# The Role of District and School Discourses in Authorizing Equity in an EL Full-Inclusion Context: A Comparative Case Study

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A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington
2018

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
College of Education

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# Abstract

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Historically the education of emergent bilinguals (EBs)[1] varies across separate "sheltered" settings and mainstream settings[2]. In recent years, the phenomenon of mainstreaming emergent bilinguals means that different proficiency levels, including newcomers and Beginner proficiency-level emergent bilinguals, are increasing in number in the general education classroom. A shift toward mainstreaming presents new complexities for teachers' work with emergent bilinguals, particularly for teachers in content-area settings who may not have adequate preparation or experience teaching complex academic language and content demands to a diverse emergent bilingual student population. Additionally, the variation and unique differences within

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[1] I choose to use the term emergent bilingual because it reflects an additive perspective and emphasizes bilingualism in students (instead of English language learner (ELL) or English learner (EL)) (García, 2011) . However, when referring to policy I use the term EL because it signals federal and state qualifications for services. emergent bilingual and English learner (EL) are synonymous terms.

[2] The term "Sheltered" refers to content classrooms specifically designed for English language learners. Teachers who teach these courses are endorsed in the content area and ELL.

this population contribute to these complexities. The field needs to develop an understanding of the impact of programs on the experiences and achievement of emergent bilinguals in a range of settings. This study seeks to contribute to this knowledge by exploring the phenomenon of full-inclusion EL policies at the district, school and teacher levels.

Emergent bilinguals have not always received equal educational opportunities compared to other monolingual peers (Harklau, 1994; Olsen, 1997; Callahan, 2005; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Hakuta, 2011; Valdés & Castellón, 2011; Gándara, 2013). How teachers support emergent bilinguals in the full-inclusion classroom – and continue to improve their teaching depends on a complex combination of factors. These include varying levels of teacher preparation and experiences teaching emergent bilinguals; the diversity among EL proficiency status; the nature of teacher collaboration and interaction with department colleagues; the allocation of district resources, such as time and support; and key priorities for professional development.

The role of context in mediating how teachers navigate these complexities can limit or afford learning opportunities for teachers in their own practices and ultimately for students in their learning of content, skill and language development. This current movement forward provides the opportunity to explore how teachers adapt and learn to support emergent bilingual students. This study explores how school and district systems - and the role of district and school context in this work – mediate the knowledge, principles, and practices that teachers use to support emergent bilingual students in a full-inclusion context. Using a comparative case study design, I examine the experiences of six social studies teachers in two high schools to understand how they taught emergent bilinguals. In this study, I ask: How do alignment and contradictions across district discourses, school discourses and teachers' work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion policy?  I further ask: 1) In what ways do alignment and contradictions occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context? 2) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals? 3) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate opportunities for teacher- and school-level learning?

In considering the aforementioned research questions, I draw upon two areas of literature and informing concepts. The literature on EL instruction focuses on what teachers need to know as they adapt and develop practice in the context of teaching emergent bilinguals. The second area of literature focuses on how context can influence teachers' knowledge, principles and practices over time. Together, these areas offer a rationale for the proposed study as well as guidance for the study's design. In this study I employ cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) (Vygotsky, 1978; Leont'ev, 1981; Engestrom, 2000) which provides a theoretical lens for understanding how individuals and systems, such as districts and schools, learn over time. Activity theory is a useful lens to explore teacher learning because it focuses on the level of and the role context plays in learning at the individual and teacher work group levels. I explore the tools of everyday activity among teachers using CHAT to better understand how contextual factors mediate their work. I specifically focus on the mediating tools of knowledge, principles, and practices.

Chapter Two of this dissertation provides an outline of the research design and analysis process that led to the findings of this dissertation. The chapter also includes descriptions of the Madison School District context and portraits of the six focal teacher cases to serve as a backdrop for the findings and discussion included in the remaining chapters. Chapter Three takes a close look at the district context and discourses. Chapters Four and Five offer in-depth descriptions of each high school and the case participants. These chapters also analyze how school discourse mediated teachers' knowledge, principles and practices across several themes. Chapter Six situates the discussion of prior chapters theoretically, conceptually, and poses implications for research, policy, and practice.

In Chapter Three, I introduce the Madison School District context and leading discourses of the district. I first describe and analyze the discourses of equity and elevating teachers as professionals in the context of the district's EL full-inclusion policy. In this chapter, I assert that teachers' knowledge, principles and practices are mediated by district and school discourses. I use Activity Theory to examine this work in context of a large school district and across two high schools. The dimensions of knowledge, principles, and practices present one way to see how district discourses align or contradict at schools and in teachers' experiences. Chapter Three explores how the role of racial equity, access through "AP for all", and accountability is taken up at each high school and ultimately by each focal teacher.  In Chapter Three I trace patterns across the district and both high schools, as well as across the focal participants. These patterns reflect how district and school discourses align and contradict and the consequences this has for authorizing teachers' knowledge, principles and practices. Building on these patterns it is important to explore them in the context of each school and teacher. This is where I turn to Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

Chapter Four examines discourse at the school level, specifically by looking at Woods High School. In this chapter, I argue that school discourses of rigor and tracking authorize teachers' knowledge, principle and practices through the way they see students and engage in planning and instruction. In this chapter, we explore what happens when district and school discourses contradict. This chapter also provides a unique glimpse across two teacher cases that contradict and highlight the power of school discourses. Through the focal case of Mr. Butler, we see how his case mirrors the school discourse of rigor and tracking and contradicts a district discourse of equity. In the case of Ms. Parks, we see how her case is at odds with the Woods discourse and aligns with the district discourses of equity and inclusion. However, despite being in alignment with the district discourse, the school discourse wins out and works to limit her ability to lead and learn. Ultimately, Chapter Three takes up the broader view and context of the Madison School District, while Chapter Four takes a closer look at the school-specific details of Woods High School and how teachers experience the EL policy at Woods and the mediation of knowledge, principles and practices through alignment and contradiction of discourses.

Chapter Five in a similar structure examines discourse at the school level, specifically by looking at Rivers High School. In this chapter, I argue that school discourses of equity and PBL authorize teachers' knowledge, principle and practices through the way they see students and engage in planning and instruction. In this chapter, we explore what happens when district and school discourses align. This chapter also provides a unique glimpse across two teacher cases that highlight the power of school discourses and space it can create for teacher autonomy and learning. Through the focal case of Mr. Jackson, we see how his case mirrors the school discourse of equity and PBL and aligns with a district discourse of equity. In the case of Mr. Gladwin, we see how his case also aligns with the Rivers and district discourse but challenges the discourse in an effort to extend the work and support for emerging bilingual students. Chapter Five takes a closer look at the school-specific details of Rivers High School and the power of mediating factors when school discourses align with district discourses.

Finally in Chapter Six, I discuss how this study's findings contribute to our understanding of how district- and school-level discourses interact in ways that are consequential for teachers' work. I reflect on the significance of school discourses for how content area teachers experience

a new EL full-inclusion policy, and how these experiences mediate the knowledge, principles, and practices that they draw upon and seek out. In conclusion, I discuss key implications of this study for research, policy, and practice. In particular, I focus on three themes: 1) the role of school discourses in an equity-focused district; 2) the role of elevating teachers as professionals in pursuing an equity agenda; and 3) how school discourses authorize particular kinds of knowledge, principles, and practices through curriculum tools that are central to their identity.

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## Acknowledgements

I want to begin by thanking my Supervisory Committee for your many years of generous support. This dissertation would not have been possible without the tireless, reflective and caring support of my advisor and chair Heather Hebard. It is an honor to work alongside you and I am grateful for our years of teaching together, as well as your committed role in advising me. Your advising sustained me and pushed me in ways that shaped this dissertation, my role as an educator in this world and my preparation for future endeavors. Thank you to Dafney Blanca Dabach for your continued support and guidance; working with you throughout the past seven years has taught me much about the field of immigration and education and being a more thoughtful scholar. Thank you to Ana Elfers for your encouragement and thoughtful questions. You pushed me to think deeper and ask more questions of my work and self. Thank you to Kara Jackson for the inspiration and motivation that I gain from reading your work and the conversations over the course of this dissertation. Your peaceful and reflective presence was a refreshing light! Thank you to Juan Guerra for your continued engagement in my work and willingness to provide feedback and multiple perspectives. It was a team effort and you each played a very important role. Thank you to Heather for leading us and being a mentor that will be a model for me to follow in years to come.

This study would not exist if it were not for the participation of my focal teachers. Thank you for opening up your classrooms and work experiences to me and for sharing your honest and complex experiences around teaching emergent bilingual students. The opportunity to know you and your work at a deeper level was transformative and inspirational, as well as important for others to know and understand. Similarly, I extend a sincere thank you to the school district and leaders of the district for the opportunity to work and learn in this district, as well as conduct research and move our work forward in increasing opportunities and improving the school experiences for emergent bilingual students and their teachers.

I also owe a huge debt of gratitude to all of those I have interacted with during my time working in this district, studying with and working alongside while at the University of Washington, and in other partnerships such as my work with the Washington Association of Bilingual Education (WABE) and the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL). Thank you to my academic sisters, Cristina Gaeta and Aliza Fones. I would have given up a long time ago without your passionate, fun, and reinvigorating support: Cheers to the Boot! Thank you to friends and fellow peers at UW: Anthony Longoria, Stephanie Forman, Anna Van Windekens, Katherine Crichton, Julia Daniels, Carol Adams, Kerry Soo Von Esch, and many others. Thank you to Luis Ortega and Nicole Shimizu for your friendship and pushing my thinking and teaching me what it means to listen and learn.

As my Ph.D study draws to a close, I have spent considerable time reflecting on the many colleagues, mentors and friends who have supported and guided me to this point in my career. I want to thank Phillip Ryan, Julie Glosson, Jimmy Glosson, Manka Varghese, and Heidi LaMare for the extraordinary mentors and leaders you were in my formative years. You helped me think deeply and passionately about language, culture, race and identity, and how these are central to being a critical educator and advocate for justice. Moreover, your friendship sustained me and gave me confidence through many frustrations and joys. Special gratitude is reserved for Phillip Ryan who encouraged me to pursue a Ph.D and be a critical educator, and Manka Varghese who affirmed and further developed that pursuit and development.

The biggest thank you of all is reserved for my family. There is no greater blessing than family. To my wife and children, thank you for the patience, unconditional love, genuine interest and joy you bring me every day. To my wife Lauren, you have supported me tirelessly and in so many committed ways that I will forever be grateful and indebted. You have been my strength and walked alongside me through every step with care, love and faith; thank you. To my four children, Hayden, Presley, Cash and Crew, may you find passion in life to serve others and always be a reflective agent of change, justice and compassion. To my parents, this would not have been possible without you.

# Dedication

For my wife, Lauren.

For your commitment to our family and deep love and friendship.

# Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Historically the education of emergent bilinguals (EBs)[3] varies across separate "sheltered" settings and mainstream settings[4]. In recent years, the phenomenon of mainstreaming emergent bilinguals means that different proficiency levels, including newcomers and Beginner proficiency-level emergent bilinguals, are increasing in number in the general education classroom. A shift toward mainstreaming presents new complexities for teachers' work with emergent bilinguals, particularly for teachers in content-area settings who may not have adequate preparation or experience teaching complex academic language and content demands to a diverse emergent bilingual student population. Additionally, the variation and unique differences within this population contribute to these complexities. The phenomenon of mainstreaming emergent bilinguals will continue to play out differently in districts across the United States, depending on the local context. In a shift from viewing the underachievement of emergent bilinguals as an "achievement gap" to an "opportunity gap," the focus on teachers and their work increases (Gándara, 2013). This is particularly true in the full inclusion classroom setting. The field needs to develop an understanding of the impact of programs on the experiences and achievement of emergent bilinguals in a range of settings. This study seeks to contribute to this knowledge by exploring the phenomenon of full-inclusion EL policies at the district, school and teacher levels.

While research in the past primarily examined EL policies and programs in the ELL classroom, more research is needed to understand content teachers' work in the full inclusion classroom and how they learn to meet the needs of a more linguistically diverse student population. For example, we know very little about if – or how – teachers experience such policies, learn on the job, and adapt their knowledge and practices to better support emergent bilinguals. Moreover, few studies examine how factors at the school level, such as school culture, departmental colleagues, curriculum, testing, and administrator expectations play a part in what teachers in these settings do – and have the opportunity to learn. Additional research is also needed to understand teachers' knowledge and principles related to teaching emergent bilingual students.

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[3] I choose to use the term emergent bilingual because it reflects an additive perspective and emphasizes bilingualism in students (instead of English language learner (ELL) or English learner (EL)). However, when referring to policy I use the term EL because it signals federal and state qualifications for services. emergent bilingual and English learner (EL) are synonymous terms.

[4] The term "Sheltered" refers to content classrooms specifically designed for English language learners. Teachers who teach these courses are endorsed in the content area and ELL.

Emergent bilinguals have not always received equal educational opportunities compared to other monolingual peers (Harklau, 1994; Olsen, 1997; Callahan, 2005; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Hakuta, 2011; Valdés & Castellón, 2011; Gándara, 2013). In fact, past research raises concerns regarding the ways that policy and practice result in creating opportunities and providing access to college preparation and higher-level courses (Olsen, 1997; Lucas, 1999; Callahan, 2005; Gándara, 2013). As Callahan reveals there can be devastating effects of EL placement on student achievement if students remain in the EL classroom too long. At the same time, if emergent bilinguals are placed in the mainstream classroom with limited access to content and lack of support from teachers, the effects on student achievement may still be diminished (2005; 2010). Dabach points out this same "conundrum" with regard to where emergent bilinguals are best educated (2014), and both the potential affordances and limitations to the "sheltered" classroom and the full-inclusion (mainstream) classroom.

In the context of public education in the United States, educational opportunities for emergent bilinguals have a long history of minoritization, as well as tensions with the promises put forth for increasing educational opportunity. Language education has a long and storied history in the United States dating back to at least the 18th century when bilingual education occurred for Spanish and German immigrants in states such as California, New Mexico, and Ohio (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990). On the back of Brown v Board of Education in 1954, a movement towards integration and inclusion began. This lead to landmark cases with a direct focus on language policy and emergent bilingual students. As Hakuta and Malakoff (1990) point out the 1960's marked a return to bilingual education and language policy. In 1968, the Bilingual Education Act increased a focus on emergent bilingual students and a federal role in serving these students and allocating funding. This act was foundational in that it suggested "equal education was not the same as identical education" (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990, p.4). In 1974, the Supreme Court ruling in Lau v Nichols "meant that schools had an obligation to address EL's language barriers" as well as that no longer did the same mainstream instruction for all students mean "equal educational access" (Dabach & Callahan, 2011, p. 1). Lau v Nichols placed an emphasis on the educational environment and opportunities for emergent bilingual students, but fell short in implementation and moving towards accountable educational opportunities for emergent bilingual students. This lead to the case of Castañeda v Pickard in 1981 and the establishment of three criteria to further support Lau v Nichols: "considered legitimate by experts in the field; program should be implemented in a reasonable manner; must produce results indicating that 'the language barrier is being overcome'" (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1990, p.6).

These cases, particularly Lau v Nichols and the Castañeda principles lead to a tension that still exists today between "rights versus reality" (Dabach & Callahan, 2011). This tension between "rights versus reality" in the context of EL educational opportunity points to the "disparities in both opportunity and achievement between EL students and their non-EL peers" (2011, p. 1). Particularly at the secondary level, questions must be asked about the types of support and the conundrum between educational opportunities and these types of supports. As

Dabach and Callahan (2011) point out “ESL coursework” and “Sheltered ESL” classes are the most common linguistic support service. This can lead to a variety of course taking patterns, tracking and the possibility of educational opportunity or limitations. In an attempt to comply with *Lau* and *Castañeda* districts may overlook the “students’ genuine needs for supports” and ultimately programs and courses “may inadvertently reflect larger patterns of social inequality” (2011, p. 3; Callahan et al, 2010).

As Thompson (2013) points out in her critique of *Lau* and *Castañéda* there are two conceptions of equality evoked in these two cases: negative and positive equality. She proposes that Brown v Board of Education was an example of negative equality in that it “focused on removing morally untenable discriminatory practices” and lead to an equal and identical approach (2013, p. 1252). Thompson points to *Lau* as an example of “positive equality” because the case stated “differential treatment of individuals is not only permissible, it is required…” (p. 1255). Lastly, she points to *Castañeda* as an example of “two ideas of equality coexisting” (p. 1258). Thompson in her critique of *Castañeda* through these conceptions of equality shows that “the three-prong test” has direct implications for districts and schools at the local level. She shows that the “tension between desegregation and effective programs for language minority students exists, but it need not be paralyzing” (2013, p. 1266). There is a clear need for “local innovation in programs” for emergent bilinguals and this consists of “ways to balance services for language minority students and desegregation” (p. 1274). This work leads to a consideration of equity in educational settings and the opportunities for emergent bilingual students at the district and school level. Despite promises of integration and inclusion for emergent bilinguals, specific school structures and linguistic supports must be considered closely for emergent bilingual students, especially at the secondary level. This should take place in local policy, programs and practices.

Teachers, as policy enactors, (Varghese & Stritikus, 2005; Menken & Garcia, 2010; Johnson, 2013) are at the center of full-inclusion policies. The success of these policies hinges on the degree to which teachers have (or develop) the knowledge, principles and practices needed to enact high-quality content instruction for emergent bilinguals. As Elfers et al. point out, "There has been considerable research around program models and their effectiveness, but limited examination of the role of classroom teachers in the education of ELL students and the support they receive to work with them" (2013, p. 11). Research emphasizes the need for effective teacher preparation and professional development to prepare linguistically responsive teachers (Lucas & Grinberg, 2008; Lucas & Villegas, 2011; de Jong & Harper, 2005). In reality, however, content teachers' preparedness to teach emergent bilinguals - and therefore instructional quality - varies widely across full-inclusion classrooms.

How teachers support emergent bilinguals in the full-inclusion classroom – and continue to improve their teaching depends on a complex combination of factors. These include varying levels of teacher preparation and experiences teaching emergent bilinguals; the diversity among EL proficiency status; the nature of teacher collaboration and interaction with department colleagues; the allocation of district resources, such as time and support; and key priorities for professional development. It is clear that there is a need to further understand how teacher engagement in settings such as departmental meetings and professional development sessions (Little & McLaughlin, 1993; Siskin & Little, 1995) as well as less formal spaces like planning meetings and teacher work groups mediates the knowledge, principles, and practices teachers bring to bear on their practice in full inclusion classrooms. Additionally, understanding the role of discourse in these spaces is important in establishing the priorities of schools and teachers.

The role of context in mediating how teachers navigate these complexities can limit or afford learning opportunities for teachers in their own practices and ultimately for students in their learning of content, skill and language development. This current movement forward provides the opportunity to explore how teachers adapt and learn to support emergent bilingual students. This study explores how school and district systems - and the role of district and school context in this work – mediate the knowledge, principles, and practices that teachers use to support emergent bilingual students in a full-inclusion context. Using a comparative case study design, I examine the experiences of six social studies teachers in two high schools to understand how they taught emergent bilinguals. In this study, I ask: How do alignment and contradictions across district discourses, school discourses and teachers' work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion policy? I further ask: 1) In what ways do alignment and contradictions occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context? 2) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals? 3) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate opportunities for teacher- and school-level learning?

In considering the aforementioned research questions, I draw upon two areas of literature and informing concepts. The literature on EL instruction focuses on what teachers need to know as they adapt and develop practice in the context of teaching emergent bilinguals. The second area of literature focuses on how context can influence teachers' knowledge, principles and practices over time. Together, these areas offer a rationale for the proposed study as well as guidance for the study's design.

# Framing Literature

## Mediating Artifacts: Knowledge, Principles, and Practices

Teachers' practice is central to whether or not their emergent bilingual students succeed or fail. This study looks closely at how teachers navigate the task of teaching emergent bilingual students and how this process is mediated by the district and school contexts. To explore teachers' experiences, I focus on the three dimensions of teaching: knowledge, principles and practices (Lampert, 1990; 2001; 2013). I explore teachers' knowledge, principles and practice as mediating *artifacts* across different educational and institutional contexts. I use these concepts as a way to delineate the dimensions of teachers' work as they develop and adapt instruction for emergent bilinguals in the full-inclusion social studies classroom. Lampert et al. (2013) write, "The knowledge, skill, and principles necessary to elicit student performance and respond to it productively are not static; they develop as they are used in the form of "adaptive expertise" (p.228; Bransford, Derry, Berliner & Hammerness, 2005). Thus, I also explore how teaching in a full-inclusion context might mediate knowledge, principles, and practices important for how teachers support emergent bilinguals over time.

The first dimension is principles. Lampert describes principles ideally, as the ideas that guide the implementation of practice "with the aim of maximizing students' access to learning…" (Lampert et al., 2013, p. 228). For example, Lampert (2013) highlights the importance of equitable access to learning tasks, content and instruction; developing students as meaning-makers; positioning students as knowledgeable; and positioning students as individuals and learners as principles for guiding practice. Through principles, a framework for developing instruction is established. Each principle is central to this framework, yet they do not work in isolation. Although designed to describe the work of math teachers, this framework also describes important dimensions of teachers' work with regard to supporting emergent bilinguals. In this study, I also think about how principles operate at the school level.

The first principle, equitable access to learning tasks, content, and instruction provides a way to establish participation for all students in meaningful ways. Equitable access operates at different levels including broader levels such as course placement opportunities and course trajectories (Callahan, 2005; 2010; Callahan & Shrifer, 2016), as well as at the classroom level at specific teacher instructional moves and decisions; both are important. The second principle of developing students as meaning-makers looks at how teachers provide rich, complex and meaningful tasks for students to engage in thinking, problem-solving and constructing meaning of content and knowledge. Third is how teachers position students as knowledgeable. This includes recognizing, drawing out and building on students' background knowledge, cultural knowledge and other forms of knowledge that may or may not be traditionally valued in the United States classroom. It also means positioning students as having knowledge to contribute and that is valued and integral to classroom learning. At the building level, positioning students as knowers can be seen in shared assumptions about different groups of people whose knowledge is valued, and the like. The fourth principle is students as individuals and learners. Through this principle, teachers see students and facilitate learning in a way that recognizes students for the individuals they are, as well as the ability and capacity all have for learning, growth and development. These principles align with teaching and schools that support equity and access for emergent bilinguals. They therefore provide a useful starting point for understanding teachers and the contexts in which they work.

Lampert et al. define knowledge as developing from "a continual back and forth between applying routine procedures and learning how to use those procedures appropriately in different situations" (2013, p. 228). Furthermore, knowledge can be thought of as "learned in interaction with others, observing others, and creating a 'mutual, collective, interknowing'" (Lampert et al. 2013, p. 228; Yannow, 2001). In the context of teaching emergent bilinguals, one example of knowledge is the ability for a teacher to identify the language demands of classroom tasks. Lucas and Villegas (2013) write, "To promote language development as well as academic content and skills development, teachers of ELLs must also be able to analyze the linguistic demands of oral and written discourse (p.62). A second example of knowledge for teaching emergent bilinguals is understanding of second language learning. Such knowledge would, for example, guide teachers to create opportunities for emergent bilinguals to engage in "social interaction for authentic communicative purposes gain access to comprehensible input and extend their productive capabilities" (Lucas & Villegas, 2013, p. 63). A third example of knowledge is the construct of scaffolded instruction. This concept, also furthered by Lucas and Villegas (2013), is defined as a "support that helps a learner carry out learning tasks beyond her/his current capability" (p. 65). Gibbons (2002) notes that by carrying out these more advanced tasks, emergent bilinguals "move toward new skills, concepts, or levels of understanding" (p. 10). Conceptual knowledge of scaffolding is especially important for teaching emergent bilinguals because it helps distinguish between adaptations that merely simplify a task from those that "amplify" or extend and deepen students' learning over time (Walqui, 2006).

In the context of the social studies classroom, this study draws on the work of Monte-Sano and Budano (2013) to examine the artifacts of teachers' practices through the development of *pedagogical content knowledge*. Monte-Sano and Budano focus on "*pedagogical content knowledge* as one form of knowledge that contributes to teachers' success in supporting student learning" (Shulman, 1986)" (2013, p. 172). Additionally they, among other scholars, argue "this knowledge is most apparent in its enactment" (p. 172). Building on Shulman's characterization of pedagogical content knowledge as "the ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others," (1986, p. 9) Monte-Sano and Budano make the connection from content knowledge to principles and practices. Monte-Sano and Budano (2013) outline four key aspects of *pedagogical content knowledge* for teaching history: represent history, transform history, attend to students' ideas about history, frame history. This work helps to highlight the mutually constitutive and intertwined nature of teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices. These aspects will be considered in this study not only as contributing to the dimension of knowledge, but also to principles and practices.

The third dimension is practice. To define this dimension, I draw on Windschitl et al. (2012) who describe practices as "routine activities teachers engage in devoted to planning, enactment, or reflection that are intended to support student learning" (p. 882). Based on the work of Walqui (2006), Walqui and Van Lier (2010), and Bunch (2010; 2013) we can identify practices that are central to teaching emergent bilinguals. Bunch (2013) states that "the development of pedagogical language knowledge for mainstream teachers has focused less on the discrete linguistic features of individual texts and more on the role of language in participation in academic practices" (p. 315). This focus on participation is central to thinking about how EL practice in the full-inclusion social studies classroom provides opportunities for emergent bilingual students. Bunch (2013) cites Johnson in describing the "core of the sociocultural perspective as one that 'defines human learning as a dynamic, social activity that is situated in physical and social contexts, and is distributed across persons, tools, and activities'" (p. 316). This leads us to think about how teachers think about the opportunities provided emergent bilinguals and what are the "persons, tools, and activities" available in each classroom.

Through the construct of knowledge, principles, and practices scholars establish several domains of practices to consider: preparing for instruction; launching an activity or task; managing materials and space; using body and voice; facilitating student engagement; positioning students as competent; eliciting and responding to student contributions; requesting student thinking verbally and visually; and assessing student understanding.

In this study, the dimension of practice is situated in the social studies classroom and discipline. Again drawing on the work of Monte-Sano and Budano (2013), practice can be thought about in the aforementioned domains, as well as specifically how teachers "attend to students' ideas about history" (p. 176). For example, how do social studies teachers consider and elicit students' disciplinary thinking and by using what pedagogical approaches or practices? Scholarship and research points out the gap in understanding how teachers develop *pedagogical content knowledge* over time and how exactly teachers draw on different aspects of *pedagogical content knowledge* (2013). Through Lampert's framework of knowledge, principles and practices teachers' actions and learning over time will be captured to deepen the field's understanding of *pedagogical content knowledge* (Shulman, 1986) and pedagogical language knowledge (Bunch, 2013) and how teachers teach and perhaps learn in a full-inclusion setting.

## The Complexity of Instruction for Emergent Bilinguals

In an EL full-inclusion content-area classroom, practices become more complex because teachers must simultaneously attend to content and language, taking into consideration students' varying language proficiency levels and needs. Unmasking these language practices at this nexus is essential for emergent bilinguals' success in the content area classroom. This is an emerging area of scholarship, and therefore teachers in the full-inclusion classroom may find that they and others around them are their own best resources. One aspect that demonstrates the complexity of

EL instruction is the role of conceptual and pedagogical scaffolding (Walqui, 2006) and academic language development (Zwiers & Crawford, 2011). Walqui (2006) and other scholars focus on scaffolding as a way to provide learning opportunities and access to emergent bilinguals at varying proficiency levels and to do so in instructionally challenging and engaging ways (Gibbons, 2002). Scaffolding is central to how teachers balance the delivery and development of language and content in the mainstream content classroom. Von Esch (2013) writes, “Productive scaffolding, however, may occur in multiple ways, with the teachers having to develop the ability to intentionally and thoughtfully scaffold and facilitate both academic language and content learning…” (p.12).

While scaffolding may take different forms in social studies instruction, it is the bridge to engaging emergent bilinguals in meaningful tasks that develop language and content simultaneously. Teachers must first understand intricate and dynamic linguistic aspects of the academic discipline and content, often referred to as academic language (Gibbon, 2002; Zwiers & Crawford, 2011) or disciplinary literacy (Moje, 2007; Monte-Sano, 2014; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008). The academic language of a content area entails different language aspects and features such as language functions, academic vocabulary, discourse, syntax, register, and other features (Gibbons, 2002; Zwiers & Crawford, 2011). Second, teachers must have knowledge of second language learning and how students learn language over time (Cummins, 2000; Krashen, 1982). Third, teachers - both monolingual and multilingual - must have a developing understanding of metalinguistic awareness and cross-linguistic connections (Cummins, 1978). Meaningful instruction for emergent bilinguals is dependent on teachers having this understanding and balance between content and language in order to provide access and rigorous instruction to emergent bilinguals in the mainstream classroom.

An additional aspect of the complexity of instruction for EL students is the importance of valuing and accessing “funds of knowledge” of emergent bilingual students, and all students (Moll, Amanti, Neff & Gonzalez, 1992). Von Esch (2013) writes to teach emergent bilinguals effectively, “Teachers are called upon to develop a deep knowledge of EL students’ prior learning experiences” (p. 12). Literature further points to the importance of a culturally and racially responsive pedagogy for teaching emergent bilinguals (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Gay, 2002). An individual’s culture, race and language is central to learning. How a teacher recognizes, understands, values and builds upon this is also central to the learning process. The range of emergent bilingual student backgrounds and experiences adds to the complexity of instruction for emergent bilinguals. The field is only beginning to describe how teachers approach teaching emergent bilingual students in the full-inclusion context. In particular, we know very little about how mainstream teachers meet the needs of students at different proficiency levels who represent different language and cultural backgrounds, as well as different academic and social experiences.

Despite what we know about the requisite skills content area teachers need to offer high-quality instruction to emergent bilinguals, the amount and quality of support that teachers receive for teaching emergent bilinguals remains inadequate in most cases. Thus, most teachers learn on the job, through trial and error and the occasional professional development workshop, as they work with emergent bilinguals in their classrooms. Because of this the district and school contexts play a central role in mediating expectations and support regarding teaching emergent bilinguals. This points to the importance of investigating how contexts shape teachers’ work in a full-inclusion context. For example, how do curricula tracking and professional development impact whether and how well teachers’ support emergent bilinguals’ learning?

## Authorizing Discourses: Learning Opportunities in the Workplace

Literature on teacher learning suggests that changes in how teachers support their emergent bilingual students is likely to happen 1) through their experiences working with emergent bilinguals and 2) by engaging with the social and material resources available to them in their teaching contexts. Thus, this study focuses on how teachers' experiences in the classroom, interactions, and school discourses engender changes in their knowledge, principles, and practices, and how these changes afford or constrain teachers' opportunities to learn.

The context of teachers' work is central to the development of knowledge, principles, and practices. Teachers' opportunities to learn are impacted by the nested contexts in which they teach (e.g., their district, school, and department) and the complex—and at times conflicting—cultural practices that shape activity in these spaces (Engestrom, 2000; Greeno, 2006; Grossman et al., 1999; Horn et al, 2015). Research on teacher learning suggests that professional communities can play an important role in mediating teachers' learning within these complex spaces (Little, 2002; Coburn, 2001; Horn, 2005; Horn et al, 2015). Understanding how teacher communities work and how they might mediate teachers' developing knowledge, principles and practice remains an essential question for the field (Lampert et al. 2013; Little, 2002). Additionally, literature suggests that discourse plays an important role in mediating teachers' learning within these complex spaces (Gee, 2008). Understanding how discourse mediates teachers' learning within the different contexts in which they work is important in informing how teachers experience district policy and their own reinforcement or shifts in practice. In the next section, I outline a framework for analyzing relationships between teachers' learning and work and the contexts in which they occur. I begin this review by focusing on what the field has learned about the role of context in teacher learning opportunities then move to review how different discourses authorize teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices.

**The role of context in teacher learning opportunities.** There are a variety of contextual factors that impact teachers' opportunities to learn in any given school context. Here I highlight two broad factors: resources and discourses. Resources include time, curriculum, instructional coaching, and other activities across settings that teachers may engage (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008; Hall & Horn, 2012; Horn et al, 2015). The resources that teachers are afforded are not happenstance or simply a matter of district logistics and financing. Rather, they are a reflection of the ways of thinking and doing at a district, school and departmental level that inform activity within these spaces (Hall & Horn, 2012). How teachers interact with these resources and leverage them can directly connect to instructional shifts over time and to teacher learning. I specifically focus on curriculum tools to better understand how teachers engage in planning and instruction with a focus on teaching emergent bilinguals. The concept of tools borrows from the work of Goodwin and his emphasis on how "discursive practices are used by members of a profession to shape events..." (1994; p.606). The second factor, discourses captures the "ways of thinking and doing" within and across workplace settings (Gee, 2011; Coburn, 2001). In addition to impacting concrete factors, such as resource allocation, professional discourse can influence teachers' opportunities to learn in more subtle and yet equally powerful ways.

Here I turn to two specific studies to further elaborate this point. The first examines the role of institutional discourse around equity in instructional leaders such as principals (Rigby & Tredway, 2015). This study argues that when principals and other instructional leaders are explicit – through discourse or actions – about equity, or implicit followed by clear action steps, then it "is more likely to lead to an increase in equitable learning opportunities for students and communities." These studies also place an emphasis on how " the use of explicit equity language" could act as a mediating factor and "over time increase the likelihood that school constituents will develop a common language and framework for school actions" (2015, p. 30). This study examines how institutional discourses, both explicit and implicit can shape other contextual factors and influence the learning opportunities for teachers.

In another study, Eubanks et al. (1997) examine different discourses (Gee, 2011) in a school context, the role of maintaining the dominant discourse, and what it looks like when there is a shift to "a more critical discourse". In this study Eubanks et al. suggest that "the effect a change will have depends upon the discourse that sustains and accompanies a change effort" (1997, p. 3). This study points out that while there are many discourses that may be operating in a district or school building, when there is a shift to a more critical discourse then "schools create an organizational setting that is continually changing and developing because the members are continually learning" (p.4). Both of these studies illustrate the role of discourse in educational reform and thus suggest the importance of attending to these discourses in studies of EL full-inclusion policy, in which challenge ideologies that are common in schools.

These studies show not only how district and school discourses influence what happens in these spaces also how, they can be a catalyst for teacher learning and educational reform. The significance of a critical discourse in the context of teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion classroom setting is all the more important as it places a focus on how and why a district must interrupt a deficit-based discourse that teachers may hold, thus presenting an obstacle to developing knowledge, principles, and practices that provide high quality learning opportunities for emergent bilinguals.

**Discourses that authorize teacher learning.** In this study, I examine the ways that discourses shape the context and thus authorize particular interactions, ways of knowing and ways of doing in those spaces (Gee, 2011). I draw on Gee (1996; 2008), who defines discourse as "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles (or 'types of people') by specific groups of people…They are 'ways of being in the world'" (p.viii). I explore this through the ways that the school and district talk about who they are – and how this gets instantiated through district- and school level decisions that have consequences for emergent bilinguals and their teachers.

The discourses across teachers' work spaces and available social and material resources mediate if and how teachers orient towards and engage in professional learning opportunities. In the context of EL full-inclusion, classroom teachers are faced with need to develop as teachers of social studies with diverse linguistic repertoires. In this study, district, school, and department discourses around tracking students, professional knowledge and other ideas impacting equity and access for emergent bilinguals will be explored. This will help to illuminate district and school values vis a vis the education of emergent bilinguals – and the impact of those values on how teachers define, enact and improve upon their work for improving the teaching of emergent bilinguals. To understand relationships between their ideologies in school and district discourses and the ways in which these institutions operate, I next turn to an analytic frame for understanding these relationships.

# Theoretical Framework

## Learning across Activity Settings

In this study, I employ cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) (Vygotsky, 1978; Leont'ev, 1981; Engestrom, 2000) which provides a theoretical lens for understanding how individuals and systems, such as districts and schools, learn over time. Activity theory is a useful lens to explore teacher learning because it focuses on the level of and the role context plays in learning at the individual and teacher work groups. In considering activity theory to conduct qualitative educational research Grossman, Smagorinsky, and Valencia write, "Activity theory is fundamentally concerned with the contexts for human development" (1999, p. 6), which include the concepts and physical objects at play in activity settings.

A CHAT analysis draws attention to *tools*, also called *artifacts*. Furthermore, a CHAT lens highlights how "an artifact transforms into a cultural tool … that has gained value within participants' activities rather than as a temporary tool for engaging in an immediate activity" (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 17). Greeno defines "activity systems" as "complex social organizations containing learners, teachers, curriculum materials, software tools, and the physical environment" (2006, 79). Drawing on a deeper theoretical foundation the work of Vygotsky around mediated action provides a conceptual framing to explore how different contexts enable participants, teachers in this case, to develop as learners through interaction with tools in a specific environment. A commonly referenced visual is Vygotsky's basic mediated action triangle (Cole and Engestrom, 1993). Figure 1.1 represents this triangle in which the subject, artifact/tool and object are represented. The subject represents the individual, which is the teachers. The mediating artifact includes different tools such as school goals, ways of understanding data, expectations for teachers, teachers' roles and differential power, instructional frameworks and curriculum, focus of collective work in meetings and workshops, and course enrollment policies. The object is the goal of the activity through the district's goals, as a system, the school's goals, as a system and the teachers' work nested in those systems. In this study, it is looking at the district's goal of access and equity, and the different ways of organizing activity at the school and district level that afford and constrain that goal, especially for emergent bilinguals. See figure 1.2.

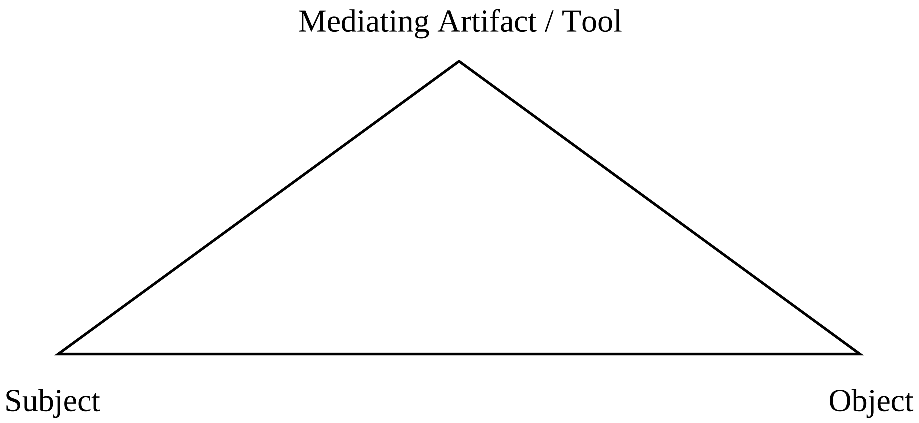
Mediating Artifact / Tool
Subject
Object

**Figure 1.1** Vygotsky's mediated action triangle (adapted from Cole & Engestrom, 1993).

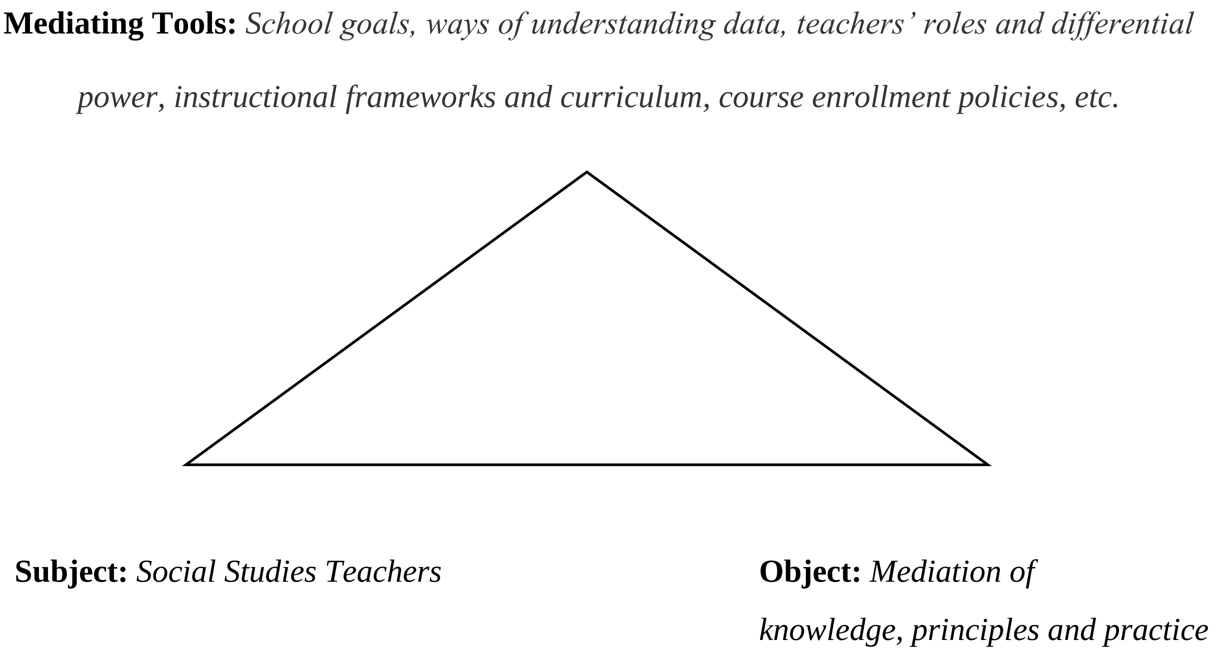
**Mediating Tools:** *School goals, ways of understanding data, teachers' roles and differential power, instructional frameworks and curriculum, course enrollment policies, etc.*
**Subject:** *Social Studies Teachers*
**Object:** *Mediation of knowledge, principles and practice*

**Figure 1.2** Vygotsky's mediated action triangle in this study (adapted from Cole & Engestrom, 1993).

In the context of a study that focuses on an EL mainstreaming policy as it is enacted at the district, school and teacher levels, a situative learning theory such as activity theory draws attention to the nature of collective activity among professionals across multiple spaces. Moreover, as Greeno writes, "In the situative perspective, the institutional contexts of activity systems are important in understanding learning" (2006, p. 89). This includes both learning of the individual and learning of the system, as it changes over time. This focus on joint work helps to illuminate how meaning-making occurs across activity settings. Here Engestrom's work offers a more elaborated model, which adds a focus on the participants' roles (2001).

Through a focus on *norms of participation* we can learn how teachers interact with each other and the different formal and informal spaces that teachers talk and do their work. Much scholarship points out the significance of subject area participation and collaboration, and how teachers interact around their work—whether it is in a formal, structured act of participation such as a professional development workshop or if it is in a less formal act, such as short daily conversations (Little & McLaughlin, 1993; Little, 1999; Coburn & Russell, 2006; Horn & Little, 2010; Horn, 2010).

Teachers also assume different *roles* in a school. A CHAT approach provides an opportunity to focus on how the division of labor is constructed. For example, which teachers are seen as leaders tells us something about the knowledge, principles or practices that are valued in the system. In this study, I examine how this mediates participation and learning at the school level—and what this means for teachers' opportunities to support their own learning in ways that support the emerging bilinguals in their classes.

Another area to focus on is the *goals* that teachers construct for their own work around teaching emergent bilinguals and the interaction with the broader goals and construction of work in the nested systems of the district and school. In the past scholars focused on how “activity emerges through a reciprocal process and transforms the subject, the object, and the relationship between the two and their context” (Yamagata-Lynch, 2010, p. 21; Davydov, 1999; Rogoff, 1995). Through a CHAT approach the main focus will be to identify this interaction (i.e., the teachers’ work—and how they learn through that work) as well as the characteristics of the nested activity systems of the district and school—and the mutually constitutive interactions across the district, school and teacher levels.

The tools of everyday activity among teachers are another way to specifically use a CHAT approach to better understand how contextual factors mediate their work. For example, the nature of shared curriculum materials—and the collective work to choose, modify or develop them—reveals much about shared ways of seeing students, the content, and the role of the teacher. Tools are a central focus to this study. Therefore, I devote more attention to this dimension of activity in the next section.

## Mediating Teacher Learning through Tools

*Tools* mediate human interactions and act as tools in the socio-cultural development of teaching. Grossman et al. write, “An activity theory framework for studying teacher learning would need to be concerned with identifying the tools that teachers use to guide and implement their classroom practice” (1999, p. 13). Specifically, I consider three tools: knowledge, principles and practices. Through this lens and focusing on these three tools the different work activities and contexts will be explored to understand how teachers approach their work in the EL mainstreamed classroom—and if and how this changes over time. The tools of knowledge, principles, and practices are both the results of what teachers learn and a mediating factor for what teachers learn (Lampert et al., 2013). Scholarship points out that "historical ways of knowing and doing are embedded in professional tools, and these embedded characteristics mediate novice and expert practice alike (Goodwin, 1994)" (Hebard, 2016, p.11). In other words, the knowledge, principles and practices that teachers learn and develop over time are influenced by what they already know, value and understand. Together, these kinds of tools will help to show how practices shift over time (Grossman et al.,1999).

To understand the role of tools in teachers' work over time, I employ the concept of *shared repertoires* (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger 1998). A shared repertoire is the collection of resources, skills, experiences, and tools that a community shares (Wenger, 1998). Tracing the shared repertoires of teachers over time will help to reveal how these resources, skills, experiences, and tools mediate the group's processes and learning across different activity settings. Different tools are appropriated as teachers move across settings and interact or in other words, "As professionals move across settings, their work is facilitated by shared ways of thinking and doing" (Hebard, 2016, p.11).

Building on Horn's conceptualization of teacher learning and teacher community through the use of shared repertoires, this study looks at teacher learning in different contexts through the tools of knowledge, principles, and practices as part of teachers' shared repertoires. How shared repertoires are constructed and what they are across teacher groups highlights how teachers experience a full-inclusion EL policy, think about their practice and adapt practice in the full-inclusion EL classroom. Furthermore, the role that district contexts play in constructing shared repertoires points to the role that policy and teacher community has in educational reform and teacher learning. Wenger points out different aspects in a shared repertoire (1998). One aspect is a shared history. In the context of teacher learning and teacher community a shared history is central to the development of knowledge, principles, and practices and underlies the activities and interactions in which teachers engage, both formally and informally. Arguably, it plays an even more central role in the informal activities and interactions because individuals implicitly draw on the established shared history. A second aspect is richness. This refers specifically to how language and discourse is used within a community, and more specifically in regards to communication and meaning-making. Through discourse teachers communicate, interpret and make meaning. A third aspect is ambiguity. In this sense ambiguity refers to how elements are viewed and interpreted as an extension of how language is used and understood within a specific community. By investigating teachers' shared repertoires and how they are developed among teachers in this full-inclusion EL policy context, this study will help to provide an opportunity to identify the features of activity settings that support teacher innovation and illuminate the process of innovation itself.

## Organization of the Rest of the Dissertation

Chapter Two provides an outline of the research design and analysis process that lead to the findings of this dissertation. The chapter also includes descriptions of the Madison School District context and portraits of the six focal teacher cases to serve as a backdrop for the findings and discussion included in the remaining chapters. Chapter Three, Four and Five offer in-depth descriptions of each high school and the case participants. These chapters also analyze how school discourse mediated teachers' knowledge, principles and practices across several themes. Chapter Six situates the discussion of prior chapters theoretically, conceptually, and poses implications for research, policy, and practice.

In Chapter Three, I introduce the Madison School District context and leading discourses of the district. I first describe and analyze the discourses of equity and elevating teachers as professionals in the context of the district's EL full-inclusion policy. In this chapter, I assert that teachers' knowledge, principles and practices are mediated by district and school discourses. I use Activity Theory to examine this work in context of a large school district and across two high schools. The dimensions of knowledge, principles, and practices present one way to see how district discourses align or contradict at schools and in teachers' experiences. Chapter Three explores how the role of racial equity, access through "AP for all", and accountability is taken up at each high school and ultimately by each focal teacher.  In Chapter Three I trace patterns across the district and both high schools, as well as across the focal participants. These patterns reflect how district and school discourses align and contradict and the consequences this has for authorizing teachers' knowledge, principles and practices. Building on these patterns it is important to explore them in the context of each school and teacher. This is where I turn to Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

Chapter Four examines discourse at the school level, specifically by looking at Woods High School. In this chapter, I argue that school discourses of rigor and tracking authorize teachers' knowledge, principle and practices through the way they see students and engage in planning and instruction. In this chapter, we explore what happens when district and school discourses contradict. This chapter also provides a unique glimpse across two teacher cases that contradict and highlight the power of school discourses. Through the focal case of Mr. Butler, we see how his case mirrors the school discourse of rigor and tracking and contradicts a district discourse of equity. In the case of Ms. Parks, we see how her case is at odds with the Woods discourse and aligns with the district discourses of equity and inclusion. However, despite being in alignment with the district discourse, the school discourse wins out and works to limit her ability to lead and learn. Ultimately, Chapter Three takes up the broader view and context of the Madison School District, while Chapter Four takes a closer look at the school-specific details of Woods High School and how teachers experience the EL policy at Woods and the mediation of knowledge, principles and practices through alignment and contradiction of discourses.

Chapter Five in a similar structure examines discourse at the school level, specifically by looking at Rivers High School. In this chapter, I argue that school discourses of equity and PBL authorize teachers' knowledge, principle and practices through the way they see students and engage in planning and instruction. In this chapter, we explore what happens when district and school discourses contradict. This chapter also provides a unique glimpse across two teacher cases that highlight the power of school discourses and space it can create for teacher autonomy and learning. Through the focal case of Mr. Jackson, we see how his case mirrors the school discourse of equity and PBL and aligns with a district discourse of equity. In the case of Mr. Gladwin, we see how his case also aligns with the Rivers and district discourse but challenges the discourse in an effort to extend the work and support for emergent bilingual students. Chapter Five takes a closer look at the school-specific details of Rivers High School and the power of mediating factors when school discourses align with district discourses.

Finally in Chapter Six, I discuss how this study's findings contribute to our understanding of how district- and school-level discourses interact in ways that are consequential for teachers' work. I reflect on the significance of school discourses for how content area teachers experience a new EL full-inclusion policy, and how these experiences mediate the knowledge, principles, and practices that they draw upon and seek out. In conclusion, I discuss key implications of this study for research, policy, and practice. In particular, I focus on three themes: 1) the role of school discourses in an equity-focused district; 2) the role of elevating teachers as professionals in pursuing an equity agenda; and 3) how school discourses authorize particular kinds of knowledge, principles, and practices through curriculum tools that are central to their identity.

## Chapter 2: STUDY DESIGN, METHODOLOGY, AND CASE STUDY PORTRAITS

To understand how district and school discourses acted as mediating factors developing teachers' work, I spent the 2016-2017 school year collecting data in Madison School District environment and two high schools. I followed six social studies teachers, three at each school focusing on their full-inclusion courses and the school- and district-level factors that informed that work. I examined the district and school discourses that shaped the professional learning context in this district, particularly with regard to context. By examining these settings alongside teachers' knowledge, principles and practices for teaching emergent bilingual students, I was able to uncover how factors at the district, school and teacher levels interact – and ultimately shape the opportunities to learn that emergent bilinguals experience in full-inclusion classes. In this study, I ask: How do alignment and contradictions across district discourses, school discourses and teachers' work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion policy? I then ask the following research questions to further guide this study:

1. In what ways does alignment and contradiction occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context?
2. How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals?
3. How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate opportunities for teacher- and school-level learning?

I employed a qualitative case study, a design that is useful to understand how different participants experience the context and conditions within that context (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2008). This study, sought to highlight teachers' experiences. Specifically, I focus on their interpretations of the inclusion policy, their school and their own teaching. Through this methodological approach I attempted to understand “how meaning is constructed, how people make sense of their lives and their worlds” (Merriam, 2009, p.24). This case study approach provided the opportunity to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin, 2008, p. 13). Contextually, I investigated the phenomenon of mainstreaming emergent bilinguals within the daily work and experiences of high school social studies teachers. Thus, I explored the nested cases of teachers’ work – the school and district contexts – through multiple sources, while bringing particular attention to how these teachers experienced the context. By understanding the context and nature of teachers’ work this study helps to reveal how these settings authorize particular kinds of knowledge, principles, and practices for teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting. Bromley (1986, p.23) points out that case studies by definition “get as close to the subject of interest as they possibly can”. This study design employs methods and leverages the researcher’s positionality within the research context to be as close to the daily work of teachers as possible.

## Case Selection

To investigate the phenomenon of full-inclusion practices for emergent bilinguals and the role of district discourses, I conducted my study in Madison School District (MSD), a diverse and growing suburban school district in the Pacific Northwest. The district as an organization, the individuals that worked in the EL department, the schools and the social studies teachers were all important actors in the implementation of this district EL policy. In the sections below, I describe the case selection process at the district, school, and teacher levels and provide a brief description of each.

**MSD.** I chose MSD as the focal district in my study because it is a suburban district located in an economically booming, fast growing, and densely populated region of the Pacific Northwest. Further, this district serves a wide range of emergent bilingual students with diverse backgrounds in languages represented, English proficiency levels, socioeconomic status, immigration status, newcomers, ethnicity and culture. In the 2016-2017 school year, there were a little over 20,000 students served by 28 schools. In MSD, 37% of students spoke a language other than English, while 15% qualified for ELL services. The students of MSD represented over 500 birth countries and consisted of the following racial demographics: 2% African American, 29% Asian, 11% Latino, 9% Multi-ethnic, and 36% White. MSD had a Free and Reduced Lunch percentage of 18% and this varied greatly by school. The district's four-year non-adjusted graduation rate in 2016-2017 was 89.5% (Office of State Superintendent Report Card, 2017).

In 2013-2014, MSD implemented a new EL policy of mainstreaming all EL proficiency levels at all middle and high schools, including newly arrived emergent bilinguals. Previous to the 2013-2014 school year, the district policy assigned all newly arrived emergent bilinguals and all EL proficiency levels to attend a centered school with sheltered content area classes in social studies, among other offerings. It was not until 2013-2014, as an outcome of this new policy shift, that many secondary social studies teachers in MSD taught emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting. Prior to this policy change, advanced proficiency level emergent bilinguals could attend their neighborhood school, but not beginner and intermediate proficiency level emergent bilinguals. As a selection process, I looked for a school district in the region in which an EL full-inclusion policy shift was occurring. Madison was a district that demonstrated the most aggressive and clearly articulated EL inclusion policies. I selected this district because of the ongoing policy context and what the district priorities would afford in terms of exploring discourse and teacher learning in the context of teaching emergent bilinguals in high school.

I selected Woods high school because it experienced the biggest increase in emergent bilinguals over the past three years since the policy went into effect. In the year 2012-2013, the high school had 28 emergent bilingual students. In subsequent years the school's enrollment of emergent bilinguals doubled, and in some years tripled. The other three comprehensive high schools did not see increases of this magnitude. Studying a context with the biggest increase in emergent bilinguals was helpful for understanding how full-inclusion policies are enacted because of the impact on teachers and the school. This study took place at two comprehensive high schools in MSD. One high school referred to as Woods High School enrolled 1543 students across grades nine through twelve. The percentage of students that qualified for Free and Reduced Lunch was 28%. Currently 5% of students qualified for ELL services, while 42% came from a home where a language other than English was spoken. The school was rich in cultural and linguistic diversity with a high percentage of emergent bilingual students being first generation immigrants and over 62 languages spoken by students at the school.

I selected Rivers High School because its population consisted of newly arrived emergent bilinguals before the policy shift and after the policy shift. Rivers enrolled 966 students across grades nine through twelve. The percentage of students that qualified for Free and Reduced Lunch was 41%. Currently 10% of students qualified for ELL services, while 35% came from a home where a language other than English was spoken. The school was rich in cultural and linguistic diversity with some ELL students being first generation immigrants and over 40 languages spoken by students at the school. Previous to the 2013-2014 school year, the district policy assigned all newly arrived emergent bilinguals and most other EL proficiency levels to attend Rivers High School where students took sheltered content area classes in social studies. Teachers at this schools had a range of experience teaching emergent bilinguals, including newcomers; while some teachers at Rivers had taught Sheltered classes, others had not. Selecting this school as a case provided another context to understand the phenomenon of full-inclusion and the nested contexts of district, school and teachers.

Table 1: Site Demographics

| | **Madison School District** | **Woods High School** | **Rivers High School** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Total Enrollment** | 20,362 | 1,543 | 966 |
| **% ELL** | 15% | 8% | 11% |
| **% Multilingual** | 37% | 42% | 35% |
| **% English Monolingual** | 63% | 58% | 65% |
| **% Free and Reduced Lunch** | 18% | 28% | 41% |
| **% Latino** | 11% | 15% | 18% |
| **% African-American** | 2% | 4% | 6% |
| **% White** | 36% | 35% | 47% |
| **% Asian** | 29% | 38% | 21% |
| **% Two or more races** | 9% | 9% | 7% |
| **4 Year Non-Adjusted Graduation Rate** | 89.5% | 87.4% | 84.2% |

**Case teachers.** To highlight the planned contrasts between the two high schools, I minimized variation between instructional contexts by limiting my sample to 9th and 10th grade social studies teachers. I chose these grade levels because they had the highest number of emergent bilingual students, as well as the greatest range of EL proficiency levels and student backgrounds. I focused on social studies because the policy shift meant that content area teachers in one school – Woods High School - now taught emergent bilinguals, whereas before these students were in sheltered ELL content classes at – Rivers High School - a different school in the district. The selection of social studies teachers from both schools provided a contrast in how teachers experienced and enacted this policy - and how they drew upon and developed knowledge, principles, and practices for teaching emergent bilinguals. Table 2 provides demographic information for the six case teachers and their teaching assignments for the study year. Table 3 provides demographic information for each teacher's focal class.

Table 2: Teacher Characteristics

| | **Teacher** | **Teaching Assignment** | **Years in Education** | **Ethnicity** | **Language Background** | **Gender** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Woods High School** | Mr. Butler | World History & IB/Gifted World History | 13 years | White, Jewish | English | Male |
| | Ms. Parks | AP Human Geography & AVID | 10 years | White | English, Spanish (socially) | Female |
| | Ms. Murray | AP Human Geography & AP World History | 5 years | White | English, German | Female |
| **Rivers High School** | Mr. Jackson | World History & AP World History | 14 years | White | English | Male |
| | Mr. Gladwin | AP Human Geography & US History | 12 years | White | English, Spanish (socially) | Male |
| | Mr. Smith | World History & US History | 1 year | White | English | Male |

Table 3: Focal Classroom Demographics

| **Woods High School** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Mr. Butler – 10th Grade World History**<br>**4th Period** | | |
| **Language Designation** | **Number of Students** | **Languages Spoken other than English** |
| Beginner ELL | 5 | Spanish (3), Farsi, Chinese |
| Intermediate ELL | 0 | N/A |
| Advanced ELL | 4 | Spanish (2), Arabic, Chinese |
| Transitional ELL | 3 | Spanish, Punjabi, French |
| Non-Designated Multilingual | 7 | Spanish, Chinese, French, Russian |
| Non-Designated Monolingual | 14 | N/A |

| **Rivers High School** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Mr. Jackson – 10th Grade World History**<br>**2nd Period** | | |
| **Language Designation** | **Number of Students** | **Languages Spoken other than English** |
| Beginner ELL | 4 | Spanish (2), Chinese, Vietnamese |
| Intermediate ELL | 1 | Chinese |
| Advanced ELL | 3 | Spanish (2), Russian, Chinese |
| Transitional ELL | 2 | Spanish, Chinese |
| Non-Designated Multilingual | 9 | Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese |
| Non-Designated Monolingual | 13 | N/A |

| **Woods High School** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Ms. Parks – 9th Grade AP Human Geography**<br>**1st Period** | | |
| **Language Designation** | **Number of Students** | **Languages Spoken other than English** |
| Beginner ELL | 2 | Spanish, Mandinka |
| Intermediate ELL | 0 | N/A |
| Advanced ELL | 4 | Spanish, Japanese, Russian, Hindi |
| Transitional ELL | 1 | Russian |
| Non-Designated Multilingual | 7 | Spanish (3), Chinese (2), Hindi, Russian |
| Non-Designated Monolingual | 17 | N/A |

| **Rivers High School** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Mr. Smith – World History**<br>**7th Period** | | |
| **Language Designation** | **Number of Students** | **Languages Spoken other than English** |
| Beginner ELL | 4 | Spanish |
| Intermediate ELL | 2 | Spanish, Vietnamese |
| Advanced ELL | 4 | Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabic |
| Transitional ELL | 1 | Spanish |
| Non-Designated Multilingual | 9 | Spanish (3), Chinese (3), Thai, Arabic, Korean |
| Non-Designated Monolingual | 9 | N/A |

| **Woods High School** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Ms. Murray – 9th Grade AP Human Geography**<br>**5th Period** | | |
| **Language Designation** | **Number of Students** | **Languages Spoken other than English** |
| Beginner ELL | 1 | Spanish |
| Intermediate ELL | 1 | Thai |
| Advanced ELL | 3 | Spanish, Russian (2) |
| Transitional ELL | 0 | |
| Non-Designated Multilingual | 8 | Spanish (2), Chinese (2), Japanese, Tagalog, French, Korean |
| Non-Designated Monolingual | 19 | N/A |

| **Rivers High School** | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Mr. Gladwin – 9th Grade AP Human Geography**<br>**5th Period** | | |
| **Language Designation** | **Number of Students** | **Languages Spoken other than English** |
| Beginner ELL | 4 | Spanish (2), Farsi, Vietnamese |
| Intermediate ELL | 1 | Chinese |
| Advanced ELL | 2 | Spanish, Korean |
| Transitional ELL | 2 | Spanish, Chinese |
| Non-Designated Multilingual | 11 | Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Arabic |
| Non-Designated Monolingual | 13 | N/A |

In this study, I employed purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002). Purposeful sampling allowed me to intentionally select social studies teachers that would lead to an understanding of the research problem at hand. The participants consisted of six full-inclusion social studies teachers, three teachers at each school. The highest population of emergent bilinguals and also widest range of language proficiency levels for secondary students was at the ninth and tenth grade in this district. For this reason, the content classes of focus were world history and/or Advanced Placement Human Geography. At both high schools, students began social studies with Advanced Placement Human Geography and then world history was the next course in the social studies sequence. The selection of teacher participants was based on the following criteria: 1) teach at least one section of high school full-inclusion social studies – world history or AP human geography; and 2) currently teach emergent bilinguals. It was not part of the criteria that teachers be ELL endorsed, as this was not a district or Washington State requirement to teach emergent bilinguals in the full-inclusion content area, and in fact few teachers in these schools were ELL endorsed. I also chose the social studies content area because of the academic language demands and the rich content and disciplinary possibilities, as well as the continued increase of national and state standards.

**Secondary informants.** Additionally, I interviewed the ELL Director and ELL Curriculum Developer from the ELL district department in order to gain contextual understanding of the EL policy and district context. I also engaged in informal conversations with teachers, school administrators, and other district leaders through my job. As I discuss next, I was deeply integrated into the setting.

**Positionality.** My positionality in this study as a researcher and also the district EL instructional coach provided advantages and challenges. Advantages included the increased access I had to the schools, classrooms, and teachers. In addition, I had background knowledge of district systems and resources, as well as the schools, which I was able to deepen through this study. Another advantage was my relationships with participants and secondary informants. For example, this was a possible affordance in interviews and observing different classroom as participants invited me to attend more and felt more comfortable during the data collection process. One challenge of my positionality was the possibility of bias in the interpretation of data (Merriam, 2009). I worked to mitigate the possibility by triangulating data and member checking.

## Data Collection

The data collection for this study consisted of one phase that spanned the school year from August to June. The phase consisted of selection and initial data collection. Initial data collection consisted of teacher interviews, classroom observations and conversations through a lesson sequence process, artifact collection, and meeting observations. Additional data collection took place during lesson sequences, follow-up interviews and further artifact analysis.

Table 4: Data Collection Timeline

| | August 2016 | September 2016 | October – December 2016 | January – February 2017 | March – April 2017 | May – June 2017 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | |
| Woods High School Data Collection | | | Lesson Sequence Observations | | | |
| | | | *1 2 3*<br>*1 2 3*<br>*1 2 3* | | *1 2 3*<br>*1 2 3* | |
| | | | *From October through April, I observed each focal participant and the focal classroom for at least one lesson sequence. The lesson sequence consisted of three sequential classroom visits to the same period.* | | | |
| | | Initial Focal Teacher Interview | *Pre-* *Post*<br>*Pre-* *Post*<br>*Pre-* *Post* | | *Pre-* *Post*<br>*Pre-* *Post* | Final Focal Teacher Interview |
| | | One initial interview was completed with each participant. | *The lesson sequence observations consisted of a planning interview with the focal participant before the lesson sequence and a reflection interview after the lesson sequence. The P box indicates planning interviews. The R box indicates relfection interviews.* | | | One final interview was completed with each participant. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rivers High School Data Collection | | | Lesson Sequence Observations | |
| | | | 🟨 *1 2 3* 🟨 *1 2 3*<br>🟪 *1 2 3*<br>🟥 *1 2 3* 🟥 *1 2 3* | |
| | | | *From October through April, I observed each focal participant and the focal classroom for at least one lesson sequence. The lesson sequence consisted of three sequential classroom visits to the same period.* | |
| | | Initial Focal Teacher Interview | 🟨 *Pre-* *Post* 🟨 *Pre-* *Post*<br>🟪 *Pre-* *Post*<br>🟥 *Pre-* *Post* 🟥 *Pre-* *Post* | Final Focal Teacher Interview |
| | | One initial interview was completed with each participant. | *The lesson sequence observations consisted of a planning interview with the focal participant before the lesson sequence and a reflection interview after the lesson sequence. The P box indicates planning interviews. The R box indicates relfection interviews.* | One final interview was completed with each participant. |
| Madison School District / ELL Department Data Collection | Observe MSD Leadership Institute | ELL Director Interview & ELL Curriculum Develop Interview | ELL Facilitator Interview | |

**Woods High School**

Mr. Butler 🟦

Ms. Parks 🟧

Ms. Murray 🟩

**Rivers High School**

Mr. Jackson 🟨

Mr. Gladwin 🟥

Mr. Smith 🟪

**Strategies and procedure.** Data collection consisted of semi-structured interviews with individual participants, classroom observations, planning and reflection conversations around lessons, document analysis, and attending school professional development sessions. My role as a participant observer was to observe during classroom observations and also engage in conversation with participants as opportunities allowed. This level of interaction was often building from planning conversations we had before the lesson. The ability to collect documents, engage participants in information interviews, as well as lesson specific interviews through planning and reflection conversations, and then also observe classroom lessons provided for a range of data to be collected and analyzed. Through the use of multiple sources and approaches, data was collected to provide insight and understanding into teachers' work and school and district discourses related to the EL full-inclusion policy enactment. These multiple sources of evidence supported "the development of converging lines of inquiry" (Yin, 2008, p. 98). Through the triangulation of data "multiple sources of evidence essentially provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon" (Yin, 2008, p. 99).

**Document Analysis.** A portion of my data collection was devoted to identifying and understanding district and school discourses. In order to do this I began with analyzing district and school artifacts such as school improvement plans from each high school and Madison's Strategic Plan. This process was exploratory, informed by a focus on how these systems identified themselves and organized their work. To guide this process, I mostly draw on the work and process of Emergent Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) from Altheide et al. (2008). This process allowed for an openness to defining and understanding categories and codes as I moved through the data analysis and writing stages.

I first began with analyzing the Madison School District Strategic Plan, which included district initiatives and priorities. From there I moved to analyzing board reports available to the public.  Through this analysis, Madison's dominant discourses emerged. From there I looked closely at the two case high schools. I examined School Improvement Plans; school websites; school OneNote notebooks, where shared lesson plans were housed; and resources from school professional development sessions. I looked specifically at these artifacts to get a better understanding of how district and school discourses and points of alignment and tension between them in the context of teaching emergent bilingual students. I analyzed each artifact set, looking for common occurrences of terms; parallel and contradicting ideas and references to emergent bilinguals, language or race. I then compared across the district and each high school to understand how discourses in these systems aligned and contradicted.

After multiple reads of the artifacts, I wrote memos about terms and phrases that appeared frequently. I also created a matrix of terms that defined how they were being used at the district level, and in each high school. This provided a foundation to then analyze how these discourses mediated knowledge, principles and practices for each case participant. Throughout this process, I returned to the literature to deepen my analysis of the discourses at play.

**Semi-structured interviews.** In this study I developed and used semi-structured interview protocols to guide initial and follow-up interviews (Patton, 2002; Merriam, 2009). These interviews were used to answer the overarching research question: How do alignment and contradictions across district discourses, school discourses and teachers' work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion policy? I then ask the following research questions: 1) In what ways do alignment and contradictions occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context? 2) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals? 3) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate opportunities for teacher- and school-level learning? In particular semi-structured interviews were helpful in eliciting information for all four research questions. Each social studies teacher was formally interviewed three times, once in the fall, prior to any observations, once at the start of the second semester or around lesson observations, and once at the end of the year.

The interviews lasted between 40 and 70 minutes; they averaged 45 minutes. The interview in the beginning of the year began with descriptive questions designed to build rapport, introduce them to the study; and gather demographic, contextual and experiential information. This interview protocol consisted of questions such as: "Describe your role as a social studies teacher at your school. What classes do you teach? Can you tell me a little about these classes? Who is in them? Purpose, goals, etc?" and "Can you tell me about social studies department meetings and school or other district meetings and/or professional development opportunities you attend?" I followed up by asking more specific questions about how these experiences related to teaching emergent bilinguals and the district's EL full-inclusion policy more broadly. At the end of the year, I began the interview with structural questions about particular instances of professional development experiences, classroom instances or other interactions related to teaching emergent bilinguals or the equity work in the district or schools. I then followed with broader descriptive questions such as: "What have been some of your experiences this year teaching in an EL full-inclusion classroom with all EL proficiency levels?" and "What would you say are the most important resources you have drawn on this year in teaching ELL students?" (For full protocol, see Appendix A).

Interviews took place in teachers' classrooms, department offices or other meeting spaces in the school. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. I also took notes during the interviews to recall responses and to inform follow-up interviews. I documented all conversations that occurred before and after observations in field notes. My analysis was based on both audio transcripts and my notes.

I chose semi-structured interviews in order to provide some guidance in the interviewing process, but also the opportunity for participants to articulate their experiences and talk openly about what they were experiencing and how they were thinking about the research and interview questions. Merriam writes, "Less structured formats [semi-structured] assume that individual respondents define the world in unique ways…this format allows the researcher to respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondent, and to new ideas on the topic" (2009, p. 90). Semi-structured interviews in this study allowed for both participants and researcher to explore ideas on topics, construct meaning and share experiences together. It also allowed for an opportunity to identify aligning or contradicting discourses between the participants, schools and district.

Table 5: Formal Interviews

| **Data Collection** | | **Number** |
|---|---|---|
| **Interviews** | Teacher Initial Interview | 6 |
| | Teacher End of Year Interview | 6 |
| | Lesson Sequence Planning Interview | 10 |
| | Lesson Sequence Reflection Interview | 10 |
| | District ELL Department Leader Interviews | 2 |
| **Total** | | **34** |

## Observations at District, School, and Classroom Levels

In this study participant observation played an important role and method of data collection. Specifically, I assumed the stance of “observer as participant” (Merriam, 2009, p. 124). An “observer as participant” assumes an insider status and close relationship to the participants and may at times engage in participatory activities. However, “participation in the group is definitely secondary to the role of information gatherer” (p. 124). The research and my role was known to participants and students. Throughout my methodology and research, I sought to acknowledge both the opportunities and limitations a participant observational approach offers.

For all the observations, I kept field notes by jotting down ideas and descriptions of the environment and interactions as well as phrases and words verbatim, including reflective comments as an observer to further document my observations and thinking (Lofland et al., 2004; Emerson, 1995; Merriam, 2009). I maintained a balance of both detailed focus and open relationship to participants through the jotting of observations and experiences. I kept a field notes journal in which I recorded jottings and additional observations or conversations that happened. In addition to jotting a narrative of events in real time during the observation, I entered jottings into the journal each afternoon or evening after an observational event.

## District and School Level Observations

During both phases of this study, I sought out additional observational opportunities such as department meetings, planning meetings, professional development sessions and other opportunities that might provide insights into understanding the organizational terrain and workings of the district, school and teachers. For example, at both schools I attended professional development workshops on a few different occasions. I attended school-wide professional development sessions, as well as choice sessions that occurred. When invited or I learned about department or grade level team meetings I also attended those meetings. At Rivers High School, I attended some of the planning meetings between world history teachers because I was invited.

Classroom observation helped with understanding context and informed my understanding of EL instructional practice and the nature of a teacher's work and experience. It provided data specifically to understand teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals – and interviews helped to uncover how district and school discourses mediated those choices. Classroom observation focused on student population, teacher pedagogy, curriculum choices, organization of activities, norms, participation patterns of students, teacher talk and student work (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Merriam, 2009). Through these observations, I began to develop a portrait of teachers' knowledge, principles and practices. I recorded field notes by creating a narrative of events, pictures, jotting notes of teacher moves and sayings, and taking digital images of class tasks in OneNote, PowerPoint and Word documents.

In this study, I visited participating teacher classrooms at least three times each, through the lesson sequence process, which will be further discussed in the next section. Each visit lasted a minimum of 40 minutes and on block days ranged up to 90 minutes. The average total time of classroom observations across a three-day lesson sequence was 140 minutes. I began observations for each teacher after the initial teacher interview in the fall. Before and after the three days of classroom observations there was an interview[5].

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[5] The details of these interviews are discussed further in the Lesson Sequence section.

**Lesson sequence interviews and observations.** The lesson sequence protocol was distinct in its protocol and process in that it consisted of brief semi-structured interviews and classroom observations spanning a three-day period. A primary goal was to understand how principles and repertoires of practice when teaching emergent bilingual students. The lesson sequence process consisted of a planning interview and conversation that on average lasted 20 minutes and took place the day before the first lesson. During this interview I asked questions such as: "Tell me about the upcoming lesson sequence (3 lessons). What are the big ideas or essential questions you plan to grapple with? What are you expecting students to do/learn?" and "Are you expecting this lesson in any way to be different for ELLs? If so, in what ways?" (See Appendix A).

The second part of the lesson sequence protocol consisted of a three-day visit to the classroom to observe the lessons. The final part of the lesson sequence was a reflection interview that took place following the last observation. This was an opportunity to formally ask about instances in the lesson, make connections back to the planning interview, and ask further questions about teaching emergent bilinguals in this EL policy context. The reflection interview lasted 25 minutes on average. During this interview, I asked questions such as: "What went well in the past three lessons? And for whom? - Probe: Why do you think that is?" and "How did this lesson [or task] go for ELLs? - Probe: What makes you think that?" The lesson sequence was integral in taking a closer look at teachers' daily experiences with the EL full-inclusion policy and how school discourse authorized teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices.

## Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection and following the completion of data collection. I used open coding initially (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Miles, Huberman &

Saldaña, 2013; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996) to identify patterns and themes early in the analysis process. I focused on district, school and teacher documents, interview transcripts, jottings, field notes, and observation protocols from the lesson sequences to identify patterns and generate codes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). For example, I developed codes that emerged from district statements and plans, participants' focus on these statements and plans, as well as specific examples of knowledge, principles and practices that surfaced in each teacher participant. I also developed codes based on the literature on teaching emergent bilinguals and CHAT. I used code reports to read back through the data by themes, refine the analysis, and check for supporting and disconfirming evidence. Strauss (1987) argues that the process of coding is about much more than categories. Researchers and methodologists talk about the importance of using coding to not just reduce and focus data, but also to "complicate and expand qualitative data" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Strauss states that coding is also about "conceptualizing the data, raising questions, providing provisional answers about the relationships among and within the data, and discovering the data" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p. 31). This form of thinking guided my interactions with the data and coding process. The coding process helped to uncover patterns in school and district discourses, as instantiated through who they said they were, how they organized activity, and how these "ways of being and doing" impacted the education of emergent bilinguals. I also developed data matrices to make connections between my research questions, concepts, findings and claims.

**Post-observation and interview memos.** After each interview and lesson sequence observations, I returned to my field notes to add short memos in an attempt to capture themes and develop themes that were appearing over time. I tracked the following areas: 1) district discourses; 2) school discourses; 3) focal teachers' keep and use of knowledge, principles, and practices; and 4) how theses discourses mediated teachers' work and opportunities to learn. Throughout the data analysis process, I wrote analytic memos to identify relationships in the data, as well to further refine my thinking about the data. This included examining my own positionality and close proximity to the district and school contexts, and the teachers. Memos initially allowed me the chance to focus on specific data points from interviews, observations and/or documents. As the data analysis process progressed, I wrote memos in response to my analysis questions. I also wrote additional memos about emerging themes and potential findings, such as the role of rigor in this study or the visibility and invisibility of emergent bilinguals as authorized by school discourses. The memos focusing on specific participants or schools ultimately served as ways to cross-analyze with other participants, the other school and the district.

**Coding.** I used an initial coding scheme for data analysis from district, school and teacher data sets, this study's theoretical framework and literature on EL Policy, organizational structures, the conceptual framework of knowledge, principles and practices and teacher learning. These initial codes informed data analysis by establishing themes and patterns between the district and each school, as well as across the six participants and their schools. These codes allowed me to identify key features of the broader themes, such as equity, inclusion, rigor, and elevating teachers as professionals. These codes also allowed me to get a glimpse into how teachers were experiencing this EL policy over time and specifically in the social studies disciplinary context. For example, I used the code family "Language Proficiency Level Knowledge" to trace areas of focus that occurred in each teacher's mediation of knowledge, principles, and practice as teachers of emergent bilinguals.

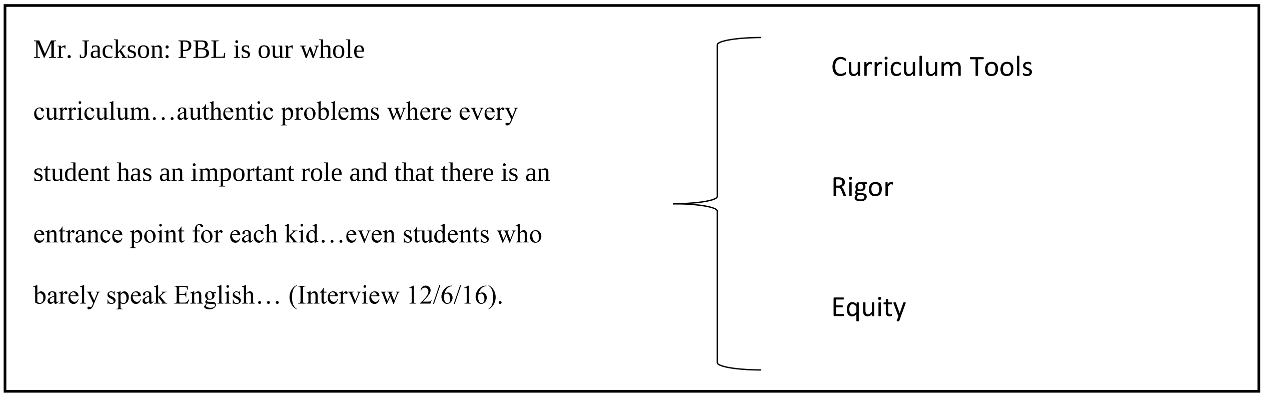
Table 6. Sample Codes by Family

Table 6

Sample Codes by Family

| Setting (S) | | Knowledge (K) | | Principles (Princ) | | Practices (Prac) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Setting: Madison School District | MSD | Language | LK: Second Language Acquisition<br>LK: Scaffolding<br>LK: SIOP / EL Instruction<br>LK: Accommodations<br>LK: Proficiency Level Understanding | Equity | E: Inclusion<br>E: Social Justice<br>E: Access | Planning | P: Adaptations<br>P: Identify Language Demands<br>P: Scaffolds<br>P: Grouping<br>P: Language opportunities |
| Setting: Woods High School | WHS | Student | SK: Student language backgrounds<br>SK: Student Experiences General<br>SK: Student interests | Rigor | R: AP<br>R: IB<br>R: Honors<br>R: Social Studies skills<br>R: Access<br>R: PBL | Instruction | I: Scaffolds<br>I: Grouping<br>I: Participation<br>I: Access<br>I: Tasks<br>I: Rigor |
| Setting: Rivers High School | RHS | Content | C: Pedagogical Content Knowledge<br>C: Disciplinary Literacy<br>C: Curriculum | | | Curriculum | C: Alignment<br>C: Tools<br>C: Adaptation<br>C: EL Focus<br>C: Disciplinary Literacy |

Subsequent coding created “pattern codes” that chunked data to map out patterns in the data. This occurred both within participant cases and across participant cases. It also occurred across the two high schools. For example, in one instance teachers talked about the curriculum tools that guided what they thought of as rigorous planning and teaching for emergent bilinguals. While all teachers spoke to viewing rigor as central to their work, Mr. Jackson framed it within his instructional framework of PBL and made clear connections to teaching emergent bilinguals and the equity focus of the school. In this example below, I coded “PBL is our whole curriculum” as “Curriculum Tools”, “authentic problems” and “every student has an important role” as “Rigor” and “entrance point for each kids” as “Equity”. In this example these codes helped identify how Mr. Jackson talked about his planning and teaching in his school context.



Mr. Jackson: PBL is our whole curriculum…authentic problems where every student has an important role and that there is an entrance point for each kid…even students who barely speak English… (Interview 12/6/16).

*Figure 3.* Example Coding

**Data Displays.** With nine months of collected data, including many district documents, 39 interview transcripts, observation field notes and other artifacts – as well as my insider knowledge and access as a teacher and instructional coach in this district for six years, the size of this data set was lengthy and diverse in sources. Through the use of data displays, I was able to visually represent ideas, make connections across cases and also talk through potential findings and evidence. For example, after coding school documents, teacher interviews at each school, and observational data, I transferred key patterns on to a whiteboard organized by overarching district discourse categories and arranged them visually to show alignment or contradiction between school and district discourses. A sample of this visual is displayed in Figure 4 below. It shows how Rivers and Woods take up the same district discourse but in differing ways through a KPP framework.

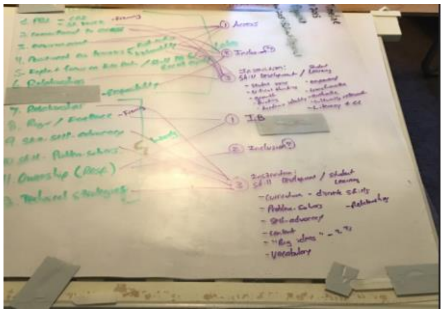


*Figure 4.* Example data display

Another way I thought about data and data analysis was using a display to connect analysis questions to research questions. Table 7 is one example of how I thought about the connections between the research questions, data sources, and data analysis.

Table 7: Display of research questions, data sources, and analysis questions

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Table 7<br><i>Display of research questions, data sources, and analysis questions</i></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"><b>RESEARCH QUESTION:</b><br>How do alignment and contradictions across district discourses, school discourses and teachers’ work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion policy?</td></tr>
<tr><td>SUB-QUESTIONS:</td><td>Data Sources</td><td>Sample Analysis Questions</td></tr>
<tr><td>a) In what ways does alignment and contradiction occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context?</td><td>• Field notes and transcriptions of classroom observations.<br>• Transcriptions of audio-recorded interviews with teachers and ELL department members.<br>• Analysis of district and school documents and artifacts.</td><td>• How does context mediate what teachers do and talk about in regards to teaching emergent bilinguals a full-inclusion social studies classroom?<br>• How does full-inclusion EL policy afford or limit teachers’ opportunities to focus on teaching ELs? Examples?<br>• What district or building policies or initiatives are in place that increase the visibility of ELs?<br>• How do teachers view or talk about teaching ELs in social studies classroom?</td></tr>
</table>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | • What discourse patterns are occurring? What are teachers saying? |
| b) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals? | • Field notes and transcriptions of classroom observations.<br>• Field notes and transcriptions of professional development meetings.<br>• Transcriptions of audio-recorded interviews with teachers.<br>• Analysis of district and school documents and artifacts. | • How do teachers talk about curriculum? Do they talk about EL scaffolds or accommodations specifically? In what detail or depth?<br>• How do teachers and the district see students through the identified discourses?<br>• In what ways are discourses of instruction integrated or separated when focusing on teaching ELs in a full-inclusion setting?<br>• What are teachers saying and how are they saying it?<br>• What are teachers doing and how are they doing it?<br>• How do teachers reference data about their students? ELs? |
| c) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate opportunities for teacher- and school-level learning? | • Field notes and transcriptions of classroom observations.<br>• Field notes and transcriptions of professional development meetings.<br>• Transcriptions of audio-recorded interviews with teachers.<br>• Analysis of district and school documents and artifacts. | • How are specific school discourses authorized by what teachers say, school improvement plans and goals, schools meetings and professional development sessions, and other artifacts?<br>• How is time used by teachers in each school, department, district as it relates to learning to teach ELs?<br>• What is the support around learning to teach ELs in this policy context?<br>• How do discourses position students as a problem to be fixed or an opportunity to learn? |

**Validity.** I used a variety of strategies to establish validity and reliability (Merriam, 2009). The first was triangulation between multiple sources of data (interviewing, observations, and document analysis). For example, I used interview transcripts and classroom observation field notes to triangulate claims about their knowledge, principles, and practices. Additionally, through using the lesson sequence protocol, I was able to spend more time in the classroom and observing the lesson arc in ways that are different from a one-time visit. Reflection interviews took place after each classroom observation as a way to directly connect observation and interview findings. Additionally, end of the year interviews took place to look back across the study timeframe and year.

A second strategy used was member checks. This strategy for enhancing validity is particularly important due to my insider status and position in the district. Maxwell (1996) writes, “This is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do and the perspective they have on what is going on, as well as being an important way of identifying your own biases and misunderstanding of what you observed” (p.111). After two to three interviews and at least one lesson sequence observation cycle, I shared transcripts and field notes with each participant to confirm, validate and further discuss or clarify my initial interpretations.

A third strategy I employed was examining my positioning/reflexivity as a researcher. In addition to a field notes journal I also kept a researcher journal regarding assumptions, biases, emergent themes, theoretical orientations, critical emergence, my personal relationship to study and interpretations. This provided me the chance to reflect on data and participants and also remember by my role as a human research instrument and insider in this study. I attempted to write in this journal on a consistent basis for at least five minutes on the days I conducted data collection and data analysis.

**Limitations.** As with all research, the research methodology of this study has some limitations. First, this study was limited due to time and duration of the study. The district is a big district with many secondary teachers that are experiencing this policy. Due to the constraints of completing this study for a doctoral dissertation, I was limited in time, resources and ability to go beyond two high schools and one content area department of teachers. I only examined two schools in which this policy shift occurred to better understand contextual factors, EL policy enactment, and discourses as mediating factors. During a timeframe of 9 months it can be difficult to see how knowledge, principles, and practices take shape through discourses. However, I observed and theorized about what factors provided opportunities to learn and how this developed for individual teachers over time based on observed and reported shifts in their knowledge, principles, and practices.

A second limitation to the research methodology involved studying collaboration and collaborative interactions and settings. In the proposal and initial study design, I anticipated studying how teachers interacted in collaborative spaces, such as PLCs and department meetings. I designed the study with this in mind based on prior years experience in this district and collaboration being a key aspect of the district's priority to elevating teachers as professionals and encouraging spaces for teacher learning. However, the year of the study was a new contract year and one of the changes that occurred was a change in when meetings times could occur for each school. This change triggered a drastic shift in how and when teachers could meet. The more I asked teachers about collaborative spaces and groups, the more I found at the two case high school sites they had been dissolved and currently were non-existent. Thus, I was able to attend and collect data from school meetings and professional development sessions, but not from school or department PLCs.

A third limitation was focusing not being able to include student participants or voice in a study that focused on district discourses of equity and inclusion, and the shifting EL policy context. The main reason for this was again the time constraints. In some ways this was a loss because of the relationships and access I had to students from my role as a teacher and instructional coach at Rivers and Woods high schools. In future studies, I hope to include a greater focus on students.

Another limitation of the study does not pertain to the data as much as it does to me as the researcher. My role as an instructional leader and district ELL coach in the district presented complexity and bias to interpreting data and sorting specific data points from participants and other data sources and my own historical and institutional knowledge of the Madison School District, the EL policy and each high school. I have worked closely with many teachers and leaders at each of these schools throughout the past six years and continue to this very day. While this might be a limitation it was also a great affordance and advantage to be able to qualitatively engage with the context from an insider position and also have frequent access to classrooms, participants, school events, and many other contextual factors that shape discourse. In this study I intentionally attempted to position myself not just as researcher, but as fellow teacher and colleague and one attempting to capture teacher voice, to hear teachers' stories, and to ultimately capture teachers' experiences of a policy shift toward EL full-inclusion. It is through a reflexive positioning that I ascribed to interpreting and analyzing data and myself as a researcher.

### Study Participants: Portraits of the Teacher Cases

The remainder of this chapter describes the teacher cases that are central to the following chapters. I present a portrait of each case teacher – who she or he is, characteristics about their teaching assignments, and outlook on professional development and district priorities. In Chapters Three through Six, I will build on these portraits to analyze and discuss how school discourses act as mediating factors in developing teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices, as well as act as authorizing agents of teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices.

### Ms. Murray

> "I think just being really mindful of our time we spend doing PD. I have heard from many colleagues and I would agree that it is not well spent and there is very little that is talked about with ELL students and I know that a lot of teachers, we really always want to be better at what we are doing and I value that with our staff" (Interview 10/27/16).

Ms. Murray was an experienced teacher with three years of teaching experience abroad and five years in the United States. She was in her fifth year of teaching in the Madison School District and at Woods High School. She had a background teaching English abroad and a range of social studies courses from AP human geography to government. During the 2016-2017 school year, Ms. Murray taught AP Human Geography and AP World History. Ms. Murray's most recent professional development focused on AP World History. She had experience attending a range of different AP trainings. Ms. Murray is a white female, English speaker who grew up in a German speaking family, so speaks German also. She has some conversational fluency in Thai from living and teaching abroad. Ms. Murray was not ELL endorsed and had not attended any SIOP trainings. She had experiences teaching different proficiency levels of emergent bilinguals and different language groups since she began teaching. Ms. Murray's language knowledge had developed over time based on her own language experiences and experiences teaching multilingual students, but not through any formal trainings or professional development.

### Ms. Parks

> [Inclusion] is not a priority, and it is a concern. Because I think that if your leadership doesn't see it as a priority, then why would the teachers see it as a priority—unless there are teachers who are already caring about that (Interview 2/2/17).

Ms. Parks was a veteran teacher of ten years. She was in her fifth year of teaching in the Madison School District and third year at Woods High School. She had a background teaching a range of social studies courses from world history to government, as well as AP Human Geography and an Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) course. During the 2016-2017 school year, Ms. Parks taught AP Human Geography and AVID. Ms. Parks' most recent professional development focused on SIOP, racial equity training and AVID strategies. She also had experiences attending AP trainings. Ms. Parks is a white female, English speaker who spoke some conversational Spanish. She had a variety of international travel experiences. She had experiences teaching a range of EL proficiency levels in both of these classes. Ms. Parks was not ELL endorsed but had attended SIOP training multiple times offered by the ELL department. The last SIOP training she attended was in the fall of 2016. She had experiences teaching different proficiency levels of emergent bilinguals and different language groups since she began teaching. Ms. Parks' language knowledge had developed over time based on her own language experiences, experiences teaching multilingual students, and attending EL-related trainings. She had a working knowledge of second language development and linguistically relevant pedagogies to support students.

### Mr. Butler

> "I just basically taught AP or IB classes for about four or five years, so last year was the first year I came back to teaching a non-AP/IB class and all of the sudden I had a bunch of ELL students" (Interview 10/27/16).

Mr. Butler was in his thirteenth year of teaching at Woods High School with a background teaching IB and AP honors social studies courses. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Butler taught world history and AP world history. Mr. Butler's pedagogical expertise focused mostly on teaching Advanced Placement or IB courses. Mr. Butler regularly attended the

AP Institute each year, which focused on developing Advanced Placement curriculum. Mr. Butler is a white, Jewish male and English monolingual. He was not ELL endorsed, but he had attended some Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) professional development sessions offered by the ELL department. Mr. Butler had no formal training in teaching emergent bilinguals, nor any specific professional development experience outside of attending a few introductory SIOP trainings. In fact, the school year of 2015-2016 was his first year teaching emergent bilinguals, and he had eleven emergent bilinguals in one world history class—ranging from five Beginners to six Advanced English proficiency level language learners who spoke six different languages. Additionally, Mr. Butler's language knowledge was limited. He had limited exposure to teaching emergent bilingual students, as well as limited knowledge of second language development and linguistically relevant pedagogies to support students.

### Mr. Jackson

> "Our whole curriculum is PBL. Authentic problems where every student has an important role and there is an entrance point for each kid. Even the kid that can almost barely understand anything, can participate and I can measure some of what he or she is getting and can say okay this kid was able to restate this position or state this position" (Interview 2/6/17).

Mr. Jackson was in his fourteenth year of teaching in the Madison School District and at Rivers High School. He had a background teaching world history and AP world history. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Jackson taught two sections of world history and three sections of AP world history. Mr. Jackson regularly attended social studies department meetings at Rivers and at the district, which focused on both AP course development and core world history. Mr. Jackson is a white male and English monolingual. He often traveled internationally during his summers, including visiting places such as Kenya, Oman, and Zanzibar, and taking language classes while there. He had experiences with different proficiency levels of English learners and different language groups since he began teaching. Mr. Jackson's class demographics had been similar across the past several years consisting of a range of student needs, including different language speakers, proficiency levels, IEP needs and other needs. Mr. Jackson was not ELL endorsed and attended the SIOP professional development training a few years ago when Rivers high had a required school-wide SIOP training. Despite not having any formal training in teaching emergent bilinguals, Mr. Jackson shared that he had attended several different EL-related trainings offered by the ELL department and teachers at Rivers high school. Mr. Jackson demonstrated a depth of language knowledge and disciplinary skills knowledge and a desire to know more and do more specifically related to teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting.

### Mr. Smith

> I mean definitely it [instructional practice] is still evolving obviously, since I have only been at it for a few months. I think the biggest thing is that I am trying to pick out the themes and concepts that I feel like are really important for students to know. And then using the historical context around those themes and concepts as a vehicle (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Smith was in his first year of teaching after a career change. In his previous career, he worked in marketing for a large social media company. He started teaching at Rivers during the year of the study after completing his Master's in Teaching at a local university. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Smith taught two sections of world history and two sections of US history. Mr. Smith regularly attended social studies department meetings at Rivers and at the district. He shared being new to both classes he focused on both every opportunity he got. However, thanks to the support of Mr. Jackson his classroom neighbor he often focused on world history. He also felt like the student needs were greatest in the world history sections. Mr. Smith is a white male and English monolingual. Mr. Smith was ELL endorsed, but had not attended SIOP training or any other district trainings related to teaching emergent bilinguals. Mr. Smith was new to teaching and expressed a high-interest and passion for supporting all students and using his knowledge from his endorsement programs to be a better teacher and collaborate.

### Mr. Gladwin

> "I think that for a student to really engage in the world in a way where they are experiencing their own sense of empowerment, requires that they can make decisions for themselves and access the information that they need to do that and ultimately that is what I think social studies is about" (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Gladwin was an experienced teacher of twelve years. He was in his first year of teaching in the Madison School District and at Rivers High School. He had a background teaching middle school social studies and English language arts, as well as high school social studies courses. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Gladwin taught AP human geography and US history. Mr. Gladwin's pedagogical training in the past focused mostly on literacy and collaborating with interdisciplinary grade level teams. Mr. Gladwin was a white male and native English speaker. He spoke some Spanish socially and would use Spanish from time to time with students. Mr. Gladwin was not ELL endorsed, nor SIOP trained. He taught a wide range of emergent bilinguals and students from diverse backgrounds and lower socioeconomic backgrounds in his last school setting. His current student populations were the same. Despite not being ELL endorsed or having attended any ELL trainings, Mr. Gladwin demonstrated a growing understanding of language development and teaching emergent bilinguals. He demonstrated a deep knowledge of general literacy understanding and also specific disciplinary literacy.

## Conclusion

The purpose of the study is to better understand how district and school discourses mediate social studies teachers' work in the context of a mainstreaming EL policy. A shift towards mainstreaming presents complexities for teachers' work in a full-inclusion setting. It also presents potential affordances for teachers to develop knowledge, principles and practices to support the learning and educational experiences of emergent bilinguals. Gaining a better understanding of the interaction between district discourses, school discourses and teachers' experiences and opportunities will provide insights into how teachers' work might be supported through the nested contexts in which it takes place.

This study contributes to both literature on teacher learning, as well as literature on ELL programs and policies. Through specifically highlighting the role of context and how context supports teacher enactment through district, building, and department discourses and resources, teacher learning over time is better understood. This study provides an opportunity to examine how teachers learn on the job and the role of contextual factors and collegial community. How teachers learn on the job and what they learn, depends on a complex combination of factors. This study seeks to uncover some of those factors and connect them to teacher teachers' experiences over time.

# Chapter 3: DISTRICT AND SCHOOL DISCOURSES: CASES OF ALIGNMENT AND CONTRADICTION

The nested settings of public school districts and high schools are important for understanding how an EL policy is implemented and why further understanding these settings may help to explain differential opportunities to learn for emergent bilinguals in the full-inclusion classroom by illuminating expectations and supports for teachers. act as a space for systems and teacher learning.  Districts engage in talk, language and practices as a shared community in order to create change and growth within its leaders and ultimately its members. The policy context in the Madison School District provided the opportunity to explore how teachers adapted and learned to support emerging bilingual students in a full-inclusion setting. Specifically, I explored how district and school discourses as instantiated via district and school activity and practices and their opportunities to learn. This study seeks to understand how alignment and contradiction across district discourses, school discourses and teachers' work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion context. This chapter addresses the question: In what ways does alignment and contradiction occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context?

In this chapter, I explore how the district discourse is taken up in different ways in two high schools. I first present findings on the discourses across a district setting, and then show how the discourses in the two high schools contradicted and aligned with the district discourse. I draw on a range of data sources to argue that the district discourse focused on equity and elevating teachers as professionals. I then turn to the two high schools, Woods and Rivers. At Woods, a focus on rigor shaped the focus on IB, AP, and Gifted and Talented programs and courses—and, through this focus, prioritized the students in those courses. At Rivers, the discourse aligned with and complemented the district discourse. These cases illustrate two ways that school discourses mediated an EL full-inclusion policy across district and school settings. In Chapters Four and Five, I explain the consequences of these circumstances for teachers.

## Discourses of District Leadership: Equity and Elevating Teachers as Professionals

Madison School District defined itself through a discourse of equity, which they defined by access for all students to grade-level rigorous course options and a college preparatory education. Madison also centered itself on a discourse and in a context of elevating teachers as professionals. The district promoted these messages in a variety of ways, such as through course offerings, curriculum, instructional frameworks, and professional learning initiatives. The district boasted such initiatives as Advanced Placement (AP) courses for all and increasing access to highly engaging and rigorous classes, as well as identifying and seeking to rectify inequities in structures and systems within the district that limited access for all students. This is particularly important in the context of EL education and the opportunities and access for emergent bilinguals to grade level and challenging, college preparatory courses (Callahan, 2016). Madison's work around equity did not stop at course access for students, but also examined racial equity in the district and among its leaders. For example, for the past four years, the district partnered with an outside consultant group focusing on racial equity and developing racial consciousness for its leaders and teachers. This lead to racial equity being a foundational component for all professional learning among district leaders and across schools in the Madison School District. As could be expected this specific focus was received and taken up differently by different members.

The discourse of equity prevailed as a district belief that all students should have access to rigorous coursework to be successful. This discourse of equity permeated the discourse of district leaders, such as executive directors, program supervisors, principals, instructional coaches and curriculum developers. Madison explicitly used the word equity to frame instructional initiatives and professional learning, as well as district decisions around specific policies, such as mainstreaming all proficiency levels of emergent bilinguals. In this way, equity was a defining principle of Madison discourse. In the name of equity, the district increased focus on marginalized groups within the district as determined by test scores, demographics, past acts of exclusion (e.g. access to AP courses) and institutionally racialized systems within the district. This included students classified as EL as well as specific subgroups of emergent bilinguals. The discourse of equity played out through three themes: racial justice, access and inclusion, and accountability.

**Theme 1: Racial justice.** Madison school district highlighted equity in its district's guiding principles of "equity and access for all", and "diversity". Madison's Equity Department, a centralized group of equity specialists, promoted and established what it meant to be an equitable district and to interrupt current inequitable practices and policies. The purpose statement for the Equity Department was:

> We engage our staff in thoughtful exploration of institutionalized racism and its impact on student learning, providing professional learning experiences that support educators to develop the will, skill, knowledge, and capacity to eliminate racial disparities and achieve system-wide equity and excellence. (MSD Equity Department About 7/17/17)

As seen in the above department mission statement, this group focused on supporting teacher learning in the district through professional development that focused on "achieving system-wide equity and excellence." In this statement, teachers are framed as the driving force and factor for providing or limiting access for students. This department worked at the district level and school level to facilitate professional learning opportunities around racial equity.

One piece of this work included opportunities for students of color voices to be heard. For example, the Equity Department held student panels and focus groups and authored school-specific reports. Through this work, school-level leaders had opportunities to listen to students of color share about racialized experiences.  A focus on racial justice was also evident in leadership meetings that included both district- and school- level leaders. For example, the meetings were run using the Courageous Conversations meeting norms. This included a protocol of racializing one's voice when talking as a way to center race in every conversation. These were two ways that the district activity system provided opportunities for school leaders to take up equity language and consider issues of race and listen to the perspectives of students and staff of color.

**Theme 2: Access to and inclusion in rigorous college preparation courses.** This district's discourse of access and inclusion was mainly instantiated through two district policies: EL policy of full-inclusion and AP for all. These policies were an attempt to increase access and inclusion for EL students of all proficiency levels and backgrounds, including students with limited or interrupted educational backgrounds. The district's discourse of inclusion and access upheld the idea that EL inclusion was a crucial step toward providing opportunity and access to rigorous courses. When district leaders in the ELL department spoke about the EL policy and inclusion, they expressed alignment with the district initiatives and the principles behind them. For example, Mrs. Okita, the ELL Curriculum Developer, explained:

> I think it is funny because two or three years ago when I began equity training I think I discovered what an equitable mindset we had for developing our philosophy toward developing EL education in our district … ELL instruction for students can't happen as a

> pull-out. It can't happen separate from a student's school day. It had to be something that was incorporated into their work. And what I really appreciate about our supervisor is that I think what she brought in was a heavy focus on an additive bilingual philosophy where we were no longer looking at English language learners as a deficit but really seeing them as students who bring a cultural diversity - but also a linguistic diversity – to our programs for all students … I think that the shift towards thinking through the additive bilingual model has helped to make sure that teachers know that every student, regardless of whether they are a language learner, is their responsibility. (Mrs. Okita Interview 1/26/17)

This quote, representative of the discourse of inclusion and access in the EL department, mirrored the broader discourses of access and inclusion in the district. This quote also shows the emphasis on additive bilingualism and shifting a culture in the Madison School District that viewed emergent bilinguals as a benefit instead of a deficit.

When I asked Mrs. Morrison, the Director of Multilingual Programs and Services about the district EL full-inclusion policy, she added that the ELL department specifically had "worked towards the inclusion of all students in classrooms with the special education department, who had the same inclusive focus…that is one of the guiding goals, an overlay to the initiatives" (Interview 7/25/17). This connection to special education was another way of showing how the district discourse of inclusion was not a stand-alone for any one program or department, or even school, but rather for the entire district, every student. For example, Mrs. Morrison, explained:

> The district operates from the premise that students should be in classrooms as much as possible at both the elementary and secondary level. So starting with the elementary level, students are in their own grade-level classroom all day, and support is provided

> through an ELL facilitator to the classroom teacher. This is done through collaboration, and co-teaching. Sometimes there's individualized supports to the student if the teacher is unable to provide the support that the student needs. (Interview 7/25/17)

This notion that “the district operates from the premise that students should be in classrooms as much as possible” specifically refers to general education classrooms and, one step further at the secondary school setting, access to rigorous and challenging general education classrooms. The district EL policy of full-inclusion--with facilitation supports-- put this belief into practice. Facilitation supports meant that at each school ELL teachers had time and were trained to be EL instructional coaches and collaborate with teachers.

**Theme 3: Accountability.** Accountability was also central to Madison’s equity discourse. Madison framed equity as a centerpiece to its leadership institute at the beginning of each year, with the direction and expectation that it was a foundational component for professional development and focus at each school building throughout the year. Across the Madison activity system, executive directors emphasized equity and the centrality of it in order to reach district goals such as “eliminating the achievement gap,” “all students reach or exceed academic achievement,” and “all students will show measurable progress” (MSD Annual Report, 2016) They did this in part, through specific goals, such as “100% of students will graduate on time” and “100% of students will take at least one AP course” (MSD Annual Report, 2016). As a district the equity discourse was very clear and a central theme to the work expected from district leaders, principals and teachers. The discourse of equity authorized the focus and work of central district leaders as seen through time committed to disaggregating data for each school and focusing on specific subgroups at each school that were underperforming or not being provided equitable opportunities.

The district held itself and its schools accountable to these goals. Madison focused on accountability in a way that not only identified specific student groups and their needs, but also in ways to support teachers and provide resources where needed. This was seen in how Madison hired district staff and provided workshops focusing on teaching emergent bilinguals and racial equity, for example. Accountability in Madison was an attempt to know how student groups were doing and how the district as a whole could improve student achievement and close the achievement gap.

***AP for all.*** AP for all is an example of how accountability and equity intersected in Madison's discourse.  Access to rigorous courses was deeply entrenched in Madison's identity. De-tracking by promoting access to college-prep-level courses had long been an explicit district goal, which was made most visible through its "AP for All" policy established in 2007. Through this policy, all high school students were encouraged to take AP and/or IB courses (Madison Annual Report, 2016, p. 4). This was instantiated at the school level in different ways. For example, at Rivers and Woods, the AP Human Geography course was offered for all ninth grade students.  Madison's AP course taking data also supported this goal of all students taking at least one AP course prior to graduating. Madison boasted a high level of AP course participation and pass rates for all students. Among 2017 graduates, Madison collected, tracked and disaggregated data for students taking AP/IB courses in the specific categories of race, ELL, special education and socioeconomic status (MSD Leadership Week, 2017). Additionally, Madison showed an increasing number of AP exams taken and passed since the "AP for all" initiative began in 1996. This number grew from 251 AP tests taken in 1996 with a pass rate of 81%, to 7,932 tests taken in 2017 with a pass rate of 77% (MSD Leadership Week, 2017). "AP for all" was a foundational move to increase equitable and inclusionary practices across Madison that clearly connected to the equitable and inclusionary discourse of district leaders.

## Elevating Teachers as Professionals

Woven throughout Madison's focus on equity, access and rigor was a focus on elevating teachers as professionals. The district demonstrated that it valued teachers' professional knowledge through its hiring practices, efforts to support ongoing professional development, and opportunities to learn for teachers. Three of the district's guiding principles were accountability, quality teaching and learning, and innovation and continuous improvement (MSD Website About section, 2016). In taking a closer look at the guiding principles, Madison defined accountability as: "we will use multiple, reliable measures to monitor and adjust instructional, managerial, and operational decisions to hold stakeholders accountable for meeting the needs of all students" (MSD About webpage). This meant not only were there traditional accountability measures that all districts would have in place such as teacher evaluation, but there were also multiple ways that teachers were expected to be engaged in professional learning – for example, by attending trainings, using tools that connect to the district mission of "provide all students with an exemplary college preparatory education," and engaging in equitable teaching and learning practices. The Madison School District elevated teachers as professionals through a focus on "quality teaching and learning" and "innovation and learning". Each of these will now be looked at more closely.

**"Quality teaching and learning".** The Madison School District mission read, "We will recruit, develop and retain the highest quality teaching professionals" (MSD About webpage). In other words, teacher recruitment was one part of the focus around quality teaching and learning and retaining these teachers. One measurable way this happened was through the support and completion of the National Board Certified Teacher program. Madison encouraged teachers to complete this process and, as a means of support, paid for the cost of the program, provided in-district support for teachers throughout the process, and offered a $5,000 annual stipend upon completion. As a result, Madison boasted a high percentage of National Board Certified Teachers at 35% of all certificated staff. Also, at the time of the study, 73% of teachers held a master's degree or higher, and the average for teachers' years of experience was 10.5 years. Both Woods and Rivers high schools mirrored these district numbers.

**"Innovation and learning".** Another way that Madison valued professional expertise was through a focus on "continuous and collaborative professional development" (MSD About Webpage). Engaging staff in ongoing, collaborative professional learning was a central focus. There were many options for professional learning in the Madison School District. The expectation for professional development workshops was that they were framed through a racial equity lens and focused on instructional practices that provided opportunities for teachers to learn in ways that would ultimately create spaces for all students to learn. In this way, Madison integrated goals of equity and professional development through accountability regarding workshop focus.

In focusing on the principle of innovation and continuous improvement, Madison sought to "create and maintain a culture where learning and innovation are expected, supported and valued" (MSD About webpage). Madison cultivated a discourse of teacher learning and innovation by valuing time, teacher choice and other resources to elevate teachers as professionals. One core strategy for cultivating this aspect of Madison's discourse was through district-wide "early release" Wednesdays for teacher professional learning. This early release time was guided by the school building one Wednesday per month, and teachers had options for using the time on the other Wednesdays. During these Wednesdays, Madison offered 2-hour professional development workshops, which were led by different district-level educators and teachers. This was called District-Directed Professional Development (DDPD). During this study year, Madison offered workshops on four afternoons.

Another structure for innovation and continuous improvement was Teacher-Directed Professional Development (TDPD). Like the DDPD, TDPD consisted of four, 2-hour sessions offered on Wednesday afternoon - or any time outside of the contractual hours. District educators, schools, departments, and or teachers designed, offered and participated in Teacher-Directed Professional Development. In order to be approved–and thus count toward teachers' professional development hours—these activities had to use a lens of racial equity and inclusion. In this way, the district sought to maintain equity discourse throughout all professional development, including those developed by teachers. Madison attempted to create a learning context of innovation and continuous improvement through its district teaching and learning department and the use of instructional coaches, curriculum developers, equity specialists and ELL facilitators. These educators, mostly former or current teachers working in school buildings, were tasked with doing job-embedded instructional coaching and supporting the professional learning of teachers at their school.

In summary, Madison's discourse was remarkably consistent and coherent, with equity as an overarching principle. Madison's leadership sought to steer the discourses of school-level administrators and educators toward inclusive policies, practices and professional development that to greater inclusion and access to college preparatory courses. Discourse that district leaders engaged in shaped the professional, cultural and learning context for Madison's schools. In the next section, I describe the discourses at the two focal schools, Woods and Rivers, and explore how these discourses contradicted and aligned with the district-level focus on equity.

## Woods High School: Contradicting Discourses

Madison's equity discourse was in some ways in conflict with the discourses at Woods High. Woods focused on rigorous college preparatory education, access, and racial justice but, unlike the district, these principles were not woven into a coherent vision. This led to contradictions within the Woods activity system as well. Thus, the shared meanings and activity at Woods around rigor, access, and racial justice differed from shared meanings and activity at the district level.

**Rigorous college preparatory education through IB.** Woods High School saw itself through an IB identity, which also encompassed AP and Gifted and Talented programs. The lens of being an IB school manifested in a view of students through the "IB learner profile." School meetings, school documents, and professional development focused on district goals and school goals through this IB lens. Woods high school was an International Baccalaureate (IB) high school that had grown increasingly diverse in the last ten years. The IB program was one of a few programs at the school but featured as one of the school's premiere specialties. At Woods, the IB program was a central feature of the way the school saw and defined rigor.  According to the Woods School Improvement Plan, the IB Learner Profile was:

> A broad range of human capacities and responsibilities that go beyond academic success. They imply a commitment to help all members of the school community to learn to respect themselves, others and the world around them. As an IB school, Woods is committed to the development of students according to the IB learner profile. The profile aims to develop learners who are: Inquirers,  Knowledgeable, Thinkers,

> Communicators, Principled, Open-Minded, Caring, Risk-takers, Balanced, and Reflective (Woods SIP Document, 2016).

As seen in the above statement, the IB learner profile defines academic success through a set of characteristics. This was an attempt to elevate the status of all classes and programs at the school as excellent and rigorous. In practice, however, the "IB learner" characteristics were the focus of instruction in IB, AP and Gifted courses only. In this way, attention to rigor in Woods discourse focused on rigor for students in those courses.

Although the dominant idea in Woods' discourse was their identity as an IB school, only a certain percentage of students took IB courses and graduated with the IB diploma. Moreover, their public – facing goals did not entirely align with Woods' activity. For example, one document explains that "As of the 2016-2017 school year, all 9th grade students enroll in AP Human Geography, and all 11th grade students enroll in an IB English class" (Woods SIP Document, 2016). While this was true for 9th grade AP Human geography, "all" meant all students, in 11th grade IB English, "all" was less inclusive; emergent bilinguals at the beginner proficiency level enrolled in a junior level sheltered English language arts class instead.

**Attempting access.** At Woods, the emphasis was on expanding IB course options rather than expanding the demographics of students in those courses. This was at odds with the district discourse of equity because it contradicted goals of inclusion by reinforcing tracking and different expectations for different students. This took place in the 9th grade offering of AP Human geography, which provided all students with a chance to take an AP class and prepare them for future IB courses. It also happened during 11th grade when all students, except emerging English proficiency level ELs took 11th grade IB English language arts. This was a school level attempt to increase inclusion, access, rigor and equity for all students. Access and inclusion were seen as a means to be equitable yet were contradictory to the priorities of Woods.

For example, in interviews, the three social studies teachers from Woods brought up this notion of the IB learner and the tension with the competing discourses of IB and inclusion. However, the Woods identity as an IB school consistently prevailed in school discourses. This IB focus minimized inclusion discourses in the school's collective work, including decisions about tracking and teacher professional development opportunities. Mrs. Parks wrestled with the tensions related to IB and access the most. When asked about inclusion at Woods she highlighted the role of tracking in limiting opportunities for inclusion:

> I think the biggest thing is, as tricky as it sounds, I don't think that [inclusion] is included in the administrators' vision for the school. I don't think that they quite know how to build a school culture in which we truly are an inclusive school, because they are not really willing to say out loud that we are not. Because how can you be an inclusive school when you have gifted who are off doing their thing. IB and they are off doing their thing and then there is everybody else and when the fact is if you were to take out IB and gifted…it would be a Title I school. Traditional Title I schools, the vision is very different than the vision for a gifted or an AP/IB school (Interview 2/2/17).

The above quote shows how Ms. Parks identifies the contradictions in Woods discourse: A school cannot, she argues, be both inclusive and track their students. In this way, the Woods "IB learner" discourse dominated the policy decisions at the school-level and this perpetuated a tracking system that privileged rigorous college preparatory education for some students and not others.

Importantly, courses in different tracks were not equally visible in the school discourse. Consistent with Woods' IB identity, advanced courses were more likely to be supported in professional development or to be the topic of discussion at department or school-wide meetings. Mr. Butler, who taught both IB and core courses noted that when teaching the IB courses, there was a school focus that supported him in his goals for students. He did not feel that support for core world history. In this study, all three teachers described the emphasis on IB at Woods as taking precedent over – and even masking over – issues of access.

**Racial justice.** As the prevailing idea at Woods, the IB discourse mediated the school's goals, policies and priorities. This directly impacted the way that Woods organized and provided professional development opportunities. One way this occurred was during the "early release" Wednesday time. During this time across the year different sessions occurred. At Woods, these sessions either focused on IB/AP teachers and learners, or constructed equity topics in ways that did not challenge the IB discourse.  In the case of Woods, three of the ten sessions focused on equity, specifically introducing culturally relevant teaching and racial equity. The three sessions were and "An Introduction to Culturally Relevant Teaching", "Why Race? – Part 1" and "Why Race? - Part 2".

The professional learning culture at Woods focused on framing the school needs and areas of focus through the IB Learner Profile as a lens. The focus on racial equity was also through this IB lens in that these ideas were not taken up to questions how IB (and other ways in which students were tracked) might perpetuate racial injustice. For example, during this year of professional learning Woods framed racial equity as introductory and purpose-setting. Through these sessions, Woods addressed the topic of equity in limited ways that aligned with the district discourse. During the sessions, Woods focused on "receiving a basic introduction of CRT;

examining their cultural frame of reference; learning about and applying agreement and conditions to conversation; identifying their racial consciousness; and practicing conditions and agreements of Courageous Conversations" (Woods PD Agendas 2016-2017). When asked about the priorities of racial equity and inclusion, Ms. Parks, an AP Human Geography teacher at Woods, sums up this contradiction between racial equity goals and the IB discourse by saying, "It [inclusion] is not a priority and it is a concern. Because I think that if your leadership doesn't see it as a priority, then why would the teachers see it as a priority - unless there are teachers who are already caring about that" (Interview 2/9/17).

### The Invisibility of Emergent Bilinguals

Ultimately, the IB discourse established a dichotomy of how students were seen. This showed up in different ways across the activity system. On the surface, this discourse established a school identity of rigor, excellence, high-expectations and college preparedness for all. This discourse was used to integrate the district discourses of racial equity and inclusion in attractive and seemingly progressive ways. A closer look, however, reveals how Woods' discourse positioned some students as "IB learners" (i.e., those capable of rigorous IB, AP or gifted courses) and others as non-IB. Further analysis of the IB discourse shows how the IB discourse bent Madison's notions of access to align at Woods and curbed conversations about racial justice in ways that preserved the IB discourse. The IB discourse authorized exclusionary practices that contradicted Woods' inclusion and equity rhetoric. Teachers wrestled with this discourse being the driving factor of the school's focus when it was clear to them that the students they were either "struggling the most to teach" or were "learning the most from" were rarely if ever a school wide conversation or focus (Interview 12/5/16).

In the Woods' school improvement plan, the data disaggregation and student focus mirrored the broader discourse of the school, further rendering the invisibility of emergent bilinguals at Woods. The data focus was on general and common data categories such as graduation rate, biology EOC pass rate, number of students earning college credit through CTE courses and total credits earned, and percentage of IB diploma candidate who earned an IB diploma. The data was not disaggregated any further. Woods did mention in this same report that "each and every 9th grader will develop a sense of belonging to Woods' community, develop self-advocacy and problem-solving skills so each can set and achieve positive goals" (Woods School Improvement Plan, 2016). The only specific mention of ELL was under the Career and Technical Education focus in which the report stated, "Strategies for supporting students include: Increasing teacher knowledge of ELL students and providing modifications and accommodations" (Woods School Improvement Plan, 2016). In a district like Madison where student achievement data was a central tool the focus on school data reflected its priorities and own discourses. This led to tensions at Woods around teacher opportunities to learn, teaching emergent bilinguals, and contradicting discourses between the district and the school. Woods used data and an IB focus to demonstrate accountability to rigorous teaching and learning for students. This meant a specific focus on IB students, IB programming, and reinforcing teachers' focus and work on IB. However, in the context of accountability and closing the opportunity gap, schools disaggregated and focused on student data differently.

## Rivers High School: Aligning Discourses

Rivers saw itself as an innovative school that valued its diversity in language, race, culture and other aspects of students' identities. Rivers high school had a long-standing reputation as "serving Madison's most ethnically and economically diverse students at the high school level" and hosted the ELL newcomer program until the 2012-2013 EL policy shift to allow all emergent bilinguals to attend their neighborhood schools. Rivers high school had continued to grow increasingly diverse. The equity discourse operating at the district level was also present at Rivers. At Rivers, this led to an increased focus on equity and inclusion for specific groups of students – low-income, EL, immigrant, and other underrepresented backgrounds - as named both in the School Improvement Plan and throughout professional development sessions all year (Rivers SIP Document 2016). This focus took shape through the themes of PBL, access and inclusion, and racial justice. This discourse aligned with Madison's discourse. This meant that there were clear connections across the activity systems, professional development workshops, school improvement plan, and Madison's goals.

**Rigorous college preparatory education through Problem-Based Learning (PBL).** Much of the work at Rivers was framed through a lens of problem-based learning. There was a shared belief that this approach allowed an increased focus on equity, inclusion, access, rigor and innovation for students at Rivers, students that had historically been overlooked, excluded and marginalized. The Rivers mission statement read:

> Our classes utilize Problem-Based Learning: teaching curriculum through authentic contexts to ensure that all students can excel in 21st century academic and career opportunities. We are committed to supporting students from low-income, immigrant, and other underrepresented backgrounds in achieving equitable access to college and careers (Rivers SIP Document, 2016).

Interviews with focal teachers echo these beliefs. For example, Mr. Jackson shared how PBL provided "so many more entry points…than there is into a lecture, reading, quiz kinda format that I think it allows teachers to be way more creative and way more adaptable…"

(Interview 12/6/17). Mr. Jackson also shared that in a district that greatly valued common curriculum he felt like,

> Our whole curriculum is PBL. Again, authentic problems where every student has an important role and that there is an entrance point for each kid, even the most basic. Even the kid that can almost, barely understand anything can participate. And I can measure some of what he or she is getting and can say "okay this kid was able to restate this position or state this position" (Interview 12/6/17).

These quotes are representative of my observations of teachers at Rivers more broadly. At Rivers these teachers felt like PBL was a resourceful framework for focusing on the school and district priorities providing a college preparatory education. And as these quotes show, a focus on rigor was intertwined with a focus on access.

**Access and inclusion.** Rivers pursued their equity agenda through a focus on access and inclusion. Rivers prioritized access through a number of different ways. For example, Madison made choices about assignment to create access for all students to access advanced – level courses. In addition, access to content and language and cultural responsiveness was emphasized across all content areas. Third, ongoing professional development focused on supporting inclusion in the classroom.

As I show in the section above, Rivers explicitly named PBL as a central framework for providing a rigorous education. Moreover, Rivers leadership leveraged the PBL work to further the access and inclusion work. For example, a few years ago, Rivers worked with outside partners to develop the school's guiding principles, known as the PBL Key Elements: Authentic Assessment, Collaboration, Developing Expertise, Culturally Responsive Instruction, Student

Voice & Leadership, Academic Discourse, and Authentic Assessment (Rivers SIP Document, 2016). Participants in the study referenced these key elements throughout as one way to think about the district and school goals of equity, access and rigor. For the 2016-2017 school year, Rivers' instructional leadership team decided to focus on the two elements of culturally responsive instruction and student voice and leadership, specifically these two elements were a focus during the Wednesday afternoon professional development workshops and permeated collective activity (e.g., meeting agendas and school improvement plans).

Another way Rivers pursued access and inclusion were at the core of Rivers' attempt to close the opportunity gap and mirror the district discourse of equity. These priorities were outlined by their School Improvement Plan, shared by participants, and focused on in school professional development sessions. One way Rivers created access and inclusion for students was through its "AP for all" focus. This took place at the ninth grade level through AP Human geography, a required course for all freshmen. The Rivers School Improvement Plan demonstrated this commitment:

> Rivers High School is committed to providing equitable access to high quality, college benchmarked classes. With Advanced Placement (AP) Human Geography at the freshman level for nearly all students, this has led to 98% of students in our last graduating class taking at least one AP course. The intention is that more students will be able to access a greater number of AP level courses through the development of strong literacy and analysis skills (Rivers SIP, 2016).

The last way that Rivers aligned with Madison's priority of inclusion by creating spaces for teachers to develop as teachers of all students and grow in their experiences and understanding of full-inclusion. One example of this is the professional development sessions throughout the year that focused on being an inclusive teacher, both in principle and in practice. I provide further examples of these professional development opportunities in Chapter Five. These workshops placed an emphasis on the shared responsibility that teachers were expected to have in this school context and the impetus on teachers to grow in beliefs and practices as a full-inclusion teacher. Teachers often led these sessions.

**Racial justice.** At Rivers, six of the ten sessions focused on equity, specifically on culturally relevant teaching and racial equity. The professional learning culture created by the Rivers leadership focused on framing the school needs and areas of focus through racial equity, which aligned with district priorities. Woods' discourse of access, rigor and equity shaped a school culture that viewed students as capable, valued individuals. This showed up in different ways across the school culture. This discourse established a lens of rigor, high-expectations and innovation through the PBL Key Elements. However it challenged the status quo of traditional educational approaches to rigor that grant access to rigorous coursework to an elite subset of students. Instead, Woods focused on learning opportunities for all students, a stance that aligned with the Madison district discourse. This discourse authorized an additive, growth mindset that all students were the focus and all students could and would excel at high academic levels.

At Rivers High, the racial justice focus most importantly represented the needs and experiences of many of its students. Student leadership and involvement was key to sharing this with staff and focusing on race within its equity and inclusion work. In Rivers' approach to examining race and racism through school experiences and professional learning, students, teachers, and administrators shared in leading this work. One example of this was school assemblies that took place to focus specifically on racially motivated incidents and school-wide lessons discussing certain topics such as "the N-word" or "what it feels like to belong." Another example was student panels sharing with staff about their different racial experiences and views of race and racism. Additionally, Rivers highlighted the intersection of race and language in order to increase the focus on emergent bilinguals, and specifically emergent bilingual students of color. These examples reflected Rivers' overall prioritization of equity and inclusion and the attempt to challenge teachers in their understanding of race and enactment of equitable practices and EL full-inclusion, specifically through the lens of race.

## The Visibility of Emergent Bilinguals

At Rivers High, the PBL discourse increased the visibility of emergent bilinguals. emergent bilinguals were often central in data disaggregation, school-wide professional development, and aligning school priorities with district priorities. Rivers High had an up-front focus on emergent bilinguals, immigrant students, and students of color. Emergent bilinguals were visible at Rivers in the school discourses and priorities. The PBL framework and specific focus on the Key Elements of Student Voice and Culturally Responsive Instruction set up an expectation that teachers would problem-solve, learn and better meet the needs of a diverse range of students.

For example, The Rivers leadership reflected these priorities in the ways in which they tracked student data. Rivers specifically focused on academic success on the 10th grade SBA English Test, 5-year graduation rate, percentage of students taking an AP course, and percentage of students passing four or more college level classes (AP / College in the High School / Tech Prep) They did this by disaggregating data to specific groups such as EL, special education, and specific racial groups. For example, Rivers tracked that in 2015, 78% of all 10th grade students passed the SBA-ELA test. For example in 2015, 15% of 10th grade emergent bilinguals passed the SBA-ELA test. In 2016, that number increased to 25%. Additionally, for Latino students in

2015, 35% passed the SBA-ELA test. In 2016, that number increased to 54%. This is one example of how Rivers disaggregated and focused school data to reflect its equity priorities and accountability for closing the opportunity gap.

Additionally, at Rivers High the emphasis on sense of belonging authorized teachers to see students as individuals, part of an important and welcoming community. Further, it created a school culture that said if students do not feel like they belong then the focus on "AP for all" or rigor, excellence or access does not matter, because students will not engage. This lead to a willingness by many on staff to examine issues of equity, inclusion and access at deeper levels. It also meant connecting back to the PBL Key Element of student voice and leadership that school leaders and teachers wanted to hear from students, and students that represented a wide-range of perspectives and experiences, including emergent bilinguals. Rivers sought this as a key component of their professional learning time and culture through student focus groups and panels. The School Improvement Plan highlighted the focus and increase in students' sense of belonging. In Madison, each school took a student climate survey twice a year, in the fall and spring. Rivers reported that in 2015-2016 the student sense of belonging was at 65% (Rivers SIP Document, 2016). In 2016-2017, student sense of belonging was reported at 85% (Rivers SIP Document, 2016). This piece of survey data showed that the Rivers school culture did matter to teachers and students, and a culture of inclusivity and community was what school staff worked to establish.

## Discussion: (In)Visibility Across School Discourses

In sum school discourses lead to a visibility or invisibility of emergent bilingual students through the instantiation of these discourses in activity (e.g., professional development, tracking). The Madison School District made great attempts to de-track by creating access to rigorous courses through “AP for All” initiatives, as well as prioritizing and engaging in discourses of racial equity. This was reflected in district documents, statements, professional development initiatives, structures and other work. Despite a district attempt to increase focus on inclusion, access and equity through the aforementioned ways and a district EL policy of full-inclusion there were still differences in how school discourses aligned with or contradicted Madison’s efforts. In the case of Woods High School, a focus on rigor and access through IB reinforced a system of tracking and inequity for emergent bilingual students through the school culture. This undermined the Madison goals. In the case of Rivers High School, a focus on rigor and access through PBL reinforced a system that created access and provided opportunities for students and teachers. This lead to an increased level of equity for emergent bilinguals and within the Rivers school culture.

Schools took up these discourses in different ways and, as I show in Chapters Four and Five, these differences led to different teacher experiences of the district discourse at each school, as well as a level of invisibility and visibility towards teaching emergent bilinguals. At both Woods and Rivers, the schools had strong identities anchored in their curriculum frameworks and ideologies of course assignment. These priorities functioned within the broader district context of equity and inclusion and such policies as the EL full-inclusion policy. While leaders in each school experienced the same message from Madison, the discourses of equity, access and rigor were interpreted differently at the school level.

In the context of the Madison School District, its priorities and the district EL policy the inequity is that often the access, rigor, and opportunity may be a part of the discourse, but it stops at the language, words, and plans. Teachers look to school discourses to authorize what is acceptable, possible and at times to determine what they have permission to do. The IB discourse as a means to rigor authorized a set of parameters around equity and inclusion. It lead to a culture of invisibility for emergent bilinguals despite a surface-level inclusive and equitable discourse. At Rivers High, the PBL discourse as a means to rigor and access authorized a different set of parameters around equity and inclusion. It created a culture of visibility for emergent bilinguals. Both reflected aspects of the Madison School District priorities, yet when actualized at the school level generated different discourses. This resulted not only in a contradiction and alignment of discourses across schools and the district, but also in emergent bilinguals being visible or invisible. In conclusion, Ms. Parks' statement when asked about school priorities might say it best:

> [Inclusion] is not a priority, and it is a concern. Because I think that if your leadership doesn't see it as a priority than why would the teachers see it as a priority, unless there are teachers who are already caring about that (Interview 2/9/17).

In the following two chapters, I present finding of case teachers at each school to understand how the ways in which inclusion was "not a priority" or was "a concern" mediated teachers knowledge, principles and practices.

# CHAPTER 4: WOODS HIGH SCHOOL: DISCOURSES OF CONTRADICTION THROUGH THE LENSES OF EQUITY AND RIGOR.

> [Inclusion] is not a priority, and it is a concern. Because I think that if your leadership doesn't see it as a priority, then why would the teachers see it as a priority—unless there are teachers who are already caring about that." (Ms. Parks Interview 2/2/17).

In this chapter, I examine specifically the Woods High School context as it is situated in the broader Madison School District in relation to teachers' principles, knowledge and practices to understand how discourses were mediated at the school level and what this might mean for emergent bilinguals' opportunities to learn in the classroom. In the case of Woods High, the nature of discourse and activity undermined district goals of equity and inclusion. This chapter explores two specific claims about Woods High School: 1) Woods' discourses mediated the knowledge, principles, and practices that teachers took up and sought out; and 2) The contradicting discourses of Madison and Woods' perpetuated the minoritization of emergent bilinguals and constrained opportunities for teachers to better serve these students. I explore both claims by examining two teacher cases. Specifically, I explore how the Woods context mediated teachers' principles, their roles in the Woods activity system, their approach to teaching, and their professional learning priorities.

Looking across the three participants, two cases emerged: overall, teachers either aligned or were in tension with Woods' discourse. Either way, however, the Woods context was a negative mediating force in reaching equity for emergent bilinguals in the classroom. I present these cases through two teacher profiles: Mr. Butler and Ms. Parks. Two teachers were cases of alignment. In this chapter, I present Mr. Butler to illustrate the discourses of Woods and Mr. Butler were mutually reinforcing, and thus authorized and perpetuated particular ways of organizing activity at the school and classrooms levels. Mr. Butler and Ms. Murray demonstrated parallel themes in that they aligned with similar principles and how school discourses mapped on to the mutual reinforcement of knowledge and instructional practices around rigor. Both cases ultimately mirrored school discourses and practices of rigor and tracking. Findings for Ms. Murray were characterized by strong parallels to Mr. Butler's case. I first focus on Mr. Butler because he demonstrates how a school discourse of rigor and IB undermines the district discourse and authorizes his knowledge, principles and practices. Next, I focus on Ms. Parks because she is a case of navigating tensions between district and school discourses. Her case also shows how the activity system at Woods—and the discourses that authorized it—constrained opportunities for Ms. Parks and her colleagues to become better teachers of emergent bilinguals. This case presents an example of how a teacher's principles aligned with district discourses of equity and inclusion, but struggled to engage as a leader and shift the school discourse beyond rigor for some. In this chapter, I focus on two of the three cases as a way to examine each claim.

## Mirroring School Discourses: Mr. Butler, 10th Grade World History

Mr. Butler was in his thirteenth year of teaching at Woods High School with a background teaching IB and AP honors social studies courses. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Butler taught world history and AP world history. Mr. Butler's pedagogical expertise focused mostly on teaching Advanced Placement or IB courses. Mr. Butler regularly attended the AP Institute each year, which focused on developing Advanced Placement curriculum. Mr. Butler is a white, Jewish male and English monolingual. He was not ELL endorsed, but he had attended some Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) professional development sessions offered by the ELL department. Mr. Butler had no formal training in teaching emergent bilinguals, nor any specific professional development experience outside of attending a few introductory SIOP trainings. In fact, the school year of 2015-2016 was his first year teaching emergent bilinguals, and he had eleven emergent bilinguals in one world history class—ranging from five Beginners to six Advanced English proficiency level language learners who spoke six different languages. Additionally, Mr. Butler's language knowledge was limited. He had limited exposure to teaching emergent bilingual students, as well as limited knowledge of second language development and linguistically relevant pedagogies to support students.

### Mr. Butler's Principles and Woods High School

Mr. Butler saw himself as a historian and a history teacher. When asked about why he got into teaching social studies he said, "I was a history major in college. I always loved history. I wanted to be a history teacher…It was really about history" (Interview 10/27/16). Mr. Butler also viewed himself as a disciplinary teacher that valued inquiry and rigor in his teaching and classes. Above all, Mr. Butler valued rigor as a guiding principle in his teaching and in his world history courses. Mr. Butler focused on rigor as a principle through traditionally enacted ways of AP and IB curriculum and instruction. For Mr. Butler, rigor became a way to track students as a way to support and differentiate based on how he saw students as differentially capable.

As I will show, this principle of rigor and assumptions about ability informed the knowledge and practices that Mr. Butler took up. This ultimately led to a reification of tracking in Mr. Butler's classroom. This view of rigor mirrored the Woods school discourse of rigorous curriculum and instruction, as instantiated through IB and AP programing. The context of Woods promoted rigor and inclusion. However, at the same time the school context made it possible for teachers like Mr. Butler to provide rigor to some and not to others. Mr. Butler viewed some students as capable and others as not. In some ways, Mr. Butler's role as a full-inclusion teacher lent itself to the notion of inclusion—but only in a nominal sense; inclusion was not a driving principle of his instruction. As with the Woods discourse, for Mr. Butler, the notions of rigor and inclusion were in some ways at odds with each other. In other words, Woods framed rigor through the traditional lenses of AP and IB, which resulted in little room for inclusive practices for emergent bilingual students. This Woods discourse, then, authorized and reinforced Mr. Butler's principles of rigor for some students and not others. Mr. Butler's endorsement of the Woods' discourse around rigor and IB was also seen in the way he saw supporting language development as outside his purview and as someone else's responsibility. For example, when asked about ELL supports available at Woods he described the following:

> I know that they have some sort of language arts or English class with Molly or there is a new teacher this year. I know they have at least one class typically with you know an ELL instructor. That is really all that I know. I know that a lot of them take language classes and I am assuming they get some sort of ELL component there, but otherwise I don't know anything else they are given (Interview 10/27/16).

The activity and discourse at Woods reinforced the kinds of knowledge that mattered and what teachers needed to know. Woods acknowledged equity and inclusion; however, the end result was that it authorized a focus on rigor and tracking. This discouraged teachers from focusing on non-IB courses and students who they did not perceive as "IB learners." Furthermore, the lack of professional development focusing on emergent bilinguals and language development limited teachers' opportunities to learn and sent a message that teaching emergent bilinguals was a lower priority than other students and areas of focus.

**Mr. Butler's roles at Woods.** At Woods, Mr. Butler was seen as a leader as indicated in his participation and positions in the social studies department, his role on the school Instructional Leadership Team (ILT) and as a member of the Ninth-Grade team. Mr. Butler was valued for his AP/IB expertise and over ten years of experience teaching these courses at Woods. Mr. Butler was currently a mentor teacher for a teacher candidate and shared he had done this several times in his teaching career. He was also an advisor to a few student clubs, such as the chess club.

Despite being an involved staff member and leader at Woods, Mr. Butler expressed that his role did not really focus on emergent bilinguals in any type of a leadership way other than the fact he was “all of a sudden going to have students that didn’t speak any English in my class” (Interview 10/27/16). When asked about the vision for emergent bilinguals and support at Woods, he shared:

> My little perspective. It is unclear to me. It seems like at other times there has been more. In fact, I would say there is less guidance now then there was before. As far as like just getting general education about the ELL program and what is going on or what to expect or what resources are available (Interview 10/27/16).

Once again, we see Mr. Butler looking to somewhere and someone else to support emerging bilinguals in language development. He shared this from a place of feeling unsupported in his own growth and practice, and unsure in general about how and who supported emergent bilinguals. The Woods discourse around rigor reinforced this feeling and his own inclination to focus on AP/IB instead of emergent bilingual students in his world history class.

## Approach to Teaching

In the sections below, I examine Mr. Butler’s approach to teaching through the ways he saw students and his planning and instruction. I show how his principles of rigor, as defined via IB, shaped how Mr. Butler categorized students by their capability. Further, I show how discourses of Woods and Mr. Butler were mutually reinforcing, and thus authorized and perpetuated particular ways of organizing activity at the school and classrooms levels.

**Seeing students.** Mr. Butler's principles of rigor lead him to seeing students through a lens of capability. To engage in rigor in Mr. Butler's classroom, language was a prerequisite. This is seen in the three categories he used to describe students in his EL full-inclusion core world history class: IB/AP, fluent English speakers (FESs) and emergent bilinguals. The first category of IB/AP were students that Mr. Butler saw as highly motivated, capable of rigorous engagement with the content and were enrolled in other IB or AP classes. The second category of fluent English-speaking students in general education were students Mr. Butler saw as capable, but not as capable or motivated as IB and AP students. Mr. Butler saw the third category of students, emergent bilinguals, as minimally capable due to their language proficiency, though he did acknowledge variability in how hard they worked. I elaborate on each of Mr. Butler's student "categories" below.

***IB and capable.*** The principles that Mr. Butler held mirrored the school discourse that sorted students as IB or non-IB. Mr. Butler saw the core world history class as a place for non-IB students and this was reinforced by the school discourse of IB. In a way that showed his lens of seeing students as capable or not, Mr. Butler described his 4th period core world history class as "I think there are about 34 students. I am going to say 8 ELL students of different degrees, languages. I probably have another 8 - 10 IEPs, some of the ELL students have IEPs. And the rest are kind of your regular students..." (Interview 2/16/17). Mr. Butler's distinction about "regular students" signaled how he saw some students as capable or advanced and others as less than that. Mr. Butler's way of categorizing students, which paralleled Woods' IB-or-not discourse, was also evidenced by his interview responses.  For example, when he talked about his past teaching experience, he shared,

> I just basically taught AP or IB classes for about four or five years, so last year was the first year I came back to teaching a non-AP/IB class and all of the sudden I had a bunch of ELL students, which I just was completely unprepared for, to be honest with you. So, I really didn't have any experience or prior experience to draw from. So last year was really my first year" (Interview 10/27/16).

As seen in this quote, Mr. Butler associated non-AP/IB with emerging bilingual students, as well as felt like the broader school activities did not prepare or help him with this stark transition.

A second way that Mr. Butler sorted students based on being IB or not, and student capability was how he talked about rigor and the types of activities students were able to do in core world history. Mr. Butler shared how he valued the importance of rigor in the world history course--a space for inquiry, student thinking and conceptual understanding. However, he also shared that he would do a certain type of activity or reading if it was his IB class, but this would not work in his core class, so he would do something else. This demonstrated how he increased his expectations for students he felt were capable and relegated others to worksheets. It also showed that he made determinations about what students could do, sometimes before students even had a chance to try. Thus, although he valued rigor, he did not include many of the rigorous tasks in his repertoire when teaching core world history because of his assumptions about students' capabilities. Both of these instances show not only Mr. Butler's views on sorting students, but further the authorization of the Woods discourse of IB or not.

***Fluent English speakers in core world history: A non-IB group.*** Mr. Butler's 4th period world history class consisted of a range of students, including emergent bilinguals, but also including fluent English-speaking students. He saw these students as students with varying levels of motivation and with an ability to do social studies, yet not at the level of students in his IB/AP courses. This played out in his assumptions about this group of students, as well as how he planned for and engaged these students in core world history. This categorization of students showed up most clearly in interviews with Mr. Butler. When discussing students in his fourth period class, Mr. Butler shared, "…he could be in AP, he is one of those kids and he is really good, but he is just kinda going down instead of going up" (Interview 2/16/17). This type of comment reflected how Mr. Butler thought about the differences between students in advanced and regular courses. The idea that "one of those kids" existed and as a teacher he saw all students through a lens of being--or not being--"one of those kids". This showed his orientation to understanding students' success (or not) as based on individual traits rather than on the sociocultural context--a way of thinking that makes the student--rather than the institution or teacher--the center of responsibility for their learning.

Mr. Butler also struggled with seeing this category of students, which were a significant portion of non-ELs in the world history class, as capable and motivated. When asked about the class dynamics he said, "Well you know, the dynamics here are really capable students but just, you know, not always focused or tend to goof off and stuff" (Interview 2/16/17). In interviews he tended to go back and forth with uncertainty about whether or not this group of students was capable and motivated and what his expectations were for fluent English speakers in core world history. What was clear, though, was that he had different expectations and views of capability for this group of students than his IB/AP students and the emerging bilingual students. Mr.

Butler was an actor in the policy of EL full-inclusion at Woods, and in a technical sense saw core world history and the students he was teaching as an inclusion class, but one that had been sifted and sorted to create a class of non-IB students.

***Emergent bilinguals in core world history: A non-IB, homogenous group.*** This sifting and sorting of IB and non-IB went one step further when it came to teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion classroom. This ultimately led to Mr. Butler seeing emergent bilinguals as less capable and English language proficiency as a proxy for intelligence--and thus a sorting mechanism for the type of learning opportunities he provided. How this played out in the classroom was through the different types of work he assigned to students as well as the opportunities--or lack thereof-- for language and content development. This characterization and categorization was also seen in Mr. Butler homogeneous view of emergent bilinguals and lumping emergent bilinguals into one broad and general category of language learner. For example, in one conversation he asked, “Yeah, so…frankly I don't, could you give me a one minute--what is the difference between emerging, progressing and advanced? Is there a meaningful difference?” (Interview 2/16/17). This limited understanding of language proficiency levels, as well as of other characteristics of emerging bilingual students lead Mr. Butler to often grouping students together and providing all emergent bilingual students similar accommodations. It also spoke to the limited opportunities to develop this knowledge provided at Woods.

Mr. Butler struggled to see students as individuals with unique language needs and diverse academic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and experiences that could be valued. In one sense, Mr. Butler’s knowledge seemed to be based on the general assumptions and his limited experiences with emergent bilinguals. Mr. Butler knew the languages students spoke, but he did not always know their country of origin, language learning trajectory or experiences with learning their first language and English. He mostly saw the emergent bilinguals in his class as a homogeneous group, however at times he did talk about this same group with broad brush strokes, giving little regard for the many differences between them. This shaped how he planned for and provided instruction for emergent bilinguals in world history. He did anticipate different needs based on how they responded to tasks in the past but did little to increase rigor and academic language opportunities for students.

This simplistic view of emergent bilinguals as lacking proficiency in English--and thus not able to engage in rigorous social studies work-- was reflected in his overall expectations for students. When asked about what the adaptation of curriculum looks like for emergent bilingual students, he shared:

> Just sorta having less. I hate to say less expectations. That is not exactly what I mean, less. I mean expecting less. I mean what they produce is not going to be as extensive as some of the other students (Interview 10/26/17).

This statement showed that, deep down, Mr. Butler saw emergent bilinguals as less capable. As a result, task adaptation, instruction and learning was based on lower expectations and sorting emergent bilinguals to the side. Mr. Butler viewed emergent bilinguals as a homogenous group, failing to take into account prior academic experiences, home language experiences, different linguistic and cultural characteristics and English proficiency levels. In a later section, I return to this theme to show how Mr. Butler’s categorization of emergent bilinguals as less capable was reflected in classroom practice. First, however, I turn to how the Woods discourse of rigor (as IB) and ability sorting authorized Mr. Butler to privilege and prioritize some students over others in his planning and teaching.

**Planning and instruction: Differences by perceptions of student ability.** Mr. Butler approached planning with the goal of providing rigorous opportunities to learn, as defined by the IB model, in world history. For example, he described how one of the lessons I observed aimed to develop a number of disciplinary skills: The lesson required students to synthesize their knowledge of the colonies to make judgements about which colony they would want to live in, and communicate their reasoning in writing. In order to do this, students first had to evaluate primary source documents to compare and contrast colonies from around the world based on differences in: geography and climate, government, social groups, economics, and religion. However, observations of this lesson reveal that opportunities to develop these disciplinary skills were differentially distributed based on Mr. Butler's perceptions of student ability. This played out a few different ways. The first was that this approach provided opportunities for some students in the class to develop these skills if they could demonstrate the skills and understanding in traditional AP/IB ways. In other words, if students were already experienced with a particular skill, they had opportunities to practice it further in Mr. Butler's class. If the minimal scaffolding provided was not adequate to support student engagement, Mr. Butler viewed them as less capable. These students experienced diminished expectations and, as a result, their opportunities to develop disciplinary skills and language were limited.

A pattern of even lower expectations occurred for students who were emergent bilinguals. Mr. Butler explained how he went about planning for emergent bilingual students. This mostly consisted of a whole-class planning approach that left planning for emergent bilinguals as an afterthought or usually in reaction to anticipating that students would not be able to participate in the planned task. In Mr. Butler's core world history class, a lack of scaffolding limited opportunities for rigor. His decreased expectations led to tasks at one level for non-EL students perceived as not “one of those [IB] kids” and tasks at an even lower level for emergent bilingual students.

Mr. Butler used and sought pedagogical tools by focusing on the need for a few strategies to help the classroom become a more inclusive place in his eyes. He indicated a desire to know more about his students and best practices for teaching his students, yet never seemed to be able to quite know how to approach doing this for students outside of the advanced tracks. In his thinking about pedagogical tools it was clear that Mr. Butler believed in the notion of best practices and strategies for emergent bilinguals and that generally these should work for emergent bilinguals in a class like core world history. This often took the form of a focus on student grouping, preferential seating, a vocabulary activity, simplified graphic organizer or excusing them from the activity. Mr. Butler talked in general ways about scaffolds and practices for emergent bilinguals and expressed he was not always sure about the best tool or strategy.

Mr. Butler differentially thought about and planned for scaffolding student learning across his three student “categories”, and these differences reflected the assumptions he made about each group and the degree to which he prioritized them. For IB learners, Mr. Butler thoughtfully planned scaffolded learning experiences in which students engaged rigorously with disciplinary practices and content. For example, Mr. Butler committed much of his planning time and professional collaboration focus to adapting and scaffolding tasks and lessons for the AP course instead of the core world history course (Interview 10/26/17). This also aligned with how Mr. Butler saw himself as an IB/AP teacher and teaching rigorous courses. Lastly, this planning focus on IB/AP instead of core world history affirmed his beliefs about who could access rigorous disciplinary content and thinking.

For general education students who were fluent English speakers, Mr. Butler saw them as less capable—or perhaps less motivated--with regard to rigorous engagement, so he structured and assigned less demanding portions IB/AP tasks and shifted the lesson objectives and curriculum to reflect that. For example, Mr. Butler stated that his general approach was to "try to make it kinda inquiry based. I try to make it not lecture, so where the students are trying to use thinking skills or different approaches to learning the content. I do a lot of group work and a lot of activities" (Interview 11/7/16). Mr. Butler associated inquiry - a form of rigor - with not lecturing and assigning students to small groups, of which consisted of emergent bilinguals being grouped often by same language. Despite the quote above, the activities assigned to emergent bilinguals showed limited opportunities to demonstrate thinking and were based on vocabulary development or factual recall. This approach was evident in Mr. Butler's planning, where he typically simplified an activity from the AP world history curriculum or chose a task from the core world history curriculum that focused more on information delivery and recall—and less on developing disciplinary thinking and academic language.

Mr. Butler saw emergent bilinguals as the least capable. As I show above, Mr. Butler did not understand or see the significance of language proficiency levels. He also did not understand the importance of students' cultural, linguistic and academic backgrounds in scaffolding tasks and learning. Thus, he not only saw them as the least capable, but he rarely attended to variation in their capability as he planned. This showed up in the scaffolds that Mr. Butler regularly provided for emergent bilinguals, which did not take differences in language and prior knowledge into account. Moreover, these tasks did not scaffold students to engage with content in the same ways as the fluent English-speaking students in the class.

In the same way that the school tracked students into different classes, Mr. Butler's attempts to differentiate instruction tracked students at the classroom level. The school discourse authorized the principle of valuing rigor--and what was seen as the sort of students necessary to provide these opportunities to some students. This discourse made the complex and unique backgrounds of students invisible and unimportant. A driving factor to developing knowledge of students is how a teacher sees students--and the relationships they are willing to forge as a way to genuinely learn about and know them. This requires principles that embrace students as learners and valuable contributors to the learning environment, regardless of whether they fit the IB learner profile or not.

During the lesson observations Mr. Butler taught a lesson on "How did the Europeans use their advantages to help colonize?" During this lesson students sat at table groups of four as they normally were. The emergent bilinguals sat at different table groups across the classroom. Two of the Spanish-speaking beginner emergent bilinguals sat with two other bilingual Spanish-speaking students. The other emergent bilinguals sat at table groups consisting of one to two emergent bilinguals per group. Mr. Butler had positioned the beginner emergent bilinguals at table groups closest to the front of the classroom. All students had laptop computers; however only a few used the computers, and only one emergent bilingual student used their computer.

In this classroom example, we see tracking at work in the tasks and scaffolds offered to different students. Mr. Butler spent the first twelve minutes of the lesson talking through four PowerPoint slides to the whole class. These slides focused on two questions: 1) How did the Europeans use their advantages to help colonize? 2) Based on what you know about the five different colonies, which colony would you choose? The task presented to students was to "write a thesis and persuasive paragraph addressing three of the five categories: geography/climate, government & freedom, social groups, economics/making a living, and religion. Students were provided a graphic organizer with each category on it and a place to write notes for each category. Students were asked to take notes and listen as he presented this information. After the information was presented, he provided the class a handout that focused on each category with guiding questions to explore each category and lead each student to deciding, which colony they would prefer to live. He gave the Spanish-speaking emergent bilinguals - both the beginner level and advanced level emergent bilinguals - a handout from the curriculum in Spanish that had a reading about the five types of colonies and asked questions about each category. A major difference in this attempt to provide access to emergent bilinguals through a different handout was that it sorted and segregated the students in terms of having different work. These attempts at differentiation lacked the conceptual rigor and opportunity for thinking presented to the other students in the class.

For example, the general handout included prompts such as: “Use the triangle below to diagram the social structure of New Spain, including five social classes. For each social class, note the two most important facts about them,” or “compare the social classes in New Spain to those in a feudal Europe during the Middle Ages. Include at least three similarities or differences.” For emergent bilingual students this task asked for recall and limited the opportunity to think at deeper levels or develop conceptual understanding. Furthermore, it assumed that the Spanish-speaking emergent bilinguals, despite being at different proficiency levels all needed a translated version. This approach also raises questions about the other beginner emergent bilinguals and emergent bilinguals in the class that speak languages other than Spanish and were not provided with a translated version or any accommodated versions of the activity. This action of sorting students based on the cognitive demands of the task or assumptions about students categorized emergent bilinguals as having all of the same needs and provided them with one general and for some inappropriate support. Further, it overlooked the linguistic and cultural uniqueness and diversity within the class, as well as the proficiency level differences.

Mr. Butler's approach to teaching as captured through his thinking about planning and teaching not only categorized students based on his interpretations of rigor, but also limited meaningful opportunities for academic content and language development for emergent bilinguals in an EL full-inclusion world history classroom. Mr. Butler's approach to differentiation and scaffolding reflected how he categorized students and privileged IB notions of rigor. Mr. Butler saw disciplinary content and skills as separate from strategies and approaches that supported language development and created access to content. He focused on specific elements of language such as vocabulary and separated this from the disciplinary thinking and opportunities for students to connect with concepts. This was particularly clear in how Mr. Butler set up activities for students and then attempted to provide modified versions for the emergent bilinguals in the class, despite being at different proficiency levels and having different linguistic and academic needs. When asked about his approaches to teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion class, he shared, "…so basically the way I structure the class is I usually have everybody working on something and then I usually have them [EBs] working on something different, related. And often it is just you know if I have got nothing else I will give them [EBs] like the… [speech trails off -he shows me the Spanish version of the workbook pages]" (Mr. Butler Interview 2/16/17).

During lesson observations differentiation often happened two ways. The first was offering the Spanish-speaking emergent bilinguals a translated version of the handout or activity from the world history textbook curriculum. This meant that students were working independently on handouts and were using very little oral language and provided limited opportunities to conceptually engage with the topic and using thinking skills. The second way was by modifying the activity or assignment and giving that to emergent bilinguals. This most often occurred to non-Spanish-speaking emergent bilinguals since there was not a translated version available. Furthermore, it was usually generalized across EL proficiency levels and given to all students that had an ELL designation. Mr. Butler's planning and instruction gave little consideration to language diversity and ultimately constrained students' access to rigorous content, providing few opportunities for language development. While on the surface Mr. Butler seemed to strive for rigor and equity in his teaching,  a closer look at Mr. Butler's practice-- and particularly his approach to teaching emergent bilinguals-- reveals how his ill-informed perceptions of student ability and traditional notions of rigor led to tracking at the classroom level and reduced expectations. In taking a closer look at how the Woods activity system reinforced Mr. Butler's views and perceptions, I will explore his reflection on teaching and his own professional learning needs.

### Professional Learning: Professional Learning Needs for AP/IB

Mr. Butler privileged opportunities for professional learning that focused on the "IB learner" and did not see learning more about his "English learner" students or how to support them as a priority. His principles of valuing rigor mirrored that of the school discourse. This led to the practice of seeing students as "IB or not", capable or not. Further, these principles mediated his professional development priorities. For Mr. Butler, sorting students by ability justified a lack of focus on emerging bilingual students – and a focus on students he deemed able to engage in rigorous curriculum -. Through this, he was unaware of the opportunity gap that his differentiation approaches created. Perhaps it is not surprising then, that he did not identify instructional strategies for emergent bilinguals as a priority for his professional learning. Rather these efforts continued to center on traditional IB/AP curriculum and the students those courses traditionally served.

Through this sorting of students Mr. Butler privileged opportunities for professional learning that focused on the "IB learner," rather than the English learner. For example, on professional development days, Mr. Butler opted for workshops and meetings that focused on IB and AP courses:

> The thing I mainly do is every year I go to the AP institute, which helps me with my AP class...what is really helpful is when we get course-specific. Like I said, tomorrow we are getting together, all the AP teachers,  to talk about what are we doing in response to the change in the curriculum. I find that is really helpful (Mr. Butler Interview 10/27/16).

As seen in the above comments, Mr. Butler viewed his classes and students through an IB/AP learner-or-not lens, and he prioritized his own professional growth on IB/AP. When asked about professional development, he always referred to his focus on his AP and IB courses and the need for further curriculum work or professional development for those courses--not his core classes where the most need for differentiation and professional learning to support emergent bilinguals was needed. Mr. Butler also shared that when it came to his social studies department focus and the regularly offered professional development opportunities he focused mainly on his AP world history class, not his core world history class. This was true despite teaching two large sections of core world history. He said,

> And I think one thing to note is that mostly what I teach this year is AP History and that course changed over the last, between last year and this year. So there is a lot of having to adapt, how do I change my teaching or my curriculum to meet the new requirements of the course (Interview 10/27/16).

As seen in the above quote, Mr. Butler valued curriculum work and adaptations, but did so through a lens of rigor and with his AP and IB courses in mind. We see this theme in how Mr. Butler valued particular kinds of professional knowledge. For example, Mr. Butler engaged in professional learning at Woods and across Madison that mirrored his own principles--and how he identified as an IB/AP teacher more so than a core history teacher.

## Conclusion: Woods' Discourse and Mr. Butler's Knowledge, Principles, and Practices

Mr. Butler's discourse of rigor lead to tracking which helped justify his choices, choices that limited his ability to support emergent bilinguals and the opportunities to learn that emergent bilinguals experienced in his classroom. Furthermore, this discourse permeated Mr. Butler's principles, practices and knowledge. Mr. Butler's principles mediated the knowledge that he saw as valuable—and thus characterized his growing edges as a professional and teacher in a full-inclusion context. Madison placed an emphasis on the importance of knowledge of students in relationship building and creating a culturally responsive learning environment. The same emphasis did not transfer though necessarily to the school discourse and ultimately teacher principles. The principles of viewing students as capable or not were driven by the individual and institutional knowledge that Mr. Butler held. In this case, Mr. Butler held an institutional knowledge that reinforced the IB Learner Profile culture and seeing students as capable or not. His individual knowledge became a constraint to his teaching of emergent bilinguals because it limited how he positioned students as capable and the possibilities at hand. The discourses of

Woods and of the professional learning environment authorized Mr. Butler to see the students the way he did and arguably not even see some students. His knowledge of students, or lack thereof shaped the way he thought about pedagogical approaches, differentiation and creating access for emergent bilinguals in the world history classroom.

Mr. Butler's case shows how the school's rigor discourse paralleled – and thus authorized – the way that Mr. Butler saw his students as categorized. As with the school's discourse, which justified an agenda that rendered emergent bilinguals largely invisible, Mr. Butler's discourse justified a path of professional learning and teaching that deprioritized emergent bilingual students. Thus, despite a district policy that sought to mitigate the ways in which linguistically diverse youth are marginalized in schools, the discourses that took root in the school and in Mr. Butler's practice mutually constituted a school culture that reified the marginalization of emergent bilingual students in the full-inclusion context.

## Navigating Tensions across Discourses: Ms. Parks, 9th Grade AP Human Geography

Ms. Parks is a white, female, English speaker and was a veteran teacher of ten years. She was in her fifth year of teaching in the Madison School District and third year at Woods High School. She had taught a range of social studies courses from world history to government, as well as AP Human Geography and an Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) course. During the 2016-2017 school year, Ms. Parks taught AP Human Geography and AVID.

Ms. Parks' language knowledge had developed over time based on her own language experiences, experiences teaching multilingual students, and attending EL-related trainings. She spoke some conversational Spanish and had a variety of international travel experiences. She had experiences teaching different proficiency levels of emergent bilinguals and different language groups--particularly through her teaching experiences prior to Woods. Ms. Parks was not ELL endorsed but had attended SIOP training, offered by Madison's ELL department, on multiple occasions. The most recent SIOP training she attended was in the fall of 2016. She had also attended trainings focused on racial equity, and AVID strategies, and AP. Through her experiences and training, Ms. Parks had a strong working knowledge of second language development and linguistically relevant pedagogies to support students.

## Ms. Parks' Principles and Woods High School

Ms. Parks key principles were the inclusion of all students and providing access and equity for students. She saw herself as a social studies teacher, but more so she identified as a social justice advocate and teacher whose job was to create access and inclusion for all students in rigorous ways. Ms. Parks viewed rigor as important for all students, and this was also a principle for her. Her approach to rigor aligned with the Woods high school discourse in that she saw IB as a holistic way to think about goals for students within and beyond the classroom. However, her focus on rigor was strongly linked to her notions of equity. This was in tension with the Woods discourses, aligning instead with the Madison School District. Ms. Parks focused on rigor as a principle through innovative and equitable ways in her AP human geography course. For Ms. Parks, rigor became a way to create access and opportunities to engage with ideas, content and language that increased the ways she supported and differentiated for all students and saw all students as capable.

In the same way that Ms. Parks thought about rigor and inclusion, she also viewed emergent bilinguals as capable and that a class like AP human geography offered an opportunity to demonstrate and grow this ability of students. She saw the AP human geography course as good place for students to make connections to relevant information and learn. However, she also described the tension between her own discourse of believing in equity and inclusion and the priorities of the Madison School district and the IB discourse of Woods high school:

> You can be successful in a social studies class regardless of your English skills. Like you can, because you are a human being and this is a social studies class about humans and the planet so I think that helps meet that, meet where they are going. I would say that Woods is really working hard to push the idea of an IB school and my understanding of that is that IB cares about depth and not breadth and that I care about depth and not breadth in my classroom that like getting to know a couple things really well is far more important than knowing tons of things not very well (Interview 2/2/217).

This excerpt captures one way the IB discourse was the dominant discourse at Woods and often authorized the way teachers saw students and their classes. In this instance, Ms. Parks found a way to draw on the IB approach of depth over breadth and figure out how that would benefit emergent bilinguals in her own AP class. It supported her approach of seeing students as opportunities to support them in their conceptual and linguistic development.

In this way, her principles were well-aligned with Madison’s discourse of equity and inclusion, yet at odds with the core ideas that governed the Woods’ activity system, which privileged an approach to rigor that was not inclusive. Ms. Parks wrestled with these tensions in her own day to day work. For example, Ms. Parks supported the “AP for all” initiative and saw her class, AP human geography, as an “entry or gateway course” that created opportunities for greater equity and access for all students. Ms. Parks wrestled with the tension that EL full-inclusion seemed to be a goal, as seen in priorities like “AP for all”, yet the prevalence of tracking at Woods clearly contradicted these inclusion aims. These contradictions raised many questions for Ms. Parks as a teacher at Woods. She questioned the motives behind such initiatives as “AP for all” and whether or not they were truly meant to be equitable and inclusive. She questioned what inclusion really meant for teachers like herself at Woods where it was clear certain student needs such as emergent bilinguals were not being met, along with the teachers’ needs for teaching those students.

She also saw this tension in how Woods organized its work in meetings and professional development time to focus primarily on IB and other advanced course offerings. Ms. Parks saw the benefit to teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting, but questioned how lack of focus from her school on supporting emergent bilinguals and developing knowledge and practice to teach in an EL full-inclusion setting. She expressed the tension between her own principles and views of equity and inclusion and that of the administrative team as demonstrated in professional development foci and leadership when she shared:

> I think the biggest thing is as tricky as it sounds, I don’t think that it [inclusion] is included in theadministrators’ vision for the school. I don’t think they quite know how to build a school culture in which we truly are an inclusive school, because they are not really willing to say out loud that we are not. Because how can you be an inclusive school when you have gifted who are off doing their thing, IB and they are off doing their thing, and then there is everybody else and when the fact is if you were to take out IB and Gifted…Woods would be a Title I school. Traditional Title I schools, the vision is very different than the vision for an IB school (Interview 2/2/17).

This quote clarifies the ways that Ms. Parks’ principles inclusion and equity were not aligned with the Woods’ activity system. She surfaces contradictions between rigor, inclusion and equity in the Woods discourse. Ultimately, the way these contradictions played out in the

Woods activity system undermined the Madison's priorities of equity and inclusion and reinforced the categorizing and tracking of students. Moreover, she questions the integrity of Woods' espoused equity goals: While the school is not "willing to say out loud" that inclusion is not a priority, the school's emphasis on tracking and the needs of high-achieving students demonstrates that inclusion is not part of the school's vision. Despite all the talk about inclusion and equity in the Madison School District, Ms. Parks noted that this was not the case at Woods.

**Ms. Parks' roles at Woods.** When asked about her role as a social studies teacher and the "AP for all" priority in Madison and at Woods she responded, "My role as a teacher is to sorta be the leader to the other 9th grade social studies teachers about this entry course into high school for ninth graders, and the importance of it being a gateway course…" (Interview 12/5/16). Ms. Parks saw herself as a leader and advocate for all students through the "AP for all" initiative. Ms. Parks was not only one of the first teachers to teach the AP human geography course in the inclusion model, but also the district AP human geography course lead. She was also on the Ninth Grade Team at Woods. Ms. Parks believed that the constant focus on IB at Woods allowed teachers not to focus on the needs of emergent bilinguals. And, as she explained, this discourse did have an impact on what teachers attended to.

For Ms. Parks, this lack of focus on the needs of emergent bilinguals led to feelings of isolation. Despite her experiences and developing expertise for working with emergent bilinguals in the SS classroom, Ms. Parks' opportunities to share her expertise with colleagues were slim to none. Talking about teaching for full inclusion was simply not part of the discourse at Woods. Another way that the tensions between the Woods discourse and Ms. Parks' principles showed up was in Ms. Parks' interactions with school administrators. The administrative leadership authorized and perpetuated a discourse that focused on rigor and IB in ways that eclipsed concerns about equity. This discourse had a silencing effect that limited Ms. Parks' opportunities to lead and learn. When asked about professional development at Woods, Ms. Parks responded:

> I was actually surprised to learn that our principal used to be an ELL teacher. I did not know that…that was really surprising for me. I feel like as a staff that PDs are particularly unrelated to umm…the student body's needs. It often seems that we are kinda talking about more programmatic stuff (Interview 2/2/17).

This focus on "more programmatic stuff," such as defining the IB Learner Profile, did not relate to the student needs of many and limited opportunities for teachers to engage in learning about teaching in a full-inclusion classroom.

## Approach to Teaching

Ms. Parks' principles shaped how she saw students and how she taught. Despite Ms. Parks' challenges at Woods, she was able to develop linguistically and culturally responsive instruction, which in turn provided access to rigorous opportunities to learn for emergent bilingual students.

**Seeing students.** Ms. Parks saw all students in her AP human geography class as capable and believed it was her job to have high expectations for all students, as well as support students in having high expectations for themselves. She also believed that AP human geography should be a rigorous class in which students were pushed to deepen disciplinary skills, thinking and language development. When asked about her general approaches to teaching AP human geography, which was an "AP for all" class she explained:

> The other part of my role as a social studies teacher is [to] welcome [students] to high school. It is very different than middle school social studies in both expectation, rigor-but also depth. We get to do some really neat things and we move quickly (Interview 12/5/16).

In this quote, Ms. Parks highlights that part of her role as an "AP for all" teacher was to create a welcoming space for students that communicated high expectations and provided a rigorous, high-interest, supportive environment and for deep engagement with content. Ms. Parks put an emphasis on the importance of creating a classroom space and seeing all students as "capable of learning and growing and being a community of learners" (Interview 12/5/16). She believed that the goals of "AP for all" should not focus on the AP exam, but rather on inclusion and opportunity. Ms. Parks believed that when students were given the opportunity and appropriate supports and resources, they could engage with social studies with rigor and depth. To describe Ms. Parks' approach she shared:

> My main approach is that…I care about the fact of developing students' realization that they are capable of learning and growing and that we are a community of learners. This isn't about the test. It is important to know how to do those things but just helping them recognize that they can do things and they are able to do things… That it is very clear why we are doing it where we are going with things and that it is dynamic and not I am running a show up front, but that it has movement. It is real, you can touch it. I am a believer in PBL for that reason (Interview 12/5/16).

Ms. Parks believed that in a full-inclusion setting instructional frameworks such as PBL and SIOP – which she drew on often – provided rigorous, equitable opportunities for emerging bilinguals to learn and develop deep conceptual understanding and academic language. As she says above, she believed it was not just important that students knew how to do certain skills or know certain content, but that they “recognize that they can do things and they are able to do things.” Ms. Parks expressed that a PBL approach to instructional design had an important place in her AP human geography course planning because it was an integral tool for developing student confidence and participation in a rigorous, AP course.

Ms. Parks saw inclusion as an important step in providing equitable opportunities for all students at Woods. In interviews, she talked about the importance of inclusion for emergent bilinguals and the challenges when EL full-inclusion is not regularly discussed or supported by the school. Ms. Parks said:

> I am definitely a proponent of inclusion…what I care is that they know they can grow… and be able to have ideas and support them and that you know thinking is important and sharing…I know that there is a lot of the sides that you will get better at if you are around English all the time and you are talking English with peers (Interview 2/2/17).

As seen in this quote, Ms. Parks was a strong supporter of inclusion, which aligned with the district discourse of equity and inclusion. She also took a skill-oriented approach to teaching students and felt that because of this approach all students could participate and grow in a class like AP human geography.

**Planning and instruction: Opportunities for student learning.** Ms. Parks differentially thought about and planned for scaffolding student learning based on her views of equity and inclusion, knowledge of students, knowledge of language development, and knowledge of disciplinary content and skills. In contrast to the dominant discourses of Woods and of some of her colleagues, Mr. Parks placed a big emphasis on the value and importance of knowing students. During my observations of and conversations with Ms. Parks, she regularly referred to knowledge of her emergent bilingual students (including a Mandinka speaker who was a Beginner and new to the United States and two Spanish-speakers that had been qualified for ELL for over 6 years). Ms. Parks knew about students' language backgrounds and multilingual experiences. She also made efforts to meet with families and learn about their expectations for education. Ms. Parks was clear that during these meetings she also shared her own expectations regarding the success she believed all students could have in AP human geography. She had also facilitated activities to learn more about how her students saw themselves as geographers and historians and devoted time to developing this way of thinking in her instruction. Ms. Parks shared, "what is most important to me is not standards or content, but that students leave this ninth-grade class excited about history, excited about the world and excited about learning" (Interview 6/22/17).

In planning conversations with Ms. Parks, it became clear that her knowledge around language development demonstrated a complex way of thinking about language and language learning. Mr. Parks viewed language in a mostly additive way, meaning that she saw student's home language as an asset and a resource in helping students learn content and demonstrate disciplinary skills. Ms. Parks had a clear understanding of the different EL proficiency levels, as well as how they had recently shifted to align more with the English Language Proficiency Standards. Additionally, Ms. Parks talked about the importance of focusing on the four language domains of reading, writing, speaking and listening, and how these four domains intertwined and worked to support each other.

Ms. Parks saw students and their language backgrounds and experiences as unique and important in contributing to a student's success in the content area classroom such as AP human geography. Ms. Parks shared that through her time in SIOP trainings and from working with ELL facilitators across the district, as well as at other schools, she had developed an understanding of some of the basics such as:

> The difference between conversational English and academic English, the differences between proficiency levels, strategies for working with newcomers, and being aware of things like an affective filter that causes students to shut down or maybe be in a silent period (Interview 2/2/16).

Ms. Parks focused on three areas when asked about language development and planning for student learning. The first was building background about concepts. She believed it was most important for emergent bilinguals at all proficiency levels to first understand the conceptual points and then focus on skills and additional content information. She did this by activating prior knowledge, making connections between students' cultural backgrounds and the content, and giving students as many opportunities as possible to show conceptual understanding in classroom activities. The second area was vocabulary. Ms. Parks spent a lot of time with students on vocabulary, especially emergent bilinguals. She believed this was a key component to learning language, and students should be learning and applying specific vocabulary throughout the units.

The third area was oral language. Ms. Parks used a combination of Problem-Based Learning (PBL) and Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) strategies to implement classroom routines of warm-ups, frequent table talks, and other activities to create opportunities for students to work together and develop oral language. Ms. Parks stated that in general it is important for all students to talk, because this is how students share their thinking. She also felt that the PBL structure allowed for more access and opportunities for every student to have an important role. Furthermore, she felt that emergent bilinguals at all proficiency levels should be showing growth in how much they speak and the types of talk they engage in. She referenced that she was very explicit with students about this goal, often featured language objectives focusing on discussion, and included a section on assignment rubrics that focused on oral language development for all students.

Despite the lack of support at Woods, Ms. Parks found ways to use her own knowledge to engage and support emergent bilinguals, particularly beginners. As previously mentioned, one way she did this was through Problem-Based Learning units and approaches. An example of this is during a lesson on “What is the difference between an ethnic religion and a universalizing religion?; What are examples of each? During this lesson, Ms. Parks grouped students based on a mixed grouping model that provided them with different peer models and language models. She explained that she took ELL proficiency levels and many other characteristics, such as personality, into account. The main activity across three days for this lesson sequence focused on developing a Team Mind Map. This included forming a team of four students and then completing the following: 1) Cutting up the pictures and definitions; 2) Determine categories and sort words into categories; 3) Write the essential question – Analyze the distribution of the world’s religions – put this in own words first; 4) Develop an explanation and connect to essential question and categories; 5) Sort your words, document your reasoning for why that word should be in the category or connects to the essential question. Ms. Parks added that “all connections should have an explanation and all group members should be writing, drawing or discussing to complete the task.” (Lesson Sequence 3/14/17). This activity provided the opportunity for students to define new terms and then apply them to the analysis of global religion and make connections to global and Cultural Geography. Ms. Parks planned for students to demonstrate this by writing, drawing and discussing, both in their teams and finally in whole class to other teams. She planned and provided a graphic organizer to guide thinking and support language. Students began working on the Team Mind Map as planned and this provided Ms. Parks additional opportunities to check-in with students, clarify when needed and support in small group or one-on-one as needed. Ms. Parks believed that all students should have as many opportunities as needed to interact with the content and task and then scaffold learning when necessary.

Ms. Parks also used OneNote as a curricular tool to engage and support emergent bilinguals. Ms. Parks felt that with OneNote all students could be supported in different ways. For example, she could assign students different scaffolded assignments as needed. She could add in vocabulary supports and sentence frames for students when needed. She also was able to easily add visuals and other supports throughout the OneNote pages and then students could see them directly in their workspace and on their computers. Ms. Parks also felt that the use of OneNote aligned well with her PBL approach because it provided a common place for students to collaborate and see each other's work. It also gave her a quick way to remove scaffolds and challenge students in advance of the lesson or during the lesson.

One example that demonstrates how Ms. Parks utilized OneNote as a tool focused on her support of language development and engaging emergent bilingual students at the beginner English proficiency level through the use of Quizlet. Ms. Parks used the vocabulary tool Quizlet and other vocabulary activities in OneNote to assess student understanding and growth. However, for Beginners she created a list of words connected to the conceptual understanding pieces of the lesson or unit.  In both the observations and in talking with Ms. Parks it was clear she did this with caution and care to avoid isolating or remediating instruction for beginners with vocabulary practice. For example, during one lesson, Nigel, a beginner emergent bilingual from Ghana, had completed his role in the group and began to practice vocabulary with Quizlet. Ms. Parks stopped by to check-in on him. She reminded him of the conceptual focus by drawing a circle and writing “religion” in the middle and then showed that the seven words he was practicing connected to this conceptual word. Nigel went on to practice the words. Later in the lesson Ms. Parks encouraged Nigel to use the circle where he had added the words and his own visual to describe characteristics of religion to his group. Nigel shared about the characteristics of symbol and faith by pointing at the words and showing his map. Students listened and then added on by sharing their own symbols. (Lesson Sequence 3/13/17). Ms. Parks’ approach to teaching was an enactment of her principles, given her own knowledge and practices. This provided opportunities for emergent bilinguals to engage in rigorous curriculum and activities in ways that developed academic and language skills, as well as confidence. Despite having fewer experiences with Beginner proficiency level students and less knowledge for how to support them, Ms. Parks still saw it as her responsibility and worked to increase access and opportunities for Beginners.

### Professional Learning: Limited Opportunities

Though trained for and experienced with teaching emergent bilinguals, Ms. Parks was new to working with students at a beginner proficiency level. She expressed a need for more support in this area but, as discussed above, there were no opportunities at Woods to develop knowledge and practices around this need. Ms. Parks was frustrated by priority at Woods on IB – and advanced-track students more broadly- rather than emergent bilinguals-- despite increasing numbers of emergent bilingual students and AP courses for all students. Ms. Parks expressed confusion about EL support when she shared “I don’t see a lot of support for them [emergent bilinguals] at this school" (Interview 2/2/17). It was evident that Ms. Parks was trying to be "as much of a support as I can and advocate" (Interview 2/2/17) but limited by the schools' lack of focus and priorities for emergent bilinguals. This point further exemplifies how at Woods there was a discourse of rigor that undermined the discourses of equity and inclusion, and also a level of invisibility of emergent bilinguals in terms of support, advocacy and inclusion. As Ms. Parks pointed out there was a sense that everyone was "coming from a good place", yet the lack of understanding around teaching emergent bilinguals, limited opportunities to learn more about teaching emergent bilinguals, and misguided priorities at Woods resulted in an invisibility of emergent bilingual students. As seen in earlier points of evidence, Ms. Parks felt that the school leadership was partially responsible for the lack of professional development focus on emergent bilinguals, as well as a history of tracking, IB and AP and other advanced programs at Woods. Her own professional learning needs were at tension with this reality and despite seeing the need for more professional development around teaching emergent bilinguals, specifically Beginners, the Woods discourse limited her to professional learning through the lens of IB and AP.

## Conclusion: Woods' Discourse and Ms. Parks' Knowledge, Principles, and Practices

In the case of Ms. Parks, opportunities to lead and learn were stymied by the tensions and contradictions she had internalized from district and school spaces. At times, she expressed her own principles around equity and inclusion very clearly. Yet at other times, she seemed to be giving a nod to the school discourses and ways of tracking students. Ms. Parks indicated this notion of best intentions for teaching her emergent bilinguals but felt at odds with the fact that "at Woods I feel like, I feel a lot of confusion at Woods about what is going [on] with ELLs" (Interview 2/2/17). Ms. Parks demonstrated ways of thinking based on her own principles and beliefs about students, but this was in tension with how she felt supported and engaged as a teacher from Woods. Ms. Parks described an inherent tension in the talk about equity and inclusion at the district and school levels. For example, policies like “AP for all” were inherently a good idea, yet they did not guarantee equity and inclusion. Her individual knowledge was an affordance and a constraint to her teaching of emergent bilinguals. It was an affordance in that she was a problem-solver and believed that students likely could do anything if she and, or they just figured out how to best access and practice it. This became a limitation though in that she was working at this alone, with no school level professional development support and this led to surface level of pedagogical knowledge and overall disengagement with the learning culture at Woods. So again, this case demonstrates that when teachers’ opportunities to learn are limited, so become students’.

The Madison discourses of equity and inclusion showed up in different ways across the participants in this study. In Ms. Parks’ case, these discourses at times seemed to be at the forefront of her ways of thinking, being and doing. Ms. Parks had taught many honors, AP and IB courses in the past, at this school and others. In the context of “AP for all”, her own belief was that this course could increase access, participation and disciplinary thinking and skills for students in ways that would prepare and benefit them for future social studies classes. However, Ms. Parks was also concerned that if the school was viewing students and courses through this lens of rigor than even after completing an “AP for all” course, students returned to the tracking patterns that existed before “AP for all”. For example, students went in to core world history and then core US history. The school’s discourses presented a tension to what Mr. Parks valued in terms of her knowledge and principles. This tension was also present in how she saw the professional development opportunities or lack thereof that focused on inclusion, access and teaching emergent bilinguals.

The Madison school district EL policy of full-inclusion and the focus on rigor through "AP for all" authorized Ms. Parks to engage and further the discourse of equity and inclusion while also maintaining the status quo. Ms. Parks experienced the EL policy through full-inclusion of emergent bilinguals at varying proficiency levels and from many different academic and language backgrounds in her AP human geography course. She found herself at odds with the principled belief that students should be included and offered the same opportunities in class and at school. However, she also shared the need for support and tools to better scaffold lessons and activities and teach emergent bilinguals in AP human geography, particularly beginner level emergent bilinguals.

Ms. Parks demonstrated a tension between enacting the district level policy of full-inclusion and needing support in her own learning of teaching emergent bilinguals. This tension could also be seen in her own principles of social justice and equity in creating a space and meaningful learning environment for all students in an AP course and the knowledge and practices needed to do that. This tension became central in that despite a district discourse that embodied equity, the school discourse of IB and rigor privileged opportunities to focus on IB and not the specific instructional and pedagogical needs of emergent bilinguals in the full-inclusion setting. Ms. Parks knew this and spoke to it as a constant struggle in her work and also frustration with the Woods leadership. This provided a space for her to critique the current leadership and discourse of Woods, as well as maintain the status quo by participating in limited opportunities to learn and the underdevelopment of knowledge, principles and practices around teaching emergent bilinguals.

## Comparing Mr. Butler and Ms. Parks

The cases of Mr. Butler and Ms. Parks show us how Woods' discourse of rigor and tracking mediated the knowledge, principles, and practices that both teachers took up and sought. Despite being two different cases with two different experiences, both show the power and authorization of school discourse. In the case of Mr. Butler, we see a mirroring of school discourse of rigor and tracking that contradicts the Madison School District's equity focus and further leaves emergent bilinguals invisible in his classroom. In the case of Ms. Parks, we see a tension between her own principles, the school discourse and the district discourse. She demonstrates an ability to draw on her own knowledge, principles, and practices to develop her expertise in teaching emergent bilinguals but is constrained in her opportunities to learn more about teaching Beginner level students and also share her expertise from a leadership position. The contradicting discourses of Madison and Woods perpetuate the minoritization of emergent bilinguals and limit the opportunities for teachers to learn and better serve this group of students.

# CHAPTER 5: RIVERS HIGH SCHOOL: DISCOURSES OF ALIGNMENT THROUGH THE LENSES OF EQUITY AND PBL

> PBL is our whole curriculum … authentic problems where every student has an important role and that there is an entrance point for each kid … even students who barely speak English (Interview 12/6/16).

This chapter builds on findings presented in Chapter Three to explain how the aligned discourses between Madison and Rivers High School mediated teachers' knowledge, principles and practices—and, though this, opened opportunities for teacher and system learning at the school level. This chapter explores two claims about Rivers High School: 1) Rivers' discourses mediated the knowledge, principles, and practices that teachers took up and sought out.; and 2) The aligned discourses of Madison and Rivers supported the instantiation of a full-inclusion policy in equitable ways. I explore both claims through examining two teacher cases and specifically teachers' principles, roles, approach to teaching and the degree to which teachers orient their professional time and develop as professionals.

Looking across the three participants, two cases emerged. The case of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Smith demonstrated parallel themes in that they aligned with similar principles and how school discourses mapped onto the mutual reinforcement of knowledge and instructional practices around equity and inclusion and the use of PBL as an instructional framework. Both cases ultimately mirrored school discourses and practices of equity and inclusion. The third case, Mr. Gladwin, highlighted a departure from the school discourse in a way that attempted to move it forward and benefit emergent bilingual students. In this chapter, I focus on two case teachers, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Gladwin to show how alignment across district and school discourses created accountability and opportunities for them to learn that were consistent with the Madison mission – and particularly its goals regarding EL inclusion. In addition, Mr. Gladwin's case shows how alignment opened up opportunities for teachers to challenge and extend these discourses to further an equity agenda.

## Mirroring School Discourses: Mr. Jackson, 10th Grade World History

Mr. Jackson was in his fourteenth year of teaching in the Madison School District and at Rivers High School. He had a background teaching world history and AP world history. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Jackson taught two sections of world history and three sections of AP world history. Mr. Jackson's class demographics had been similar across the past several years consisting of a range of student needs, including different language speakers, proficiency levels, IEP needs and other needs. Mr. Jackson had experiences teaching emergent bilinguals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and students both new to the United States and emergent bilinguals who were born in the U.S. and had been in Madison since kindergarten.

Mr. Jackson is a white male and English monolingual. He often traveled internationally during his summers, including visiting places such as Kenya, Oman, and Zanzibar, and taking language classes while there. He had experiences with different proficiency levels of English learners and different language groups since he began teaching. Mr. Jackson was not ELL endorsed, but he had attended the SIOP professional development training a few years ago when Rivers high had a required school-wide SIOP training. Despite not having any formal training in teaching emergent bilinguals, Mr. Jackson shared that he had attended several different EL-related trainings offered by the ELL department and teachers at Rivers high school. Mr. Jackson regularly attended social studies department meetings at Rivers and at the district, which focused on both AP course development and also core world history. Mr. Jackson demonstrated a depth of language knowledge and disciplinary skills knowledge and a desire to know more and do more—specifically related to teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting.

### Mr. Jackson's Principles and Rivers High School

Rivers High School had spent the past several years focusing on the Key Elements of Problem-Based Learning as a framework for instruction, curriculum, and access to rigorous learning for all students (Rivers SIP 2016). Mr. Jackson was a leader in the early work of PBL at Rivers, as well as a continued leader in the social studies department around developing the PBL framework for world history. Mr. Jackson taught both core world history and AP world history. His principles for teaching were based in large part on his work with PBL and his experiences as a social studies teacher at Rivers for the past fourteen years. Mr. Jackson had experience teaching language learners from a range of cultural backgrounds and linguistic repertoires—including students who spoke English at different proficiency levels. He shared that diversity was one of the main reasons he taught at Rivers.

The principles of access and PBL guided Mr. Jackson's thinking about his full-inclusion classroom, as well as the way he saw students and worked to create access and equitable practices. When asked about PBL Mr. Jackson replied,

> PBL is our whole curriculum … authentic problems where every student has an important role and that there is an entrance point for each kid … even students who barely speak English … can participate and I can measure some of what he or she is getting and can say, 'okay this kid was able to restate this position or state this position' (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Jackson also shared that this PBL approach provided opportunities for students to explore phenomenon and relate to events around the world, as well as "take ownership of a position as a way to understand [an] event" (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Jackson's principles mapped onto the school discourses of access, equity and PBL in a few different ways. The first was his vision of PBL. He saw PBL as a framework to create access and engage all students in rigorous, challenging ways that promoted critical thinking and collaboration. He also saw the full-inclusion aspect of Rivers as a way to put PBL Key Elements to the test. In other words, as the school focused specifically on two Key Elements of PBL - Culturally Responsive Instruction (CRI) and Student Voice - he viewed those as essential to being successful in PBL at the classroom level.

Mr. Jackson shared that he believed PBL was the key to accessing content and developing language and skills in both his core world history and AP world history classes. He emphasized the importance of the "three ingredients for PBL". The first was "need to know". Mr. Jackson saw this "ingredient" as specifically connected to the development of disciplinary skills within the PBL framework and connected to student access and participation. He shared, "There is Need to Know, in other words if I organize my classroom right, you need to know what that person is going to say, because that person may get up and argue something that is opposed to you, and if you ignore that person you are missing out and you . . . might not do as well … in this simulation. (Interview 12/6/16). This "Need to Know" is important in the context of equity and inclusion because it was the teacher's role to facilitate and ensure students understood their roles and how to engage with others in order to demonstrate specific skills or understanding of topics and problems discussed. The second ingredient was "authentic problems". Mr. Jackson shared "the idea of it has to be authentic. I try and have students be authentic. Our simulations are authentic. This is a courtroom situation … ” (Interview 12/6/16). Mr. Jackson highlighted the importance of authenticity because it allowed for the development of student roles, engagement and ultimately access as students developed their understanding of the problem or issue at hand.

The third “ingredient” was “entry points”. Mr. Jackson stressed that in his opinion a core element of PBL and why it is successful for equity and inclusion is because of the entry points it provides different students and different places in the curriculum and tasks. Referencing entry points he shared, “And there is an entry point ... an entry point for all students, even students who can barely speak English” (Interview 12/6/16). In reflecting on his job as a world history teacher in a full-inclusion setting and the role of PBL, Mr. Jackson shared that ultimately, he believed equity was the goal and what the three ingredients should work together to accomplish:

> So my job is for students to be able to look at phenomenon and patterns in history and ultimately be able to look around when they graduate and say, ‘oh you know this sounds, I have seen this before,’ and be able to apply that. And then just finally, they have the skills to participate in a democracy. I really like every kid gets up and says something at a trial [during a PBL task] right. And even if it is really and I will write it out, I will practice with them on it and they speak, because that is the thing you need to be able to do as often times at a meeting, is to stand up and say something (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Jackson’s principles of PBL provided opportunities for him to engage emergent bilingual students in rigorous classroom activities and learning. The Rivers full-inclusion context and equity discourse reinforced the belief, time and energy that Mr. Jackson put forth in working to support all students in rigorous and accessible ways, as well as develop himself as a learner. Rivers not only aligned with the discourse and priorities of the Madison School District but authorized these same priorities for teachers through the activity that occurred in the school context.

**Mr. Jackson's roles at Rivers.** Mr. Jackson identified as a social studies teacher and, more specifically, as a world history teacher. He was seen by those in the district and at his school as a leader in the world history curriculum and for his pedagogical use and development of PBL. He was the district course lead for world history and an AP world history test scorer each spring. Mr. Jackson saw his role as a history teacher of all students, but he went beyond that. Mr. Jackson was also a mentor teacher to teacher-candidates and expressed that he loved this role because it gave him a chance to learn more about new methods and teaching, and also gave him a chance to push teacher candidates in the ways they thought about social studies, inclusion and teaching all students. He shared that he definitely did not have all the answers but loved trying to figure them out.

### Approach to Teaching

In this section, I examine Mr. Jackson's approach to teaching through how he saw students and his planning and instruction. The principles and discourse of PBL shaped how Mr. Jackson saw students as capable and created access to rigorous content and learning. The Rivers discourse reinforced ways that Mr. Jackson saw and thought about access and opportunities to learn content and develop language for students. As seen in his planning and teaching, PBL and equity acted as mediating factors in his knowledge, principles and practices. Both will now be explored in greater depth.

**Seeing students.** During the lesson sequences and in interviews, Mr. Jackson shared the importance of knowledge of content, the PBL instructional framework, and students—particularly when teaching students from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. He felt these three areas were a tremendous asset to how he prepared for lessons and facilitated learning during class time.

One way Mr. Jackson saw students was through the use of Problem-based Learning. One example of this was through his unit design in order to create access and opportunities to develop and practice disciplinary literacy skills. For example, Mr. Jackson had knowledge of his students and their different language proficiency levels. In one interview he spoke in regards to the diversity within the EL category, “I learn something new about my students every day it seems like. Even those that speak the same language are unique and different…like us all” (Interview 12/16/17).

Mr. Jackson saw students not just as capable, but as important participants in the classroom community and in their own learning. This example shows how Mr. Jackson built on that practice to increase the level of expectation and participation of students. He did this through relationships with students and expectations around participation and opportunities to participate. When asked about participation Mr. Jackson shared:

> I would say ... I don't try to embarrass students, but I am calling on kids all the time. I do a lot of cold calling, but my goal is to pull out the most of students. If I know you know something, I want you to succeed, so I may call on you and ask you ... I want to draw out the best in my kids and have them be the kid who is able to answer the question in class (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Jackson saw students as capable, and he believed that who they were and what they brought to the classroom were central to their learning. He sought to know more about students and their experiences with social studies and the world in order to increase the collective knowledge and experiences that could potentially be shared across the classroom. He saw all students as important contributors to the learning environment and resources for each other.

Mr. Jackson also saw students through increased expectations and clear roles of participation in each lesson. He shared that the use of the PBL framework in each unit afforded specific roles for students and opportunities for choice among students to select roles or be assigned roles. This led to specific ways that students would participate and be a part of the team as they worked on a topic and an authentic problem. Mr. Jackson believed that students should get choice in their roles. However, he also established a norm that students have to try out different roles throughout the year. He also encouraged emergent bilinguals at all levels to take on different roles and worked to adapt the role as needed. Through clear roles of participation, Mr. Jackson increased his own expectations of student work and outcomes, as well as increased the students' expectations of each other's work and participation.

One example of this during the lesson sequence was when students were participating in a mock court trial. Three of the emergent bilinguals in the classroom chose to be witnesses as their roles. One of the emergent bilinguals was a beginner. Mr. Jackson shared that the witness was one of the tougher roles because at different points in the unit you had to "go on trial" and would be asked questions by different classmates and the teacher. Mr. Jackson did not seem surprised that the students chose this role. This choice was in line with his expectations that students try out different roles and, further, that the class is there to challenge and support each other. As the lesson and trial proceeded, two of the students were called upon to speak at the trial in their role as witnesses. Mr. Jackson summarized this moment in the following reflection:

> So they got called up and, you know, it is probably the most scary thing to do, and I prepped them … and we did a lot of like, ‘okay, do we want her to succeed up here? Yes. Is it hard to be up here? Yes. So how do we show her our appreciation?’ So a lot of applauding … And you know at some times, okay, we are going to take a one minute recess and I will go over and talk with the student … Anna got up and she presented in another country in a language that is not her first language and she was able to answer some questions (Interview 3/2/17).

Mr. Jackson saw the roles within the PBL units as a way to clearly communicate expectations for participation, as well as how to think about the specific scaffolds that students might need in a specific role to participate and meet those expectations. Students held each other to those expectations and Mr. Jackson reminded students of the expectations when needed. This was one way Mr. Jackson saw students and communicated that to students as strong, capable and able to accomplish any task with the support of each other.

The way Mr. Jackson saw students mirrored the school discourses of equity and inclusion and his principles around teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting. Ultimately, Mr. Jackson saw his world history class, the curriculum and the daily interactions with students as a way to create learning opportunities for students and himself. One of the Key Elements of the PBL framework that Rivers adopted was student voice. Mr. Jackson felt the emphasis on student voice created opportunities to learn about students, know students and see students in ways that valued opportunity and growth.

**Planning and instruction: Using PBL as a guide.** Mr. Jackson viewed teaching emergent bilinguals on one hand as he viewed teaching any other class, including the PBL unit approaches he took in his AP world history course. This demonstrated his belief in rigor and high expectations for all. On the other hand, he shared that the complexity of teaching emergent bilinguals at Rivers meant “you are teaching a wide range of language groups, academic backgrounds, first generation immigrants and recent arrivals” (Interview 12/15/17). Mr. Jackson took an integrated approach to teaching in a full-inclusion classroom when it came to his planning and instructional practices. He thought of practices not as isolated or stand-alone, but rather practices that created the most access for all students in the class and that also created spaces where students were regularly working together so that instruction was inclusive rather than fragmented. Mr. Jackson would seek out specific strategies, particularly around building background through vocabulary and supporting students in talk and oral language development. He summarized the following in reflecting on his use of EL strategies:

> There is a definitely a time I need strategies. I am always using strategies of some sort. However, the way I think about it that an effective strategy works to develop all students in their learning wherever they are at. So, when I focus on vocabulary, the strategy is allowing all students to make deeper meaning of the word from wherever they are. The same goes for a lot of the talk strategies I use. My goal is to create a language rich environment, so students always have supports around them and further have learned strategies that work for them over time, so they can use them with others on their own (Interview 12/16/17).

This approach captured how Mr. Jackson thought about his students and worked to create an environment where students were treated as unique individuals, but also engaged in collective tasks. It also demonstrates his desire to move students towards becoming independent learners and participants in the class and their own learning process.

Mr. Jackson differentially thought about and planned for scaffolded student learning across his use of PBL and how it guided roles and expectations for all students. One example of this was increased expectations for participation from all levels of emergent bilinguals and how he did through ensuring multiple entry points for students. He focused on the importance of entry points and creating access to complex texts and key concepts in each PBL unit for all students. For example, in talking about the PBL task during the lesson sequence he shared:

> It is accommodated but is similar enough that they are doing a part, students are doing a part of what all the other students are doing. So, a more accommodated, smaller part, more scaffolded part, so certainly with primary source texts it is just. I have, I can easily hand something and say try this, I give them choice, which one fits for you best (Interview 3/2/17).

In this example we see how Mr. Jackson planned to ensure students had access to the same or similar tasks within the PBL unit with the appropriate scaffolds as needed. This often included the same access to primary texts and other challenging grade level texts. He also tried to build in choice so that all students, including emergent bilinguals could have options. He also planned for how to scaffold key concepts and terms for students. Mr. Jackson stated, “For all students I would want them to be able to use these concepts as evidence in their arguments and I mean I would want ELLs to do that as well but for them also I might want to be able to touch base with them and say ‘tell me what abolish means’ and have them roll their eyes and be like ‘that means ... I totally get this, Mr. Jackson’” (Interview 3/2/17).

A final way Mr. Jackson went about planning for student learning was through a clear emphasis on the importance of differentiation across language proficiency levels and emergent bilingual student needs. Mr. Jackson paid attention to who his students were and the needs that each proficiency level exemplified, particularly within scaffolding reading, writing, speaking and listening demands in each PBL task. He met this level of differentiation with high expectations and a belief that all levels of emergent bilinguals and all students were capable of achieving and being successful in their role. During a classroom visit we see an example of how Mr. Jackson described this happening with a Beginner level emergent bilingual and Advanced level emergent bilingual. Mr. Jackson shared:

> You are not just helping, you know and it is interesting having Hung Chin [Advanced EL] and having Anna [Beginner EL] because they are really different. I mean, Hung Chin, I will cold call him on something because I know he has opinions. And, you know, I am pushing him to the outer bounds of what he is capable [of] because, even though he is really articulate, it is still not easy to make arguments in another language . . . Whereas Anna [beginner EL] will do pronunciation, and I will check in. And so I will do rehearsal and that is the thing that I think I, I really try and do. Not only are you going to write down, but I want you to say it and I will point to it and, 'how do you say this word?' I will try and do a little like, 'let's read together, what does this say?' (Interview 3/2/17).

Mr. Jackson focused on concept development and specific disciplinary skills when planning for learning and scaffolding PBL tasks for students. In both interviews and during the lesson sequence, he emphasized the importance of practice for students, developing confidence, taking risks and participating as a team. He wanted students to work together and hold each other accountable in a supportive way. This was evident during the lesson sequence in how students encouraged each other and worked together to problem-solve and use language.

As seen during multiple lesson visits, Mr. Jackson approached his instruction as a way to further differentiate for student needs, building on the last scaffolding or differentiation move.

This approach moved students forward in their language development and content understanding. Mr. Jackson felt that each lesson might afford an opportunity for him to identify a practice or scaffold that supported student learning for emergent bilinguals and then he could draw on that in future planning and teaching. We see an example of this in a lesson when students were paired and using whiteboards to respond to questions and prompts in the class and then asked to build on what they wrote down in conversation. Mr. Jackson's use of pairing students by their seating arrangement, distributing whiteboards to each pair, and establishing routines for how whiteboards would be used demonstrated how Mr. Jackson built opportunities to learn into the lesson. This practice also provided a chance to affirm and confirm student voice and student response in a whole-class setting with peer and teacher support as needed. The use of whiteboards as a regular routine to provide opportunities to talk and write also gave him a chance to check for understanding. Whiteboards were always out and students were quick to collaborate around the boards when asked or given a prompt.

A final example that demonstrates Mr. Jackson's attention to differentiating instruction for emergent bilinguals was his focus on increasing students' interest and what they "need to know" in order to participate in the unit, as well as developing skills and demonstrating in-depth understanding of concepts throughout the unit. During one lesson this took the form of identifying countries and their colonizers in Latin America, looking at the populations and demographics of each country and focusing on the high numbers of those in slavery. Mr. Jackson worked to establish an authentic problem in this PBL unit by focusing on social class and having students imagine how French Haitian slaves would have responded to "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" from France. Students were given opportunities to discuss and then "write a short diary entry of at least five lines on how they would respond to the Declaration and what hopes or concerns might they have about what was happening in France?" Through this we see Mr. Jackson creating opportunities for students to practice and develop skills, as well as language through their PBL groups and the PBL tasks.

Mr. Jackson's planning, teaching and reflection demonstrated a level of knowledge of emergent bilinguals and linguistically relevant pedagogy that led to using different approaches, strategies and instructional techniques to provide equitable and inclusive learning opportunities for emergent bilinguals at all proficiency levels. As described earlier, when working with Beginner-level emergent bilinguals, Mr. Jackson identified the different needs and goals around language and content, such as increased opportunities to practice, groupings that lowered the affective filter, role assignment that increased participation and expectations, and slowed pacing when needed to focus on specific language and content development. Mr. Jackson held the same objectives for all students in his class but believed that beginner emergent bilinguals would often take a different path to get there and the end product would look, sound and be different. Mr. Jackson approached Advanced level emergent bilinguals with a differentiated approach in that he believed his role was not just world history concepts and skills but identifying the needs for academic language development in specific domains. He would often discuss individual students and their strengths in one domain, such as speaking in their groups and even presenting in class, and their needs in another domain, such as reading scaffolds to comprehend complex grade-level texts. He also shared that, for some Advanced-proficiency level students, it was not the language scaffolds they needed as much as the opportunities to practice, high expectations, and positive reinforcement.

## Professional Learning: Professional Learning through PBL

In alignment with Rivers High School and Madison School District discourse, Mr. Jackson valued equity and access. He demonstrated this was possible through rigorous instruction and differentiated planning. The degree to which Mr. Jackson oriented his professional time and energy around teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion world history setting reflected his beliefs and assumptions about equity and inclusion and the capability of all students. Mr. Jackson centered the majority of his professional learning efforts on work that directly focused on students in his core classes and that demonstrated the most need, this included emergent bilinguals at different proficiency levels. He saw students as capable, but also recognized the need to develop his instructional repertoire and practices for working with all students.

Mr. Jackson prioritized opportunities for professional learning that focused on all students and PBL as a framework for supporting these students. Mr. Jackson believed his role in teaching all students at a diverse school like Rivers specifically meant teaching the emergent bilingual students in his courses. He saw preparing to teach these students as an integral part to his professional growth and focus over time. Mr. Jackson's guiding principles informed his professional vision in that he saw teaching emergent bilinguals and in a full-inclusion setting as an opportunity for students and an opportunity for himself. This vision of students and the learning space became mediating factors for both the knowledge sought and practices enacted. Mr. Jackson shared that teaching in a full-inclusion model was challenging, but if you taught at Rivers this was what you did and why teachers taught at Rivers. He operated from principles that embodied a problem-solving mentality and approach that afforded new opportunities to seek knowledge, enact practices and learn. Mr. Jackson talked mostly about access in his classes and how he worked to create access for students that found world history challenging. Mr. Jackson focused on disciplinary literacy as a way to identify students' needs and address them in the context of a lesson and classroom. Mr. Jackson valued the world history and the social studies content and disciplinary practices. He saw his role as a teacher in a full-inclusion setting to increase access for students to these ways of thinking about history.

The alignment between the school's professional development foci and Mr. Jackson's principles provided him opportunities to strengthen his own skills and stay focused on the priorities of equity and inclusion and teaching emergent bilinguals. Throughout the year of the study, Mr. Jackson referenced these professional development sessions from Rivers' Wednesday professional learning days. He shared:

> The importance is each of these connected with who we are and what we do here at Rivers. We always have needs as teachers, but these sessions focused on what we say we are doing, such as supporting our students with the most needs like emergent bilinguals and also sharing a space to learn with students through student panels (Interview 5/25/17).

As examples, Mr. Jackson mentions three specific professional development sessions that supported his work as a full-inclusion teacher and the focus of equity and inclusion: Culturally Responsive Instruction & SIOP (Rivers PD 10/14/16); Teacher Dispositions and ELLs (Rivers PD 1/11/17); Racism at RHS (Rivers PD 3/15/17). He explains how each of these sessions align with the school's discourse, "what we say we are doing." These sessions provided opportunities for the teachers' principles to be reinforced or potentially challenged through the broader school professional learning climate and culture.

Throughout multiple interviews, Mr. Jackson shared his reflections on developing as a teacher since starting at Rivers fourteen years ago. He also attributed much of this to his role as a teacher of all students, particularly emergent bilinguals and in a full-inclusion context. When asked to describe his role as a teacher of emergent bilinguals he said, “If I answered thirteen years ago it would have been very different. Different in terms of the method I use…yeah and I would have come up with a much more succinct answer my first year . . . like ‘I want to engage students and help them become good citizens in a democracy,’ which is great. That is great and there is much more to it” (Interview 12/6/16). This description helps demonstrate a sense of his thinking over time and how, in his fourteen years of teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting, he views the work as complex and evolving. When asked about collaboration and his level of interaction with other colleagues, specifically around teaching emergent bilinguals, he replied:

> I don't think we know how to do this. I mean, you know, I am a journeyman teacher. I talk to new teachers and they are like, “how do you do this?” I am like, “well, here is what I am going to try and do, and here is an ideal world what I will do, and here is what is happening in my class”—and I am not always satisfied with those answers … But you know, I think many of us are like, “how do I get this kid? What am I assessing? Especially with our emergent bilingual students … So I know kinda what I need to do and there is only so much time to do it. Hopefully you kinda build the plane as you go along (Interview 12/6/16).

Mr. Jackson expressed that learning, for him, was an ongoing and daily process. He said that teaching beginner emergent bilinguals was a “huge” opportunity for his professional learning, that “every day is an opportunity” (Interview 12/6/16). He leveraged this learning opportunity when setting his annual growth goal on Teacher/Principal Evaluation Program (TPEP), which focused on scaffolding emergent bilinguals with the skill of rebuttal during debate (Interview 3/2/17). Even though Mr. Jackson knew a great deal about teaching emergent bilinguals, he was constantly looking for more knowledge and seeking ways to refine instructional practices in PBL to better support emergent bilinguals.

### Conclusion: Rivers' Discourse and Mr. Jackson's Knowledge, Principles, and Practices

In the case of Mr. Jackson, the district EL policy and context for teacher professionalism acted as a catalyst that created opportunities to learn. This lead to leveraging and developing knowledge, principles and practices to support all learners in the EL full-inclusion social studies classroom. Mr. Jackson described the Madison as a place that provided opportunities for him to focus on teaching all students and be able to utilize pedagogical approaches, such as PBL, in an attempt to improve equity by creating access to rigorous learning opportunities for emergent bilinguals.

The discourse at Rivers authorized Mr. Jackson's principles, supporting his belief that students were capable and could progress linguistically and academically and his goals of creating opportunities for emergent bilinguals to participate and learn in a full-inclusion setting. In this supportive context, Mr. Jackson drew on students' background experiences and knowledge and appropriately scaffolded their language development in ways that contributed to all students' learning. Mr. Jackson shared that the PBL discourse at Rivers and the past few years working on this framework as a school developed a culture of learning among staff and that student groups, such as emergent bilinguals became a central focus. Through this PBL work, Rivers instantiated the districts' focus on teacher professionalism, equity and access. This lead to not only a discourse around PBL and creating access for all students to grade level rigorous content, but also one of teacher professionalism.

## Challenging Tensions and Moving Beyond School Discourses:

## Mr. Gladwin, 9th Grade AP Human Geography

Mr. Gladwin was an experienced teacher of twelve years who was certificated in both social studies and English language arts. He was in his first year of teaching in the Madison School District and at Rivers High School. He had a background teaching middle school social studies and English language arts, as well as high school social studies courses. In the year of the study, 2016-2017, Mr. Gladwin taught AP human geography and US history.

Mr. Gladwin is a white male and native English speaker. He spoke some Spanish socially and would use Spanish from time to time with students. He had experience teaching a wide range of emergent bilinguals and students from diverse and lower socioeconomic backgrounds in his last school setting. This was similar to current student population at Rivers. Mr. Gladwin's pedagogical training had focused mostly on literacy and collaborating with interdisciplinary grade-level teams. Despite not being ELL endorsed or having attended any ELL trainings, Mr. Gladwin demonstrated a growing understanding of language development and teaching emergent bilinguals. He demonstrated a deep knowledge of general literacy and also of disciplinary literacy in social studies.

### Mr. Gladwin's Principles and Rivers High School

Mr. Gladwin had a bachelor's degree in philosophy, and he drew on ideas he had learned as a teacher. He shared that a driving principle for how he thought about inclusion and teaching was a theory of justice based on "justice as basic fairness" from the philosopher John Rawls (Interview 12/6/16 and 2/2/17). Mr. Gladwin described this principle as:

> A theory of justice that looks at justice as basic fairness … if institutions are interacting with people, it needs to be susceptible to the most vulnerable people and treat them as the most important person . . . And so, I really feel like that is what I come to teaching with. So that means I have to keep in mind that I am teaching students first and content second, and that leads me to sorta the questions around, “what are the skills that I am teaching, and what is the content?” and then, “what is the big enduring transfer that I want?” (Interview 12/6/16).

He built on this notion of justice and fairness by wrestling with the role of understanding inclusion and teaching from a critical perspective that sought to interrupt the status quo. As a full-inclusion social studies teacher, Mr. Gladwin believed in the principles of student empowerment, decision-making, and the ability to see and examine the world and its events critically. These principles aligned with the Rivers high discourses of equity and inclusion, yet also challenged them by offering a more critical lens. And, as I discuss next, he used this critical lens to identify tensions within the discourse at Rivers.

**Mr. Gladwin’s role at Rivers.** Despite being in his first year at Rivers High School, Mr. Gladwin was an involved leader and member of the school community. He was not currently on any formal leadership teams, but he valued collaboration with colleagues and believed there was always room for growth. Mr. Gladwin volunteered to lead a choice professional development session during one of River’s professional development days that focused on teaching emergent bilingual students. He also initiated a vertical collaboration team to focus on students in his ninth grade AP human geography course who needed additional literacy support. This team consisted of a group of teachers across different content areas that taught these same students. Both of these roles for Mr. Gladwin demonstrated his desire for and drive toward systems change. This work was intertwined with his own work in professional learning, which I discuss in more detail at the end of this chapter.

When it came to how Mr. Gladwin saw his role at Rivers he also demonstrated a strong passion and emphasis on social justice education. He demonstrated this in his teaching philosophy, pedagogical approaches, the way he saw students, collaboration, and his daily reflections on teaching practice and being an active participant in the Rivers community. At the beginning of one interview, Mr. Gladwin began by saying:

> One thing I have been thinking about a lot recently was the Day of Action and wearing the Black Lives Matter shirts and thinking, "how do sorta my political values make their way into my pedagogy?"… because I think I have these . . . very strong social justice motivations…and I think, "how do those things support those objectives?" (Interview 2/2/17).

Mr. Gladwin saw his role as an actor in an institution and system whose purpose was to transform, interrupt the status quo and use his teaching position to do this. He also saw his role as a thinker and critic of school priorities and initiatives – even those he was a part of. This role as a thinker and critic will be explored briefly through his critique of inclusion and critique of curriculum.

***Critique of inclusion.*** Mr. Gladwin acknowledged that he taught in and was a part of a full-inclusion setting. However, he was also critical of and questioned the purpose of inclusion. He shared that he believed in inclusion but questioned whether the inclusion goals at Madison and Rivers were authentic; in other words, were the goals of inclusion, as instantiated through the EL full-inclusion policy, truly interrupting the status quo? He pointed to the fact that emergent bilinguals had access to one ninth grade full-inclusion class and a few other classes. Were these changes, he wondered, actually making a difference for long term societal inclusion? Mr. Gladwin shared that as a social studies teacher "one of my big foundational beliefs is, if the student is in my class, it is my responsibility to help them make progress from where they entered to when they leave. I think it is important to have a shared responsibility for students independent of the category" (Interview 12/6/16). Mr. Gladwin demonstrated in his words and actions that a shared responsibility was important and, further, that responsibility for a particular "category" of student should not fall to a subset of that student's teachers. As a "foundational belief" Mr. Gladwin saw it his responsibility to teach all students and learn ways to teach all students, especially emergent bilinguals.

Mr. Gladwin framed his work as a full-inclusion teacher, as well as his critique of inclusion, by considering his own role in broader discourses of Rivers High and the Madison School District—as well as the broader institutional factors at play. In considering both his own positioning as a teacher in a full-inclusion AP human geography class and the "AP for all" program at Rivers more broadly, Mr. Gladwin struggled with what Rivers and Madison mean by inclusion, as well as his job in reinforcing or interrupting the status quo:

> I think I really want to know the answer, but institutions, do we really want, in Madison, do we really want all of our kids to be graduating ready to go to highly selective colleges? Is that something that the Madison community wants? Are they ready for the child of their gardener to be going off to Harvard with their kid? And I would like to say I think yes, but I think that I don't know if that is really what we want. Or do we want to retain the social organization that comes with these very early sorting processes that we

> engage in … We have exactly the education system that we want. I don't know we want to actually admit that we have that system (Interview 6/6/17).

Mr. Gladwin spoke openly and passionately about how societal and institutional norms and power structures were always at play. He felt that inclusion was a very important area of focus for schools but also felt like it was an easy way to name "progress" and gradualism. He shared that inclusion at Rivers seemed well-intentioned but that "it supports, on a surface level, broader notions of inclusivity and broader notions of diversity. I don't know [that] it achieves those things in a longer-term environment…" (Interview 6/6/17). The principles Mr. Jackson brought to his work at Rivers brought up tension with the discourses of Rivers and Madison in that it raised questions about what does inclusion mean for students on a long-term basis, how are students developing skills that help them make sense of the world, and do those in power really want what would be the product of a full-inclusion environment?

***Critique of curriculum.*** In a similar way to Mr. Gladwin's critique of inclusion and the school discourse around inclusion, he also presented a critique of curriculum. This critique raised questions both about the PBL framework, as well as the "AP for all" approach Madison and Rivers was implementing at the ninth-grade level with the course AP human geography. As previously shared Mr. Gladwin saw the role of social studies as providing a space and opportunities for all students "to really engage in the world in a way where they are experiencing their own sense of empowerment…" (Interview 12/6/16). Mr. Gladwin felt that curriculum was only one piece to the puzzle, but that it did play an important role, particularly in an Advanced Placement course driven by PBL units. When asked about the PBL curriculum he shared, "One of the big questions I have had about how curriculum is designed here is … how are teachers thinking about the concept of a problem in PBL … what would an authentic PBL cycle look like?" (Interview 12/6/16). Mr. Gladwin saw the curriculum as a means to explore and develop critical consciousness and entry points for emergent bilinguals by increasing the relevance and real-world, local issues and problems in students' communities.

In his own teaching, Mr. Gladwin thought about the focus he placed on the expertise students bring to the classroom. He viewed this expertise as a way to leverage what students know and who students are. This lead students to engaging with authentic and relevant issues in students' communities and the AP human geography curriculum and ultimately contributed to the development of critical consciousness. When asked about this specifically in the context of teaching emergent bilinguals, Mr. Gladwin said,

> "I have also started to learn where my students, and this with ELs particularly, where do their interests lie and where is their expertise? Because they are going to carry much higher levels of comprehension of vocabulary in those areas which they harbor interest in, and if I can use those places as entry points then I think we have a shot at maybe having more authentic group participation—even though there are really different abilities in spoken English" (Interview 11/22/16).

What Mr. Gladwin is saying is that there is a relationship between critical engagement students' knowledge and passions and their literacy development. He knows that when students are engaged in authentic and relevant ways and with a lens on critique local societal or school problems then students' participation increases and thus the opportunities for literacy and language development.

Mr. Gladwin talked at length about the challenge of the curriculum designed for a full-inclusion AP human geography class. Specifically, he shared about the importance of "focusing on the cognitive load … and reading and writing goals" in order to provide appropriate scaffolding for emergent bilinguals. These aspects of planning and teaching were not developed in Rivers' shared PBL materials (Interview 11/22/16).

Curriculum was a driving factor for Mr. Jackson's AP human geography course because it was an AP course and he was new to teaching it. However, brought his own lens to the curriculum, which centered literacy skills and development. He critiqued the AP human geography curriculum because it focused on content over skills and did not reach the level of critical engagement that he thought it should. However, Mr. Gladwin was able to identify the underlying disciplinary literacy skills in the curriculum and focus on them in his planning. He also deepened their criticality by maintaining the PBL objective but modifying the essential questions to be more contextualized and relevant for students. Ultimately, the Rivers context provided space for Mr. Gladwin to challenge the tensions with inclusion and equity.

## Approach to Teaching

In examining how Mr. Gladwin approached teaching through seeing students and planning and instruction, Mr. Jackson's critical perspectives on equity and inclusion were the guiding principles for how he saw students. His view of students and planning and teaching positioned students as contributing members to society and created opportunities for student empowerment and critical literacy development. His planning and instruction also reflected his attempt to create access and opportunities to develop literacy skills and deep engagement with big ideas for all students. Both how he saw students and his planning and instruction will now be explored further.

**Seeing students.** Mr. Gladwin viewed teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting as the reason for why he was a teacher. He viewed it this way because of his belief in developing students' critical consciousness as a way of seeing and understanding the world. He recognized that with this idealistic philosophy came a variety of complex challenges for teaching and reaching all students in a diverse classroom setting with many constraints. However, these challenges did not deter him from these goals. Mr. Gladwin saw students as capable of learning and developing language and literacy skills, but also as positioned to be empowered and educated in ways that were transformative. When describing how he thought about the relationship between critical literacy and empowerment, Mr. Gladwin shared:

> I think that for a student to really engage in the world in a way where they are experiencing their own sense of empowerment, requires that they can make decisions for themselves and access the information that they need to … when you learn it [literacy skills] you have access to a different kind of power than if you don't learn it (Interview 12/6/16).

He saw students as powerful instruments in their own learning and educational experience—regardless of their background, English proficiency or unique needs. Mr. Gladwin believed all students in the AP human geography classroom should be exposed to the same ideas and deep levels of thinking, questioning and critique. This was important because it mediated Mr. Gladwin's expectations for his students; for example, he challenged emerging bilingual students—even those at the Beginner proficiency level—to engage in literacy practices and work to develop critical understanding through reading and writing.

Mr. Gladwin also saw students as resources and contributors to the learning process. He viewed learning as very social and dependent on community. He talked about how important it was that everyone was involved in the activities and completing the PBL tasks and lessons to the best of their ability. He believed that emergent bilingual students and immigrant students, in particular, had a lot to offer in terms of resources and contributions. He viewed language, culture and geographical experiences as valuable to expanding the learning for all. For example, he engaged the whole class in conversation about language how linguistic diversity is a strength, not a challenge. And, in this context, he encouraged Beginner level students to use their home language when needed.

Finally, knowledge of language proficiency differences and language development informed how Mr. Gladwin saw his students. He saw emergent bilinguals as a heterogenous and complex group of students. He developed this view over his past several years in full-inclusion classrooms and working with a wide-range of emergent bilingual students. Mr. Gladwin understood and thought about EL proficiency levels as a key characteristic of students. He often did this in the context of teaching literacy and focusing on developing reading and writing for students. He showed a deeper understanding of language and literacy development when he described the specific scaffolds and writing tasks that he would ask students to do and how that might vary from student to student, but with the same end goal. He also approached language proficiency differences from a very personal approach. He shared that often in class based on relationships he will just "ask them how things are going with their language and does this make sense" (12/6/16). He felt like this was one way to better understand student needs and proficiency level differences.

**Planning and instruction: Scaffolding through literacy and critical engagement.** Mr. Gladwin approached planning for student learning through the use of Madison's AP human geography common curriculum and the Rivers PBL units, but he brought a critical approach to using these resources. For example, as he got to know his students, he made adjustments to the units' topics to increase their relevance. In thinking about planning for student needs, Mr.

Gladwin focused on the classroom environment and literacy as a way to plan for student learning and scaffold instruction. Mr. Gladwin shared:

> I am making sure that I am prepared with something that is relevant and challenging and appropriate of the classroom and then really using what I am learning [about students] to adjust what I am doing in the classroom, so as I have a better idea of what I am supposed to be teaching how do I change the next unit to bring it more in line with what those objectives are to learn more about my students and really with that, learning about students (Interview 12/6/16).

He acknowledged the importance of relevance, challenge and appropriateness, but also knew that adapting instruction and aligning to objectives would be a central part to scaffolding for successful engagement and student learning.

In addition to the cognitive load that students faced, Mr. Gladwin tried to spend time in his planning thinking about the classroom environment and learning space for students. In planning, he tried "to figure out a way to create an environment that fosters community and belonging" (Interview 2/2/17). In reflecting on the connection between planning and teaching Mr. Gladwin shared:

> I think that in actual teaching practice, I try to think a lot about community and belonging. . . . A person isn't going to be willing to put themselves in a place of discomfort that learning requires if they don't feel some connection to the place and the people there. And also trying to figure out a way to create an environment that fosters that (Interview 2/2/17).

This quote shows how Mr. Gladwin understood the relationship between community and the likelihood that students would take risks that supported their learning. This consideration is particularly important in a full-inclusion setting, where interactions may come with increased pressure and emergent bilinguals may feel particularly vulnerable.

Mr. Gladwin also focused his planning specifically on aspects of literacy and critical literacy. He saw literacy at the core of his classes and teaching practice. This showed up in his planning, instruction, and reflection. It was a key principle that drove his instructional decisions and scaffolding in this full-inclusion classroom. Mr. Gladwin described this planning process by talking about his focus on a specific area of literacy when thinking about an upcoming objective or task. When talking about literacy he often meant a focus on developing students as readers and writers, and not just in social studies classes but throughout their other courses and life. Literacy was a cornerstone for what Mr. Gladwin believed led to access and power as a learner and to becoming a contributing member to society. As such, he also centered literacy in his approaches to differentiation.

Two areas of Mr. Gladwin's instruction demonstrate an approach to teaching emergent bilinguals: Scaffolding processes and using language as a resource and empowerment tool. He approached each unit and many lessons with these two areas in mind. During the lesson sequence Mr. Gladwin shared that one important aspect to planning for teaching with emergent bilinguals is recognizing that the "cognitive demands placed on EL students are so huge that not only are you working on language, but you are also working on content" (Interview 2/2/17). He further elaborated "one of the things I try to do is, I try to separate out, 'where I do want them to focus on?' . . . 'what is the cognitive load I want them to bare?" (Interview 2/2/17).

The first is scaffolding processes. Mr. Gladwin talked about scaffolding across all four domains of language, and specifically across the literacy domains of reading and writing. He also shared that when he thinks about scaffolded instruction for students, he is also thinking about scaffolding student thinking and the ability to share this thinking. Mr. Gladwin shared one example pertaining to thinking about writing tasks across two different units:

> The first unit I didn't really offer any extra support in the writing task . . . because the view from the design of the team said, 'well it is already a really structured writing process.' Well, it was a series of questions the kids had to answer … so one thing I saw really quickly was that kids that were struggling writers didn't like to share their answers because their answers didn't look like the other kids' answers. [For] The second unit, I created an optional cloze for every response. I found that most of the kids used the cloze and it helped them move efficiently anyway. The third time through, I more intentionally developed the structures and then increased the complexity of one of the structures and started to force kids who had gotten good at filling in the blanks to talk about how they were filling in the blanks (Interview 12/6/16).

This quote shows that Mr. Gladwin recognized that effective scaffolds meant they were focused and connected to supporting students with the cognitive load and necessary language and that scaffolds took time and needed to be consistent. They also needed to have a point at which they could be phased out.

During observations it was also clear how Mr. Gladwin scaffolded talk opportunities for students. Mr. Gladwin had arranged students physically where they could easily talk with partners to process ideas. He also had grouped students mindfully and would be strategic about when students talked, about what, and for how long. This provided a chance for students to use oral language as a bridge to develop reading and writing skills and express understanding of big ideas.

A second is using language as a resource and empowerment tool. Mr. Gladwin valued students' home languages just like he saw students' experiences, cultures, and background knowledge as a resource. He shared that in a full-inclusion context at a school like Rivers, one of the biggest strengths is the diversity in language and culture that students bring to the classroom. This shows up and fits particularly well in a class like AP human geography. Mr. Gladwin saw language as a tool to empower students and that mirrored the school's priority of student voice and his own belief in student voice and leadership. Below I share and unpack two examples of how Mr. Gladwin described using language as a resource and its connection to power. In the first example, he describes how he drew on the linguistic repertoires of his Spanish-speaking students during a UN simulation:

> We had a really cool thing happen in our 6th period class, where we were doing this UN simulation. Some of the countries were Spanish-speaking countries and so one Native speaker presented her argument entirely in Spanish. A couple of kids helped translate for her and two Anglo-kids from AP Spanish presented their arguments in Spanish too, and then these kids were questioning each other in Spanish. And the level of engagement from those students was really powerful because it flipped, it leveraged expertise from the kids who were not used to being viewed as language experts and so because of our critical mass of Spanish-speakers we can do that here (Interview 11/22/16).

As seen in this example, Mr. Gladwin valued students' home languages and looked for ways to bring other languages to the forefront of the classroom and support students in their use of language. He also acknowledged the importance of "flipping" the English-dominant dynamic for the native English speakers in the class because this empowered students linguistically that did not often occur and it positioned English speakers in a place to experience a language different than English and how they needed to work to understand it.

In the second example, Mr. Gladwin shares how he draws on students' cultural backgrounds and expertise in ways that do not make assumptions about students and their desire to be "the expert for a language or culture". Mr. Gladwin believed that it was important for students to be positioned as experts when they could, but not assume that because a student was from a culture or language group that they automatically could be or would want to be a spokesperson for that culture or language. This is captured when Mr. Gladwin shares,

> We have also had it happen around kids who have been both and I don't design this intentionally because I feel like it is really inappropriate to make the kid the expert for a language or culture, but we have had kids, an Iraqi student and we kept presenting on Iraq and she said, it's not like that. She felt comfortable and there was enough relationship with the class and we had built a climate where she could say that (Interview 11/22/16).

We see in this example that Mr. Gladwin was very thoughtful about how to value and leverage students' fund of knowledge, background experiences and home languages. Through emphasizing the importance of relationship and the classroom environment, Mr. Gladwin shows how students felt empowered to share and challenge as a part of the learning process.

Across these two examples, two additional distinguishing features of Mr. Gladwin's approach are present. The first is shifting the power dynamic in class between students and leveraging student language use and expertise. The second is working with students to create the kind of community where students can speak to their own cultural experiences and backgrounds and share this knowledge with other students—without making assumptions about a student's background and forcing them into a role of expert based on those assumptions.

Mr. Gladwin's approach focused on developing critical learners to set students up for long-term engagement and learning, not just a brief means to an end in the context of a single class or curriculum. This informed how he approached teaching specific literacy skills like decoding or comprehension in highly relevant ways that supported their critique of familiar contexts and issues. He ultimately sought to empower students through literacy, and this was specifically important for the emergent bilingual students in the full-inclusion AP human geography class. Mr. Gladwin used literacy as way to guide his planning and instruction, as well as critically engage students with the content and tasks.

### Professional Learning: Professional Learning as Critical Engagement

In alignment with the Rivers High School and Madison School District discourse, Mr. Gladwin valued equity and inclusion. He demonstrated this was possible through his planning and instruction, as well as through his role as a leader and change agent at Rivers High School. The degree to which Mr. Gladwin oriented his professional time and energy around teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion AP human geography setting, as evidenced in the section above. reflected his beliefs and assumptions about equity and inclusion.

In thinking about his priorities for professional learning, Mr. Gladwin expressed that "the first thing we need to look at is what will make our students more comfortable and efficient and not what makes teachers more comfortable and efficient, which I think tends to dominate a lot of our conversations" (Interview 2/2/17). By this statement, Mr. Gladwin meant that first and foremost students and their needs should be the central focus of professional learning, not teachers. He felt that often times the focus of professional learning was whatever allowed teachers to remain in a place of comfort and not be challenged in their work with students.

Mr. Gladwin stressed the importance of having others to interact with as a key component to professional learning. Mr. Gladwin's view of learning was tied to social interaction with others, seeing and valuing others' experiences and knowledge, empathy, and identifying literacy methods he can further develop and use as a teacher. He saw having the ability to be flexible and make changes during a lesson and then reflect on why those changes worked or didn't as central to his teaching practice and reflection. To capture this he shared:

> I feel like the things that end up working the best are changes that I make right in the midst of class, well this didn't work, you are struggling here, let's do this. And so it will be a very much on the fly kinda change and then afterwards you are thinking about did it work? Why did it work is probably where the most learning happens for me" (Interview 2/2/17).

Mr. Gladwin positioned himself not only as a learner, but also as a leader. He viewed his work toward equity and inclusion not just in teaching students, but also in working with his colleagues and participating in professional development. For example, He saw himself as an advocate for making literacy the core of planning, especially emergent bilinguals. He believed it was a part of his job to share this literacy focus by partnering with his colleagues to support students' literacy development, and he took action to make that happen. For example, Mr. Gladwin arranged a vertical collaboration of teachers focusing on specific students and their literacy needs. When asked about this form of collaboration and focus on literacy, he explained:

> My role is starting to build collaboration pathways so that I can work with people. And really for me this means less other SS [social studies] teachers, and more getting to know what is happening in the English classes that my students are taking and getting to know what support people, so AVID, ELL, SPED, - what are they doing? And how are they working to support kids and how can I contribute to that work? (Interview 11/22/16).

Mr. Gladwin believed that one area of professional need and growth was specifically around collaborating with other teachers and vertical alignment around a student's needs and specifically, a student's literacy needs. When asked to talk in more detail about this professional need he said:

> Yeah, I really feel like the alignment that would have the most impact on a student's day, is alignment that follows the student through the day. I don't think it matters to my students all that much if I am aligned with another SS teacher … what I am more interested in is like, what is another teacher of that student during the day in a different capacity seeing, and then in those places where literacy is key, in their English class, what are they reading? (Interview 11/22/16).

In Mr. Gladwin's day to day work, he saw this as a realistic goal and area of growth as a professional. In his first year at Rivers, this type of collaboration and learning was not happening in a structured or frequent way, as he thought it should be, but Mr. Gladwin was already beginning to engage in a few partnerships with his colleagues based on shared students. For being in his first year at Rivers, Mr. Gladwin was an active teacher that regularly engaged with many colleagues in conversations about students, and the majority of these colleagues seemed to be outside of the social studies department. This included the ELL facilitator, English language arts teachers, math teachers, science teachers, administrators and other AP human geography and

U.S. history teachers. Mr. Gladwin took advantage of the Rivers professional development structures.

Another example of Mr. Gladwin's critical engagement through professional development occurred in the spring when teachers were invited to lead optional professional development workshops at Rivers. He submitted a proposal that focused on teacher dispositions and teaching emergent bilinguals, which was approved. Eighteen teachers attended the workshop, which focused on discussing the following questions:

- What role does 'attitude' play in constructing a functional classroom? Consider the attitude of the teacher as well as the students.
- What role does community and interaction play in your class?
- What happens when a student enters your classroom with limited English proficiency, or any other factor that can make inclusion difficult?

Mr. Gladwin's focus on professional learning went beyond his own desire to learn but also to lead. He shared in an interview when asked about collaboration with colleagues an example of how he was initiating this work and getting the support of administrators at Rivers. Mr. Gladwin said:

> You kinda have to go with the goers…in a sense that trying to get everyone on board doesn't work so I have talked with Frank McDonald [assistant principal] about trying to do some schedule alignment with teachers who are interested in building some connections between SS and language arts. And so I am starting work now with a few teachers (Interview 2/2/17).

Mr. Gladwin demonstrated an ongoing commitment to reflection and growth as a teacher. It was through this reflection that he also asked questions of the systems that made up Rivers and the Madison School District. It was a system that empowered him to ask these questions in ways that could expand his own learning, as well as move the equity agenda further along at Rivers and in the district.

## Conclusion: Rivers' Discourse and Mr. Gladwin's Knowledge, Principles, and Practices

Mr. Gladwin's case shows how, given the right context, a teacher can have the opportunity to challenge district and school discourses and work within a school to change the nature of activity in the system—and thus move the collective work toward greater equity. Mr. Gladwin is an example at Rivers of how a teacher was an actor in mediating change in the Rivers and Madison context. He did this through his critique of inclusion and his push to develop critical literacy and empowerment among students.

The discourses of equity and inclusion in Madison and at Rivers authorized Mr. Gladwin's knowledge, principles, and practices, affording a space for him to prioritize critical literacy in his AP human geography for all students, and specifically his emerging bilingual students. For example, he had the ability to make changes to units by shifting their focus to make them culturally relevant, adding a dimension of criticality, and creating literacy supports so that all students could be successful. Moreover, the school and district discourses authorized Mr. G's work to push for greater equity in the school through vertical collaboration meetings focused on scaffolding students' literacy across courses and by offering a professional development workshop that asked teachers to interrogate their assumptions about emergent bilinguals.

### Comparing Mr. Jackson and Mr. Gladwin

The cases of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Gladwin show us how Rivers' discourse of equity and inclusion mediated the knowledge, principles, and practices that both teachers took up and sought. Despite being two different cases with two different experiences, both show the power and authorization of school discourse. In the case of Mr. Jackson, we see a mirroring of school discourse through equity and inclusion and Mr. Jackson's commitment to PBL as a tool for increasing accessibility and opportunity for students. In the case of Mr. Gladwin, we see a mirroring of the equity discourse, but also a tension with it that leads to a critique of Madison and Rivers. This critique shows the professional space that has been created that affords this type of position and how Mr. Gladwin takes it up as a leader. The aligning discourses of Madison and Woods demonstrate the power of equity discourse and one way a school and teachers work to increase the visibility of emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion EL policy.

# Chapter 6. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore the phenomenon of a district EL full-inclusion policy at district, school and teacher levels to understand factors that afford or constrain equitable instantiations of this policy. I employed a CHAT framework (cite) to better understand how school and district discourses (Gee, 2008) operate and interact. I theorized that participation across the overlapping activity systems of the district and school would mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices (Lampert, 2013). For this study, I was focused specifically on discourses related to the district full-inclusion policy and in the aspects of teachers' work that impacted opportunities to learn for emergent bilinguals. (Gee, 2008; Greeno 2005). In this study, I ask: How do alignment and contradictions across district discourses, school discourses and teachers' work mediate the implementation of an EL full-inclusion policy? The following research questions guided this study:

1) In what ways does alignment and contradiction occur within and across district and school discourses in an EL full-inclusion context?
2) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--particularly with regard to teaching emergent bilinguals?
3) How do these points of alignment and contradiction mediate opportunities for teacher- and school-level learning?

I focused on two high schools and six focal social studies teachers as participants to understand more about the nature and role of district and school discourses. Through interviews, lesson observations and document analysis I collected and analyzed data that provided insights into district and school discourses, as well as how these discourses acted as mediating factors to teachers' experiences teaching emergent bilinguals and their knowledge, principles and practices. I used these data sources to trace how alignment and contradictions of discourses between one district and two high schools acted as a mediating factor in teachers' principles, knowledge and practice. I explored this specifically with a lens on teaching emergent bilingual students in a full-inclusion context. By tracing points of alignment and contradiction within and across school and district activity systems and their relationships to teachers' work, I uncovered school-level factors that afforded and constrained equitable instantiations of these policies.

In this chapter, I discuss how this study's findings contribute to our understanding of how district- and school-level discourses interact in ways that are consequential for teachers' work. I reflect on the significance of school discourses for how content area teachers experience a new full-inclusion policy, and how these experiences mediate the knowledge, principles, and practices that they draw upon and seek out. In conclusion, I discuss key implications of this study for research, policy and practice. In particular, I focus on three themes. The first theme is school discourses as a powerful mediator of teachers' knowledge, principles and practices in an equity-focused district. The second is the role of elevating teachers as professionals in pursuing an equity agenda. The third theme is school discourses authorize particular kinds of knowledge, principles, and practices through curriculum tools that are central to their identity.

## The Role of School Discourses in an Equity-Focused District

Findings from this study suggest that a district's equity goals may align or conflict with school discourses and, further, that this alignment and contradiction is consequential for teachers' work—and thus for the students that they serve. In this study, a district discourse of rigor, equity and inclusion both aligned and collided with discourses at Woods and Rivers High Schools. In both cases, the district had a powerful impact on teachers' work through policies such as full inclusion for emergent bilinguals and AP-for-all. All teachers talked about and engaged in their work in response to this context. However. the school discourse was a powerful mediator—perhaps even more powerful than the district. Schools impacted the focus of teachers' collective work, their opportunities to learn and, ultimately, their teaching.

These findings provide rich descriptions that illuminate how teachers' opportunities to learn are impacted by the nested contexts in which they teach and the complex—and at times conflicting—cultural practices that shape activity in these spaces (Engestrom, 2000; Greeno, 2006; Grossman et al., 1999; Horn, 2015). Each high school in this study instantiated the district discourses of equity and inclusion differently. When discourses align, such as in the case of Rivers High School and the Madison School District, EL policy takes shape as imagined and the emphasis on full-inclusion is enacted in ways that mirrored priorities of equity and inclusion. When district and school discourses contradict, as in the case of Woods High School and the Madison School District, EL policy is distorted because the emphasis on full-inclusion is at odds with priorities of rigor and tracking. As a result, the school discourse limited teachers' opportunities to engage in and develop ways of knowing around planning and teaching emergent bilingual students.

**Mr. Jackson: A case of aligning discourses.** At Rivers High School, teacher cases show how alignment of district and school discourses can support a districts' equity vision and yet importantly still provide space for a school's identity and own discourses to emerge in a complimentary way. Mr. Jackson is an example of the role of school discourses in equity-focused work when discourses align. Mr. Jackson's approach to teaching in a full-inclusion classroom embraced PBL as a means to create access for all students, specifically emergent bilinguals at varying proficiency levels. Furthermore, he focused on the two Key Elements that

Rivers was emphasizing as a means to develop professionally and meet the needs of students in a full-inclusion setting. This was a direct connection to the Rivers discourse of equity and inclusion. In both interviews and the lesson sequence Mr. Jackson shared the importance of student voice in lessons and creating access through Culturally Responsive Instruction all of which was driven by Rivers' professional development goals and priorities for the year. When discourses align as in the case of Mr. Jackson, school activity systems afford opportunities to enact and expand equity-focused work across the school and within teachers' classrooms.

**Mr. Butler: A case of colliding discourses.** At Woods High School, the role of school discourse in an equity-focused district played out differently as discourses collided. At Woods, contradictions of district and school discourses undermined the district's equity vision and through an activity system that reified inequities and constrained opportunities for teachers to learn. I turn to the case of Mr. Butler for one example of the role of school discourses in equity-focused work when discourses contradict. Mr. Butler's approach to teaching in a full-inclusion classroom categorized students through his believes in rigor and honors tracking. Whether intentional or not, Mr. Butler and Woods' focus on rigor was in tension with the district discourse of equity and inclusion. When discourses collide as in the case Mr. Butler, school activity systems constrain teachers' opportunities to enact and expand equity-focused work.

These case findings suggest the importance of school discourses in mediating equity-focused district initiatives. We see in both Mr. Jackson and Mr. Butler cases of the mutual reinforcement of school discourses through teachers' work. In other words, both teachers bought into and were players in their respective activity systems. Neither sought to challenge the school discourse and, despite contradiction or alignment with the district discourse, both reflected their own school discourses. This of particular significance if we think about the leadership positions and members of the activity system that each teacher took up. For example, Mr. Butler demonstrated alignment with the school discourse as a grade-level leader, department lead, established veteran teacher, and mentor teacher for teacher candidates. Mr. Jackson occupied a similar position of leadership and influence. In both cases, school discourses authorized these teachers' roles as leaders and their ways of navigating the EL policy because they reflected school's priorities. In the case of Woods, this authorization undermined the District's equity goals, whereas at Rivers these goals were supported.

These cases suggest that an important area to focus on to support district equity initiatives is school discourses because they impact the ways in which these initiatives are instantiated. While other studies have looked at the department as a strong mediating factor (Little & McLaughlin, 1993; Siskin & Little, 1995) this study looks at the school level. Specifically, it shows how school discourses permeate the dimensions of a school's activity system, (e.g., through the school's goals, ways of understanding data, expectations for teachers, teachers' roles and differential power, tools such as instructional frameworks and curriculum, focus of collective work in meetings and workshops, and course enrollment policies). Further, findings show how these discourses act as authorizing or reinforcing agents in the mediation of teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices. This is of particular importance in a district setting where school discourses perpetuate inequity within the context of a well-resourced district with progressive leadership and polices and inequity is reinforced despite the best of intentions. It is also of importance where in the same context school discourses lead to increased teacher leadership opportunities and moving the district equity-focus forward.

## The Role of Elevating Teachers as Professionals in Pursuing an Equity Agenda

In this study, we see how the role of discourse at the school level authorizes teachers' principles, ways of knowing and practices through how they are elevated as professionals in different ways. When district and school discourses align around teacher professionalism in supporting the pursuit of an equity-focused agenda, then opportunities for teachers to identify tensions within and across activity systems emerge, as well as opportunities to engage in work to rectify those tensions. However, when district and school discourses contradict, then tensions are left unexplored, and teachers' opportunities to learn are limited. I turn to two cases to show how district-school alignment and contradiction shape afford or limit learning at the teacher and system levels—in this case, learning related to teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting.

**Ms. Parks: Opportunities constrained.** The case of Ms. Parks demonstrates the power of activity systems in how she is silenced and constrained in her ability to challenge the discourse of rigor at Woods and the limited space and focus it gives to emergent bilingual students. Ms. Parks expressed a tension between "AP for all," and the school's persistent focus on tracking –as well as tensions between the full-inclusion policy, teaching all levels of emergent bilinguals, and the school's lack of support for teachers of full-inclusion courses. However, there was no official school space for Ms. Parks to voice these concerns, and her views remained unshared with colleagues and the administration.

Ms. Parks demonstrated a developing level of EL expertise for teaching emergent bilinguals. However, in the context of Woods this expertise was silenced. A district culture of professional development and autonomy and the district work to elevate teaches as professionals but, because of the contradicting discourses at Woods, teachers like Mr. Butler were held up as experts. Ms.

Parks' was therefore limited as an actor in the Woods activity system where her principles, knowledge and practices were not valued. This led to an inability to challenge the dominant discourse and draw on her EL expertise and principles of equity. Ultimately Ms. Parks found herself limited by the Woods discourses and the knowledge, principles, and practices that Woods authorized, which left Ms. Parks silenced and emergent bilinguals invisible—despite this full-inclusion context.

**Mr. Gladwin: Opportunities afforded.** Mr. Gladwin is an example of how school discourses can elevate teachers as professionals in the pursuit of equity when in alignment with district discourses of equity. His case shows the space created and opportunities afforded by this alignment across discourses. In this case we see the professional context and aligning discourses of equity at Rivers as a means to elevate teachers as learners and leaders and have space to challenge tensions within school discourse and increase the visibility of emergent bilingual students. Mr. Gladwin is an example of this as an established teacher with over 12 years of teaching, but in his first year at Rivers. For Mr. Gladwin because discourses align even though new in the school he was able to engage tensions publicly, challenging the school discourse through his attempt to shift collaboration to increase the focus on students—and emergent bilinguals specifically, and his initiative to lead equity-focused professional development workshops that pushed the boundaries of the equity discourse at Rivers. In this way, Mr. Gladwin engaged in work to expand the discourse--and thus support both teacher learning and, over time, shifts in the activity system.

These cases suggest that an important area to focus on to develop these initiatives is to focus on school discourses and ways in which they are instantiated. As studies suggest, the role of discourse is important in establishing institutional norms and learning cultures and is an authorizing factor in teacher's knowledge, principles, and practices (Rigby & Tredway, 2015). Furthermore, this study emphasizes that "the use of explicit equity language could over time increase the likelihood that school constituents (teachers, staff, parents, and students) will develop a common language and framework for school actions" (2015, p. 30). This study highlights how discourse, both explicitly and implicitly, can shape other contextual factors and influence the learning opportunities for teachers. Furthermore, it is clear how teachers' professional involvement and leadership development at both schools is shaped and given space to be valued or not.

### Curriculum Tools as a Powerful Mediator of Teacher Knowledge, Principles, and Practices

We know that tools of professional practice are important in shaping how professionals engage in their work (Goodwin, 1994). In teaching, curricular tools are central to shaping teachers' work (Grossman & Thompson, 2008). In this study, curriculum tools aligned with school discourses. In fact, the frameworks of IB and PBL were central to the identities of Woods and Rivers, respectively. Moreover, these curricula were central to teachers' work. These included the IB/AP curriculum, PBL as an instructional framework, SIOP strategies, and frameworks for Culturally Responsive Instruction. In this way, curriculum tools were an important means through which school discourses authorized teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices. Through the cases of Mr. Butler and Mr. Jackson below, I discuss how curriculum shaped the ways teachers saw students and informed their planning and instruction, thereby reinforcing school discourses.

**Mr. Butler: IB as a curriculum tool.** Mr. Butler used the curriculum tools afforded him through IB and AP and reified a school discourse of rigor and tracking. In this case, we see the tracking that occurs by how he categorizes students as "AP/IB, Fluent English Speakers, or emergent bilinguals”. This informed how Mr. Butler saw students as capable or not and thus planned and delivered instruction for students authorized by a school discourse that privileged IB. In Mr. Butler’s planning and instruction, he failed to see emergent bilinguals as the unique, linguistically and academically complex individuals they were and instead viewed emergent bilinguals as a homogeneous group with the same needs. Further, the Woods activity system and school discourse authorized Mr. Butler in the way he saw students as capable and incapable based on rigor. This lead to a level of invisibility of emergent bilinguals in his classes that the Woods discourse mirrored. This view of seeing emergent bilinguals as less capable based on his own notions of rigor and English language proficiency had direct implications on student relationships, knowing students, planning for instruction, instructional moves, and teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion classroom. This example among others shows that Mr. Butler was able to stay in the same place of learning, or lack of learning about teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting because of what the school discourse authorized and how it mediated his daily work through seeing students, planning and instruction.

**Mr. Jackson: PBL as a curriculum tool.** I now turn to the case of Mr. Jackson, a world history teacher at Rivers, to show how the PBL framework mediated his planning and instruction in ways that supported emergent bilinguals at varying proficiency levels. The PBL framework reinforced Mr. Jackson’s view of students as “unique individuals” who important experiences and knowledge to the classroom. Mr. Jackson approached teaching full-inclusion classrooms based on this view. He sought to know each student as an individual and as a contributor to a collective learning environment.

The PBL curriculum tools afforded to Mr. Jackson reinforced the way he saw students through his planning and instruction. For example, the PBL framework includes strategies for specific roles, speaking, group work, text analysis and entry points. These strategies supported the emergent bilinguals in his course to participate in rigorous activity and learn. The experience of seeing all students engage successfully through activities in the PBL framework reinforced the way that Mr. Jackson saw students, including emergent bilinguals, as active learners that should be given multiple opportunities to demonstrate thinking, develop conceptual understanding and practice language--regardless of the proficiency level.

## Implications: Policy, Practice and Research

Studies in the fields of teacher learning and the contexts of teaching emergent bilinguals, both in policy and practice, often look at either the role of English language learner (ELL) teachers in the context of teaching Sheltered Instruction classes or in some cases specifically the content area teacher and classroom (Elfers et al 2013; Gándara, 2013). However, few studies examine how districts and schools shape the ways that content area teachers ultimately teach emergent bilingual students. Throughout the last several years there has been a continued shift in whose role and responsibility it is to teach emergent bilingual students, particularly at the secondary level, with many districts moving away from the sheltering of content in classes such as social studies (Callahan, 2010; Hamayan & Freeman Field, 2012; Johnson, 2013). This study sheds light on how a district EL inclusion policy is mediated at the district, school and teacher levels and suggests implications that should be considered for policy and practice.

**Policy.** This study leads us to consider a variety of different implications around language policy and district policies supporting the educational opportunities of emergent bilingual students. Two will be taken up in this chapter, while others remain for future consideration and study. The first is that district EL policy is important and should be explicit and aligned with equity and inclusion priorities. However, how this policy is appropriated at the school matters most for teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices--and thus the educational opportunities afforded emergent bilinguals. Despite clear district EL policy and alignment with district priorities of equity and inclusion as seen in the Madison School District discourse, schools – as in the cases of Woods and Rivers – do not automatically align. Schools are social contexts where school-specific priorities, historical areas of focus and competing interests exist--and may result in alignment or contradiction with the district discourse. s. As this study shows, these discourses reinforce how teachers know what they know, the principles they enact and the practices they sustain or develop. If EL full-inclusion policy is going to be a catalyst for teacher learning and development to support teaching emergent bilingual students, then it must take root in the school discourses and instantiated through the school's activity system. This can take place in a variety of different ways such as through different norms and tools, including but not limited to professional development, instructional frameworks, curriculum, school goals and priorities and other aspects of the school that center language and increase the visibility of emergent bilinguals.

The second policy implication taken up in this section is that despite a phenomenon of equity and inclusion policies and discourses – as seen in Madison School District- district discourses and policies are not enough to interrupt the status quo for historically marginalized students, such as emergent bilinguals. As the findings suggest, there must be an explicit focus on seeing students and how students are framed in alignment with school and district discourses. When schools instantiate their own discourses or a version of their own discourse then students are seen through this lens. This not only leads to an authorization of teachers' knowledge, principles, and practices, but also to reinforcing what teachers prioritize in their planning and teaching and own professional learning. All of this leads to increasing the visibility of emergent bilinguals' experiences and needs at the school level and creating opportunities for teachers to learn from students. It also highlights the need for developing teacher knowledge through informal and formal structures that focus on the complexity of emergent bilingual student experiences and the dynamic, complex process of teaching emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting.

**Practice.** This study also leads us to consider a variety of implications for practice in the context of an EL full-inclusion policy and for social studies teachers in the full-inclusion classroom. These implications will be put forth under the umbrella of practice – specifically instructional practice for teaching emergent bilinguals – drawing on the framework of knowledge, principles and practices. The first is to consider at the school level how teachers develop knowledge and what kinds of knowledge in teaching emergent bilingual students. This study highlights two areas of knowledge that should be considered as implications around practice: Knowledge of student and knowledge of language and literacy development. Much research looks at the importance of both forms of knowledge in teaching and also the specific types of knowledge needed to teach emergent bilingual students (Lucas & Greenberg, 2008; Bunch, 2010; 2013). However, what is not looked at as closely is how this knowledge is developed and can be developed in daily teaching contexts over time. In this study five of the six focal teachers were not ELL endorsed and had varying experiences with formal SIOP or ELL-related professional development. Findings in this study suggest that when school discourses focus on emergent bilinguals, then expectations for teachers' knowledge promote development of knowledge of students and language development. This implication must be considered as school discourses may authorize and prioritize many different types of knowledge and foci.

The second implication for practice is how teachers use curriculum tools and how this is reinforced by the school. In other words, we know that curriculum and other professional tools emerge and are developed based on historical ways of knowing and doing (Goodwin, 1994). Additionally these tools mediate teachers' knowledge in different ways depending on the context. Through the appropriation of curriculum tools teachers develop a framework for practice and teaching emergent bilingual students. The construction and mediation of such tools does not happen in isolation, but rather through "shared ways of thinking and doing" and within reinforcing activity systems (Hebard, 2016, p. 11). It is important that districts and schools reinforce the use of curriculum tools with lenses that align with equity priorities. When done in the context of EL full-inclusion policy this can lead to increased visibility on the complexity and heterogeneity of who emergent bilinguals are and the tools needed to meet student needs.

The third implication for practice is furthering the conceptualization and understanding of practice itself. The conceptualization of instructional practice for teaching emergent bilingual students at the secondary level and in specific disciplines must continue to evolve based on the complexity of emergent bilingual student demographics and experiences, as well as an evolving understanding of disciplinary literacy, academic language, and culturally and linguistically responsive teaching. The instructional moves that teachers make on a daily basis that may support the academic and linguistic development of emerging bilinguals or may categorize and track this group of students are one part of practice. However, as this study shows additional aspects of practice such as planning and reflection should also be considered. As seen across the two high schools and six teacher cases, teacher practice is shaped by their interactions and the processes of planning and reflection. In the context of EL full-inclusion policies, more emphasis should be put on supporting teachers in their planning and reflection of instructional practices for such a diverse classroom setting. As all six cases in this study show, teachers' knowledge and principles are reinforced through their practice – and this includes planning and reflection.

A final implication, perhaps for both policy and practice that should be considered is the experience of Beginner English proficiency level newcomer students in this policy context. Research is limited on policy and practice recommendations for Beginner emergent bilingual students at the high school level. Perhaps, one reason is that this group often consists of a heterogeneous and diverse population. Two, in many district contexts across the United States it is a small group of students at the high school level. Three, newcomer literature at the secondary level often focuses on graduation success or other important aspects of the newcomer experience, such as students' immigration or school experience. These are all important areas of research but leave a gap in literature around instructional practices and district level policies for supporting and creating equitable opportunities for Beginner English proficiency students, particularly in a context of high accountability, rigor and standardized measurements. As seen in this study, particularly in the case of Ms. Parks at Woods High, developing knowledge, principles, and practices for teaching Beginner level students in a full-inclusion context is a sophisticated and complex undertaking. The Madison School District EL policy, while promoting a discourse of equity and inclusion, overlooks this specific and important nuance of EL policy. Furthermore, the challenge of policy and practice at school sites is further removed from meeting the needs of this group of students or supporting teachers in this work. Policy and practice should strongly consider the implications of all groups of emergent bilinguals in a full-inclusion setting and how teachers' knowledge, principles and practices will be developed to meet the needs of all emergent bilingual students.

## Implications for Future Research

This study focused on how school discourses act as mediating factors and authorize teachers' knowledge, principles and practices in the context of teaching emergent bilingual students in an EL full-inclusion policy. In order to explore this, teachers were specifically focused on as part of the activity systems [school and district]. One important implication for future work would be to consider other content areas to understand how school discourses are instantiated within these groups, as well as the role that specific disciplines and content area demands might or might not play in creating equitable opportunities for emergent bilinguals. A second implication is to consider what school and district discourse alignment or contradictions look like in an equity-focused district with a strong Professional Learning Community (PLC) or other formal collaborative group. Unfortunately, this district did not have that structure in place. Another implication for future research would be to include student perceptions of how curriculum tools and school or district discourses are authorizing teachers' knowledge, principles and practices and how do students name, describe and find those dimensions meaningful in their own full-inclusion educational experience.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the alignment and contradictions across district, school discourses and teachers' work mediates the implementation of EL full-inclusion in different ways. These ways are important to explore because they authorize and reinforce teachers' knowledge, principles and practices. In the context of EL full-inclusion, the role of content area teachers is central to creating an equitable and rigorous learning experience for emergent bilinguals. This becomes dependent on how teachers see themselves in this role and how school and district discourses develop this role for teachers. While district discourses and priorities may be clear and go to great lengths to shape teachers, this study shows that school discourses play a more direct role in reifying the knowledge, principles and practices that teachers bring to and develop in teaching emergent bilingual students.

When district discourses prioritize equity and inclusion, yet school discourses do not, then authorization of teachers' knowledge, principles and practices remains at the school level and district discourses remain at a distance. This study helped to illuminate the ways in which alignment and contradiction in an equity-focused school district lead to differential opportunities for teachers and for emergent bilinguals at two different high schools. A focus on knowledge, principles and practices leads to a developed understanding of how certain tools are a reflection of the school discourse and ultimately a mechanism for developing professional vision and teachers' attention to specific areas of practice that are important to shifting policy and creating opportunities for emergent bilingual students.  Differing points of alignment and contradiction at the district and school discourse level lead to such tools as curriculum, instructional frameworks, professional development goals and meetings and other aspects being valued and taken-up in different ways. Despite the same EL policy context across schools, it can lead to constrained opportunities for learning or increased opportunities to learn. Furthermore, as we see in this study these differing points of alignment or contradiction can also lead to teachers being silenced – as in the case of Ms. Parks – or being empowered - as in the case of Mr. Gladwin – to challenge the school discourses in an attempt of moving teachers and schools forward in their work of teaching emergent bilinguals and all students.

# Appendices

## Appendix A: Interview Protocols

### SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR INITIAL INTERVIEW WITH FOCAL TEACHER

(Fall 2016)

**A. Background / Personal History**

1. How long have you been teaching in this building and district? What other teaching have you done outside of this district (including outside of the public school system)?

2. What was it about social studies that drew you in to teaching it? What other social studies classes have you taught in the past?

3. Do you have any experiences learning and/or speaking a language other than English? Can you tell me about those?

**B. Questions about teachers' roles, instructional practice and collaboration**

4. Describe your role as a social studies teacher at your school.

a. What classes do you teach?

b. What responsibilities do you have beyond teaching?

5. Tell me about your student population in these classes? How many ELs?

Probe: How many ELs are newcomers? Proficiency levels?

Probe: What experiences have you had teaching newcomers before this year?

6. Can you briefly describe your teaching approach (methods, pedagogy, and beliefs) for teaching social studies to this class? (e.g. basic skills, connection to daily life, goals, practices)

7. What does the development/adaptation of curriculum and instructional strategies look like for a social studies class with ELLs?

8. Who do you work with most closely in your role as a social studies teacher in supporting ELL students in your classroom?

Probe: In other words in developing lessons, units, adapting curriculum, etc:

People from other departments? People from other schools? ELL staff? Others?

Probe: Tell me a little about this work. What does it look like when you get together?

9. What types of interactions do you have with other teachers, instructional coaches or administrators in your school in terms of curriculum planning and development of social studies instruction?

10. Can you tell me a little about social studies department meetings and school or other district meetings and/or professional development opportunities you attend?

**C. Questions about EL district policy & the role of context & collaboration**

11. Describe your school's ELL program and services.

    a. In your time in this school/district, what has changed and what has remained the same about the ELL program and your role in it?

    b. How have these changes impacted your role as a teacher? Provide examples?

12. Describe your district's approach towards collaboration? Can you tell me about specific collaborative opportunities in which you participate?

13. Describe the different resources available to you as a mainstream social studies teachers teaching ELLs. 14. In what ways have you found these resources helpful or not in learning to teach ELLs?

15. What types of support are available to mainstream teachers teaching ELs?

    Probe: How well prepared do you think you are to work with ELLs?

    Probe: What would it take to be better prepared?

16. Do you have professional development opportunities related to social studies instruction?

Probe: Can you tell me more about these opportunities.

Probe: Professional development opportunities related to social studies instruction and ELLs?

17. Do you have access to people or resources to support you in social studies instruction for ELLs?

Probe: What specific resources? How are they used? How often?

18. What do you see as major strengths and challenges of this policy change on the instructional/classroom level?

19. Is there anything else you would like to talk about that we have not covered?

# SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR MID-Year INTERVIEW WITH FOCAL TEACHER (Winter 2017)

1. What are some factors that you feel influence your work as a social studies teacher teaching ELLs?

> Probe: Are you currently participating in any PLCs, collaborative work groups, etc? If so, what?
> Probe: Do you mind saying a little about the culture of PLCs, collaboration here in the building?

2. Thinking about this school year in context of other school years you have taught in this building, what stands out about your EL student population? What about your work with other colleagues?

3. How do you think your teaching practice is different teaching ELLs than if not teaching ELLs?

4. How, if at all, does your work with ELs fit in with other goals or initiatives your school is focusing on right now?

5. What role, if any do these initiatives/goals play in shaping how you think about and teach ELLs?

6. Can you describe ways that you have been supported to learn about teaching EL students (e.g., professional development, such as SIOP)?

**Other Option:**

As you look back over your career and think about the skills that you now use in working with EL students, can you tell me how you learned them?

> Probe: Can you give me an example of this?
>
> Probe: Did this focus on teaching ELs in general or specifically beginner and intermediate proficiency level ELs?

7. Can you tell me about professional development or other times outside of teaching that have been devoted to planning and instruction for working with ELs? Department time? PLC time? Other?

8. If any, what are your experiences with SIOP training and/or the SIOP instructional framework?

9. To what extent, if at all, does your PLC or grade level group work together to analyze student work around ELs?

TPEP Probe: Have you individually or in collaboration with your colleagues chosen to focus on ELL students as a subgroup in developing student growth goals for TPEP? [If yes] Can you explain what that process looks like?

10. What resources are available to you as a social studies teacher teaching ELLs?

Probe: Can you give me some specific examples of the ways you feel supported in working with these students?

Probe: How well do these supports work for you?

Probe: Where do you see the gaps in the support?

11. In what ways do you (or not) view time as a resource? What does this look like?

12. In what ways do you (or not) view support as a resource? What does this look like? Who might it be?

13. What are the dilemmas your school faces with respect to providing rigorous teaching and learning opportunities for EL students?

# SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

## FINAL INTERVIEW WITH FOCAL TEACHER (June 2017)

1. What have been some of your experiences this year teaching in an EL full-inclusion classroom with all EL proficiency levels?

2. In what ways does a full-inclusion model such as this one provide or limit academic access for ELLs at all proficiency levels?

3. What do you think about the "AP for all" idea and the fact that all ninth graders take AP Human Geography?

4. What do you believe is the purpose of having newcomer ELL students in a class like AP Human Geography?

5. What would you say are the most important resources you have drawn on this year in teaching ELL students?

6. What do you think are the *linguistic, social,* and *cognitive* resources ELL students bring with them to a class like AP Human Geography?

   Linguistic –

   Social –

   Cognitive –

7. In earlier interviews you talked about the importance of literacy for students, can you tell me more about this?

# SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR INITIAL INTERVIEW WITH ELL PERSONNEL (Fall 2017)

## Questions about teachers' roles, practice, instruction and planning

1. Describe for me your role as ELL supervisor/ELL curriculum developer. What are your main responsibilities?

2. In what ways do you work with the ELL program and ELL teachers?

    a. How often do you work with the ELL program and teachers?

    b. How often do you work with content area teachers/curriculum developers?

## Questions about district policies and ELL program

3. Describe your school's/district's ELL program and services.

4. What is your school's/district's approach to the education of ELs?

    a. What are your school's/district's goals for ELs?

5. Who makes the decisions regarding the ELL program and services at each high school?

6. Who do you work with at the building level regarding the instruction and services of ELLs?

    a. Do you work with others at the district level regarding the instruction and services of ELLs?

7. Tell me about the district ELL policy shift to mainstreaming that occurred a few years ago?

    Probe: What changes occurred?

    Probe: How did the roles of ELL teachers change?

    Probe: How did the roles of content teachers change?

    Probe: How did the daily experience for secondary ELLs change?

8. How, if at all, has this policy impacted the role of mainstream content area teachers?

# SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR INITIAL INTERVIEW WITH OTHER ELL PERSONNEL – IF NECESSARY (Fall 2017)

1. Can you tell me about your position and the work you do in the ELL program?

2. Can you tell me about how you came to this position?

3. How long have you had this position and have you done other work in this building/district?

4. Tell me about your work with [Focal Teacher].

    Probe: What kind of work do you do with [Focal Teacher]? How often do you work with this person?

5. How has your role changed or not since the EL district policy shift to mainstreaming ELs?

6. In your experience, what are the challenges of the ELL program in this building/district?

7. What are the strengths of the ELL program in this building/district?

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