look at the results of the MCAS and see what kids are missing and see that they understood this (Kelly, 2/12/10, #3).

As shown in this sub-section, the pressures of education reform and standardized testing that come down from the state of Massachusetts have influenced how the participants have made sense of the English-only policy. Their concerns are closely linked to their own definitions of students’ success and what is considered to be fair treatment of ELLs.

Larger Societal Factors

There are larger societal factors at play in the participants’ interpretation of the policy. Donna and Anita spoke of the sense of fear that they have felt from others and society at large,

which for them was part of the motivation behind the English-only policy. According to Donna, the campaign supporting the passage of Question 2 addressed the concerns certain citizens have about the growing immigration population in their communities because she has seen a “phobia” of “anybody who doesn’t speak English, any foreign person” (Donna, 12/30/09, #2).

Acknowledging and reacting to these concerns contributed to the passage of Question 2: “When you’re playing into the fears of people, that’s always going to win. That’s how [the proponents of Question 2] were successful” (Donna, 11/24/09, #1). Anita expanded on this concept of fear by relating it to a feeling of losing control:

I think the American people are afraid that if they have many languages or allow people to speak or be taught that they are losing control. I could be wrong, but that’s my feeling. “Oh no, you’re here, speak English,” and that’s it. I think it’s great that everybody should speak English, but not English only. If there is not that consciousness that [speaking another language] doesn’t take away, is just adds more to your life and to the richness of your culture. Holding onto English only is to me a way of saying that they are afraid that if it is not English only then we don’t have control (12/29/09, #3).

In addition to this sense of fear, the participants spoke of how important it is that speaking more than one language, particularly Spanish, should be valued by our society. In Donna’s experience, she has witnessed others equate speaking Spanish to being less successful academically and professionally (12/30/09, #2). As the policy changed, Anita could see that speaking Spanish “was a cool thing and then it turned into a not so cool thing” (Anita, 12/14/09, #1). Berta shared a similar experience that negatively impacted her work in the school:

Teaching to the children in Spanish was looked at as a bad thing...you were looked at as an incompetent teacher. They would go and see if you could teach English and how well you could do everything in English...I just couldn’t deal with that. It was oppressive. It was not just that I couldn’t teach in Spanish, it was that they got angry and they questioned you as a teacher (12/17/09, #1).

Despite these challenges, Anita would like the school's program to expand to include additionally languages: "I wish that they embraced being open about other languages. We have it anyways. It's with us anyways. It's all around us" (Anita, 12/29/09, #3). Kelly also spoke extensively about this issues, with particular attention to its impact on students and their families:

You will absolutely not have success for kids if you don't have an openness, an acceptance of the languages of parents and children. There has to be a recognition that it's a positive thing to speak another language and that you should build on that and develop that and use that. If you don't have those things in place then you are creating a negative spiral downward for kids" (1/29/10, #1/2).

Theme Four Summary

In this section, I presented the contextual factors that influenced the participants' sensemaking process of Ch. 71A. All of the factors discussed collided before, during, and after the passage of Question 2. The participants added the new language policy to the list of other factors that were altering their day-to-day experiences at the Bayside School. The combination of these factors conflicted with the identities of the school and the Dual Language program. The participants have interpreted this conflict as a threat to who they are. However, interpretations of changing student demographics differed among the participants.

There is a clear disconnect between the short-term goals of the state, as evident in MCAS testing and the language policy, and the long-term goals of the participants. Their fear of losing control over what and how they teach in the classroom is consonant with the public's fear that the participants have experienced. There was also contention among how the participants viewed the impact of MCAS. Cheryl believes that Ch. 71A contributes to better MCAS scores and Kelly is certain that it has raised student expectations. While Berta is frustrated by how much the exams dictate what she can do in the classroom, she also expressed feeling proud when her students score well. These factors influenced the participants' sensemaking by exacerbating an already challenging situation.

Leadership

The fifth and final theme that emerged from the participants' interviews is the importance of leadership. While the teachers, students, and parents played a crucial role in the establishment and maintenance of the Two-way program and now the Dual Language program at the Bayside School, the presence or absence of leaders played an equally important role. Throughout the interviews, the participants spoke about memorable leaders that they have lost, an influential leader that they currently have, and attributes of leaders that they need and hope for in the future.

Leaders that We Lost

Often times when discussing leaders during our interviews, the participants spoke about them in the past tense. People who the participants considered leaders existed at both the school and district levels. They were leaders in the sense that they guided, motivated, and supported the teachers and students of the Two-way and Dual Language programs. The participants admired and respected these leaders and lamented their loss when they left. Some of these leaders came to this school district because of the growing immigrant population (particularly Dominicans and Puerto Ricans):

At that time there was a large population coming...there was a program and there were leaders and they were very invested that the students should be educated in the first language and develop literacy as a foundation. So that was a good match for me. But there were leaders...I was just somebody who came to do the job they wanted (Berta, 12/17/09, #1).

These leaders were involved in the establishment of the bilingual programs in the district's schools and particularly the Two-way program at the State Street School. As time went on, the leadership shifted and left, leaving a void:

Everybody was pretty much on their own because that teacher moved to another school and we have somebody else that doesn't have the same level of knowledge, language, and

desire to continue [directing the committee]. So since then, it has changed many times (Anita, 12/14/09, #1).

Berta expressed similar feelings as Anita:

As the years went by, the leaders died. It kind of went away. I don't know how. A person that had the vision died. Older people started to move out. So we were left in a vacuum and then the [English-only] law came. Then it just went nowhere (12/17/09, #1).

One of the leaders that Berta is referring to is Annette.

In 1986, Annette became the director of educational equity for the district's schools. Annette had a PhD in educational leadership and bilingual education from Boston University, was the treasurer of the Massachusetts Association of Bilingual Education (MABE), and was fluent in Spanish. Donna worked very closely with Annette in the late 1980s in order to open the State Street School and establish the Two-way program there. Not only did Annette allocate federal funds to be used in the district's bilingual programs, but she also brought in many grants to support these programs (Donna, 11/24/09, #1 & Berta, 1/29/10, #3). In 2000, she was diagnosed with brain cancer and in January of 2001 she passed away. Nearly a decade later, the participants still feel her loss deeply and believe that it impacted how the Dual Language program took shape at the Bayside School.

There were many characteristics of Annette that made her a memorable person in the district and the Bayside School. One of her main contributions to the district and the State Street School was her success at attracting "good teachers" for the bilingual programs:

Annette was really aggressive...she was a very interesting person. She was a passionate believer in bilingual education. Not even just bilingualism, but equity for language minority kids. She wasn't the greatest in terms of classroom leadership, but she really recruited aggressively to people that she thought would be good. She built up this critical mass of people who were good teachers, in her opinion, and our opinion too (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2).

Not only did Annette recruit these teachers “through her connections” across the state and the country, but she also “played a role in creating a sense of department and of cohesion as a group. That helped to bring in good people and therefore have more ideas” (Kelly, 1/29/10, #1/2). In addition to being an influential administrator, Annette was also “a great grant writer,” bringing in funds for teachers to attend professional development seminars and conferences having to do with bilingual education.

When the State Street School moved into the new Bayside School building, it was a turning point for many reasons that have been discussed in the previous themes. The loss of Annette during this crucial transition also had an impact. When asked about when instructional time in Spanish began to dwindle in the program, Kelly responded:

It was prior to 2002. I think it was about when we moved into the new building at [the Bayside School] and there was no leadership there. Annette died and left a vacuum. She had a particular slant, which she pushed strongly and she believed in it passionately. Without that center, there was a lot of talk about literacy issues and how we need more time in literacy. My own take on it is that I feel like we have lacked leadership, completely, for quite some time. We've had people doing what you need to do to run the department...taking care of business, but no leadership (1/29/10, #1/2).

Kelly continued by saying:

Truthfully I think that since Annette, there hasn't been, “Here's what we're doing, whether you like it or not”...she was great at networking. She was great at the big picture...she was strong about the bigger issues and the issues of respect, inequity, and making sure that kids are getting what they needed in the district...when she left there was nobody (1/29/10, #1/2).

In a sense, the district and the school lost their visionary, leader, and advisor and have yet to find her replacement.

Leaders that We Have

Perla is the most predominant leader for the participants now. Generally, Perla “wants good things for the school” and wants “to keep the [Dual Language] program going,” which are both things that the participants appreciate (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3 & Berta, 12/17/09, #1). The participants believe that Perla supports them a great deal financially by finding “extra money for little things” or for books they need in their classrooms (Cheryl, 12/14/09, #2 & Berta 12/17/09, #1). Perla also shows support by seeing “how hard [the teachers] work to have a more positive as opposed to a negative approach to things” (Donna, 12/30/09, #2). Another aspect of Perla that the participants see as an advantage is her tricultural (Argentinean, Irish, and American) and bilingual (Spanish and English) background.

According to Cheryl, Perla “has had some successes” during her tenure as principal of the Bayside School. Perla’s openness to starting new programs in the school has had a positive impact on her staff: “I think that probably the stronger voice [among the faculty] is the voice of change because our principal has started new things...the trend right now is, what do we need to do to improve? She's doing things” (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3). However, the participants’ comments about Perla were overlaid with the knowledge that she is retiring at the end of the school year. They realize how instrumental a role she has played in keeping the Dual Language program alive:

I know that retiring for her is something that she needs to do...in terms of the program at Bayside, I'm concerned because I know that Perla has been kind of a shield, trying to keep the program as alive as possible. She has fought for us to have it. I can say that because I know that is a fact. The advantage that we also have with her right now is that she's not only bilingual, but she's also tricultural. She has been in this country for a long time. She comes from another part of the world. She also has experience teaching in Florida and in different communities. She has not just been a principal and a teacher, but she has had other positions in between...she was an assistant principal at [the district's

middle school]. She has enough experience to keep the program going to the level that it is right now, which is not the greatest, but it could be worse (Anita, 12/29/09, #3).

Clearly the participants value the positive impact that the Perla has had on their school, their district, and their profession. However, after her retirement announcement, it is within this sense of uncertainty that the participants discussed what is needed in terms of leadership at many levels.

Perla has been the principal of the Bayside School (grades kindergarten through eight) for the past eight years. After conducting the interviews with the other five participants, I contacted Perla and conducted one, forty-minute interview because of how much they mentioned her. Perla's position as an authority figure within the district and the Bayside School greatly influenced her responses. While at times her ideas and beliefs are in line with the rest of the participants, it is important to recognize that Perla was speaking from a drastically different perspective.

Perla's perspective of curriculum and time is different than the participants' views. Perla disagreed with splitting time 50/50 between teaching in Spanish and teaching in English. Overall, she is pleased with the changes they have made in the Dual Language program: "I really am proud of how far we've gone with the Spanish in such little time. I believe that it wasn't a question of the amount of time, but the quality of what is done" (2/7/10). Perla made no reference to the lack of a written curriculum or the decreased level of classroom support that the participants discussed. However, Perla does coincide with some of the participants' views on creating an extended day and the importance of the end of the year bilingual presentations.

Perla's biography also includes bilingual and bicultural experiences, which clearly impacted her view of the policy and the Dual Language program. Perla shared her experiences growing up in another country: "I'm an Argentine. I was born in Buenos Aires and my family, although they are 100% Irish, have been in Argentina for five generations. I went to a bilingual school and I spoke English and Spanish all my life" (2/7/10). Perla was both a teacher and a principal in Argentina for all grade levels before moving to Florida. She was there for fourteen

years, taught ELLs from migrant families, and was involved in teacher training at the state level. Perla was then an assistant principal for three years at a middle school in Massachusetts and in 2002 became the principal of another school in that district: the Bayside School. Perla believes the school was the perfect match for her: “This school was invented for me. The school is exactly what my entire background is all about” (2/7/10).

Upon becoming principal at the Bayside School, Perla realized that she needed to get to know the members of the community and how they worked. In order to understand the parents and the teachers, Perla actively studied the program by walking around to the classrooms and watching what was going on. Also, she talked to many parents and teachers and realized that these networks were crucial to the survival of the Dual Language program: “You have to do PR. You have to sell a program” (2/7/10). Perla also expressed her confidence in the parents particularly:

I have a strong group of parents who feel very strongly about keeping the Spanish and they are very, very outspoken when the superintendent spoke to the PTO about the process of finding a replacement for me. You need the community to support you. I'm sure they're going to fight for it to continue. I'm not that worried (2/7/10).

Similar to the participants, Perla realizes that the strength of the Dual Language program is dependent, in part, on the parents' support. However, Perla's view of the staff is slightly different than the participants; she did not mention any divisions or separations. According to Perla, the relationship among the faculty is quite the opposite:

Right now the school is in a very good place. We have some very, very talented teachers who are doing the Spanish side...we have some really good people and because we work closely as teams, we have built up the closeness of the teams (2/7/10).

Considering Perla's bureaucratic position, it makes sense that she would mention the positive aspects of the school and program, not the negative ones.

In terms of the contextual factors, Perla mentioned the issues of student attrition from the Two-way and the Dual Language program and increased parental concerns with the MCAS scores. These issues came to her attention when she became the principal, which was right after the move into the new building:

When I arrived at the Bayside, it was falling apart. Parents were taking their kids out...the numbers were falling...I found out that the reason why parents were taking their kids out was because they were afraid. MCAS was looming and becoming more and more powerful (2/7/10).

As the leader of the school, Perla was also receiving “pressures from the central office from people questioning why the kids” were learning one week in English and one week in Spanish. Perla did not mention teacher turnover or the development of a school identity as factors that played a role. However, she is very aware of the multifaceted nature of the Bayside School’s context: “There’s a lot that goes on in the school that is even beyond the actual curriculum and the actual teacher efficiency and the actual children behavior. It goes way beyond all of those things” (2/7/10).

On the theme of leadership, Perla shared her thoughts about the, yet to be determined, new principal. Perla hopes that the candidates are both bilingual and bicultural. She expressed her personal investment in the future leader of the Bayside School because she cares deeply about the teacher, students, and their families. A crucial aspect of the new principal would be her/his ability to build meaningful relationships with the students and parents:

I would want that person to have empathy. We have a population of kids that need support and need pushing and need encouragement. You have to understand them and you have to love them, to be able to do all of that. I would want this person to have a vision, to have a vision of some place they want to go...they have to have a lot of energy (2/7/10).

Perla is as anxious as the participants are to find out who her replacement will be.

Leaders that We Need

Currently, both the Bayside School and its school district are in a transitional period with its leadership. Out of the nine schools in the district, five of them are searching for a new principal and the district is searching for a new director of Special Education. Since Perla announced her retirement, the participants are intensely aware of the changes that may be in store for their school and the Dual Language program. These concerns have not only partially consumed the thoughts of the participants, but also those of their other colleagues: “Everyone is thinking of all of the changes that might take place” (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3). The participants expressed mixed feelings of hope and worry with regard to these changes. They realize the importance of finding a new principal that respects the mission of the school and the Dual Language program, but are unsure about the pool of potential leaders:

With the changes in the way that people perceive a second language being taught in the schools, there is a void of administrators that really have the passion and the knowledge and probably just even the dream to be a part of what's going on in bilingual education (Donna, 1/27/10, #3).

Despite this uncertainty, the participants were confident in the characteristics that they hope to see in a new principal. They would like someone “who has worked with a diverse population,” is bilingual, and “believes in a bilingual program” (Cheryl, 12/21/09, #3 & Anita, 12/29/09, #3). The participants also expressed concern about the candidates’ vision for the school and about “how they interact with the Latino community” (Donna, 1/27/10, #3). Berta was very adamant about one characteristic in particular: “Respect. Respect for the Hispanic community. Respect and not to look on it like a burden, but just give an equal value to both [languages and communities, English and Spanish]. Equal value” (1/29/10, #3).

The strength and resolve of the new principal is another crucial aspect that the participants mentioned. They realize that it is a demanding job and the new principal will encounter opposition:

I'm worried about whoever takes over here, not just to be prepared for the position, but what is the view regarding bilingual education. I just don't know. I worry about that. Maybe somebody will work even better or harder to keep it going because that's what distinguishes Bayside from all the other schools in [the city]. We have to have somebody that believes in it too and is willing to take the risks and speak up for that (Anita, 12/29/09, #3).

At this point, there are many likely outcomes for the new principal, the school, and the Dual Language program. Whether the new principal supports bilingual education or not, there will be other pressures to respond to and tangible consequences for teachers and students:

We could be here in the next five years and the program is thriving. On the other hand if a new principal succumbs to the pressure that everything has to be more Math and more English then we won't have time. The sad thing is that there are students and it does affect them that we do Spanish. They do well...so we need a principal with the vision, but they get a lot of pressure from the Department of Education (Berta, 1/29/10, #3).

Theme Five Summary

The effects of the presence and absence of leaders at the Bayside School and within the district were woven throughout the participants' responses. The concept of leadership has influenced the participants' sensemaking of the policy by allowing them to name allies who have worked to protect and advocate for bilingual education. The leaders of the past and present affirm their feelings about bilingualism and biculturalism, which are directly challenged by Ch. 71A. The participants relay the hope that if they had more leaders, then the problems with the new policy would be solved. Donna and Kelly have considered leadership roles due to the current leadership void, but the other participants do not see themselves as taking on that role. For the participants, the power to make changes in the policy and the Dual Language program will come from those in defined leadership positions.

Summary of Findings

The findings presented in this chapter address the first and second sub-questions of this study: (1) What themes emerge when teachers discuss the issues surrounding the language policy and program at their school? (2) How do they use these themes? Through analyzing the participants' interviews, five major theme emerged: (1) time and curriculum, (2) influence of biography, (3) networks and divisions, (4) contextual factors, and (5) leadership. Findings were organized and discussed thematically to express the most salient conclusions and to answer the sub-questions. These themes are not isolated events, but rather recurring patterns within and among the five participants' interviews.

The first theme of *time and curriculum* included the participants' impressions of how the Dual Language program has changed as a result of Ch. 71A. Aside from changing the name (Two-way to Dual Language), the participants spoke about the lack of a written Spanish curriculum, the new time constraints, a positive change that has occurred, and the effects of the changes on students and the support they receive in the classroom. As with the reading of any text, the participants looked at the new policy through the lens created by their own *individual biography*. Their bilingual and bicultural experiences of the past and present play a crucial role in their interpretations. The participants discussed the *networks and divisions* among teachers and parents that are affected by Ch. 71A. These complicated relationships have resulted in both benefits and drawbacks for the teachers, the students, the parents, and the Dual Language program at the school. The parents' connection to the program is a big part of why it still exists, despite the English-only policy. Through the years, a group of the parents and teachers have believed in and fought for the program.

In addition to the actual policy, the participants mentioned other *contextual factors* connected to the Bayside School, the state of Massachusetts, and our larger American society. Changes caused by these factors created additional friction between Ch. 71A and the participants' beliefs. Their views of *leadership* also affected how they made sense of the language policy and

the transitions that are yet to come for the Dual Language program and the school. The participants recognize Perla's role as a protector and a negotiator on the school and district level. Perla showed her solidarity with the teachers through her positive statements about the Dual Language program, but was also speaking from a different position. Talking from a bureaucratic stance, it is harder for her to acknowledge her personal beliefs. Since the principal's office speaks through her, Perla took up the issues differently than the participants.

According to these findings, the participants have defined Ch. 71A in Massachusetts according to the Dual Language program at the Bayside School. For them, the policy *is* the program—their on the ground, in the school, day-to-day realities. With the exception of Kelly, they briefly mentioned the macrostructure of the policy and mostly focused on the microstructures of the Bayside School and their classroom. They used different code words for the policy that directly connect back to the 2002 ballot initiative, such as: Question 2, English-only, and the Unz petition. However, their talk quickly moved back to descriptions and concerns about the program and their daily negotiations with it in the classroom, in the school, and in the community.

The participants' use of the themes described in this chapter reveals the messy, complicated, and often unpredictable nature of policy interpretation. How Ch. 71A interacted with the participants, the administrators, the students, and the parents looked differently on a day-to-day basis for different individuals. It is virtually impossible to predict how one teacher is going to respond to the consequences of the policy and create a particular outcome. The participants' discussions of these themes brought to light the conceptual messiness of debates over English-only and bilingual education programs. At times, the teachers' talk revealed conflict among what they should teach, how they should teach, when they should teach, and to whom they should teach. Therefore, the teachers' use of the themes demonstrates that their own belief systems about language, culture, and pedagogy are not solid and stable, but are rather complex and unpredictable.

Within these themes, there is evidence of multiple discourses within and among the participants. Through our discussions about Ch. 71A, the participants negotiated among various individual and social discourses, deciding which ones to prioritize. The heteroglossic nature of discourse was revealed through the participants' use of a variety of opinions on the issues connected to the new language policy. They were not united on all of the issues, but rather differed in both slight and drastic ways based on linguistic, racial, experiential, and programmatic affiliations. The participants' commitments to the program (and thus the policy) are different and fall along a spectrum of opinions, beliefs, and discourses.

Despite this diversity among themselves, the participants used discourses to create categories and binary distinctions with regards to Ch. 71A. Similar to the initial ballot initiative, the participants see the policy as either black or white with little to no middle ground. At times, this phenomenon prevents the participants from seeing the abstractions or the possibilities for negotiation. In reality, it is impossible to place the participants within the binary distinction that they have created because they existed somewhere between the two extremes depending on the context of our discussions. Interwoven throughout their discourses about the binary distinction are the notions of power and agency—who has it and who does not. Rather than being a fluid, productive entity, the participants consider power and agency to be something that the Dual Language program and the Bayside School have lost over time. As a result, they express a romantic nostalgia for the past with sentimental tones that describe their situations *before* Question 2 in an idealized fashion. The interplay of discourses, the binary distinction, and notions of power and agency aid in our understanding of how the participants made sense of Ch. 71A. All of these issues will be further discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Discussion

In this chapter, I revisit the goals of the study, which were: (1) to explore how teachers in a particular elementary school make sense of an English-only policy that was established as a result of a ballot initiative in Massachusetts, (2) to identify what influenced how teachers responded to the English-only policy, and (3) to ascertain how teachers' prior and current experiences play a role in what they perceive as being the future of their school's Dual Language program. This case study investigated how five elementary school teachers make meaning from their response to school-based changes as a result of the new language policy.

Data were gathered, in a series of three interviews with each participant, to answer the primary research question: How do teachers make sense of a fundamental change in language policy in order to participate in, respond to, and make decisions about language curriculum and instruction? Relevant sub-questions included the following:

1. What themes emerge when teachers discuss the issues surrounding the language policy and program at their school?
2. How do they use these themes?
3. How do teachers refer to their agency and agencies of others in the unfolding of the language policy?
4. How do teachers characterize the responsibilities of their school to the ELL population?

From the interview data, themes and sub-themes emerged that addressed the first sub-question and include: (1) curriculum & time, (2) influence of biography, (3) networks & divisions, (4) contextual factors, and (5) leadership. I attended to the first two sub-questions in chapter four and will address the third and fourth sub-questions in this chapter.

A closer examination of these themes revealed the ways in which they interact with each other in understanding how the participants made sense of the English-only policy. Relationships

among the participants, the language policy, and the discourses they used to discuss the policy are embedded within these themes. The participants' sensemaking process is complicated by their use of multiple discourses that reveal the following concepts: (1) discourses as heteroglossic layers of meaning, (2) relationships between individuals and among groups as defined by binary distinctions, and (3) the use and circulation of policy through power and agency. This chapter will examine these concepts and discuss how they are evident in the ways that the participants made sense of Ch.71A at the Bayside School in Massachusetts.

Discourses: Heteroglossic Layers of Meaning

The participants' talk about Ch. 71A is heteroglossic and affirms the existence of multiple discourses on various levels. The phenomenon of heteroglossia is evident in the presence of two or more voices, which are sometimes conflicting discourses, within each participant's context (Bakhtin, 1981). For the participants, heteroglossia occurs on multiple layers: within an individual, between individuals, among groups, and among individuals, groups, and institutions. The occurrence of heteroglossia emerges from particular contact zones within these layers. A contact zone is the point at which discourses clash and an individual decides to abandon one over the other or reshape them to serve particular functions (Bakhtin, 1981). This decision is made both consciously or subconsciously while the discourses partially belong to the individual and the other simultaneously.

In this study, the participants prioritized certain discourses over others as they made sense of Ch. 71A. This process of prioritization allowed the participants to infuse the discourses with their own personal intentions. For example, the participants viewed Ch. 71A through a lens that is tinted with their own experiences with bilingualism and biculturalism, as shown through the second theme in chapter four. In addition, their social interactions with colleagues, parents, students, and leaders influenced their interpretations and the discourses they used to express those interpretations. Therefore, the presence of multiple discourses, or voices, reveals that both individual and social forces are at play.

The notion of dialogism is also useful in understanding the heteroglossic layers of meaning that are evident in the participants' use of discourses. Dialogism is the use of different discourses, whose interactions are crucial to the interpretation of a phenomenon. Therefore, not only are the use of multiple discourses important, but also the ways in which they interact to create an interpretation of a particular text, event, or situation. In this study, participants clearly use diverse discourses to describe their reactions to Ch. 71A and these discourses interact in interesting ways. For example, on one hand are the participants' discourses that lament the devaluation of the Spanish language and Spanish speakers as a consequence of Ch. 71A. On the other hand are the discourses of appreciation towards the white, English-speaking parents who support the program. There is tension created between these discourses and the distinct purposes that they serve.

The discourses that the participants use to make sense of Ch. 71A display heteroglossic layers of meaning that work together in diverse ways. Their talk reveals both individual and social forces, as well as the interactions among them. Within various contact zones, the discourses play against each other. Through the process of prioritization, the participants included certain discourses and excluded others. At other times, two or more discourses merged and worked together harmoniously. In another instance, difference discourses can stand out from each other, creating either discord or dialogue. The discourses certainly do not exist in isolation, but have a history among individuals, groups, and institutions and stand in relation to each other. The meaningfulness and significance of the discourses derive in part from their connections to each other and from their creation through individual and social forces.

According to the data, there are various contact zones within and among the heteroglossic layers of meaning. These contact zones exist within individual participants, among the participants, between teachers and parents, between groups of teachers, and between the participants and social forces outside of the school. Intrapersonal conflict was evident in the ways the participants made sense of Ch. 71A. For example, Cheryl struggled between a discourse

of an appreciation of linguistic and cultural diversity and a discourse of integration that would merge the Classic and the Dual Language programs. Conflict also existed between Berta's discourse of the importance of leadership and her discourse that excluded her from that category.

Interpersonal conflict also existed among participants in this study. The participants revealed different discourses when it came to the future of their program and of Ch. 71A in Massachusetts. Some of the participants shared optimistic discourses of hope that the pendulum would swing back to their side, while others had more pessimistic discourses of defeat. There was also contention between the discourses used when talking about the parents of their students. Spanish-speaking parents were viewed as less vocal and less involved while English-speaking parents were attributed with the existence of the program. The absence of discourses involving the benefits of the Dual Language program for native Spanish speakers contrasts the presence of discourses about why native English speakers should learn Spanish. The participants also expressed contradictory discourses involving how the teachers and the school should treat parents and how they perceive the support they receive in the classroom.

The participants' discourse use also revealed another form of interpersonal conflict by placing one group of teachers against another. Cheryl's discourse of collaboration highlighted how she and the other fifth grade teachers pooled their resources and divided them amongst each other evenly. According to her, this was necessary because the Dual Language classrooms usually lacked resources. This discourse coincides with her discourse of integration that conflicts with other groups of teachers who function individually. The participants spoke at length about the group of teachers who support the Dual Language program and the group of teachers who do not. These conflicting discourses represent the validation and importance of Spanish instruction on one side and the desire to forget the past and move on, on the other side. The tension between these discourses exists along racial, linguistic, and programmatic boundaries and has intensified recently with the search for a new principal. The participants have made sense of these tensions

and discourses by categorizing groups of people, which will be discussed more in depth in the upcoming section on binary distinctions.

Finally, the participants' discourses revealed contact zones between themselves and the social forces outside of the school. These social forces include pressures from the rest of their school district, the state of Massachusetts, and public opinion. The discourse of the history of the Bayside and the State Street Schools within the district contends with the discourse that the participants currently perceive. With the aid of district leaders and teachers, the State Street School created the two-way program with a mission that appreciated and validated language and literacy development in both English and Spanish. The current discourse within the district about the Dual Language program contradicts the school's history and bilingual roots. As the teachers and parents in the Bayside School fight to keep the present Dual Language program alive, the discourse of public opinion favors an English-only model of instruction. Additionally, the negative discourses about immigrants that swirl around the national debate on immigration reform conflict with the participants' perceptions of their students and their families.

As shown above, there are various contact zones among discourses within the heteroglossic layers of meaning surrounding the participants and the Bayside School. The participants have used particular discourses to position themselves and others while making sense of the consequences of Ch. 71A. This positioning has resulted in intrapersonal, interpersonal, and intergroup points of conflict. The participants use the discourses to describe the changes that have happened and to make statements about what's going on in their school. Our discussions revealed that both individual and social discourses are speaking through them in ways that reveal prioritization. Multiple voices are crashing together in the stories that they tell and the sense that they make of those stories. How the participants use these discourses and the new policy to create binary distinctions and to discuss issues of power and agency will be examined in the upcoming sections.

Binary Distinctions: Representing Individual and Group Relations

The participants used multiple discourses and the language policy to create distinct categories of individuals and groups of people. These categories are evident within the heteroglossic layers of meaning and reveal the historical context of the Bayside School and Ch. 71A. By establishing and reinforcing these categories in their talk about the policy change, the participants position themselves and others within them. In this section, I will identify these categories and the discourses attributed to them, as well as the contexts from which they have arisen. Discussing these categories and how the participants use them contributes to our understanding of how they made sense of the English-only policy.

Through their talk, the participants identified categories that represent a binary distinction with a complicated history. This binary distinction was signaled in the original information packet provided to voters on the Question 2 ballot initiative (Galvin, 2002a). The voters of Massachusetts had to make a choice between a yes vote and a no vote, which were pitted as opposites against each other. Within the media coverage and public debate, these two sides were unofficially labeled as English-only versus bilingual education. Because of this distinction, there was a very clear line made between the two categories that positioned people in one or the other. In order to garner support for their cause, the proponents of each side tried not to blur the boundary between these two categories. As a result, the line between the two categories became deeper as each side became more entrenched in their discourses and beliefs.

Over the past decade, this binary distinction still exists and is evident in the participants' talk about the consequences of Ch. 71A. Although it has a history that precedes the ballot initiative, the participants' discourses mark Question 2 as its unofficial beginning. During the 2002 elections, this binary distinction took on the labels of either being for or against English-only programs or bilingual programs in the public schools. For the participants, these categories have also taken on diverse names and shapes throughout the past decade. Rhetorically, the binary exists within the original ballot and policy documents, but is also present in the lives and

interactions of the participants. Consequently, the discourses used to create these categories have been disguised and, to a certain extent, internalized by the participants. However, through our discussions the participants both identified the binary and presented situations in which the once clear line of distinction has become blurred.

The binary distinction presented during the 2002 elections transformed into other discourses that divide people into two groups and was used by the participants. While discussing Ch. 71A and the Dual Language program at the school, the participants often used this binary distinction as a way to describe the current relationships among groups of people. For example, the participants frequently categorized teachers, students, and parents as either English-speakers or Spanish-speakers. Some of the participants interpreted Ch. 71A as an attack on Spanish-speaking teachers and students who taught and learned in bilingual programs. The current Dual Language program is not entirely seen as a benefit to all students, but primarily as a benefit to English-speaking students. The participants spoke openly about the differences they observed between English-speaking and Spanish-speaking parents as well. While the English-speaking parents are more involved and openly support the Dual Language program, the Spanish-speaking parents are less vocal and less visible in the school.

Another result of this binary distinction is the creation of the two different programs at the school: Dual Language and Classic. The participants often referred to the differences between the two programs, such as student population, curriculum, parental support, and teacher beliefs. At times, the placement of individuals or groups of people in one program or the other reinforced the boundary between them. The participants' discourses strengthened the binary distinction and the belief that the two programs work in opposition to each other, displaying contradictory goals and beliefs. This distinction coincides with the original separation made by the ballot initiative, but has taken on a different name within the discourses used by the participants.

The notions of old versus new and before versus now were also evident in the participants' discourses about Ch. 71A. The "old" teachers who taught "before" at the State Street School supported the Two-way program and the Dual Language program. However, the "new" teachers who teach at the Bayside School "now" may not fully appreciate and support the program. These discourses once again place individuals into two distinct groups: one that supports bilingual education and one that does not. The participants also blurred this line of distinction though by mentioning newer, younger teachers working in the Dual Language program and a group of veteran teachers from the State Street School who have always been resistant to the bilingual programs. Despite the multiple meanings that come from particular lexicon choices and discourses, this binary distinction still reinforces an "us versus them" mentality.

Another way in which this binary distinction manifested itself in the participants' discourses is through the perceived importance placed on one language over the other. In this case, the participants acknowledged that the new language policy meant less time teaching in Spanish and more time teaching in English. Not only did they mention instruction time in the classroom, but also less time collaborating with other teachers in the Dual Language program, which is something that they had done in the past. The participants interpreted the decreased amount of time instructing in Spanish and collaborating for Spanish as a decrease in the value of the language in the Bayside School as well. The importance placed on the English language also resulted from the shifting of priorities at the local and state level. The MCAS placed a great deal of pressure on administrators, teachers, and students to perform, in English. Once again, the line between these two categories becomes blurred. Those who value instruction time in Spanish also acknowledge the pressures to prepare the students to take the exams in English.

The final binary distinction that was evident in the participants' discourses relating to the language policy has to do with the search for a new principal. The participants' interactions with their colleagues about choosing search committee representatives reaffirmed some of the above

distinctions. During the voting process for teacher representatives, the teachers at the Bayside School were being asked to pick a side: monolingual or bilingual, Dual Language or Classic. The participants used discourses that placed their colleagues and themselves into one category or the other. Either they are with us, support the Dual Language program, and want a bilingual/bicultural principal or they do not. This discussion also resulted in two possible futures for the Bayside School according to the participants. Either they expressed an optimistic outlook that included a bilingual principal, the continuance of the Dual Language program, and a change in the language policy or a pessimistic outlook that included a monolingual principal, the dismantling of the program, and no change in the policy.

These categories reflect the original ones created by Question 2, but have slightly changed shape and name over the past decade. Rhetorically these categories exist in the ballot initiative and the policy. Practically, these categories exist in the lives of the participants at the Bayside School and the discourses they use to talk about how they made sense of Ch. 71A. To a certain extent, they have accepted and reinforced this binary distinction that permeated the schools, the media, and public opinion in 2002.

However, the participants have also complicated the binary distinction with their discourses. While they have placed themselves and others in one category or the other, on our side or their side, they have also blurred the line between the binary. At times the participants straddled the boundary with one foot in each side, thus creating a completely new and different category. For example, Anita said that it is not just about English and Spanish, but also about including other languages as well. While Cheryl talked about the importance of valuing the cultural and linguistic diversity of students, she also believes that the Dual Language and Classic programs should somehow become integrated.

Through their discourses, the participants showed that life with Ch. 71A is not just black and white, but there also exists a huge, messy, gray area in-between. All of the additional factors surrounding their lives in and out of the Bayside School combine to complicate the binary

distinction that was created. In a sense, the binary distinction works to simplify this messiness and may perhaps make life and work more bearable at times. However, the teachers, students, parents, and administrators at the Bayside School do not fit neatly into two different categories. Their relationships with themselves and others have changed and transformed over time. Their understanding of their particular situations is not necessarily what it used to be ten years ago. The participants shared discourses about the history, the community, and the politics surrounding this language policy that are neither black nor white. They displayed their life, work, and experiences with Ch. 71A as existing on a continuum, not within a binary distinction.

Although the participants and I may want to place this language policy in the “bad” category, we cannot. By doing so, we would deny the complexities of its existence and its effect on our lives and the lives of students. Placing Ch. 71A neatly into the binary distinction may simplify things for a moment, but it would also disallow further discussion. Instead, the participants’ multiple discourses revealed the importance of sharing our experiences and provoking discussion around this topic.

Foucault (1983) understood this complexity and cautioned us against the creation of a binary distinction, thus provoking discussion:

My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to hyper- and pessimistic activism. I think that the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger (pp. 231-232).

Our language and use of discourses are powerful. The development of distinct categories, such as a binary distinction, can include some while excluding others. Identifying one thing as “good” and another as “bad” can define what we can see and cannot see, what we can know and cannot know. Instead of placing Ch. 71A in the “bad” category, Foucault challenges us to view it as “dangerous” and identify for whom it poses a danger. Marking Ch. 71A as “dangerous” does not

simplify its existence with a binary distinction, but rather opens our eyes and the eyes of others to its complex, messy, gray areas.

This language policy has disheartened and threatened many within the field of education, but it has also created opportunities for others. However, it can be seen as “dangerous” for those who believe in and value bilingual education, such as some of the participants in this study. Ch. 71A also poses a danger for students and their families who speak languages other than English. This policy can be considered a “main danger” by supporters of bilingual and biliterate education because of its exclusionary nature that reduces the choices of teachers, parents, administrators, and communities. In our discussions, the participants described coalitions that they are members of, which work to resist this “main danger.” However, they have come to realize that these coalitions change over time and location, as evidenced by the shifting networks and divisions between and among teachers and parents. These transformations have also caused the participants to alter what they consider to be most harmful or perilous concern for them, their students, or the Dual Language program on a daily basis.

Power and Agency: Using the Policy

The notions of power and agency were embedded within the participants’ discourses about Ch. 71A. Both traditional and more nuanced versions of power are evident in how the participants make sense of and use the language policy. In order to understand the overlap of these two versions of policy, I will discuss each and present the ways in which the participants used the policy through the employment of strategies and tactics that display their agency.

Policy is often a good example of how power circulates among people in their everyday practices. Those seemingly without power, teachers for example, actually have a great deal of it because power draws on the micro-relations among individuals (Foucault, 1978 & 1995). In the traditional sense, power travels from the top-down within a narrow, closed system. This kind of power is considered to be an entity that someone can own and control. Therefore, a policy is written by the legislature and then travels down through the levels of the educational system, only

to be enacted by teachers according to the letter of the policy. However, as discussed in the first two chapters and as seen through the participants' eyes, the power of policy does not function for them in this way.

Foucault (1978 & 1995) presents a more nuanced version of power, and thus policy, that captures how it functions in the lives of the participants from the Bayside School. Power, like policy, does not travel linearly, but is flexible and ubiquitous. Power is relativistic and opportunistic because it has multiple meanings for different individuals, depending on how they choose to use it. Similar to the language policy, power cannot be considered inherently good or bad, but rather its value depends on how it is used, by whom, and the circumstances of its use. Policy and power are generative and capable of producing various outcomes and opportunities for those affected by it, both directly and indirectly. There is nothing that exists outside of the effects of power and discourse (Foucault, 1978 & 1995). Therefore, the participants of this study are all influenced in varying degrees by the power and discourses associated with Ch. 71A.

Under Foucault's notion of power, policy and power do not happen *to* us, but are rather actively used *by* us. Within the context of the Bayside School, the participants used the policy and the opportunities created by it in diverse ways. Kelly has taken advantage of particular opportunities and connections in order to obtain her new job as the district's Title III Elementary Coordinator. Both Berta and Anita have used their experience as bilingual educators to secure their positions in the Dual Language program at the Bayside School. While Donna was originally frustrated by the new language policy, it created new opportunities for her curriculum consulting business before her return to the Bayside School. The power of this policy has been circulating throughout the state of Massachusetts and the Bayside School among individuals at different moments and in diverse situations.

Traditionally, the power associated with a policy is considered to originate in the legislature who writes the policy and then the administrators who dictate the policy at the district and school levels. In this sense, teachers, students, and parents typically are not considered to

display or control the power of a policy. This is not the case for the teachers and parents at the Bayside School. As revealed by the participants, the parents, particularly the white, English-speaking parents, have exerted a great deal of power. According to the participants, the parents have used their influence in the district and the school to fight for the survival of the Dual Language program. Power exists throughout various aspects of the implementation of Ch. 71A and is revealed in the constant struggles and confrontations among members of the Bayside School community that transform, reverse, or strengthen each other.

According to Foucault (1978 & 1995) power and agency take up similar locations and are concepts that everyone is capable of exhibiting. In response to the circulation of power, the participants have used strategies and made choices about the new language policy. Although they may not think so, the participants exhibit power within their classrooms and in their relationships with students and parents. The participants do not necessarily see themselves as wielding power because they define it as something that is oppressive and not productive or capable of creating opportunities for them. The binary distinction that is reinforced through the policy has created labels and categories that are evident in the participants' discourses. These labels make them react at times and develop tactics in order to maintain their sanity and sense of control of their own classrooms. These tactics reveal the circulation of power as a result of Ch. 71A.

Within their classrooms, the participants are in control of the language they use, although instruction time is partially dictated by the new framework of the Dual Language program. Anita, Berta, and Donna discussed the fact that they do not only speak in Spanish during the daily, allotted hour per homeroom. They have developed communicative and instructional strategies that allow them and their students to use Spanish at various times throughout the school day. All three of these participants have numerous Spanish books and materials in their classrooms that they use for the students' benefit daily. Despite her new position's lack of overt authority, Kelly has also developed tactics and wielded power in ways that she believes positively influence ELLs, their parents, and their teachers. Kelly visits classrooms around the district to

talk to students and teachers about their particular contexts in an attempt to become more informed about what is happening with ELL instruction.

The participants have also displayed agency and the use of power through their networks with colleagues and parents. In particular, the teachers in the Dual Language program are aware of the benefits that come from collaborating with each other. Despite the lack of a written Spanish curriculum and a decrease in the Spanish instruction time, the participants realize that by working with each other and making connections between what they teach at each grade level they are able to strengthen the program. The participants are also aware of the power that the parents of students in the Dual Language program have and they use that to their advantage. Specifically, the white, English-speaking parents have been able to fight to maintain the Dual Language program despite Ch. 71A and other outside pressures.

However, the changes in the Dual Language program as a result of Ch. 71A have left some of the participants feeling defeated. The participants have felt more or less power at different times, locations, and circumstances. Over the past decade or so, they perceive themselves as having less control and agency within the school and their classrooms. In addition to the consequences of Ch. 71A, the participants mentioned pressures around education reform and the MCAS, which have tried to dictate more closely what they do at the classroom level. The participants also spoke about the loss of value of the Spanish language, the Dual Language program, and the Bayside School's unique identity, which signal shifting power relations and changes in perspective. In their minds, they see the power going to others as a result of the new language policy. Before, they considered themselves an integral part of the program and the school because it fit their biographies and aspirations, but a great deal has changed in the past decade to alter that.

Nonetheless, these increasing restrictions and decreasing sense of power do not mean that they do not do what they want to do within their classrooms. Throughout the interviews, they clearly expressed different measures of how they see themselves at different points in their

histories. In the past, there were more positive discourses surrounding the Dual Language program and bilingual education, which they were able to relate to on a personal level. Now, there are more discourses coming from the outside that compete directly with their positive ones and to a certain extent have to coexist with each other. The participants use these discourses, realizing the role they play in power relations, but aren't determined by them. At times, the new language policy has left them with little to no hope, but they still use the discourses to position themselves as active participants within the discussion. They choose to prioritize one discourse over another, how to tell their story, and how to represent themselves and others among these discourses. Despite pressures from inside and outside of their individual contexts, the participants display agency through the ways in which they describe their relationships with each other and with their students in the classrooms.

Conclusions

When I began to conceptualize this study a couple of years ago, I envisioned the participants making a clear, direct connection between the English-only law and the downfall of bilingual education. Based on my own experiences with the policy and my beliefs about the value of bi/multilingualism, I put forth a very negative perspective. In a way, I had created my own binary distinction with me on one side and English-only policies on the other. As I began to prepare and conduct this study, my thinking shifted for two reasons. One, I started to reflect more deeply on my experiences teaching in Massachusetts and realized that everything could not be placed in either a "good" or "bad" category. Two, I thoughtfully listened to the stories of the participants, which confirmed the existence of the multiplicity of ways to view and make sense of Ch. 71A. Our discussions revealed the complexities of this policy and what it has meant for individual teachers, the Dual Language program, and the Bayside School.

The findings of this study show that the participants from the Bayside School make sense of Ch. 71A through the five themes discussed in chapter four. A description of each theme and an understanding of the relationship among the themes display the complex, local nature of policy

interpretation. Within these themes, the participants prioritized particular discourses over others because of their individual biographies, beliefs, and experiences. Their prioritization also showed remnants of social forces as they made sense of the language policy. It is at this juncture where my research diverges from Coburn's (2001, 2005, & 2006) research on sensemaking. This study took a close look at the language that teachers used when describing their personal biographies: past, present, and future. Social forces are evident within their talk during a series of in-depth interviews. By talking with the participants on more than one occasion about Ch. 71A, I gained a multifaceted sense of what has influenced their sensemaking process. Looking from a social theory standpoint, I can see the social interactions that have taken place around the teachers speak through them.

The participants' interpretations of Ch. 71A reveal a diverse, nuanced notion of sensemaking that contributes to prior research. As shown by this study, sensemaking is more than the establishment and maintenance of networks and alliances with other colleagues in a school setting. There are influential forces, both individual and social, that affect how teachers prioritized the discourses the use to make sense of the policy. Investigating overt, visible interactions with others is not sufficient; their talk needs to be examined. In-depth studies of these discourses and their interactions at the local level with a focus on the content of their talk will provide insight into teachers' sensemaking. Of significant importance is the acknowledgement that sensemaking happens differently for individuals over space and time. The heteroglossic, complicated nature of their talk demonstrated conflict at the intrapersonal and interpersonal level. The participants of this study did not all go through the same sensemaking process of Ch. 71A. The diversity among their experiences and interpretations revealed the influence of individual choice and agency within sensemaking.

The participants do not have a consonant position with regards to Ch. 71A, but it is a unified position. The participants' discourse use revealed a common agreement about the presence of a binary distinction in their thinking about the language policy. They all have a sense

that this binary distinction, which is left over from the language used in the ballot initiative, limits their thinking about power and agency. According to the binary, they either have it or they do not; someone is either on their side or they are not; you either support bilingual education or the English-only policy. Such thinking reduces the possibilities of concepts or people existing at points between the two extremes. In addition to limiting their thinking, their belief in the binary distinction also limits what they think they can do and what they actually try to do.

So, what does all of this mean? The participants' use of Ch. 71A, the ballot initiative, and sensemaking are key areas of this study that highlight the messy, complicated nature of policy work. First of all, policies that are created at a distance fail to capture the localness of the places where they are meant to be implemented. A policy such as Ch. 71A that was developed as a ballot initiative and put to a popular vote places the decision-making about the education of ELLs into the hands of individuals who may not be aware of the complex issues surrounding their education. Perhaps it is by design that outsiders should dictate how and what educators can teach by restricting their instructional options, but doing so denies the reality of the local enactment of policy.

Within the policy realm, we should strive to understand the local level, thus viewing teachers as simultaneously policymakers and implementers. In-depth interviews with individuals within their locations will allow us to recognize individual and social discourses at play on the local, contextual level. Teachers live and work at the local, micro-level on a day-to-day basis so that is where we need to look in order to understand how they make sense of policy. Understanding teachers' interactions with policy is not a linear process, but requires the gaze of a local lens in order to reveal the dynamic of individual and social forces that are present.

According to Foucault (1983), "You can't find the solution of a problem in the solution of another problem raised at another moment by another people" (p. 231). This statement highlights the importance of understanding the local context and an individual's interactions within that context. The original creators and proponents of Question 2 presented a solution, the

English-only policy, to a problem they perceived within the field of education. While this solution may have worked for a different group of people, in a different location, at a different point in time, it failed to do so at the Bayside School in Massachusetts because the local actors and contexts were not considered *a priori*.

Second, there are concerns that come with the ways in which this policy was originally presented to the voting public. The nature of a ballot initiative lends itself to a simplified issue with only two sides for the voters to choose from: *yes* or *no*. Question 2 was no exception. Presenting such a complicated issue as bilingual education in such a simplified manner is inherently problematic.

As previously mentioned, the issues surrounding the language of instruction are conceptually complex and messy. However, right from the beginning these complex issues were placed into a binary form in vague, simplified language. At the time, no one could predict how this mandate would take shape or what it would mean down the road for schools, teachers, and students. The original conception of Question 2 was an attempt to simplify complex concerns about ELL education by presenting a singular outcome. The participants of this study revealed that a singular outcome would never have been possible due to their constant, unpredictable negotiations of the policy with students, parents, colleagues, and the curriculum.

The third area that highlights the messy, complicated nature of policy work is the teachers' sensemaking of Ch. 71A. In their use of the themes described in chapter four, the participants made sense of the policy by taking an abstraction (Question 2, Ch. 71A) and making it close, personal, and local. By doing this, the participants equated the policy change to visible changes in the Dual Language program at the Bayside School. Their experiences and talk are complicated by the heteroglossic discourses that they used to describe their contexts. These discourses were unpredictable as they shifted and changed over space and time. Among and within individual participants there are contradictions that show how sensemaking is not a simple, linear process.

In a sense, the desire to simplify policy interpretation, a conceptually messy English-only mandate, and teachers' sensemaking are evidence of the existence of both authoritative and internally persuasive discourses (Bakhtin, 1981). The original mandate and the teachers' sensemaking of the policy help to reinforce the authoritative discourse of the binary distinction that is simple, convenient, and attractive. At the same time, their sensemaking of the policy also revealed contradictions as they shared personal, internally persuasive discourses. These discourses brought their individual biographies and day-to-day realities in their classrooms to light. Dialogism is evident in the ways that the participants layered authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. Just as they blurred the boundaries of the binary distinction, they also moved between multiple discourses. This movement and meshing of boundaries contributes to our understanding of the messiness that is inherent in policy work and sensemaking.

As the participants have shown, the topics surrounding this policy are anything but simple and it is nearly impossible to place everyone's opinions, concerns, and experiences into two neat categories. The voters, much like the participants, are forced to take a side or not vote at all, thus not allowing their voices to be heard. While for a certain period of time, I took comfort in the binary distinction; this study has complicated my concern and pushed me out of the binary. In that sense, I am no different than the participants and most people are not—this is what is troubling in policy work. When policy is created and enacted from a distance, the local actors (educators, students, parents, administrators) are implicated in what the state does, but may not actually see themselves represented in the policy. As a result, we may be forced to take sides, keep quiet, or leave. This possibility of the marginalization of local actors should be a concern among all parts of the policy world. Rather than marginalization and exclusion, we should aim for inclusion, activism, and diversity.

Implications & Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusions of this study, this final section examines some implications and recommendations for future policy work, professional development, and teacher

education. The teachers presented in this study represent a set of voices that should be included and valued in the development and implementation of policy. This inclusion is of particular importance for policies that aim to dictate what teachers do in their classrooms on a daily basis. The issues that surround the consequences of policy are not just instrumental, but are also written in people's lives—teachers, students, parents, and administrators.

Recognizing and appreciating the ways that teachers integrate their individual lives with policy is a crucial piece of policy work. According to Lemert (2005), “No one lives perfectly because no one is given control over the social things that come down from the structured worlds,” which can be the way that many teachers view policies that come from the outside (p. 215). At times, policies coming from the top-down can be daunting and leave teachers with a sense of a loss of control and power over what happens in their classrooms. However, from this study we have learned that teachers do have control over how they respond to the social forces associated with policy. Much can be learned from the ways in which they negotiated these social forces and integrated them into their individual realities in order to make sense of Ch. 71A.

The three large-scale studies conducted in Massachusetts about Ch. 71A (de Jong, et al., 2005; Rennie Center, 2007; Tung, et al., 2009) failed to do what I aimed to accomplish in this study, which was to explore how individual teachers make sense of their response to school-based changes as a result of this new language policy. The participants of this study showed how all policies and politics are both local and territorial. In order to understand policy, how it works, and how it is used by teachers, we need to get personal and investigate deeply at the individual level. Through a local exploration, the individual and social discourses that play a role in teachers' sensemaking emerge. The similarities and differences among these discourses and the participants reveal their heteroglossic, complicated nature. At this close, local level, it is clear that teachers make sense of policy differently than originally anticipated by the policy writers or understood by the macro-level studies. Policy research needs to have an opening where in-depth studies of the discourses used within schools and by teachers are welcomed and valued.

Another area of interest presented in this study is the creation and maintenance of a binary distinction throughout the discussions about Ch. 71A. Within both professional development and teacher education communities, we must ask ourselves: How do we talk to preservice, novice, and veteran teachers about policy in ways that are not binary? Through meaningful discussions and interactions that name and interrogate the binary distinction, it is possible to break out of that way of thinking. Within these discussions, it is important to allow the boundary between the two sides to become blurred by our individual interpretations and experiences. By embracing the messiness that is inherent in policy work, we make room for our own diversity, which enables us to further believe in our own agency.

While placing ourselves and others in one category or another may temporarily ease confusion and appear to be completely reasonable, it fails to recognize the complexities of our lives and interactions within schools. Many policies, such as Ch. 71A, are set up in terms of a prearranged binary distinction that includes some and excludes others from what is going on. If teachers cannot see past and break through the binary distinction then they may end up policing themselves and believing that there are no feasible alternatives. Discussions with preservice, novice, and veteran teachers should address the potential attractiveness of a binary distinction and its tendency to simplify the complicated issues surrounding language policy. There needs to be both an opportunity and a location for these meaningful and honest conversations among teachers to take place. Teachers must be allowed to openly explore and fight the predetermined frames that are put on things in their world by discussing with others that a choice between one category or the other does not always have to be made.

To discuss the final set of implications and recommendations, I must return to Foucault's (1983) assertion:

If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism. I think that the ethico-political

choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger (pp. 231-232).

Determining the “main danger” for bilingual and ELL educators is under constant negotiation. Different alliances are forged by individuals and are dependent upon what they consider to be the “main danger” on any given day, at any given time, and in any given location. For some, this policy is not considered to be the “main danger” because other demands and concerns that may seem more pressing surround it. However, the tensions and pressures caused by the public thrust against bilingual education have had real, lasting consequences at the school level. In many ways, Ch. 71A has been dangerous for certain teachers, students, parents, and administrators because it has produced adverse and unfortunate consequences for them.

An English-only policy, such as Ch. 71A, can be considered to be dangerous for bilingual educators, students, and families because it threatens their understanding of their lives in and out of school. As the participants mentioned, this policy is exclusionary, reduces choice, and plays into the public’s fears and concerns about language use and immigration. Some of their experiences and beliefs reflect the significant line of research that supports bilingual education. Both large-scale research projects that evaluate the effectiveness of a multitude of bilingual education programs (Genesee, et al., 2006; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005) and small-scale case studies of particular districts, schools, teachers, and populations of students (Arkoudis, 2006; Guo & Mohan, 2008; Waters, 2001; Wright, 2004) reveal similar results: programs that subscribe to the English-only model struggle to adequately address the changing linguistic and cultural needs of ELLs and may be harmful to the students’ academic and personal development, both now and in the future.

In response to what one considers to be the “main danger,” Foucault (1983) urges us to engage in “a hyper- and pessimistic activism.” Preservice, novice, and veteran teachers should be encouraged to actively, yet cautiously, take action within their situations to address the “main danger” and bring about political and social change. It is crucial to not only express interest,

enthusiasm, and concern for a cause, but also to act on those feelings and beliefs. When policy is presented as a binary distinction, this activism can be challenging and risky, but is even more necessary in order to blur the boundary that separates the binaries. Through action and choice in response to language policy, teachers display agency in unique and diverse ways.

Whether they are consciously aware of it or not, teachers have the power to make “ethico-political choices” on a daily basis. Motivated by moral principles and personal beliefs, teachers make decisions about their right or ability to determine and follow a particular course of action. At times these decisions may appear to be restricted by outside factors, such as discourses, binary distinctions, or power relations. There is no clear right or wrong path to pursue, but rather a multitude of diverse choices are available.

Through our discussions, the participants showed that there are many ways to account for why and how particular events, such as language policies, affect the status and vibrancy of languages and the schools and communities in which they are spoken. Choice is a key aspect of understanding Ch. 71A through the eyes of the teachers at the Bayside School. The public was given a choice through Question 2, which seemingly reduced the teachers’ ability to make choices about the actions to take in their classrooms. However, their talk revealed a constant engagement in making choices about what discourses to prioritize, what languages to speak, and what actions to take. Despite the superficial appearance that displayed restrictions on choice, an in-depth look revealed the agency that these participants had when making decisions about and making sense of the language policy.

At the heart of this debate over the “main danger” of an English-only policy are the humanistic considerations of choice and diversity. It is “dangerous” for language policies to exclude the deep, complicated perspectives of the local policymakers—teachers. Understanding the individual and social nature of their policy interpretations and decisions contributes greatly to policy work. Listening to and valuing teacher interpretations will help with the development of language policies that appreciate and welcome choice:

The principle of linguistic self-determinism—the right to choose (within limits) what languages one will use and be educated in—is not only viable but desirable for language planning and policy decision making because it both promotes social equity and fosters diversity (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 401).

When Question 2 was passed, I thought that I did not have a choice because my voice had not been heard in the election results. As time went on and the wounds healed, I realized that I continuously made choices in response to the new language policy on a daily basis in my classroom. Reflecting upon these choices, I noticed that they blurred the lines of the binary distinction created by the ballot initiative and revealed my personal experiences and diverse interactions with colleagues, students, and their families. The participants in this study contributed further to the complexities surrounding their day-to-day realities with Ch. 71A in the Bayside School. Choice and diversity within language policies have the potential to create and sustain meaningful teaching and learning opportunities for teachers and their ELLs.

EPILOGUE

Upon finishing the collection and analysis of my data as well as the writing of the previous five chapters, I continued to wonder about the fate of the Bayside School and its Dual Language program. I decided to contact the five participants, one more time, to see if any decision had been reached yet with regards to the new principal. I emailed each participant, once again thanking her for her participation in my study and inquiring about the search committee's progress. To my surprise and delight, a candidate has been offered and accepted the job and this is what two of the participants had to say about their new principal:

She has had extensive experience with bilingual education, including Dual Language Programs, and seems like a lovely person as well! She is also a native speaker of Spanish (Kelly, 5/24/10).

We are very happy with the new principal...she is from Puerto Rico. She was recommended by a search committee that had no Hispanic teachers...nevertheless, she was selected by [them] (Berta, 6/2/10).

I must admit that this result contradicted my expectations, thus revealing some binary thinking on my part and reaffirming that outcome are not always predictable as discourses merge, overlap, and shuffle together. Initially I, like the participants, had a binary view of the new principal search committee. The logical conclusion that I reached through my original simplistic view was that the committee would choose a candidate who would not respond favorably to the Dual Language program. The actual outcome reveals that my own thinking was influenced by the binary distinction initiated in Question 2, much like the thinking of the participants. Perhaps my initial conclusion was a result of not talking to more teachers in the Classic program, although I tried. Once again, the unpredictable and messy nature of policy interpretation and discourse interactions is revealed. Thankfully, I ended up being pleasantly surprised, as did Kelly and Berta.

This result also shows the committee members' willingness, despite different linguistic, racial, and cultural backgrounds, to work in-between the categories created by the binary distinction, thus blurring its borders further. According to the participants, these members were not representative of the Dual Language program at the Bayside School. Although their talk at times may have revealed remnants of a binary and causing others to make assumptions about whom they may choose, the committee members did not operate that way. All of the binary thinking and language seems to disappear and it becomes unclear to outsiders why they picked the new principal over others. Ultimately, it was impossible to predict what the outcome would be. The committee members came out with a decision that was sensible for the Dual Language program and was partially based on their individual assessments of what is going on in the Bayside School.

This shows a kind of sensibility that is essential in the implementation of policy. The local policymakers have the autonomy and professionalism to choose an outcome that is sensible for the Dual Language program at the Bayside School, which is ultimately what any policy should allow. Rather than narrowing down the space within which teachers and administrators can work, this study shows that policy should allow them to operate sensibly at the local level. The classroom and school policymakers display freedom, choice, and responsibility within their individual contexts as they interpret and respond to policy. Making sense on the English-only policy happened at the individual, classroom, and school level for the participants as they layered individual and social discourses together.

The committee's final choice of a new bilingual and bicultural principal for the Bayside School speaks to the local and unpredictable nature of policy interpretation and sensemaking. This outcome confirms what the participants of this study have shown—a sophisticated understanding of policymaking happens at the local level, is unpredictable, varies from person to person in time and space, and displays a diverse range of possibilities. In the end, I am pleasantly optimistic about the future of the Bayside School and its Dual Language program.

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APPENDIX A
Interview Protocol

Interview #1:

How did you come to be a teacher and work at the Bayside School?

Tell me about the changes surrounding Question 2 and Ch. 71A in your school/district.

What did the new policy mean for you in your classroom?

How were you involved in its implementation?

Describe the involvement of other colleagues.

Where did you go for information about the new policy or with questions/concerns?

How did others (colleagues, parents, students) react to the new policy?

Interview #2:

How are you involved in the policy's current implementation?

Tell me about your current curriculum and teaching.

Tell me about your current classroom, students, and support you receive.

Describe the current school climate among teachers, students, parents, and administrators.

Tell me about your interactions with students' parents.

Tell me about a particularly rewarding (and challenging) teaching experience.

What do you enjoy about your current job? What would you change about your current job?

Interview #3:

Where do you see yourself in five or ten years?

What is the likely future of the Dual Language program at the Bayside School?

What is the likely future of Ch. 71A in Massachusetts?

Tell me about your hopes for the new principal?

APPENDIX B

Recruitment Letter

Dear Teachers of the Bayside School,

Hello! My name is Bridget Bunten. I am a graduate student at Penn State University in the department of Curriculum and Instruction, which is within the College of Education. I began my program in the fall of 2007 and prior to that I was a bilingual/ELL teacher at another elementary school in your city for five years. Currently, I am seeking research volunteers to participate in a brief research project entitled: *“Voices of the classroom policymakers: How teachers make sense of an English-only policy.”* My research is affiliated with Penn State University and is designed to understand how teachers respond to a particular policy in ways that make sense for them within the unique context of their classrooms. This study is being conducted for research purposes and could serve to benefit teachers, administrators, policymakers and student populations by contributing to the knowledge and understanding of language policy and how crucial a role teachers play in its implementation.

Research volunteers can be classroom, specialist, or support teachers who have been teaching at the Bayside School since 2002 or prior. As a research volunteer, you would be asked to engage in three separate interviews and share your thoughts about how the current English-only law (Chapter 71A) in Massachusetts, also known as Question 2 during the 2002 elections, impacted (in the past) and impacts (currently) your teaching. A total of 3 interviews will be conducted with each participant. Below are the general parameters and questions for each interview:

Interview #1: *Tell me about the changes surrounding the implementation of Ch. 71A. What did it mean in your classroom and for your teaching? How were you involved in its implementation?*

Interview #2: *Tell me about the current curriculum and teaching. What is it like now? How are you involved in its current implementation?*

Interview #3: *What is the likely future of Ch. 71A and the current practices in schools? What will it continue to mean in your classroom and for your teaching? How will you be involved in its future implementation?*

Each interview will not last longer than an hour and will take place in a location and at a time that is convenient for the participant. The set of 3 interviews will happen over a period of 4-6 weeks for each participant. In addition, interviews will be audio recorded in order to allow for transcription and data analysis. If you choose to participate you will be provided with an informed consent form that outlines the parameters of the audio recording.

Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. Please be assured you do not have to participate unless you wish to do so. Pseudonyms will be used to represent each participant when I write up the research findings. If you have any questions, please make sure to ask Bridget Bunten. If you would prefer to ask me questions privately, feel free to reach me at 814-863-4513 or bab410@psu.edu. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'BA1 Bunten'.

Bridget A. Bunten

APPENDIX C

Informed Consent From



Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research
The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: **Voices of the Classroom Policymakers: How Teachers Make Sense of an English-only Policy**

Principal Investigator: *Bridget A. Bunten*
163 Chambers Building
University Park, PA 16802
814.863.4513; bab410@psu.edu

Advisor: *Dr. Patrick Shannon*
211 Chambers Building
University Park, PA 16802
814.865.0069; pxs15@psu.edu

1. **Purpose of the Study:** The purpose of my study is to explore how teachers in a particular elementary school make sense of an English-only policy that was established as a result of a ballot initiative in Massachusetts. This study is based on the notion that teachers are the ultimate policymakers, choosing how to respond to a particular policy in ways that make sense for them within the unique context of their classrooms.
2. **Procedures to be Followed:** You will be asked to engage in three separate interviews and share your thoughts about how the current English-only law (Chapter 71A) in Massachusetts, also known as Question 2 during the 2002 elections, impacted (in the past) and impacts (currently) your teaching. Interviews will be audio recorded in order to allow for transcription and data analysis.
3. **Duration/Time:** Each interview will not last longer than an hour and will take place in a location and at a time that is convenient for you. The set of three interviews will happen over a period of 4-6 weeks for each participant, depending on scheduling. Therefore, you can expect to be done participating in the research within a month of the first interview date.
4. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. The data will be stored and secured at Bridget's locked office in password protected computer files that will be destroyed in 2012. Bridget will be the only one with access to the recordings. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity and only Bridget will have access to this information. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared.
5. **Right to Ask Questions:** Please contact Bridget A. Bunten at (814) 863-4513 with questions, complaints or concerns about this research.
6. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, your completion of the interviews implies your consent to participate in this research. Please keep a copy of this form for your records.

APPENDIX D

Participant Organizational Matrix

	Participant Name:	Grade Level:
Interview 1	Date: Time:	Location:
Interview 2	Date: Time:	Location:
Interview 3	Date: Time:	Location:
Member Check 1: Transcript	Date sent out: Received: Comments:	
Member Check 2: Findings	Date sent out: Received: Comments:	

Vita of Bridget A. Buntten

EDUCATION

The Pennsylvania State University: Ph.D. candidate in Curriculum & Instruction	
Expected Date of Graduation:	AUGUST 2010
Concentration: Language, Culture, & Society	GPA: 3.96
University of Massachusetts, Boston: M.A. in Applied Linguistics	JUNE 2006
Concentration: ELL (English Language Learning)	GPA: 4.0
Gettysburg College: B.A., Summa Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa	MAY 2001
Major: Spanish / Minor: Elementary Education	GPA: 3.82
Instituto Universitario de Sevilla, SPAIN	SPRING 2000
University College Cork, IRELAND	FALL 1999

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

Instructor: Teaching English to ELLs (Penn State University: August 2009-May 2010)
Language, Culture & Assessment of ELLs (PSU: June 2010-August 2010)
Reading, Writing & Language Arts Methods (PSU: August 2007-August 2009)

Supervisor of Preservice Teachers (PSU: August 2009-May 2010)

English Language Learner Specialist (Massachusetts: August 2005-June 2007)

5th Grade Teacher (Massachusetts: August 2004-June 2005)

5th Grade Two-Way Bilingual Teacher (Massachusetts: August 2002-June 2004)

Centro Presente: Adult ESL & Citizenship (Cambridge, MA: July 2001-July 2006)

Spanish Teacher, K-8 (Malden, MA: January-June 2002)

PUBLICATIONS & PRESENTATIONS

Buntten, B. A. (In Press). "*Welcome to America, now speak English: Preservice teachers' discourses about ELLs.*" *Multicultural Education*.

Buntten, B. A. (January, 2010). "*Welcome to America, now speak English: Preservice teachers' discourses about ELLs.*" State College, PA: Graduate Research Symposium for the Pennsylvania Applied Linguistics Consortium.

Buntten, B. A. (November, 2009). "Technological Nirvana: Preservice Teachers Witnessing Digital Literacies in Action." Philadelphia, PA: Conference for the National Council of Teachers of English.

Buntten, B. A. (November, 2008). "Energizing Undergraduates' Thinking about Cultural and Linguistic Diversity." San Antonio, TX: Conference for the National Council of Teachers of English.

Buntten, B. A. (January-April 2006 & October-November, 2006). "Introduction to Second Language Learning and Teaching." Workshop for preK-12 teachers in Massachusetts.

Buntten, B. A. & Billings, C. (February-March, 2006). "Enhancing English Language Learning in the Elementary Classroom." Workshop for preK-6 teachers in Massachusetts.

Buntten, B. A. (April, 2005). "New Considerations for Teaching Adult ESL Learners." Presentation for teachers and program directors in Education Program at Centro Presente.

MEMBERSHIP IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

AERA American Educational Research Association (Since 2009)

ASCD Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development (Since 2009)

ATE Association of Teacher Educators (Since 2009)

IRA International Reading Association (Since 2009)

NCTE National Council of Teachers of English (Since 2008)

TESOL Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (Since 2004)