

**Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy: Consequences for
Teacher Learning and Instructional Services for English Learners**

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ABSTRACT

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As districts across the nation see increasing numbers of English learners, there is an increased interest in supporting classroom teachers to provide quality instruction for English learners. The purpose of this study was to critically analyze the implementation and negotiation of a district's ESL policy that attempted to increase mainstream classroom teachers' capacity for teaching English learners through site-based coaching. Using a Hornberger and Johnson's (2007) guidelines for ethnography of language policy to examine the multiple discourses used to construct, interpret and transform the policy across multiple settings. Data collection was guided by the conceptual framework which focuses on the role of the ESL facilitator negotiating discourses across contexts: the district, two school cultures, and in four relationships with classroom teachers. Two research questions guided the study: (1) what are the assumptions and expectations in the ESL facilitator model about **teacher learning** and **instruction and services**

for English learners? (2) How do varied enactments, interpretations, and assumed responsibilities influence **teachers' learning** and **instruction and services** for English learners?

Overall findings illuminate the multiple, conflicting discourses that defined the relationship between the ESL facilitator and classroom teacher, expectations for teacher learning, and criteria for ESL instruction and services. The four case studies of facilitation illustrate the varied enactments of the ESL facilitator policy, leading to inequitable educational opportunities for English learners. In an analysis of the findings, I deconstruct the policy's key terms to reveal the discursive binaries used to negotiate and implement the policy. This critical analysis illustrates how certain discourses were reproduced and granted legitimacy, effectively undermining the positive intentions of the policy.

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1.

INTRODUCTION

Problem

Amy: Well, a facilitator in my head basically is someone who has honed their skills into one certain area <Mm-hm>. As a classroom teacher, you have to have maybe not so many skills but a lot of skills in a lot of different areas. <Yeah>. So it's really difficult for a classroom teacher to be always thinking about this particular ESL kid or these five kids or these two kids, so as a facilitator, I think I'm an extra set of eyes for that teacher. <Mm-hm>. To say, "I see a concern with those kids and this is how you can help them." And giving them that feedback to say, "If you need help with that, I'm here for you." <Yeah>. "And if you don't need help with that, this is what I think you should do." <Mm-hm>. Now it's not a "you need to do it; you should do it." <Yeah>. This is a, this is what I'm seeing and let's take that with a grain of salt. How can that work into your regular day? Some teachers are like, "Oh, I didn't realize I needed to use vocabulary words." <Yeah>. And describe those words and what they were, so it makes it easier for the kids. <Mm-hm>. Other teachers are like, "If you want me to implement this every single day, this is gonna take a lot out of my day, and I just I find this too challenging or it's too big of a project." <Yeah>. And so you try to work that teacher how you can find like a happy medium. <Mm-hm>. 'Cause at the end of the day you want to help those kids.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

The ESL facilitator policy in Eastlake School District redefined the role of the ESL teacher, shifting away from the traditional responsibilities of providing direct instructional

support to students. The new role of the ESL facilitator contained expectations for indirect support of student learning through the development of classroom teachers' knowledge and skills. The policy served as an impetus for renegotiating the local understanding and expectations of services for students as well as the classroom teacher's responsibility for knowing how to support English learners.

In the quote above, Amy shared her interpretation of her role in supporting teacher learning and ensuring English learners received services in the classroom. Rather than providing direct support to students, Amy focused on building the knowledge and ability of the classroom teachers to provide services to English learners. As she implemented her interpretation of the the ESL facilitator policy, Amy encountered two unique school cultures, individual teacher differences, and a range of discourses leading to disparate responses to Eastlake's facilitator policy. In the quote above, Amy indicated a wide range of reactions from teachers in being receptive to learning about and implementing supports for EL (English Learning) students'. This study critically explores the connections and tensions between the discourses engaged by Eastlake's ESL department to create the policy and the discourses Amy negotiated as she enacted the policy in two buildings.

Many English learners are at a high risk of school failure if they lack access to quality instruction and coherent educational programs. Recent statistics show the persistence of a significant achievement gap between English learners and their native English speaking peers (OELA, 2008). According to the national statistics for the 2005-2006 school year, provided by OELA, only 18% of English learners in Washington State met standards in mathematics, and 31% met standards in reading/language arts. Thomas and Collier's (1995) longitudinal study of programs for EL students identified dual language programs as the most effective and pull-out

programs as the least effective. In response to the Thomas and Collier study, many schools with multilingual populations have sought to create programs that are more effective than ESL pull-out.

Yet, shifting away from pull-out to a program that focus on supporting students within the mainstream classroom can pose a new set of challenges. Attempts to fully immerse EL students in the mainstream classrooms often place sole responsibility for students' academic and linguistic development on the plate of a teacher with little knowledge of ESL pedagogy or theory (Platt, Harper & Mendoza, 2005). Numerous studies have shown mainstream classrooms with unprepared or unsupported teachers as undesirable learning environments for EL students: students' primary languages are treated as deficits or problems, assimilation to mainstream culture is encouraged while cultural differences are ignored, language development is not explicit, and a colorblind rhetoric is used to justify equal treatment over differentiation that addresses students' unique needs and strengths (Bourne, 2001; Cameron, Moon, Bygate, 1996; Chen, 2007; Creese, 2005a; Creese, 2005b; Franson, 1999; Garza & Crawford, 2005; Platt, Harper & Mendoza, 2003; Reeves, 2004). In some instances, mainstream classrooms can develop into stratified communities in which EL students have fewer opportunities to engage academically and linguistically (Chen, 2007; DaSilva-Idding, 2005; O'Donnell, 2005). The ESL facilitator policy aimed to improve the education of English learners by supporting teacher learning. But, as indicated in the quote above, in her role as a facilitator Amy continued to encounter classrooms where EL students' needs were not being addressed. This study provides a critical analysis of the effects of the ESL facilitator policy on the education of English learners, documenting the discursive construction of ESL services and the materialized services in four case studies.

The ESL facilitator policy was constructed in alignment to a field of literature that advocates preparing and supporting classroom teachers to provide specialized instruction and services within the mainstream classroom. Classroom teachers are typically responsible for delivering the majority of instruction to EL students. Preparation and support adds to and modifies classroom teachers' existing knowledge of teaching and learning. Specifically, classroom teachers need an understanding of second language acquisition, second language socialization, and the role of culture in teaching and learning (deJong & Harper, 2005; Echevarria, 1998). DeJong and Harper (2005) argue that mainstream classroom teachers often falsely believe that they are meeting the needs of English language learners through "Just Good Teaching" strategies. They suggest that explicit instruction for classroom teachers on the process of language development can help them appreciate the challenge their students face in learning language and content simultaneously. Bartolome (1994) has worked with many classroom teachers who were willing to make surface level change, trying out new strategies, experimenting with new methods. But, she maintains, for classroom teachers to sustain ongoing quality instruction for EL students they must interrogate their own assumptions and develop a commitment to lifelong inquiry of how they can create a classroom that supports and values English learners. This study explores one district's attempts to create the structures and supports to facilitate such learning opportunities through the facilitator model. On-going, site-based coaching is one form of professional development that has the potential to both increase teacher capacity and enhance systems and structures within the school to support improved instruction for English learners.

Purpose

The purpose of this dissertation is to critically analyze the implementation and negotiation of a district policy that attempts to increase mainstream classroom teachers' capacity for teaching English learners through site-based coaching. Eastlake, like many districts, was looking for an alternative to the debased pull-out model (Thomas & Collier, 1995). The ESL facilitator policy introduced new expectations for the role of the ESL facilitator in supporting teacher learning and significantly altered their role in providing direct support to students. My first research question examines the policy text and the ESL department's communication of the policy to determine: (1) what are the assumptions and expectations in the ESL facilitator model about **teacher learning** and **instruction and services** for English learners?

As policies are put into practice, they are reinterpreted and given particular meaning depending on the context, the discourses negotiating them, and the individuals involved. My second research question explores the local discourses that influence the implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. I ask: (2) How do varied enactments, interpretations, and assumed responsibilities influence **teachers' learning** and **instruction and services** for English learners? As illustrated by the quote at the beginning of this chapter, varied enactments and assumed responsibilities have significant consequences on the instruction and services for English learners. The purpose of this question is to illuminate the key tensions between the policy as envisioned and communicated by the ESL department and the enactment of the policy in schools to better understand the factors influencing teacher learning and services for English learners.

Through critical discourse analysis, I explore the ideological assumptions within the discourses key players take up in their negotiation of the policy. I assume that all individuals are constituted by multiple discourses and position themselves by strategically maneuvering among available discourses (Weedon, 1987). My analysis focuses on the interaction between competing

discourses and the related material consequences. First, I look at the multiple discourses used by: the district in creating and promoting the policy, the principal in integrating the policy into the school's vision and culture, the facilitator in defining their role in implementing the policy, and the classroom teacher in defining their role in implementing the policy. As a critical researcher, my intent is to shine light on the discourses at multiple levels that support and hinder educational opportunities for English learners. I provide a critical examination of how the assumptions and expectations of a district created policy are negotiated in and through multiple discourses and the consequences for English learners. Through a critical analysis, I explore the tensions between discourses, uncovering dominant discourses that overwhelm the discourses in the ESL facilitator policy leading to unintended consequences for English learners.

Second, I zoom in on the coaching relationship and the discourses used by the ESL facilitator and the classroom teachers to negotiate pedagogical changes and new learning. I envision teacher learning as being apprenticed into a particular discourse community (Britzman, 1991; Freeman, 2002; Grossman, Valencia, Evans, Thompson, Martin & Place, 2000). Different discourse communities have their own legitimate ways of knowing, being, and doing. Learning is thus a negotiation between teacher's existing discourses (ways of knowing, doing, and being a teacher) and the discourses they encounter in their interactions with the ESL facilitator (different ways of knowing, doing, and being a teacher that emphasize instruction for EL students).

This study offers three new insights to the field of policy for English learners. First, I provide a critical analysis the ESL facilitator policy. As many districts across the United States are looking for alternatives to ESL pull-out, the facilitator policy is an attractive option. District administrators and policy makers will benefit from the analysis of the consequences for EL students and teacher learning. Second, through discourse analysis, this study explores the key

tensions between the used to create and communicate the policy and the used to interpret and enact it. The analysis provided in this study, guided by the conceptual framework, reveals the multiple sources of power in redefining and shaping the enactment of the ESL facilitator policy. Finally, this study adds to the understanding of coaching to support teacher learning with a specific focus on English learners. This study offers empirical research delving into the factors shaping the learning opportunities and outcomes for mainstream classroom teachers of English language learners. By looking at the content of teacher learning the types of teacher learning activities, and the evidence of successful teacher learning, I offer a multi-dimensional analysis of teacher learning focused on the linguistic and academic needs of EL students.

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this study is to critically explore the negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy and the resulting educational opportunities for teacher learning and services for English learners. This study is divided into nine chapters. Chapter I includes an overview of the study with an introduction of the study, a rationale for the study, and a statement of the purpose.

In Chapter II I present a review of three fields of research. First, I explore research on bridging policy to practice to inform my understanding of policy negotiation. Second, I summarize key findings from research on educating English learners in the mainstream classroom, which relates to the problem this research study addresses. Finally, I present research on the use of instructional coaches to enhance teachers' capacity to educate English learners, which relates to the policy's objective.

Chapter III introduces the conceptual framework guiding this study. I describe how I integrate discourse theory and critical social theory as the conceptual lens shaping the study's design. I define and operationalize key terms and concepts from both theoretical fields,

clarifying how I will use them in my study. Building from this theoretical foundation, I present a conceptualization of the study's design, illustrating multiple layers of discursive negotiation for the ESL facilitator policy.

In Chapter IV I present the methodology and procedures utilized in the collection, analysis, and presentation of data. I engage Hornberger and Johnson's (2007) guidelines for ethnography of language policy, which align to my conceptual framework. First, I describe how I designed my research using Johnson's (2009) heuristic. Next, I introduce the reader to the multiple contexts of the study and the individual research participants. Finally, I provide a detailed explanation of how I analyzed the data to answer my two research questions.

I begin to present my findings in Chapter V. This chapter addresses the first research question, illuminating the discursive construction of the ESL facilitator policy at the ESL department level. First, I present an analysis of the socio-historical context. Second, I offer a textual analysis of the policy to illuminate the explicit and implicit policy goals for teacher learning and ESL services. Third, I analyze the processes of creating and communicating the policy. I present an analysis of the ESL department's engagement of key stakeholders in negotiating the policy goals. I conclude with an analysis of the discourses used to create and communicate the policy.

I dedicate Chapter VI to an analysis of the ESL facilitator's interpretation of the policy as my first step in answering the second research question. In my conceptual framework I indicate the significance of the ESL facilitator as the individual who crosses the boundaries of the ESL department and the school to implement the facilitator policy. Her understanding of the policy significantly affects the policy's implementation at the two schools. I begin with an analysis of Amy Allen's teaching history and existing discursive commitments. Second, I explore Amy's

opportunities to learn about the policy. I devote the remainder of the chapter to an analysis of Amy's interpretation of the key constructs of the ESL facilitator policy: teacher learning and ESL services.

Chapter VII includes an analysis of Birchfield Elementary school's reaction to the ESL facilitator policy as well as two case studies of the policy in practice. To situate my findings, I begin with a brief introduction to the school's socio-historical context. I begin with an overview of the policy communication at the school site, and an analysis of dominant discourses in the school context that Amy encountered as she attempted to negotiate the policy. Next, I analyze two cases of facilitation: Shelley Blake and Natalie Burrows. For each case, I present the teacher's interpretation of the policy as well as the co-constructed enactment of the policy. In each classroom, Amy and the teacher negotiated their understandings and expectations of the policy to create opportunities for teacher learning and services for English learners.

Chapter VIII presents an analysis of the interpretation and enactment of the ESL facilitator policy at Cedar Valley Elementary. I follow the same structure as Chapter VII, presenting an analysis of the school's reaction to the policy as well as two case studies of facilitation.

In Chapter IX, I discuss the key discursive tensions that arose through the negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy across contexts. I examine how the key constructs of the ESL facilitator policy were negotiated through hierarchical dualisms (Derrida, 1976). The ESL facilitator policy introduced new definitions for the role of the ESL facilitator, the role of the classroom teacher, the definition of ESL services, and the expectations for ESL instruction. These new definitions were reinterpreted, resisted, and transformed through existing, dominant

discourses. I offer a critical analysis of how the negotiation of these key constructs affected the educational opportunities for English language learners.

Chapter X summarizes the research presented in this dissertation, highlighting four key implications for policy, practice, and research.

2.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This study explores the discursive construction and negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy and the consequences for student and teacher learning. The two research questions guiding this study grew out of a review of existing literature in three distinct fields of research. The first research question is framed by existing research conceptualizing how a policy is negotiated into practice. The second research question explores changes in instructional practice as a result of the facilitator-teacher relationships. To adequately situate the second research question, I explore two fields of research. First, I present a review of research on teaching English language learners in the mainstream classroom. This research speaks to the objective of the ESL facilitator policy to support mainstream teachers in providing ESL services within the classroom context. I follow this with a synthesis of research on coaching and teacher learning. Coaching is the primary instruments for communicating and implementing the policy with the goal of teachers learning strategies and methods for addressing the needs of English learners in their daily instruction. This study integrates these three fields of research to create a complex picture of how a policy is negotiated through a coaching model in an attempt to improve the instructional practices of mainstream classroom teachers in response to the needs of English language learners.

Bridging Policy and Practice

Researching policy in practice is a complicated endeavor for educational scholars (Honig, 2006). There are three levels of policy (federal, state, and local) creating a complicated mix of expectations for schools and teachers. State and federal policies determine the funding (Gandara

& Rumberger, 2009, Gandara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly & Callahan, 2003), acceptable instructional models (Gutiérrez, 2001; Platt, Harper & Mendoza, 2003; Wright & Pu, 2005) and academic trajectories (Mora, 2002) for English language learners. Within the constraints of state and federal funding, individual school districts construct their own policies and program models for ELLs (Stritikus, Elfers, Lucero & Knapp, 2011; Valencia, Stritikus & Magarati, 2007). This dissertation explores how one district's ESL policy is constructed within the confines of state and federal policy; and how that policy is communicated, and implemented in two schools. The varying interpretations of the policy lead to diverse opportunities for teacher and student learning.

ESL policies fall within a broader category of school reform policies. School reform policies aim to foster change so that schools can be more responsive to the needs of currently underserved students. This broad field of research includes studies about improving content area instruction (Coburn, 2001; Cohen, 1990; Jennings, 1996; Lee & Luykx, 2005), restructuring the schools to decrease the achievement gap (Elmore & Burney, 1997; Gallucci, 2003; Hess, 2005; Lipman, 1997; 1998; Seashore Louis, Febey & Schroeder, 2005; Wells et.al., 2005), as well as specific policies regarding instruction and programs for English language learners (Arkoudis, 2006; Creese, 2004, Stritikus, 2006; York-Barr, Ghore, Sommerness, 2007). School reform policies challenge existing policies, proposing new methods or approaches for addressing unmet needs. By definition, school reform policies aim to disrupt the status quo operations of a school to bring about change. The intentions and objectives of the school reform policies are negotiated and enacted through a complex pathway of policy to practice.

A policy's communication and transmission is the first part of the pathway. After a policy is constructed, districts often use multiple instruments to communicate the new policy,

such as professional development, principal communication, or interdepartmental meetings (Elmore & Burney, 1997).

Districts are often negotiating multiple policies and must prioritize which policies will receive the most time, resources, and attention. Districts determine a policy's intensity (Coburn, 2005). A policy with strong intensity engages teachers in coordinated, sustained opportunities to learn. A policy with less intensity may leave sense-making up to the individual school or teacher. Stritikus, Elfers, Lucero and Knapp (2011) provide a case study illuminating the significant investment and intensity required by district leaders to create systems of support for classroom teachers to increase their capacity to serve the needs of ELs. At the school level, teachers' responses are mediated by the leadership and vision of the principal, engagement in communities of practice, structures of support, and available resources. Teachers may also engage with community mediators, such as non-system actors and community partners (Coburn 2001, 2005; Galluci, 2003). In the classroom, teachers' responses are mediated by existing beliefs and knowledge, personal interest, time commitments, assumptions about learning, and the mix of students (Coburn 2005; Darling-Hammond, 1993; Datnow, 2006; Olson & Kirtman, 2002). Teachers' responses to policies are mediated through a number of relationships and factors.

Programs and policies for English language learners are one small piece of a complex policy mix affecting schools and teachers. Teachers are overwhelmed with numerous, often conflicting policies messages. Each policy has embedded values and ideological tenets at its core (Koyama, 2004). Darling Hammond (1993) compares the levels of policy surrounding classroom teachers as the layers of earth:

A massive geological dig would be required to unearth the tangled influences that created the many layers of policy that people in schools must now content with. These influences

make the serious implementation of new policies difficult even impossible, without excavation and reform of what has gone before. (pp. 754)

Part of our legacy as modern educators is navigating a policy mix that represents the confluence of multiple policies from radically different ideological camps. Teachers' interpretation and reaction to new policies are influenced by local context and their ideological commitments to previous policies (Datnow, 2006; Gallucci, 2003; Olson & Kirtman, 2002; Sirotnik, 1989; Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977) Weatherley and Lipsky (1977) refer to teachers as "street level bureaucrats" who develop coping patterns to deal with constant policy changes: "The patterns of responses developed by educators to the multiple demands placed upon them effectively constituted the policy delivered to the public." (pp. 194).

"Street level bureaucrats" is a fine analogy for understanding the behavior changes of educators, but it does not adequately conceptualize the pressure each policy places on a teacher's personal beliefs and identity. Weedon (1987) theorizes teacher identity as an "individual's already discursively constructed sense of self." This sense of self may resist particular discourses which conflict values or ideologies in which they are already invested. When a policy contradicts teachers' beliefs or challenges their sense of identity, teachers are pressured to change more than their instructional methods. For example, research on two restrictive, English Only policies (Proposition 227 in California and Proposition 203 in Arizona) reveal the inner conflict of teachers as they attempted to negotiate a policy which contradicted their personal beliefs (Dixon, et.al, 2000; Stritikus, 2003; Stritikus & Varghese, 2004; Wright & Choi, 2002). Teachers who had strong beliefs about quality instruction for English language learners (including use of the students' first language) expressed frustration toward the new restrictive language policies. Stritikus & Varghese (2004) conclude that teachers' reactions to the language

policies are shaped through an interaction of their ideological and political beliefs, their personal and professional identities, and the manner of policy implementation and communication. Policies, such as the ESL facilitator policy, demand teachers to learn new practices, adopt different practices, and recreate their practice. Policy implementation is thus accomplished through teacher learning (Cohen, 1990; Darling-Hammond, 1993; Jennings, 1996; Zhang & Hu, 2010).

Recent research in Australia and England, documents similar identity struggles as teachers implement new mainstreaming policies which redefine the role of the ESL specialists, expecting them to collaboratively teach with content area specialists (Arkoudis, 2005; 2006; Creese, 2004). In these studies, the ESL specialists negotiated a new identity as a collaborator, as they co-taught in content area classrooms in which they had little experience or expertise.

Accommodating a new policy which aims to change instructional requires conflict (Coburn, 2005). Negotiating the conflict internally or with minimal support can result in teachers rejecting, misunderstanding, or minimally implementing the policy (Cohen, 1990; Olson & Kirtman, 2002; Weatherly & Lipsky, 1977). Bringing the conflict into a public space with a constant reminder of the shared vision encourages teachers to identify and grapple with the types of changes embedded in the reform policy. (Coburn, 2005) classifies five typical teacher responses to reform of change policies. First, teachers may *reject* the policy, ignoring it outright and continuing with existing practices. Second, teachers may make a *symbolic response* to a policy. The teacher makes changes in the appearance, but not the substance of their instruction. Third, teachers may create *parallel structures* which allow them to implement both the new policy and their old ways of teaching. Fourth, teachers may *assimilate* the new policy. Assimilation means changing their practices, but not their underlying beliefs and philosophies.

Finally, teachers may *accommodate* a policy. Through accommodation, teachers reframe their fundamental assumptions about teaching based on the policy and make significant changes in practice as a result.

Policy negotiation is complicated by the influence of multiple contexts, relationships, policy instruments, leaders, and existing policies. This study adds to the existing research by exploring both sides of policy negotiation. I examine the policy construction and the leadership from the district office to set the stage for policy negotiation. Then, I provide four cases of teacher-facilitator relationships in which the policy is negotiated and enacted, focusing on both the learning of teachers as identity work and the enacted services for English learners.

English Language Learners in the Mainstream Classroom

ESL Policies are negotiated on multiple levels and travel a complicated pathway into the classroom. The content of the policy is reinterpreted through divergent discourses resulting in different enactments. The content of the Eastlake's ESL facilitator policy was an expectation for ESL facilitators to support their classroom teacher colleagues in developing the knowledge and skills to address the needs of language learners in the classroom. In this section delve into the existing base of research that speaks to the content of the ESL facilitator policy.

A review of the literature indicates that many factors can influence the amount or type of support classroom teachers provide for ELLs: teacher knowledge, teacher attitudes, school culture, available resources, and instructional supports. There is an emerging field of research that suggests that even highly trained classroom teachers struggle to adequately meet the academic and linguistic needs of English language learners. This dissertation provides a qualitative study that delves further in exploring factors that influence classroom teachers' instruction for ELLs.

Attitudes of Classroom Teachers

Research on the education of English language learners underscores the significance of teachers' personal attitudes and values on their classroom practices (Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stritikus, 2003). Subtractive (Valenzuela, 1999) or negative attitudes of classroom teachers can lead to oppressive or stratified classroom environments. Valenzuela (1999) defines subtractive schooling as

“divesting youth of important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure. These students are perceived as requiring ever more cultural assimilation and resocialization. This study proposes that the alleged ‘deficiencies’ of regular-track, U.S.-born youth from a low-income community are themselves symptomatic of the ways that schooling is organized to subtract resources from them.” (pp. 49)

Valenzuela uses the term ‘subtractive’ to refer to teachers, classrooms, and schools in which the ‘deficiencies’ of English language learners are blamed for students’ academic struggles.

Researchers have documented numerous teachers who focus on ELL’s deficiencies, often wanting students to be removed from the mainstream setting (Reeves, 2006; Walker, Shafer & Iiams, 2004). Qualitative interviews with classroom teachers have found a common discourse encouraging the exclusion of students from mainstream classrooms until they have a strong command of the English language (Reeves, 2004; Walker, Shafer & Iiams, 2004). Some classroom teachers correlate English language ability with cognitive ability (Harklau, 2003). Kailin’s (1999) study of white teachers in a liberal school shows that teachers often blame the minority students for racial tensions and inequalities. Teachers with this subtractive beliefs

position English language learners as a burden, taking away from the instruction the teacher could provide the rest of the class (Olsen, 1997; English, 2009).

An equally detrimental attitude is colorblindness. Many teachers adopt a colorblind attitude which “divests youth of important social and cultural resources” by treating all students exactly the same (Harklau, 2000; Reeves, 2004). Colorblindness ignores racial, cultural, linguistic and social differences among students. Teachers with colorblind attitudes may speak positively of English language learners, but are unwilling to change their instruction to meet students’ linguistic needs (Harklau, 1994; Reeves 2004). Colorblindness constructs a category of ‘good’ English language learners as those who Americanize and assimilate, rapidly acquire English, and do not disrupt the status quo (Harklau, 2000; Lee, 2005; Meador, 2005; Vollmer, 2000). Students who struggle to maintain their cultural identities and who do not succeed in a mainstream classroom are blamed for their own failure (Katz, 1999). Reeves (2004) found teachers with a colorblind attitude were uninterested in further professional development regarding ELL instruction, as they did not see the need to change their current assessment or instructional practice. Teachers with either subtractive or colorblind attitudes are unlikely to change their instructional practices, believing it is the children who need to change.

In defining subtractive schooling, Valenzuela (1999) described a few teachers who modeled what could be defined as “additive schooling.” Valenzuela identifies the key element of “additive schooling” as a caring relationship between teachers and students. Valenzuela (1999) suggests EL students need positive relationships with their teachers, supported by schoolwide ‘structures of caring.’

The composite imagery of caring that unfolds affords moral authority to teachers and institutional structures that value and actively promote respect and a search for

connection, between teacher and student and among students themselves. (Valenzuela, 1999, pp. 21)

There are many classroom teachers who espouse positive attitudes towards English language learners, yet are restricted by numerous factors from developing structures of caring to support EL students. Katz (1999) found that one of the most significant barrier to caring relationships was a school's focus on standardized test scores. Teachers involved in Katz's study were told to invest in students who were likely to produce high test scores. In many cases, this resulted in teachers ignoring, or in some cases pushing out, English learners. Under the shadow of No Child Left Behind, federal, state, district, and school level leaders increasingly place pressure on teachers to focus on test scores and standardization (Valenzuela, 2004). Teachers report feeling conflicted between providing services for ELLs and teaching the mainstream curriculum (Gitlin, Buendia , & Crosland, 2003; Olsen, 1997; Wright & Choi, 2005). One teacher in Wright and Choi's (2005) survey indicated that her district's focus on standardized testing limited her ability to appropriately support English learners in her class:

I'm in the ESL [Endorsement] program right now and, like, all the strategies and everything they tell us to do, they teach us to do, we're really not allowed to do at our school. It's looked down upon, so, everything I'm learning are great strategies for ELLs, and I would love to do some of the things in my classroom, but I can't(Wright & Choi, 2001, pp. 45).

Teachers with positive attitudes can be disheartened by a subtractive school culture. Teachers who begin their careers with ambiguous or positive attitudes towards bilingual students can develop negative attitudes if they feel unsupported or are in a school culture which does not value ELLs (Artiles, Barreto, Pena & McClafferty, 1998; Walker, Shafer & Iiams, 2004).

Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, and Driscoll (2005) surveyed of 4,500 classroom teachers in California and found that many teachers had positive attitudes towards ELLs, but felt overwhelmed and under supported to meet their broad range of needs. In Garcia-Nevarez, Stafford and Arrias' (2005) study of Arizona elementary teachers, they noticed a trend in more positive attitudes among teachers with specific training in ESL methods and pedagogy. But, they also noticed a trend in declining attitudes towards ELLs among teachers with longer teaching careers. Additive education for EL students expects teachers to create caring relationships with students based upon mutual respect and valuing of the students' cultural, linguistic, academic, and personal strengths (Valenzuela, 1999). But, the existing policy mix of federal, state, and district policies focusing on accountability can strongly interfere with teachers' attempts to create additive classrooms and schools.

In summary, subtractive and colorblind teachers may not recognize the unique strengths and challenges of English language learners. Teachers with positive attitudes can be overwhelmed by a subtractive school culture and under-supported, leading to waning commitments to meeting the needs of ELLs. Teacher attitudes shape their relationships with English language learners, which Valenzuela (1999) posits is the cornerstone to successful education. Teacher's attitudes and beliefs also shape their engagement in learning opportunities. For teachers with subtractive or colorblind activities teacher learning must delve beyond sharing of instructional strategies, engaging teachers in opportunities to unlearn their prejudices and reshape their identities as educators of English learners (Boyle-Baise, 2005; Britzman, 1991; Curtis, 2005; Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Johnson, 2006; Knapp, 1997; Little, 1993) Policies seeking to change instruction for English language learners are interpreted through individual teacher's beliefs leading to disparate outcomes (Bartholome, 1994).

Teaching Content and Language in the Mainstream Classroom

In Washington State, over 85 percent of English language learners spend the majority of the instructional day in a mainstream classroom (Malagon, McCold, & Hernandez, 2011). EL students depend on the classroom teacher to provide instruction to support both their academic and linguistic development. Classroom teachers face the challenge of teaching grade level content while also introducing English language learners to new language forms and structures (Dutro & Moran, 2003). Many teachers are ill prepared to provide appropriate language instruction in the content areas (Gutierrez, 2001; Quezada, Wiley, Ramirez, 2000; Wasley, 2008;). DeJong and Harper (2005) voice concerns that the expertise of teaching English language development is being watered down and fed to classroom teachers as “just good teaching” strategies. Wright and Choi’s (2005) surveyed teachers in Arizona’s ESL endorsement program and found that many could not articulate the difference between ‘Sheltered Immersion’ classes for ELLs and mainstream classes.¹ Clair (1995) conducted case studies with three classroom teachers who embraced the just good teaching philosophy. “Specifically, this statement denies the usefulness of specialized knowledge concerning L2 development and ESL students.” (Clair, 1995, pp. 193). With the assumption that language development merely required ‘good teaching,’ the teachers in Clair’s study were reluctant to participate in the district’s intensive professional development. They were looking for quick fixes and easily implemented strategies (Clair, 1995).

In the United States, the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) has been lauded as a successful instructional framework for helping teachers learn how to integrate content and language (Himmel, Short, Richards & Echevarria, 2009; Echevarria, Short, & Powers, 2006). SIOP encourages classroom teachers to integrate language teaching into their content instruction

¹ Sheltered Immersion is the category used by some states for classes that include ELLs. Mainstream, on the other hand would only have English speaking students.

through the following components: written language and content objectives, activities to build background and develop vocabulary; comprehensible input, explicit strategy instruction, opportunities for student interaction and practice, and reviewing key vocabulary and concepts. Studies of SIOP professional development point out positive changes in teachers' practice, including increased attention to language development (Crawford, Schmeister & Biggs, 2008; Himmel, Short, Richards & Echevarria, 2009; Honigsfeld & Cohan, 2008; McIntyre, Kyle, Munoz, Chen & Beldon, 2008).

There is, however, a growing field of research that disputes the power of professional development, such as SIOP, to transform mainstream classrooms into language/content classrooms. The field of research around Content Based Language Teaching (CBLT) in England and Australia suggests that the integration of language and content is a complicated endeavor which often leads to diluted or inconsistent language instruction (Arkoudis, 2005; Creese, 2005a; Leung, 2001; Leung & Franson, 2001). Based on their empirical research in Australia, Davison and Williams (2001) articulate three challenges that classroom teachers faced as they attempted to integrate language development into their content instruction:

1. Curriculum: Classroom teachers map the content curriculum they will teach across the academic year. The instructional content determines which language forms and functions will be covered. There is no intentional mapping of language forms or functions across the year. The language taught within the content may contain gaps and may not be developmentally appropriate.
2. Comprehensible Input: When teachers focus exclusively on making the content comprehensible, language learners do not receive the instruction they need to *produce* language.

“Comprehensible input of subject content does not necessarily appear to enhance linguistic output or morphosyntactic features, such as articles, which are grammatically significant but not necessary for actual communication, may never actually be acquired. It is also assumed that students can gain access to and participate in mainstream content interactions, a view which ignores the significant role of sociopsychological and intergroup factors in ESL learning.” (pp. 65)

An overemphasis on comprehensible input of the content can overshadow students’ language production.

3. **Social Language:** In the content areas students learn content vocabulary and academic English. ELLs may not have opportunities in the classroom to develop social language. Research from Arkoudis (2005), Bourne (2001), Creese (2005a) and Harper & deJong (2009) support the concerns articulated by Davison and Williams. When classroom teachers are expected to integrate language instruction into content area teaching, there is often very little explicit focus on language teaching (Arkoudis, 2005; Bourne, 2001; Creese, 2005a). In Arkoudis’ (2005) study of partnerships between ESL teachers and classroom teachers, “ESL teachers complained that mainstream teachers (and even experienced reading coaches) usually do not understand the cross-linguistic and development nature of reading in a second language.” (Arkoudis, pp. 648). In Creese’s (2004, 2005b) study of collaborative teaching partnerships between ESL teachers and content teachers, language development remained secondary to content instruction and was often not given adequate instructional attention despite having the ESL teacher in a co-teaching role.

Conclusion

Classroom teachers' knowledge and attitudes play a significant role in their willingness and ability to alter their instruction to meet the needs of English language learners. A teacher's attitude towards EL students, classified above as subtractive, colorblind, or additive, shape their daily interactions with EL students as well as their openness to ongoing learning about ESL methods. A teacher's attitude towards EL students is changeable. Unfortunately, the majority of the research indicates teachers with additive or positive beliefs are often overwhelmed by subtractive school cultures, policies of standardization, and lack of support. In this study, I explore the dynamic relationship between individual teachers' beliefs, their engagement in learning opportunities, and the resulting service for EL students.

The ESL facilitator model aims to support classroom teachers in integrating content and language instruction to support EL students. The existing base of research suggests that efforts in Australia and England to integrate language and content instruction have been problematic. This dissertation study builds upon the existing research base adding a unique, integrated focus on both teacher learning and classroom practice. I explore both the knowledge teachers gained through facilitation as well as the resulting changes in classroom practice.

Coaching and Teacher Learning

Policies that aim to alter classroom practices often utilize upon professional development to build capacity (Knapp, 2004). Eastlake's facilitator ESL policy intends to prepare and support classroom teachers to modify instruction to accommodate the academic and linguistic needs of ELLs. In Eastlake's policy, the ESL specialist assumes the role of a coach and collaborator, rather than an instructor of children. The ESL specialist enacts the ESL facilitator policy through ongoing, classroom-based professional development. In this section, I present a review of the literature on coaching including research on its design and purpose, micropolitical dynamics, and

the limited research on collaborative ESL models. I build upon the research introduced in the prior two sections which emphasizes the relationship between teacher identity and learning, recognizing that learning is not merely an accumulation of knowledge, but rather a reconstruction of one's identity (Britzman, 1991; Clandinin & Connelly, 1996; Duff & Uchida, 1997; Little, 1993).

Coaching: Definition and Purpose

Coaching supports the professional development of teachers through sustained interaction and learning. In a review of research on professional development, Darling-Hammond and Richardson (2009) conclude that high quality professional development:

- Deepens teachers' knowledge of content and how to teach it to students
- Enables teachers to acquire new knowledge, apply it to practice, and reflect on the results with colleagues
- Is collaborative and collegial
- Is intensive and sustained over time

Coaches can provide this type of meaningful, ongoing professional development, providing multiple opportunities for teachers to engage with new ways of thinking, teaching, and being (Grossman & Thompson, 2004; Little, 1993). Coaches are often content area specialists with expertise in a particular content area (ESL, math, etc.). Coaching can lead to the development of mutual trust among colleagues, improved instruction through feedback, and increased teacher autonomy or self-actualization (Veenman, Denessen, Gerrits & Kenter, 2001).

Becoming a coach requires significant learning and opportunities to negotiate a new identity. Content area specialists need to develop a new repertoire of skills to effectively engage their colleagues in a coaching role (Shaw, 2007; Costa & Garmston, 2002). Coaching requires a

different set of skills than teaching. A coach needs additional expertise in developing and managing relationships with adults. The specialist must build a new layer of leadership expertise on top of their existing pedagogical and content expertise (Bean, 2004).

Skillful coaches decide how to approach a teacher and how to structure a conversation. Costa and Garmston (2002) define three common conversational archetypes coaches often employ: coaching, collaborating, and consulting

Coaching. Coaching encourages the classroom teacher to reflect upon their personal knowledge and experience. The specialist paraphrases and inquires to deepen the teacher's thinking about a particular area. This approach is beneficial when the teacher has sufficient background knowledge to reflect upon her teaching. Coaching can help teachers close the learning – practice gap, encouraging teachers to reflect on how they are implementing what they have learned. Coaching is not helpful when the teacher is looking for answers or advice, or when the classroom teacher has a belief system that is fundamentally opposed to the teaching practices being promoted.

Collaborating. Collaborating between a specialist and a classroom teacher brings them to the table as equals. The specialist and teacher may co-plan lesson, analyze student work together, or think through a problem from two different perspectives. Collaborating is beneficial when the teacher has some knowledge on a particular topic and would like to generate ideas with someone else. Collaborating is a way for coaches to repeatedly engage teachers in new ways of thinking and teaching, promoting the reflective thinking required for teachers to negotiate their identities and learn new practices.

Consulting. A specialist acts as a consultant when supplying new information to the teacher. In the consulting stance, the specialist may share pedagogical suggestions or seek to

deepen a teacher's content area knowledge. The consulting position supports the ongoing learning of teachers, bringing in new ideas. When assuming a consulting stance, the specialist must be reflective of how much information to introduce and how often to introduce new ideas. Overreliance on consulting can lead to teacher dependence rather than teacher growth. For teachers who have beliefs that are incongruous with the new practices require ample consulting, allowing for the uncovering of ideological tensions between the teachers' current practices and the new practices (Cohen, 1990)

In addition to the three positions, coaching relationships may also include: co-teaching, modeling, observing a lesson, providing critical feedback, reflecting together, or looking at student work.

Micropolitical Dynamics

The research on coaching as a professional development model suggests that there are a number of conditions that affect the influence a coach has in promoting instructional change. The micropolitical relationships between within schools are socially constructed encounters that are politically charged and negotiated through the school culture. Micropolitics are the "messy political realities of school life." (Blase & Anderson, 1995) They include the dynamic interplay and conflict of individuals within a given social context as they negotiate ideologies, boundaries (turf), bureaucratic myths, policies, available resources, and structures (Marshall & Scribner, 1991). In order for coaches to effectively support teacher learning, they need support in navigating the micropolitical landscape of the school. The coach must be systematically supported by the administrators or other authority figures. The teachers and coach need opportunities to develop trusting relationship with common goals. Finally, classroom teachers must be willing participants.

Systematic support. Successful coaching programs have strong systematic support. Principals play a significant role in positioning the coach as an instructional leader in the school culture. Principals introduce the specialist to the staff, establish credibility and endorse the work of the specialist as something that is valued (Killion & Harrison, 2006). Principal support for coaching goes beyond a verbal endorsement. Principals can designate coaching time, release teachers to meet with coaches, or set aside time at staff meetings for teachers to share what they have learned from coaches. The principal and coach meet regularly to solve problems, address concerns, and monitor the effects the coach is having on instruction and student learning. The importance of the principal in a coach's success is crucial. Killion (2007) asserts "Principals and coaches share equal responsibility for a coach's success." (pp. 16). A coach's leadership ability is contingent upon the principal's endorsement and ongoing support.

Trusting relationships and common goals. Teaching has historically been a solitary venture. Coaching encourages teachers to break down the walls around their practice and open their classroom to an outsider. Rainville and Jones (2008) shadowed a literacy coach as she interacted with different teachers at an elementary school. The literacy coach had a range of relationships with teachers throughout the school. The study revealed that existing informal relationships played a significant role in teachers' willingness to engage with the literacy coach. A strong informal relationship created a sense of safety and trust. A lack of trust limited opportunities for the coach to foster learning and improve instruction.

A trusting coaching relationship is developed with clear guidelines on what the coach can and cannot offer the teacher. Coaching is a goal oriented relationship, one in which the goal cannot be attained by either individual alone. Coaching that focuses on support alone with no goal in mind is counterproductive (Reeves, 2007). The goal must be agreed upon by both the

coach and the teacher. Each knows the role they are to play and the objective. When the teacher and specialist have different expectations of the coach's role, misunderstandings and miscommunications ensue (Rainville & Jones, 2008).

Voluntary. The final component necessary for a successful coaching program is the willing participation of teachers. Douglas Reeves (2007) bluntly states, "The first requirement of effective coaching is that the person receiving the coaching agrees that a change in performance will be useful. Throwing coaches at teachers and principals who have not agreed that improved student performance is essential will waste time and money" (pp. 90). Coaches cannot be expected to promote instructional change with resistant or uncooperative teachers. While coaches have leadership capacity, they are limited by their position as a colleague.

The voluntary nature of coaching is problematic when considering the aforementioned research about the effect of teachers' attitudes on the education of English learners. Becoming a strong teacher for English learners often requires teachers to rethink their prior assumptions and adopt new ideological commitments (Bartolome, 1994; Stritikus, 2003; Stritikus & Varghese, 2004). Teachers with subtractive or colorblind attitudes are often not interested in further learning opportunities (Reeves, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999). In this dissertation, I explore the interrelationship of teachers' willingness to engage in teacher learning opportunities with the ESL facilitator and their existing identity as educators of English learners

ESL Specialists as Coaches or Collaborators

This dissertation study analyzes one particular type of coaching. Eastlake's ESL facilitator policy requires the ESL facilitator to work with classroom teachers to improve the teachers' instructional capacity to work with English language learners. An ESL specialist has specialized knowledge about language and culture. In a coaching relationship, the ESL specialist

shares her expertise with the classroom teacher. There is currently limited research focuses explicitly on ESL coaching. There is, however, a burgeoning field of research on ESL teachers collaborating with classroom teachers in an effort to change instruction and share expertise. I chose to include this field of research because it addresses the specific challenges of preparing mainstream teachers to work with ELLs that is absent from the coaching research reviewed.

In Minnesota, one district supports a collaborative/coaching model for ESL specialists and teachers. Results from a three year study of one elementary school demonstrate that the collaborative relationships led to increased teacher capacity and significant gains in the academic achievement of English language learners (York-Barr, Ghere, & Sommers, 2007).

Participating teachers list the benefits of collaborating with the ESL specialist as: more flexible use of instructional time, knowing more about students, increased collective expertise, and learning from and with colleagues about students, teaching, and learning. The teachers point to increased communication responsibilities, confusion about roles, and differing teaching approaches as challenges of collaboration.

In a more nuanced analysis of the instruction provided by the coaching/collaborative model, Creese (2004, 2005b) reveals significant tensions between classroom teachers and ESL specialists. She emphasizes the importance of these relationships:

In countries where educational-inclusive policies support language minority children's learning in mainstream curricula classrooms, these inter-professional relationships are probably the most important single means in which the schools' structures and systems support the children's full participation in the educational process. In a very real way then these teaching relationships matter, as upon their shoulders rests the success of an educational policy (Creese, 2005b, pp. 2).

Unfortunately, Creese's research, along with others, shows asymmetrical power relationships between classroom teachers and ESL specialists can hinder the potential benefits of collaboration (Creese, 2004; Creese, 2005b; Garza & Crawford, 2005; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1995). When classroom teachers maintain decision-making power, having the final say about the value and purpose of ESL support for students, ESL specialists are positioned as supporting instruction. There is a danger, then, in a collaborative or coaching model silencing the expertise that it intends to promote.

Conclusion

Coaching is a policy pathway that can influence teachers' practice through ongoing, embedded professional development. The research highlights a number of structures that must be in place for coaches to be successful: knowledge of coaching strategies, supportive principal, trusting relationships, and voluntary participation of classroom teachers. While the majority of the research on coaching has focused on literacy coaches, the available research on ESL collaboration suggests potential challenges. In negotiating with classroom teachers, the ESL expert's input is not always valued and incorporated.

Summary

This chapter reviewed current research in three areas: policy to practice, teaching English language learners in the mainstream classroom, and coaching. Throughout the three strains of literature, I have made explicit connections to research on teacher learning as reshaping teacher identity. The success of the ESL facilitator policy rests on the shoulders of classroom teachers learning and implementing instructional services for English learners.

The current study will contribute to all three fields of research. Insight into the interrelated identities of the classroom teacher and ESL facilitator will contribute to

understanding the complexity of teachers' policy negotiation. Analyzing the enactment of the ESL facilitator policy will add to the current debate of the capacity for classroom teachers to adequately address the needs of ELLs in the mainstream classroom. Finally, this study offers a unique analysis of the role of an ELL coach in supporting mainstream teacher learning and the consequences of teachers' existing ideological commitments.

3.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the challenges English learners face in mainstream classrooms, and the complex task of supporting classroom teachers in becoming adept at addressing their diverse needs. This study explores the negotiation of a policy that aims to improve the instructional practices of mainstream classroom teachers through coaching in response to the needs of English learners. In this chapter I elucidate my understanding of discourse theory and the influence of critical social theory in shaping my conceptual lens. Through discourse theory, I explore how key terms and understandings of the policy are given meaning and enacted. I engage critical theory to frame my analysis of the consequences of the negotiated and enacted policy for English learners, building on the principles of social justice and educational equity.

Defining Discourse

My understanding of discourse posits that language shapes our thoughts and practices and has material consequences (Doherty, 2007). I use the term discourse to refer to specific perspectives or “systems of representation” (Foucault, 1980) that construct our thoughts, ideas, concepts, social institutions and practices, and most importantly our selves. Nothing has meaning outside of discourses. My definition of discourse incorporates three key concepts: the constitution of *meaning* through *difference* with *power*.

Meaning

A central tenet of discourse theory is that meaning is neither permanent nor inherent (Hall, Morley & Chen, 1996; Leonardo, 2003). Through discourses, we interact with the world, creating representations. Weedon (1987) explains the theoretical concept of discursive

negotiation of meaning: “Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested. Yet, it is also the place where our sense of ourselves, our subjectivity is constructed.” Individuals take up particular discourses to make sense of themselves, social institutions, and social practices. Weedon’s quote suggests that there are multiple available discourses, and tension between these discourses. This tension arises out of the conflicting political interests or ideologies underlying different discourses. The process of assigning meaning through discourses always politically charged (Althusser, 1971). Individuals take up numerous discourses, often with very different core beliefs and ideological foundations. When discourses come into conflict with each other, the ideological tensions between discourses can destabilize meaning and allow for new meaning to be considered (Leonardo, 2003).

Meanings that are normalized or ‘common sense’ become commonly accepted as truths. Foucault (1980) explains:

Each society has its régime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth; that is, the types of discourses which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (pp. 131).

Foucault’s quote explains how societies accept and elevate certain discourses to this level of truth. This discursive *regime of truth* then dictates appropriate ways of speaking, the rules or boundaries for social practices, and acceptable methods for ‘uncovering’ the truth (such as science or law). In addition, it produces representations that reinforce the truth in this discourse. Other discourses continue to be reproduced and taken up by individuals, but, they are constantly

in conflict with and undermined by the dominant discourse that have been elevated to the status of ‘common sense’ or ‘the way things are.’ How discourses come to be accepted as truths will be discussed in the section on ‘power.’

In designing this study, I built upon my understanding of the discursive negotiation of meaning to explore how key elements of the ESL facilitator policy were negotiated through a variety of discourses. In my research questions I identify the two key elements of the policy as teacher learning and instruction and services for English learners. Through an analysis of the discourses different actors engage, I explore the assumptions and expectations they assign to these key terms, the ideological tensions between divergent interpretations and the material consequences for EL students.

Difference

Assuming that meaning is not inherent, it must be constructed. Derrida (1976) theorizes that meaning is constructed through an assertion of difference. According to Derrida, concepts are situated within hierarchical dualisms, in which a concept is understood in relation to the exclusion of some ‘Other’ (e.g., boy/girl, black/white). There is always a relation of power between the two poles of binary. For example, Blackledge (2002) explored the political implications of the binary relationship between immigrants and citizens in national discourses. While the rights of immigrants were referred to, their discursively construction as ‘Other’ positioned native citizens as more powerful. The categories and terms used by my research participants and myself have been constructed through an assertion of difference, or through exclusion. When we reproduce terms such as teacher, learning, English learners, all of these are understood by subjects based on the boundaries of the term or what is not included (not a teacher, not learning, not an English learners).

Within each discourse these hierarchical dualisms construct the boundaries of meaning. But, the boundary between Object/Other is always temporarily fixed and subject to negotiation. When discourses come into conflict with one another, these boundaries, and the assertion of difference, are subject to rearrangement, creating the potential for new understandings and meanings.

This discursive understanding of difference and otherness was critical in shaping my examination of the ESL facilitator policy. The policy introduced a new definition of the ESL facilitator, which significantly diverted from the traditional role of an ESL teacher. This created conditions for the negotiation of the boundaries of the key terms of teacher learning and instruction and services for EL students.

Power

Competition between discourses over meaning is often referred to as the politics of representation (Mehan, 2001; Hall, Morley & Chen, 1996). Discourses represent political interests and are constantly vying for status and power (Weedon, 1987). Within institutions, such as schools, certain discourses are granted legitimacy to regulate the conduct of others. Discourses have social power to produce us as subjects as they regulate and constrain us (Butler, 1993). We do not enter the social realm as pre-formed subjects; rather, we are produced, transformed, and constituted through social discourses. Each discourse has its own values, assumptions, and legitimate ways of being.

Due to hierarchical positioning of discourses, certain ways of coding the world appear to be more legitimate or natural. Referring back to Foucault's quote about the function of discourses to create, legitimize and sanction social practices, institutions are both created, reproduced, and maintained through discourses. Within institutions, individuals must be

recruited into these discourses and reproduce them in order for the discourse to maintain its level of power. Thus, social institutions, practices, and subjects are all the products of discourses which produce, support, and maintain them. As new discourses are introduced into an institution, such as through a new policy, they often come into conflict with and are negotiated through the existing common sense or dominant discourses

In framing this research study, I posed two questions to explore the competition between discourses to define teacher learning and instruction and services for language learners. The first research question illuminates the discourses engaged by the district's ESL department to create definitions and expectations for teacher learning and services for English learners. As the policy was negotiated along the policy pathway, these expectations and definitions were reinterpreted and reassigned meanings through other discourses. It is the interpretation and enactment of these key terms at the classroom level that have material consequences for English learners.

Critical Definition of Discourse

In the previous section I described the conception of discourse which guided this study. In this section, I explain how I engaged critical social theory as lens through which to analyze the material effects of discourses. Critical social theory is committed to exposing and transforming social inequalities and injustices (Gibson, 1986). Within social institutions, certain discourses gain power to legitimize or naturalize actual and possible forms of social organization (Weedon, 1987). In a school, there are multiple discourses, competing with one another for the production of 'truth.' Critical theory focuses on the social inequalities and injustices being reproduced by particular discourses (Gibson, 1986). Leonardo (2004) suggests using critical social theory a researcher can interrogate how systematic inequities are legitimized through local discourses. Combining critical social theory and discourse theory allows me to explore how meaning is

constructed and reproduced while illuminating injustices (Leonardo, 2004). Researchers who embrace critical theory do not merely examine and analyze discourses, they actively align themselves with discourse of social justice and equity to create a vision of a more a more just reality.

This study focuses on a traditionally underserved, marginalized group of students in American schools: English learners (e.g. Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000; Haas, 2005; Wiley & Wright, 2004). The category of English learner signifies linguistic difference as well as racial and cultural differences (Gutierrez & Orellana, 2006). In the review of the literature, I shared a glimpse of the ongoing mis-education of English learners, and some common discourses which allow these injustices to persist (e.g. subtractive, colorblind). In addition, I shared some insights from critical researchers who have suggested an alternative, “additive” discourse to create a more just educational future for EL students. While there have been a number of studies on the segregation and mis-education of ELLs (Gutierrez, 2001; Katz, 1999; Olsen, 1997; Valdes, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999), there is a need for more studies that investigate how ESL programs are created and negotiated through discourse, and accepted as normal and valid educational practices (Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000). By analyzing how situated language use creates and maintains particular interpretations of the ESL facilitator policy, I explore the educational opportunities for English learners produced through discourses. By reproducing central tenets of an “additive” discourse, I assume the role of a critical researcher with the goal of proposing alternative meanings.

Critical Discursive Conception of Policy Negotiation

In the review of the literature presented in the previous chapter, I emphasized the complexity of policy negotiation. Policy negotiation is complicated by the influence of multiple

contexts, relationships, policy instruments, leaders, and existing policies. In this study, I conceive of all of these influences as discourses or discursive accomplishments. Policies are created through discourses, assigning particular meanings to the terms within the policy (the role of the teacher, student learning, etc.) by asserting difference from other definitions. Each policy has embedded values and ideological tenets at its core. The communication of the policy is also a discursive accomplishment. The policy instruments used, the role of leadership, and the types of teacher engagement opportunities can provide legitimization for the discourse in the policy.

The ideological tenets within the discourses used to construct and communicate the policy must then be negotiated within the school context. Schools as social institutions have particular cultures, or normalized ways of talking, being, and acting. The discourses within the policy come into conflict with the normalized discourses at the school. A new policy entering into existing discursive mix can illuminate the ideological commitments that construct different reactions to and interpretations of the policy. The negotiation of the differences between discourses leads to how the policy is implemented. The teacher, as produced through and reproducing certain discourses, reinterprets the demands of a given policy in a way that makes sense (Weatherly & Lipsky, 1977). Teacher engagement in multiple contexts and relationships can give them access to multiple discourses with which to negotiate the policy. Teachers' negotiation of the policy discourses is thus influenced by the multiple discourse communities in which she is actively participating. In policy negotiation and implementation, the locus of power is not within the policy text or in the hands of the policy creators; rather it is enacted by individual practitioners (Pennycook, 2006). But, as Johnson (2007) suggests, individuals are still reproducing existing discourses over which they have no control.

This study explores the competition between the discourses used to create the ESL facilitator policy and the discourses engaged to understand and implement the policy. Discourses represent political interests and are constantly vying for status and power (Weedon, 1987). In this study, the power struggle between discourses has significant consequences for the education of English learners in Eastlake.

Critical Discursive Conception of Teacher Learning

Teacher learning is one of the key terms of the ESL facilitator policy that is analyzed in this study. My understanding of teacher learning recognizes that teachers are situated within multiple discourses, and learning is the process of being apprenticed into a new discourse community. Building on my understanding of discourses, I assume that teachers are members of multiple discourse communities, i.e. families, communities, groups, and institutions. All of these discourses are inherently ideological and involve a set of values and viewpoints about the world. Learning, thus involves apprenticeship into a new discourse community, and negotiation of that new discourse with the broad range of discourses in which the individual is currently situated. Apprenticeship into new discourse communities, or learning, can introduce ideological tensions and rifts. Using my definition of discourse, being apprenticed into a new discourse community involves negotiating new meaning in the context of multiple discourses vying for power and authority. When an individual is being introduced to new discourses, their ideological commitment to other discourses may be challenged. Within institutions, such as schools, certain discourses are granted legitimacy or power. For classroom teachers to develop high expectations for EL students and improve their ability to recognize, scaffold, and support students' linguistic and academic difficulties, they need opportunities to struggle through the ideological inconsistencies between their existing discourses of what it means to be a good teacher and the

new discourses offered around teaching English learners. It is through the exploration and evaluation of these tensions that learning can occur.

For example, teachers may be apprenticed into a discourse community that redefines good teaching for English learners as *additive* instructional practices (Stritikus & Garcia, 2003; Valenzuela, 1999). *Additive* practices have strong assumptions about the value of language, culture, and the caring role of the teacher that may contradict the discourses teachers currently use to define their teaching. In many schools, there are discourse communities that position English speaking students as “normal,” and EL students as a burden or an additional challenge (Bourne, 2001; Reeves, 2004; Vollmer, 2000). Within these discourse communities, teachers report feeling conflicted between providing services for EL students and teaching the mainstream curriculum. (Olsen, 1997; Wright & Choi, 2005). This is an example of an ideological tension that if ignored will likely result in the subordination of the needs ELLs to the curriculum demands. Exploring this tension could foster further learning and shifts in ways of thinking about teaching. Learning involves the exploration of teachers’ existing ideological commitments in relationship to the ideological assumptions of the new discourse community.

Conceptualizing the Multiple Layers of Discursive Negotiation

In creating the conceptual design for this study, I attempted to capture the multiple levels of discourse negotiation described in the previous sections. My conceptual design encompasses the multiple contexts through which the ESL facilitator policy was created and negotiated: the broader social context, the ESL Department at the district, the school, the relationship between the teacher and facilitator and finally the classroom, Each of these layers involves the negotiation of meaning through discourses. I provide a visual representation of my conceptual design below in which I have attempted to capture the complexity of policy negotiation at multiple levels.

Broader social-political context

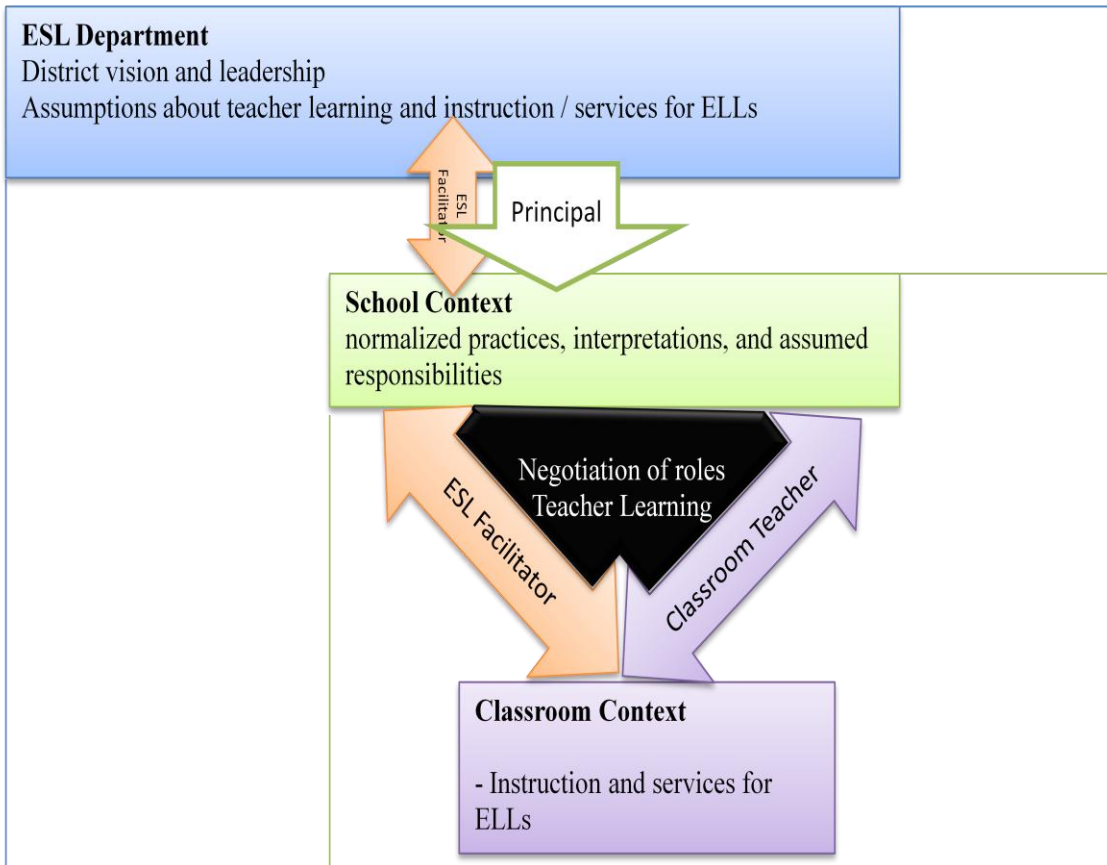


Figure 1. Conceptual framework.

The conceptual framework captures the complicated process of policy negotiation as described in the review of the literature. Policy negotiation is complicated by the influence of multiple contexts, existing policies, leadership, and personal relationships. The policy is reinterpreted and transformed as it is renegotiated in different contexts through a variety of discourses. Below, I define how I conceptualize the creation, communication, and negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy.

Local policies are created within the broader socio-political context (See Figure 1: yellow box). For the purpose of this study, the broader socio-political context includes state and federal

policies related to English learners. It also includes the history of EL education in the United States, as well as dominant political discourses about immigrants and language education.

Eastlake's ESL department (See Figure 1: blue box) created the ESL facilitator policy through a negotiation of discourses from the broader social historical context and prominent discourses in Eastlake school district. The prominent discourses in Eastlake were determined through an analysis of the district vision, leadership priorities and choices, the policy web, and existing policies and practices for ELLs.

Nested within the broader policy context, and situated between the district and school contexts are the principal and the ESL facilitator. The ESL department engages the facilitators and principals in opportunities to learn about the policy. The principal and facilitator introduce the policy into the school context, shaping their own understanding of the key terms of the policy through lenses provided by their personal discursive commitments. The ESL facilitator is positioned as the primary policy implementer. The principal's leadership influences the positioning of the policy in the local school context. As Killion (2007) asserts "Principals and coaches share equal responsibility for a coach's success." (pp. 16). The ESL facilitator and the principal share the responsibility of communicating and implementing the policy in the school context. In Figure 1, the principal's role is illustrated with a large one directional arrow between the ESL department and the school context. This indicates the principal's leadership in strongly influencing the school context, deciding what to prioritize and how to communicate the facilitator policy to the staff. The ESL facilitator, on the other hand, is positioned behind the principal's arrow to illustrate her dependence on the principal's leadership. The ESL facilitator has little influence over either the ESL department or the school context, and she must negotiate the discourses of both (See Figure 1: narrow, two way arrow).

Within the school context (See Figure 1: green box) the facilitator negotiates the policy through relationships with classroom teachers. The classroom teachers do not enter into the relationship with the facilitator as blank slates. They have their own beliefs, expectations, and policy commitments regarding instruction and support for English learners. Within this relationship, the classroom teacher and facilitator negotiate their expectations for shared responsibility. These existing discursive commitments affect their interaction with the facilitator, their engagement in learning opportunities, and ultimately their implementation of instructional services for English learners. Through the facilitation relationship, the facilitator and classroom teacher co-construct services for students (See Figure 1: purple box) and teacher learning opportunities (See Figure 1: black area). In the illustration of the conceptual framework, both arrows point to the classroom context to illustrate the co-construction of services for students.

The conceptual framework clarifies my understanding of policy negotiation which informed the creation of my research questions and the design of this study. A policy's journey from text to classroom is complicated and dynamic, negotiated through multiple layers of institutional and personal discourses. The framework clearly depicts the contexts in which the policy is negotiated: socio-historical context, district, school, and classroom. Within each context there are existing policies, priorities, beliefs, and relationships that influence the path of the policy. In this study, I trace the ESL facilitator policy from its creation to its implementation, analyzing the multiple discourses through which it is negotiated and the ensuing consequences for English learners.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the discursive negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy and the consequences for English learners in four classrooms. I follow the policy from its creation and communication through its negotiation at the school and classroom level and into practice. The intent of this chapter is to elucidate the methodology and design I have employed in this research and its connection to the literature and conceptual framework for this study. Aligning to my conceptual framework of critical theory and discourse theory, I engage Johnson and Hornbergers ethnography of language policy studies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, Johnson, 2009) to shape my data collection and analysis. The ESL facilitator policy serves as the language policy for English learners in the Eastlake school district. The policy was constructed to adhere to the guidelines of Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Act: Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students. Johnson (2009) used the ethnography of language policy to critically analyze a similar district constructed language policy in Philadelphia. Johnson and Hornberger's heuristic is uniquely designed to critically explore policies that shape the language instruction provided for linguistic minorities in educational settings.

I present an overview of ethnography of language policy, focusing on its key methodological tenets of ethnography and critical discourse analysis. Next, I describe the setting, the process for identifying the participants, and briefly introduce all of the participants. Then, I describe my process for collecting, coding, and analyzing the data. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of my role as a researcher and its impact on my research.

Methodology

As described in the previous chapter, this study was guided by critical and discourse theories. This study's design was shaped by Johnson and Hornberger's method of ethnography of language policy studies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, Johnson, 2009). Johnson (2009) summarizes the ethnography of language policy (ELP): "The ethnography of language policy is proposed as a method which makes macro–micro connections by comparing critical discourse analyses of language policy with ethnographic data collection in some local context" (pp. 139). Ethnography of language policy, allows researchers to illuminate the influence of power through discourses in constructing, communicating and negotiating the policy. Ethnography of language policy integrates two key methodological orientations: ethnography and critical discourse analysis.

Ethnographic Methods

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) propose a broad definition of ethnography as :

"A particular set of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly and covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions – in fact, collecting whatever data is available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research."

Ethnographic methods are a set of qualitative methods commonly used by ethnographers. The design of this study employs ethnographic methods, yet to some it may not qualify as ethnography. The duration of this study was one academic school year. Many ethnographers commit three or more years to fully immerse themselves into the culture they are studying (i.e. Heath, 1987; Hornberger, 1987; Zentella, 1997). In addition to the short duration of my study, I was not privy to the 'daily' lives of all individual participants. Because my study covers

multiple contexts (District offices, Birchfield, and Cedar Valley, and 4 classrooms) my involvement at each site was constrained. Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009) argue that a multi-sited ethnography is necessary to capture the multi-layered, complicated nature of policy negotiation. Ethnographic studies of classroom policy negotiation reveal insights into a teacher's interpretation and negotiation of a policy, but often lack insight into how a policy is constructed and communicated at the district level.

Collecting data at multiple sites presents significant challenges to researchers who are attempting to work within the ethnographic domain. Ethnographers build relationships with participants and enmesh themselves in their daily lives. Covering multiple sites means disrupted and shortened participation in different contexts. Throughout the course of this study, I attempted to maintain contact with all of the participants through regular email conversations. I shifted my schedule in response to emails from the teacher to attend events in which policy negotiation would be the focus. At the school level, I prioritized teacher – facilitator interactions which would allow me to examine the relationship that is at the center of the ESL facilitator policy. At the district level, I prioritized any public event facilitated by the ESL department. A multi-sited ethnographic approach is necessary for understanding policy construction, communication and negotiation, but it is a challenge for any individual researcher to undertake.

Critical Discourse Analysis

This study incorporates a critical perspective, recognizing the historical legacy of inequitable educational opportunities for language minority students (Grinberg & Saveedra, Stritikus & English, 2009; Wiley & Wright, 2004). Critical discourse analysis explores the discourses used to create and justify a policy, the local interpretation of a policy, and finally the effects of the policy in terms of social justice (Lipman, 1998)

Johnson (2009) integrates critical discourse analysis as a key component of the ethnography of language policy. He articulates how the two methodologies complement one another because both are concerned with the effect of power/policy on individuals.

Ethnographic and critical approaches to language policy are not mutually exclusive—both are committed to resisting dominant policy discourses that subjugate minority languages and, therefore, minority language users. Indeed, the ethnography of language policy should include both critical analyses of local, state, and national policy texts and discourses as well as data collection on how such policy texts and discourses are interpreted and appropriated by agents in a local context. (Johnson, 2009, p. 142)

As Johnson suggests, this study critically analyzes the discursive construction of language policy and its relationship to the quality of educational services English learners receive. Critical discourse analysis permits me to shine a light on how certain discourses are granted legitimacy and power. In my data collection and analysis I focus on how the policy is negotiated through discourses, the assumptions and ideology behind the discourses, and finally the material consequences for English learners in the classroom.

Methodological Heuristic

Johnson (2009) suggests a methodological heuristic to guide researchers engaged in ethnography of language policy. The researcher collects data on the (1) agents, (2) goals, (3) processes, and (4) discourses which justify and reproduce the policy, and (5) the dynamic social and historical contexts in which the policy exists. Johnson's heuristic aligns to this study's theoretical framework, offering a critical perspective on discourses.

Agents. Agents include both the creators of the policy and those responsible for interpreting and enacting it (Johnson, 2009). Individuals assert agency by maneuvering within

and among discourses (Allen & Hardin, 2001). Policies are created through discourses with particular ideological foundations. Each agent who interacts with the policy reproduces certain discourses shaping their responses, and thus influencing the enactment of the policy. This study includes the following agents: ESL district administrators, school principals, ESL facilitators, and classroom teachers.

Goals. The second criterion of Johnson's heuristic focuses on the implicit and explicit goals within the policy text. The policy text is a public document intended to inform agents of the envisioned changes the policy will bring about. Textual analysis of the policy illuminates the discourses used to write the policy.

Processes. After an understanding of the goals of policy text, the researcher focuses on the processes of creation, communication, and interpretation. The goals of the policy are negotiated, reinterpreted, and potentially transformed through these processes. Each part of the policy process builds upon the last to bridge the creation of a policy text to a teacher's daily practice.

Discourses. The fourth criterion explores the discourses "within and without the policy" (Johnson, 2009, p. 144). The researcher explores the tensions and connections between the discourses used to create and promote the policy and the local discourses engaged by agents in their negotiation of the policy.

Contexts. The final criterion recognizes and responds to the political and social context in which the policy is constructed and negotiated. The researcher delves into the ideological commitments within discourses, examining whose interests are being served.

This study adheres to Johnson's heuristic. This includes: identifying key agents, determining the assumptions and expectations (goals) of the policy, exploring the multiple policy

processes of communicating and negotiating the policy goals, documenting discourses used in different contexts, and finally collecting information about the socio-historical context in which this policy was introduced.

Summary

This study explores the discursive construction and negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy from the district level, into the school context, and into the classroom where teachers make instructional decisions affecting English learners. I collected data on the discourses used to create and communicate the policy, the local interpretation and enactment of the policy, and finally the effects of the policy in terms of social justice (Lipman, 1997; 1998). The methodology guiding this study integrates critical discourse analysis and ethnographic methods.

In the following three sections, I provide greater detail about how I collected data within the guidelines I established in the conceptual framework. First, I will describe the process for identifying participants. Next, I will describe the settings in detail. Finally, I will introduce all of the individual research participants.

Selection and Identification of Participants and Settings

At the beginning of the 2007-2008 school year, I met with Gail and Howard (the two administrators in Eastlake's ESL department) to discuss my research proposal and receive permission to conduct the study in Eastlake. I asked them to choose a facilitator who they held in high esteem, and who they viewed as effectively implementing the policy. They invited me to attend a planning session, in which a select group of facilitators came together to plan for the principal presentation. They stated that all of the facilitators in this planning group were effective implementers of the policy (Interview, 7 October 2007). Gail and Howard introduced me and to the facilitators and allowed me to explain my study. Amy Allen agreed to be a part of my study.

Amy Allen divided her time between two elementary schools: Cedar Valley and Birchfield. After Amy agreed to participate, I contacted both of her principals: Mike Bosco the principal at Birchfield and Helen Cole the principal at Cedar Valley. Both principals agreed to participate in the study and granted me permission to conduct the study at their schools.

After shadowing Amy for a few weeks, I asked her to assist me in selecting teacher participants. Between her two schools, Amy worked with 52 teachers. I asked her to review a list of teachers, explaining that I was looking for a variety of perspectives. Amy created and used the following criteria to sort through the list of 52 teachers: strong implementer, resistant to the policy, and neither for nor against the policy. I used Amy's criteria so that I would have a broad sample of policy implementation and have access to a variety of discourses. Amy quickly identified a few teachers as strong implementers. Then, she identified a number of teachers as resistant to the policy. The remaining teachers were neither strong implementers of the policy nor were they strong resisters of it. Amy's criteria helped me to establish a range of teacher informants that I would not have had through random selection. In addition, having Amy participate in the process of selecting teachers gave me further insight into her interpretation of the policy and the classroom teacher's role in it.

Using Amy's list I recruited six teachers for the study, three at Birchfield and three at Cedar Valley. At each school I had one teacher who was a strong implementer, one who was in the middle, and one who was resistant to the policy. The two teachers Amy identified as being resistant to the policy eventually withdrew from the study. Below is a chart identifying the four participating teacher and the label assigned by Amy.

Table 1

Classroom Teacher Participants Identified by Facilitator

Teacher	Amy's Label	School
Shelley Black	Strong implementer	Birchfield
Natalie Burrows	Neither for nor against	Birchfield
Carolina Cross	Strong implementer	Cedar Valley
Priya Chatterjee	Neither for nor against	Cedar Valley

To protect the privacy of the individuals, all names of participants, schools, and any identifying information have been changed.

Settings

As illustrated in the conceptual design, this study crosses four contexts: social-political, district, school, and classroom. The social political context for this study includes the broader political discourses shaping the education of English learners. As stated in the previous section, I collected data from state and federal level policies related to English learners including Title III regulations, OELA's reports and resources, and Washington TBIP guidelines.

The district and two school contexts are described in the following section, including information on other dominant policies being enacted within the context. The individual classroom contexts are described in connection to the classroom teacher. They can be found in the 'Participants' section.

Eastlake School District

Eastlake School District is located near a major metropolitan area in Washington State. The district's boundaries encompass a span of urban and suburban neighborhoods with over 15,000 students. Eastlake has sixteen elementary schools, seven middle schools and six high schools. Eastlake is a nationally distinguished, high performing district.

The superintendent at the time had a strong vision of increasing academic expectations for all students. His plan to reach this vision included policies that brought uniformity across the district. First, the superintendent pushed for a uniform curriculum across the district. To support the implementation of the uniform curriculum, the district provided continuous support for teachers through curriculum workshops, curriculum coaching, and a curriculum website with pacing guides and lesson plans (Eastlake District Website, 19, April, 2011).

During the 2007-2008 school year, Eastlake had 1,895 English learners enrolled in the district. Eastlake has a linguistically diverse student population speaking over seventy different languages. The largest group of English learners speaks Spanish (37% of all English learners). Eastlake has a significant community of immigrants from Asian countries as well, with 11% of ELs speaking Korean, 11% speaking Chinese, and 8% speaking Japanese (8%). Many immigrant families come to the Eastlake area with contracts to work as engineers or software developers for a large corporation with nearby headquarters. The district's total student population is approximately 57 percent White, 25 percent Asian, and eight percent Hispanic. Eastlake is a relatively affluent school district, with less than 18 percent of students qualifying for free or reduced lunch.

Birchfield Elementary

Birchfield Elementary had 480 students in grades K-5 over the 2007-2008 school year. The racial composition of students at Birchfield was 54% White, 28% Asian, and four percent Hispanic students. Birchfield is located in a mixed, suburban neighborhood with a variety of homes and apartments. During the year of this study, Seventeen percent of the student population qualified for free or reduced lunch, a common measure for socioeconomic status.

Birchfield is a fairly high performing school. Table 2 represents the percentage of students (including ELs) meeting expectations on the annual state assessment (WASL) during the year of this study.

Table 2

Percentage of Birchfield Students Meeting Expectations on WASL.

Grade	Reading	Math
3 rd Grade	75.7%	84.5%
4 th Grade	86.5%	67.4%
5 th Grade	84.2%	70.0%

Birchfield houses an EL newcomer center at the building site. Students from Birchfield and Cedar Valley who are new to English (at a beginning level) attend the newcomer center for half of their school day until they demonstrate proficiency in English. During the 2007-2008 school year, there were 10 students in the intermediate newcomer center (Grades 3-5) and 9 students in the primary newcomer center (Grades 1 and 2). These students were not served by the ESL facilitator, as they were in a self contained environment. Birchfield also housed a special education inclusion program in which students were mainstreamed the majority of the day with personal aides. Due to its diverse socioeconomic population, Birchfield qualified for Title 1 and LAP (Learning Assistance Program) support. There was a part time Title 1 teacher and a full time LAP teacher. For the past three years, Birchfield had received additional grant funding from a local educational foundation to support a Math Assistance Program (MAP).

Over the course of this study, there were 60 students at Birchfield who qualified for EL services (not including students in the newcomer class). The EL student population included

students from many linguistic backgrounds, including Spanish, Asian languages, and some Eastern European languages. EL students at Birchfield were spread across all 23 classrooms.

Cedar Valley

Cedar Valley is a larger school with 626 students in Kindergarten through fifth grade during the 2007-2008 school year. Cedar Valley is a gorgeous school located in a prestigious neighborhood. Cedar Valley sits at the top of a hill with breathtaking views of the city. There are no apartments near Cedar Valley, only single family homes. During the year of this study, 3.5 percent of the student population qualified for free and reduced lunch. The racial composition of Cedar Valley’s students was: 50% Asian, 37% White, and 1% Hispanic.

Cedar Valley is a high performing school, one of the top schools in the district. (Table 2 represents the percentage of students (including ELs) meeting expectations on the annual state assessment (WASL) during the year of this study.

Table 3

Percentage of Cedar Valley Students Meeting Expectations on WASL.

Grade	Reading	Math
3 rd Grade	89.7%	93.9%
4 th Grade	94.2%	82.5%
5 th Grade	94.2%	88.3%

Cedar Valley had an enrichment program for gifted and talented students. Students who attended the enrichment program would leave the classroom during language arts instruction to work on a separate curriculum. Cedar Valley has strong PTA support. With funds collected from the PTA, the school was able to pay for the salary of a full time reading specialist. The reading specialist pulled small groups of students during the day for reading instruction.

Over the course of the year, there were 60 students at Cedar Valley who qualified for EL services. All of the qualifying students spoke an Asian language. EL students at Cedar Valley were spread across all 29 classrooms.

Introduction to the Participants

Table 4 lists of all participants along with their context and position.

Table 4

Participants

Name	Context	Position
Howard Davis	District Office	ESL Director
Gail Dwyer	District Office	ESL Assistant Director
Amy Allen	Birchfield, Cedar Valley, District Office	ESL Facilitator
Mike Bosco	Birchfield	Principal
Shelley Blake	Birchfield	Kindergarten/1 st grade teacher
Natalie Burrows	Birchfield	5 th grade teacher
Helen Cole	Cedar Valley	Principal
Carolina Cross	Cedar Valley	2 nd grade teacher
Priya Chatterjee	Cedar Valley	5 th grade teacher

For each participant, I describe their current job position, education and experience teaching ELs.

For the facilitator and teachers, I include information about the English learners they work with.

For each teacher I provide some detail about their classroom context.

Howard Davis: ESL Director

Howard Davis had served as the ESL director of Eastlake schools for four years prior to this study. Howard is a white male with over 20 years experience in education. During his first year as ESL director, Howard conducted a comprehensive review of ESL services across the district. He determined that the existing services were incoherent and uncoordinated. Howard introduced the facilitator policy at the beginning of the 2003-04 school year.

Howard had a close relationship with Eastlake's superintendent. He had risen from a high school teacher to principal in the superintendent's previous district on the east coast of the United States. When the superintendent took his post at Eastlake in 1996, Howard came along with him. Howard was appointed as principal at one of Eastlake's high schools. In 2002 the superintendent appointed Howard the director of ESL services. Howard does not have an educational background in teaching ESL, but he has made a point of learning about the needs of English learners by attending conferences and workshops.

Halfway through the academic year of this study, the superintendent announced his plans to leave the district. Again, he invited Howard to join him in his new venture. Howard left Eastlake in March of 2008. Gail assumed his position as director of ESL for the remainder of the year.

Gail Dwyer: ESL Assistant Director

Gail had worked in Eastlake longer than Howard and the superintendent. Gail is a white woman with over 20 years experience in education. She worked as a special education teacher at an elementary school for a number of years. In the mid 1990s, Gail took a position at the district office in the curriculum department. She joined the ESL department at the same time as Howard in 2002.

Gail also does not have a background of teaching English learners. Her specialization is special education. Gail has committed herself to learning about English learners. When the district offered a series of courses for classroom teachers to earn their ESL endorsements, Gail attended and learned alongside the teachers.

Amy Allen: Facilitator

Amy Allen is an enthusiastic teacher with an outgoing personality. Amy is a White woman with seven years of teaching experience. Amy considers herself to be open to challenges, especially when it comes to teaching. Her position at Eastlake is one in a long line of teaching adventures. Amy is a Canadian citizen, who has taught in England, Canada, and the United States. When her husband was assigned to work on a project in Washington she moved here with him. At the beginning of her teaching career, Amy taught at a boys' school in England, She was the Physical Education teacher, and temporarily a music teacher. Returning to Canada, Amy took a position as a second grade teacher in Toronto, Ontario. Amy's school had a large EL population. She claims that out of 24 kids in her class, 20 were English learners. This motivated Amy to earn her ESL endorsement. She remembers how "most of my class would just look at me with a blank face going, "I have no idea what you're talking about." (Interview, 6 February 2008). She took courses for three years in ESL methods and theory to earn her endorsement.

The year of the study was Amy's second year in Eastlake. She admits that when she accepted the position in Eastlake she didn't really understand what the facilitator policy was. But, she explains, she was open for anything.

Across her two schools, Birchfield and Cedar Valley, Amy Allen has a case load of over 100 students and 50 teachers. In alignment with district policy, Amy attempts to work collaboratively with teachers, and provide them with resources and support to improve their daily

instruction. Amy offers teachers a variety of resources such as team teaching, collaborative lesson planning, modeling instructional strategies, providing visual resources, recording books on tape, and suggesting additional scaffolds teachers could implement to make their instructional content accessible to ELs.

Mike Bosco: Principal of Birchfield

Mike Bosco joined the Birchfield staff at the same time as Amy. He came from an assistant principal position at a high school in the district. Mike's background is in secondary school: middle and high schools. He does not have a background in teaching English learners. Mike is a White male with more than 10 years educational experience.

Shelley Blake: K/1 teacher at Birchfield

Shelley is a third year teacher. She has been at Birchfield her entire teaching career, teaching in the combined Kindergarten-First grade classroom. Shelley attended the University of Washington to earn a Masters in Teaching. She completed her student teaching practicum in a second grade classroom at Birchfield. Shelley is a White female.

Shelley does not have any specific training in teaching English learners. In the fall of 2007, Shelley attends the classroom teacher workshop sponsored by the district. She acknowledges this as the only specific training she has completed about teaching English learners.

During the year of the study, Shelly has the largest number of English learners of all the participating teachers. She has three kindergarteners and four first graders in her class of 26 students. All of Shelley's first graders are at an intermediate level of English language proficiency. One of her three kindergarteners was new to English at the beginning of the school

year. The other two kindergarteners had some conversational English skills prior to starting school.

Natalie Burrows: 5th grade teacher at Birchfield

Natalie Burrows is also a third year teacher at Birchfield. She is a White female. Natalie began her teaching career at Birchfield. She was also a student teacher at Birchfield before accepting a full time position. She student taught in a fourth grade classroom. This is Natalie's third year teaching fifth grade. In her first year of teaching she did not have any English learners in her class. Last year she had two students identified as EL.

When I ask Natalie if she has had any professional development to help her teach English learners, she tries to think back to her teaching credential program: "I feel like – I just can't remember. I think I did have an ESL class, but just one." (Interview, 15 April, 2009). In Eastlake, Natalie participated in a summer institute, attending a session on teaching English learners the *Connections* curriculum.

During the year of the study, Natalie has one student who qualifies as an English learner: David. David is an Asian student who is in his third year at Birchfield. David has 'advanced' English language proficiency according to the Washington Language Proficiency Test. Natalie has a total of 28 fifth graders in her classroom.

Helen Cole: Principal at Cedar Valley

Helen has been the principal at Cedar Valley for the past 9 years. Helen is a White female with more than 20 years of educational experience. Helen does not have a background in teaching English learners

Carolina Cross: 2nd grade teacher at Cedar Valley

Carolina Cross is a second grade teacher with five years of teaching experience. This is her second year at Cedar Valley. Carolina taught for three years in another district before coming to Eastlake. During her teaching credential program, Carolina did not take classes focusing on ESL and nor has she subsequently received much formal professional development on teaching ELs. Carolina is a Filipina-American teacher who speaks both Tagalog and English.

During the study Carolina had two English learners in her second grade class. Her total classroom enrollment was 22 students. Sam was in her class the entire year. Tomoku joined her class in April. Both boys were at an intermediate level of English language proficiency as measured by the Washington Language Proficiency Test.

Priya Chatterjee: 5th grade teacher at Cedar Valley

Priya is a fifth grade teacher at Cedar Valley Elementary. This is her third year teaching. She has been at Cedar Valley her entire teaching career spending one year in fourth grade and one year in fifth grade before this year. Priya is a mother of two young children, ages 8 and 11. She stayed at home with them before they entered school, earning her masters in teaching in the evenings.

Priya is a second language learner herself with Farsi as her first language. She was raised in the United States and is a fluent English speaker. Priya's masters in education included one course on teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students. She learned about EL learning needs and some instructional accommodations. Since she has been teaching she has not attended any professional development on teaching English learners

During the course of this study, Priya had three English learners in her class of 25 fifth graders. One student attended the ESL Newcomer Center in the morning and was in her classroom the rest of the day. In compliance with the facilitator policy, Amy did not offer

support to that student. Priya had two other students in her fifth grade class who were affected by the facilitator policy. Hideo and Sakura were both intermediate level English learners.

Data Collection

I collected data for this study using ethnographic methods and critical policy analysis. Below I will describe the data collected using the four contexts outlined in the conceptual design: broader social political, district, school, and classroom. The facilitator straddles the district and school contexts, so her data collection is described separately. The study is bounded by the 2007-2008 school year. Data were generated from federal and state policy, the district administrators, principals, facilitators, and teachers.

Social-Political Data

The social political context for this study includes the broader political discourses shaping the education of English learners. Data collection included policy briefs and reports on the federal policy of No Child Left Behind: Title III. I collected the annual report from Washington State's TBIP (Transitional Bilingual Instructional Policy). I also collected social-historical data about all three contexts, including the previous policy history and former means of providing services to English learners.

District Data

Data collected from the district include policy documents distributed internally and externally, interviews of the two ESL administrators (Howard and Gail), and observations during the 2007-2008 school year. The majority of data collection from the district occurred in the fall of 2007. The district released a revised document of the facilitator policy to share within the district. This was quickly followed by a meeting with all of the elementary principals. I attended this meeting, took field notes, and received a copy of the PowerPoint.

Howard and Gail promoted the ESL facilitator policy at a workshop for elementary classroom teachers and facilitators. Elementary facilitators invited one teacher from each of their schools to attend the workshop with them. The workshop was a half-day event which I attended, took notes, and received a copy of the PowerPoint.

Externally, the district administrators presented the facilitator policy at a local ELD Consortium. The ELD Consortium is a meeting of ELD administrators from districts across the county. I received copies of the PowerPoint and the notes from the presentation.

I attended additional district events including a two day retreat for facilitators and bi-monthly facilitator meetings. At each of these events I took field notes and requested the PowerPoint if one was used.

I interviewed Howard once for one hour. Gail joined in the interview at different times to provide some clarification. I interviewed Gail one time for an hour. The district administrator protocol was used. The protocol was developed prior to the study and modified to pursue preliminary findings. The interviews established the historical context for the facilitator policy. It also provided a clear performance of the common discourse used by district administrators to promote the facilitator policy.

School Data

In my conceptual design I imagine the school context to be strongly influenced by the leadership of the principal. In addition to the interview with the principal, I collected data at both schools while shadowing Amy, eating lunch in the staff room, and attending two staff meetings in each building.

Principals. I interviewed the principals of Birchfield and Cedar Valley separately. Each principal was interviewed one time for one hour. I used the principal interview protocol to guide

both interviews. The protocol was developed prior to the study, and modified to pursue preliminary findings. The questions sought to elicit the principals' understandings of the policy, their particular school context, and their role as a leader.

Classroom Data

I recruited six classroom teachers to participate in the study: three teachers at Cedar Valley and three teachers were at Birchfield. Two teachers withdrew from the study. Their data is not a part of this dissertation.

I observed each teacher three to six times for class periods ranging from 45 minutes to an hour. I used the same interview protocols for all participating teachers. Teachers were interviewed once in the middle of the study for an hour. I followed up with a second interview at the end of the study which lasted approximately 30 minutes.

During classroom observations I took field notes on the instructional strategies the teacher used. I documented what the teacher said and wrote. I also documented the engagement of the English learners in the class. The students were not a part of this study; therefore no data was collected on individual students. The data collected reflected the general response of students to the instruction provided by the teacher.

Facilitator Data

In the design for the study the facilitator plays a key mediational role in implementing the facilitator policy. Thus, the majority of my data collection focused on her. I shadowed the facilitator at both schools, following her through her daily routines. I shadowed her 16 times at Birchfield and 13 times at Cedar Valley. I made copies of documents Amy gave to teachers or students. During the shadowing observations, I took field notes on all of her obligations, interactions with teachers and students, and our personal conversations.

Amy admitted that sometimes when I was there, she had a “gripe session.” These were times when Amy would discuss her challenges at the particular school or with particular teachers. I did not take notes during these conversations, but included them in my daily reflections. I considered them to be evidence of discourses clashing, when Amy’s way of doing or thinking clashed with the ways teachers in the school thought things should be done.

I conducted three formal interviews with Amy, all of which were audio recorded and transcribed. The first two interviews used my interview protocol, each lasting 45 minutes. The final interview was at Amy’s request. She had created a PowerPoint presentation to share with Gail and Howard about changes she would like to suggest for the facilitator policy. She wanted to do a trial run with me. I audio recorded her presentation and asked follow up questions. This interview lasted an hour.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was driven by a critical understanding of discourse as described in the conceptual framework. Taylor (2001) explains that the process for coding data in discourse analysis is quite similar to conventional methods of data analysis. Data is first broadly coded as a starting point for discourse analysis.

The principal difference, however, between discourse analyses and other data analyses is not this initial process of analysis but the analytic concepts involved... The discourse analyst searches for patterns in language in use, building on and referring back to the assumptions she or he is making about the nature of language, interaction and society and the interrelationships between them. It is this theoretical underpinning rather than any sorting process which distinguishes discourse analysis. (Taylor, 2001, pp. 39)

As Taylor asserts, discourse analysis explores the relationship between society and individuals. Individuals are constructed through and reproduce multiple discourses. Individuals have agency to reposition themselves, reshaping social practices, by maneuvering within and among existing discourses (Allen & Hardin, 2001). My analysis of the data explored the ideological commitments within certain ways of talking, representing particular sets of values and viewpoints, privileging one way of seeing the world over another (Weedon, 1987).

Discourse analysis describes, interprets, and explains the relationships between language, social practices, and the social world. There are a variety of methods under the general heading of discourse analysis. I followed Johnson's heuristic of ethnography of language policy to guide my analysis: identifying key agents, determining the assumptions and expectations of the policy, exploring multiple processes of policy communication and negotiation, documenting discourses used in different contexts, and finally analyzing the socio-historical context. Johnson's heuristic captures the dynamic context in which the policy is created, communicated and enacted. In the following sections I describe in detail the process of discourse analysis used.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study were informed by my initial interview with Howard and Gail, the ESL directors, and a preliminary analysis of the policy text. When I approached Gail and Howard about the possibility of conducting a research study on the ESL facilitator policy, they responded positively and provided me their interpretation of the policy's intent and implementation. In both the initial conversation with the ESL directors and the policy text, the two key terms of teacher learning and ESL services for students were emphasized. Howard explicitly referred to the shift in the role of the facilitator to a coach, or supporter of teacher learning: "These are trained language teachers and they are now being asked to coach

other teachers.” (Interview, 7 October 2007). Howard articulated a coaching focus for the year, claiming the ESL department was planning to offer professional development focused on coaching:

(We) have decided to focus on having facilitators and classroom teachers determine a purpose for modeling or demonstration lessons. The classroom teachers sometimes see this as a break time. The ESL facilitator needs to create a purpose for viewing with a predetermined question.... I observed (An ESL facilitator) modeling a lesson last week. The lesson was excellent. But, when I asked the facilitator what she thought the classroom teacher had learned, she responded that history suggested that she had probably learned nothing. I asked what she wanted the teacher to learn, and she listed a number of things ranging from classroom management to making explicit objectives to scaffolding. I told her she needed to have a narrow focus. I think the classroom teacher missed the whole thing because there was too much to focus on.

(Interview, 7 October 2007)

Howard engaged a discourse of teacher learning to describe his expectations for facilitators and their work with classroom teachers. Analyzing this interview along with the policy text I added the two specific key terms to narrow the focus of my research. First, I added the term “teacher learning” as this was Howard’s stated goal in our interview and evident throughout the policy text (see chapter 5). Second, I included the phrase “instruction and services for English learners” to highlight the expected and actual instructional services offered to English learners in a policy that shifted the role of the ESL facilitator away from providing direct instructional support.

Research Question #1

What are the assumptions and expectations in the ESL facilitator model about **teacher learning** and **instruction and services** for English learners?

The coding process for the first research question included four phases. First, I collected data on the socio-historical *context* in which the policy was created. This included an analysis of federal and state policy and existing district policies. Using the district's website, collected documents, and policy texts, I situated the creation of the new ESL facilitator policy within the broader context of ESL policies and other policies within the district.

The second phase of analysis was a critical reading of the policy text to determine the explicit and implicit *goals*. Through this reading I determined the goal to be fostering relationship between ESL facilitators and classroom teachers to ensure high quality education for English learners. As Johnson (2009) points out, it can be difficult to fully understand a policy's goals through textual analysis alone. I progressed to the third phase of analysis: analyzing the *processes* of creating and communicating the policy. I analyzed the data collected at four key events hosted by the ESL department to communicate the policy as well as interviews with all key participants. Teachers' responses to policies are mediated by the influence of multiple contexts, relationships, policy instruments, leaders, and existing policies. My analysis offered perspective on the methods of communication and the contexts created for key *agents* to negotiate the meaning of the policy.

The final phase of analysis was an analysis of the *discourses* used to create, communicate, and negotiate the ESL facilitator policy. This involved a reading of the entire data set, and a second analysis of the policy text. I applied my theoretical understanding of discourses as assigning meaning through difference with power. I explored the common meanings assigned to the facilitator-teacher relationship, as well as the multiple tensions between discourses. It is

through the analysis of tensions and differences that I was able to uncover a number of the assumptions and expectations within the policy. Discourses represent particular sets of values and viewpoints, privileging one way of seeing the world over another. Discourse analysis seeks to illuminate the values that are assumed and embedded within language.

In my analysis of the data, I focused on the meanings assigned to the teacher – facilitator relationship, asking, “What is the teacher-facilitator relationship assumed to look like in terms of teacher learning?” and “What is the teacher-facilitator relationship assumed to look like in terms of teacher learning?” Second, I investigated the assumptions about the content learned: “What will teachers learn?” and “What will students learn?” I concluded my analysis with a focus on evidence for success: “How will we know it is successful?”

After determining the components I would trace across contexts, I triangulated the language used in the policy text, the language used at the four policy communication events, and in the interviews to find common assumptions about how the facilitator-teacher relationship would support teacher learning and EL students. I include interview of the ESL directors to access the discourses the policy creators use to recreate and justify their experiences constructing the policy. I acknowledge that the discourses produced in the interviews were mediated by my questioning and the discourses I reproduced as an interviewer.

My initial analysis of the goals of the policy offered a simplistic understanding of the facilitator-teacher relationship promoting quality education for ELs. Through a secondary analysis of the multiple discourses, I found three aspects of the policy that were negotiated across contexts: the imagined relationship between teachers and facilitators, the expected content of teacher learning and student learning, and the evidence for success.

1) The nature of the imagined *relationship* between ESL facilitators and teachers. There were clear expectations for the nature of the relationship between ESL facilitators and teachers. The relationship between ESL facilitators and classroom teachers was constructed as a mutually beneficial relationship in which the classroom teacher learns from the ESL facilitator; and the ESL facilitator provides specialized assistance at the teacher's request. The policy communication and creation provided explicit guidelines as well as implicit expectations for the nature of the facilitator-teacher relationship

2) *Content of teacher learning / Services for students.* I explored the assumptions of the expected content shared between ESL teachers and classroom teachers. There are assumptions of the knowledge and skills teachers will learn through facilitation as well as expectations for the types of services that students will receive through the facilitator model.

3) Evidence for *success*: I analyzed the data for expected evidence to determine the success of the policy. For teacher learning, positive collaborative stories and teacher's continued use of suggested strategies were valued as evidence of successful teacher learning. Evidence of successful services for students included teachers' uses of modifications and facilitator's case management of neediest students.

The remainder of my analysis explored how these themes were reinterpreted and enacted through different discourses.

Research Question #2

How do varied enactments, interpretations, and assumed responsibilities influence **teachers' learning and instruction and services** for English learners?

My second research question focuses on the interpretation and enactment of the ESL facilitator policy. Data included classroom observations, shadowing of the ESL facilitator,

observations of teacher-facilitator interactions, and interview data. I again used Johnson's heuristic to guide my analysis of the data.

I began with an understanding of the individual constructed within their personal and socio-historical context. To form a conceptual picture of the social historical contexts at the two schools, I used data from shadowing Amy, staff meetings, and interviews with the teacher and principal participants. I looked for common themes, repeated frequently and influencing Amy's interactions with multiple staff members. The school culture and existing dominant policies shaped the interpretation of the facilitator policy. Each individual's understanding and response to a policy is mediated by their personal beliefs, their personal, and professional identities, their existing commitments to other policies, and the social context in which they are negotiating the policy (Varghese & Stritikus, 2005) I analyzed data from all individual participants for insight into their personal, social history that influenced their negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy. Teacher engagement in multiple contexts and relationships can give them access to multiple discourses with which to negotiate the policy. Next, I examined the data set to determine how participants engaged with the policy communication *processes*. To form a broad understanding of the policy processes, I looked for mediating forces which would shape the teachers' understanding and interpretation of the policy (Knapp & Meadows, 2005). These included district communication attempts to promote the policy, school leadership's positioning of the policy, engagement in communities of practice, and any additional mediators. In interviews, participants shared their personal experiences learning about the policy. As Knapp and Meadows (2005) assert, teachers do not engage with policies in isolated, apolitical contexts. The leadership of district and school administrators prioritize certain policies and not others. I

analyzed the data to determine the status assigned to the ESL facilitator policy within these contexts and the opportunities for teachers to learn about the policy.

The final phase included an analysis of the discourses used to interpret and enact the policy. I explored the discourses the facilitator and teachers engaged to construct their personal interpretations of the policy. I followed this with an analysis of the enacted policy in the four classroom settings. I maintain a distinction between the interpretation and enactment of the policy in recognition that practice does not always mirror an individual's beliefs (Cohen, 1990). In addition, the enactment of the ESL facilitator policy was co-constructed by the teacher and each participant. Each individual maintained their own interpretation of the policy, but the enacted services for students and opportunities for teacher learning were the product of the relationship between the facilitator and each teacher. The enacted policy was mediated through Amy's position as a facilitator, the leadership of the principal, and participation in district sponsored events. To form a conceptual picture of the social historical contexts at the two schools, I used data from shadowing Amy, staff meetings, and interviews with the teacher and principal participants. I looked for common themes, repeated frequently and influencing Amy's interactions with multiple staff members. The school culture and existing dominant policies shaped the interpretation of the facilitator policy.

I analyzed the enactment of the policy in four classroom, critically analyzing the consequences for English learners. I considered each individual classroom teacher – facilitator relationship as a nested case. I considered the mediating effects of the teacher's relationship with Amy as well as the broader school context. I analyzed data from the coaching sessions between Amy and the teacher, interview data from Amy and the teachers, as well as classroom

observation data to determine the enactment of the policy. Finally, I critically analyzed the enacted policy in terms of the consequence for English learners.

Researcher's Role

Traditional social science research has treated the researcher / participant relationship as an objective transfer of information, obscuring and perpetuating the subjective power dynamics at play (Harding & Norberg, 2005; Presser, 2005). I see the relationship between researcher and participant as problematic, embedded within complex social, historical, and political contexts. It is with this awareness that I wish to address how my role as a researcher impacts this study. First, I explore my role through a post-structural perspective. I follow that with an analysis of my role through a critical feminist perspective.

As a post-structural researcher I recognize that all individuals are constructed through and constantly reproducing discourses (Weedon, 1987). Researchers are no exception. Throughout my research study, I engaged different discourses to perform different identities (Butler, 1993) depending upon the research participant and the context. With principals and the ESL administrator, I often performed the role of a graduate student, often referring to current research and my familiarity with ESL policy. With the facilitator and classroom teacher participants, I often performed the role of a former teacher. I related stories about my own teaching experiences and life in the classroom. Building relationships with research participants is typical in qualitative, ethnographic research, but it is still problematic. The relationships I formed based on these performances influenced the performance of my research participants (Harding & Norberg, 2005). By this, I mean, that had I performed a different identity or engaged a different discourse, my participants would have responded differently. To acknowledge the power and influence of my own presence on the discourses my research subjects produced, I have kept my

own voice as part of the data (Mischler, 1986; Allen & Cloyes, 2005). As I analyzed the data, I considered the discourses I produced and how my language and performance affected others. I often include the transcript of the question I ask. I also include any affirmations or interjections I made during a participant's speech event (i.e. <Yes>, <Mm-hm>).

As a critical researcher, I also look at whose interests are being served by the different discourses being produced. I must self-reflect upon my own position within the existing power structures. I am a white researcher with native English language fluency and high educational status. All of these identifiers signify a privileged position in society. Rather than ignoring or dismissing my privileged position, I recognize it plays a role in both my construction of self as well as my engagement in research (Harding, 1993; Lather, 1991). I do this by reflecting upon the discourses I engaged in my interactions with research subjects as well as the discourses I engage in this paper.

I believe strongly in the idea of 'research as praxis' in which a researcher not only collects data from a particular context but also engages with the research participants in ways that have practical implications for the improvement of people's lives (Harding & Norberg, 2005; Lather, 1991). Thus, throughout my study I willingly shared my knowledge and time in participants' classrooms to help them work with students. I supported Amy, the facilitator, when she decided to create a PowerPoint presentation to share with the administration about ways to improve the policy. I provided her with guidance on organizing and clarifying her presentation. My engagement in these activities contradicts traditional expectations of researcher neutrality. But, it is supported by critical and feminist research methodologies which assert that our role is not to just retrieve data from our research subjects, but also to support and empower them (Harding & Norberg, 2005; Lather, 1991).

CHAPTER 5: EASTLAKE ESL DEPARTMENT CONSTRUCTION OF THE FACILITATOR POLICY

Introduction

In 2003, Eastlake adopted the ESL facilitator policy. This chapter focuses on the construction and communication of the policy to address research question #1: *What are the assumptions and expectations in the ESL facilitator policy about teacher learning and instruction and services for English learners?* This chapter mirrors the process of discourse analysis I undertook. First, I present an analysis of the socio-historical context. As outlined in my methods chapter, I explore the policy within the dynamic social and historical contexts in which it was created (Johnson, 2009). Second, I offer a textual analysis of the policy to illuminate the explicit and implicit policy goals for teacher learning and ESL services. Third, I analyze the processes of creating and communicating the policy. I present an analysis of the ESL department's engagement of key stakeholders in negotiating the policy goals. I conclude with an analysis of the discourses used to communicate and justify the policy. I apply my understanding of discourses as the constitution of meaning through difference with power to reveal the expectations for teacher learning and services for students. This chapter illuminates the assumptions and expectations for teacher learning and services for students created and communicated through the ESL facilitator policy.

Socio-Historical Context

The ESL facilitator policy was created in 2003, within a complex web of federal, state, and district initiated policies. Through an analysis of interviews, policy documents, and district coordinated events, three dominant themes emerged as significant influences from the broader

socio-historical context. First, federal and local policies assigned value to standardization. Second is the negative construction of existing ESL services in Eastlake. Third is the increasing popularity of coaching as a means of improving teachers' instruction in the national and local context. The ESL facilitator policy was created in this particular socio-historical context. Eastlake's ESL department had access to and maneuvered through existing discourses assigning particular meanings to standardization, inclusion, ESL services, and coaching.

Standardization

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) was approved by the United States Congress in 2001 and signed into law by President George W. Bush in January of 2002, significantly changing the role of the federal government in American education (Wright, 2005). The full title of No Child Left Behind is: *An act to close the achievement gap with accountability, flexibility, and choice, so that no child is left behind*. In alignment with its stated goal, NCLB introduced new expectations for standardization and accountability by linking federal funding to high stakes, standardized testing. States and districts were held accountable for making annual yearly progress in four different subgroups: economically disadvantaged; special education; ELL; and students from major racial/ethnic groups. The Center for Educational Policy reported significant changes in the American educational system as a result of NCLB, including: state governments and school districts asserting more authority over school operations; students taking more tests; schools and districts paying more attention to the alignment of curriculum and instruction to the standards; and schools focusing on reading and math, sometimes excluding untested subjects (Jennings & Stark-Rentner, 2006).

No Child Left Behind introduced new accountability measures to focus on historically underserved populations. As a result, EL programs came under increased scrutiny, often leading

to diminished services for English learners that narrowly focused on building skills that would be assessed on the high stakes tests (Haney, 2000; Hampton, 2005; McSpadden McNeil, 2005; Wright, 2005). With the powerful inducement of federal funding, NCLB quickly became a powerful discourse in shaping educational practice. While the policy text does not promote standardized instruction for all students, as the policy was negotiated across the states this became a common discourse for meeting the policy's demands for accountability and standardization.

Standardization was given a specific meaning within the local context of Eastlake school district. Prior to 1996, Eastlake was a decentralized district with site-based decision making and curriculum. A new superintendent came to Eastlake in 1996 and began a campaign focusing on three key elements: rigor, a common curriculum, and access to advanced coursework for all students (Paek, 2008). Over the next ten year under the guidance of the superintendent, Eastlake developed a strong centralized curriculum standardizing instructional practice across the district. In 2006, the district was awarded a large grant to create a curriculum web with daily lesson plans for teachers. The district's curriculum web was nationally recognized as a *Practice Worthy of Attention* by the Charles A. Dana Center (Paek, 2008). With the curriculum web in place, all teachers had access to pacing guides for all subject areas, district created mandatory lessons, and regularly scheduled assessments. The common curriculum and accompanying website standardized educational practices across Eastlake

In my interviews with Gail and Howard, the standardized curriculum in Eastlake was highly valued, and promoted as appropriate for English learners. Howard reconstructed his memory of creating the ESL facilitator policy:

We started talking about doing some adaptations to our curriculum here and as we started working on the adaptations, we just got deeper and deeper into exploring, “What is this all about?” So as we got deeper into it, we found out that it’s not just ESL kids who are benefiting from the accommodations and adaptations, it’s all kids. So I think the next permutation, it just sort of struck us, “Why don’t we use mainline curriculum and stop trying to reinvent the wheel on this?”

(Interview, 14 February 2008)

Gail’s reconstructed a similar memory:

And our belief system was we needed to provide a system that worked for every child. If there’s one Urdu speaking child in our district, we need to provide the same level of service that we do for the majority of our non-English speakers. And then we started saying, ‘It is essential that all students work out of adopted Eastlake district curriculum. If it’s good for one child, it’s good for all children. How do we make accommodations and adapt that curriculum so that our students have access? And how do we remove the barriers to that?’

(Interview, 15 January 2008).

In their interviews, Howard and Gail represented the district adopted curriculum as essential, positive, and benefitting all students. Assigning positive meaning to the standardized district curriculum, Gail and Howard created a policy that left the core curriculum unchallenged. Like many other districts at this time, Eastlake attempted to serve the needs of English learners with a one-size-fits-all curriculum (Gutiérrez, 2001; Wright & Choi, 2005). Both Gail and Howard acknowledged that English learners would need some support and accommodations to access the

district curriculum. The ESL facilitator policy was thus constructed to support a standardized curriculum accommodations.

No More Pull Outs

In Washington State, the guidelines for ESL services are fairly broad. Districts are given significant leeway in creating services for English learners. The two program models defined in the state policy include Content Based ESL and ESL.

- Content-Based English as a Second Language (ESL) Model: ELL students are taught entirely in English using ESL techniques. This instructional model uses standard school wide curricula, adapting materials and teaching techniques to students' English language proficiency levels.
- English as a Second Language (ESL): ELL students are taught entirely in English without reference to the academic curriculum used in regular classrooms. The focus of these ESL programs is on developing basic English vocabulary and oral language skills. In this model, students are usually pulled out of class for ESL instruction.

(OSPI, 2005, pp. 11-12)

The state guidelines offer general criteria for the two types of programs, but do not give specific examples. Prior to the creation of the ESL facilitator policy, Eastlake's service model was similar to the state's second option: English as a Second Language. The ESL facilitator policy created structures that aligned with the first program model in the state policy: Content Based ESL.

Gail shared her interpretation of ESL services in Eastlake prior to the facilitator policy: When we started with our vision six years ago and said, "Let's look at every (school's ESL) program. Let's determine what's going on and see the Eastlake program," and

found out there was no Eastlake program. There were individual school programs and individual concepts teacher-to-teacher about what it looked like, but there was no commonality. There was no commonality in language used building to building. There was no commonality in how students were served building to building. There was no commonality in materials building to building. Funds were handed to teachers and they could purchase whatever. There was no formal connection to Eastlake District curriculum. There was no formalized procedure, no informal procedure for ESL staff meeting with mainstream staff to talk about these students. So it was a walk down the hall, fix 'em, bring them back, but no conversation going on between the mainstream teacher and the ESL teacher, not in elementary, not in middle, and high.

(Interview, 15 January 2008).

Gail constructed a negative interpretation of ESL services prior to the ESL facilitator policy. She focused on the variation of services across buildings, the lack of connection to the district curriculum, and the lack of shared responsibility and communication between the classroom and ESL teachers. Building based decision making, which was the norm prior to the arrival of the superintendent (Paek, 2008), was constructed as problematic. Under site based decision making, there was no guarantee that the ESL services were linked directly to the Eastlake curriculum. Individual teachers had control over what they would teach and how they would work with students.

Gail's statement, "walk down the hall, fix 'em, bring them back" suggests that she interpreted the pull out ESL services as relinquishing classroom teachers of responsibility for educating ELs. Providing specialized support outside of the classroom context was devalued. In

my interview with Howard, he presented a similar interpretation of pull out services, promoting inclusive support as a preferable option.

Howard: So when we went to mainstream curriculum, all of our teachers used mainstream curriculum. So why not use all of our teachers to support ESL and not believe that there's some way that we can bring these kids up to grade level standards and get them to graduation on time and all this sort of thing without the support of classroom teachers? Then we considered the idea of integration, that as with our special education people, we believe in not separating or isolating kids. And then, indeed, we found that this is the intent of federal legislation not to sequester these kids into separate ESL classes.

(Interview, 14 February, 2008).

Howard discursively constructed a binary between sequestering students into separate ESL classes and using mainstream teachers providing scaffolded instruction for ELs. He transitioned from “without the support of the classroom teacher” to “Then we considered the idea of integration.” In Howard’s construction, similar to Gail’s, providing EL students pull out support was assumed to remove responsibility from the mainstream teacher. In contrast, inclusion was promoted as a means of “bringing kids up to grade level” and sharing responsibility with classroom teachers.

Howard interpreted federal legislation as supporting the move towards inclusive support. It is significant to note that Title III does not promote any particular service model for serving English learners. In SEC. 3129 of Title 3 it states: “In carrying out this part, the Secretary shall neither mandate nor preclude the use of a particular curricular or pedagogical approach to educating limited English proficient children” (U.S. Department of Education, 2001). There was,

however, a strong push for inclusion in Washington State. The results of Thomas and Collier's (2002) study: *A National Study of School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students' Long-Term Academic Achievement: Final Report* were posted on the state's ESL department (Transitional Bilingual Instructional Programs) website. In 2005, the State TBIP department convened educators from across the state to discuss the study and suggested changes in program models. The Thomas and Collier (2002) study compared the long-term effects of four types of bilingual programs, ESL through academic content and ESL pull out. ESL pull out was the lowest performing of all six programs. ESL through academic content showed slightly better results. While Howard does not make reference to the Thomas and Collier study, it helps to frame his interpretation of inclusion, or support in the academic content classroom, being the intent of federal policy.

During my interview with Gail, I began to ask her about some of the challenges with implementing the facilitator policy. I used Howard's phrase "separate programs" and Gail interrupted me:.

Bonnie: Okay. I guess that would bring us to some of the challenges with bringing about all these changes. So thinking about you kind of came up with this thinking of, "We're going to be doing more mainstream. We're not going to be doing the separate programs –

Gail: No more pull outs.

Bonnie: No more pull outs.

(Interview, 15 January, 2008)

Gail interrupted my question to assert that the policy did not allow for any more pull out supports. While Howard was adamant that there should no longer be separate programs, the term

“pull out” had a particularly negative connotation for Gail. She continued to position the ESL facilitator policy in opposition to pull outs, stating: “We aren’t the, “Half-hour every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, pull-’em-out model.” We’re not doing that.” (Interview, 15 January, 2008). Gail and Howard both espoused strong negative opinions of the historical ESL program which pulled students out of the classroom to provide special programs. The facilitator policy was constructed in opposition to pull out.

The ESL facilitator policy was created under the guidelines of the state policy’s Content Based ESL, and in contradiction to the existing way of serving EL students in Eastlake. Although the previous ESL program was in compliance with the state’s expectations for ESL, it did not align with the district’s vision of standardization and inclusion. Gail and Howard both reproduced discourses valuing inclusion while devaluing any kind of pull out or separate instruction for ELs.

Instructional Coaching

The ESL facilitator policy introduced a new term: facilitator. In creating the role of the facilitator, the ESL department was influenced by existing discourses and practices of instructional coaching. At the turn of the century, instructional coaching was becoming an increasingly popular method of improving the instruction of mainstream teachers on a national level. (Baker, 2010). The well documented, successful coaching models in District 2 in New York City, San Diego, and Boston Public Schools brought attention to the potential for using coaches to improve instruction (Neufeld and Roper, 2003). The popularity and interest in instructional coaching was further promoted by the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. Reading First, a section of the NCLB policy aiming to improve reading achievement in the primary grades, mandated the use of coaches to support teachers’ implementation (Fillman,

2005). The inclusion of coaches in federal policy elevated the use of coaching to a common strategy for districts looking to improve instruction (Baker, 2010).

Eastlake began using coaches in 2000, hiring two coaches to support the implementation of the district's science curriculum.

The next year four district-funded math and literacy coaches were added. These coaches were specifically **charged with assisting implementation of the common curriculum** at the classroom level. The strong positive reaction to their services laid the foundation for the much more extensive network of technology curriculum coaches in 2005. (Urban Mathematics Leadership Network, 2008, pp. 4)

Curriculum coaches in Eastlake supported teachers' use of the curriculum website and delivery of the core curriculum. Prior to her position as an ESL director, Gail had worked in the curriculum department. She had been key player in creating the district's curriculum website and the training of the curriculum coaches. Gail's familiarity with the role of a coach in supporting teacher learning helped shape the ESL facilitator policy. When I asked Gail about how the facilitator supports the classroom teacher, she responded with a clear example of the facilitator acting as a coach:

Gail: "So we said, [let's take] certificated, knowledgeable teachers, teach them the curriculum. Then they're going to work with the staff so that the knowledge-base builds, and builds and builds –" so it's not as student centered once a child becomes intermediate or advanced. It becomes teacher centered so that teacher has the skills to work with every student that enters their door.

(Interview, 15 January, 2008)

Gail's construction of support included key components of coaching for teachers rather than support directed at students. In my interviews with Gail and Howard, they both referred to the ESL facilitator policy as a "staff development" or "teacher-centered" model. The creation of the ESL facilitator policy and specifically the role of the facilitator was strongly influenced by the local and national popularity of using coaching to improve teachers' instructional practice.

Conclusion

The ESL facilitator policy was constructed in a specific socio-historic context. Discourses supporting standardization, inclusion, and coaching were elevated in status, while discourses supporting site based decision making and pull out services were devalued. All discourses represent political interests and are constantly vying for status and power (Weedon, 1987). The discourses I presented above contain binaries, valuing and promoting one meaning over another. The standardized, mainstream curriculum was valued while specialized ESL curriculum taught in segregated classes was devalued. English learners are expected to gain access to the core curriculum through accommodations, adaptations, and inclusive support. Inclusion in the mainstream classroom was promoted while pull out services were devalued. The role of the ESL teacher as a coach was lauded while the traditional role of directly instructing students was constructed as alleviating the classroom teacher of all responsibility. The ESL directors reproduced a 'coaching' discourse to create expectations for teacher learning within the ESL facilitator policy.

Understanding the socio-historical context helps to situate the ESL facilitator policy, providing a background for the policy's creation and communication. In the next section, I present an analysis of the ESL facilitator policy text to determine the implicit and explicit goals

for teacher learning and ESL services. The discourses and the embedded binaries from the socio-historical context are evident in the policy text.

Textual Analysis

Howard Davis and Gail Dwyer were the creative forces behind Eastlake's ESL facilitator policy. Howard served as the director for Eastlake's ESL department and Gail was the assistant director. They created and distributed the original policy text in 2003. In 2006, the policy text was revised at a retreat with input from principals across the district. In Figure 2 I present a copy of the revised facilitator policy text.

IMPLEMENTING THE ELEMENTARY ESL FACILITATOR MODEL (Revised 10/24/2006)

Eastlake School District Goal: Provide all K-12 students an intellectually engaging and meaningful education that enables them to access a college education, and to have the skills and knowledge to be successful in a diverse, global society.

ESL Facilitator Model Goal: All English Language Learners will learn at high levels and all staff will share in that responsibility.

The role of the ESL Facilitator:

1. Advocate for ELLs and their families
2. Work in a partnership with students, families, school staff, and building administrators.
3. Work in partnership with building administrators and staff to build a flexible schedule that meets individual student needs.
4. Provide support to the general education teacher and link all planning and teaching to the Eastlake School district curriculum. The ESL teacher works directly with the classroom teacher to:
 - a) Gather, organize and analyze data for intermediate and advanced level ELLs.
 - b) Use data to identify priorities within the school that reflect the needs of the ELLs.
 - c) Organize ELLs in a rank order list placing those with the greatest need at the top. Maximize time with the most at-risk students.
 - a) Maintain a flexible schedule that meets individual teacher and ELL needs.
 - b) Assist students within the classroom on a specific skill, concept, or content area. (Group students for a specific period of time if needed.)
 - c) Develop appropriate language and learning objectives for ELLs.
 - d) Develop a variety of communication strategies to foster collaboration with the classroom teacher.

Examples include:

 - a. Attending grade level or team meetings on a regular, planned basis
 - b. E-mail updates
 - c. Parent/ teacher, teacher/teacher, teacher/student conferences
 - d. Attending and participating actively in MDT and CST meetings
 - e) Send Newsletters to staff
 - f) Develop strategies and accommodations to support teachers in scaffolding learning for ELLs.
 - g) Model best ELL instructional practices.

- h) Co- teach lessons.
 - i) Assist with planning and delivering staff development.
 - j) Demonstrate respect for and recognize contributions by all staff and students.
 - k) Share resources with general education staff.
5. Monitor Advanced Level Students:
- The ESL facilitator checks in with the general education teacher on a regular basis through ongoing conversations, e-mail, or through written notes to monitor the learning progress of advanced ELLs.
6. Support Kindergarten ELLs through the Kindergarten Teacher:
- Kindergarten students are served through the language-rich environment of regular classrooms primarily by the Kindergarten teachers. ESL teachers provide support for the K teachers through consultation, modeling and co- teaching.
 - Kindergarten students will be served directly by the ESL facilitator on a "specific needs basis" *only* when their needs cannot be addressed within the regular classroom through scaffolding and other accommodations. This is a joint determination that will take place *over a period of time* and will involve conversations with the classroom teacher, the ESL teacher, and central office personnel.

The Role of the Building Administrator:

1. Provide administrative support for ELL staff and program.
2. Establish support for the facilitator model at the beginning of the school year with the entire staff by describing the facilitator model.
3. With the support of ESL staff provide ongoing professional development for all staff based on prior knowledge of staff.
4. Work in partnership with ESL Facilitator to provide time for meaningful collaboration, rapport-building, and communication between ESL and general education staff.
5. Continue ongoing, consistent communication with ESL staff and ESL Department. Solve problems collaboratively.
6. Promote focused, purposeful grade level, team meetings with ESL staff participation.
7. Work in partnership with staff to build a flexible schedule that meets individual ELL needs. The facilitators' contact with teachers reflects the learning goals for the neediest students, rather than an attempt to give each teacher an equal share of time.

The Role of the District ESL Staff:

1. Provide consistency of ESL staffing whenever possible.
1. Provide clarity of ESL program by providing written program descriptors.
2. Support building positive relationships between classroom teachers and ESL staff through ongoing professional development.
3. Support flexibility of ESL staff when needed.
4. Provide district wide, school based ELL accommodation workshops based on individual school needs and prior knowledge level.
5. Support all staff and administrators in providing a rigorous education for ELLs.
6. Provide required resources.

Figure 2. Eastlake's ESL facilitator policy.

It is interesting to note that there is no *Role of the Classroom Teacher* category in the policy text.

The expectations for teacher learning and the role the teacher plays in delivering services to students must be implied.

Defining Teacher Learning in the Policy Text

In my analysis of the policy text I identified two meanings assigned to the ESL facilitator-teacher relationship associated with teacher learning. The dominant meaning was a specific, detailed expectation for a collaborative or coaching relationship. Through collaboration, the classroom teacher was expected to gain the skills and knowledge necessary for accommodating ELs. The second meaning, mentioned in one line, expected the facilitator to plan and deliver professional development to the whole staff.

Teacher – Facilitator Relationship. Apart from the first expectation of advocating for ELs and their family, every criteria for the role of the facilitator contains the phrases “work in partnership with” or “provide support to” the classroom teacher. The policy text emphasizes the expected relationship between ESL facilitators and classroom teachers as being a partnership that supports the classroom teacher. The supports for teachers defined within the policy text include a list of coaching strategies: data analysis, writing language and learning objectives, collaboration, strategies and accommodations, modeling, co-teaching, sharing resources, and consultation.

The Role of the Building Administrators reinforces the construction of the ESL facilitator and classroom teachers’ assumed collaborative relationship supporting teacher learning. The building administrator is expected to “work in partnership with ESL Facilitator to provide time for meaningful collaboration, rapport-building, and communication between ESL and general education staff,” and “promote focused, purposeful grade level, team meetings with ESL staff participation.” The building administrator is expected to support collaboration or coaching by allocating appropriate time, resources, and guidance.

Line 4l of *The Role of the Facilitator* presents an additional responsibility for facilitators: “Assist with planning and delivering staff development.” This is coordinated with Line 3 of *The Role of the Building Administrators* which states, “With the support of ESL staff provide ongoing professional development for all staff based on prior knowledge of staff.” In addition to ongoing collaboration, the facilitator supports teacher learning through professional development she provides to the whole staff with the active support of the building administrator.

The policy text directs support towards the classroom teacher, not directly to the English learners. The role of the facilitator is that of a partner or a support for the classroom teacher. This is in contrast to the historical ESL services in which students were taught by the ESL teacher through a pull out model. In the ESL facilitator policy, the facilitator supports the teacher in providing appropriate services for English learners in the mainstream classroom.

Content of Teacher Learning. In the policy text, the ESL facilitator is expected to share her knowledge and expertise with the classroom teacher to increase the teacher’s instructional capacity. The policy text presents three expectations of the content that will be developed through facilitation. First, the facilitator is expected to support planning and teaching of the Eastlake school district curriculum (4). In this expectation, the ESL facilitator is similar to the curriculum coach in supporting the implementation of the common curriculum. Second, the ESL facilitator develops language and learning objectives for ELs (4f). The facilitator’s specific expertise in writing both content and language objectives is recognized as something teachers can learn from facilitators. Third, the facilitator models best EL instructional practices (4j) and shares strategies and accommodations (4i) The ESL facilitator is expected to have a specific strategies and accommodations that constitute ESL best practices. The content of teacher learning is constructed through the discourses valuing inclusive support and access to the mainstream curriculum.

Evidence of Success. The policy text states the goal of the policy as: “All English Language Learners will learn at high levels and all staff will share in that responsibility.” The evidence for the success of teacher learning is teachers sharing the responsibility for the education of English learners. Building on the content of teacher learning, a successful facilitator-teacher relationship would result in the classroom teacher implementing modeled strategies, using language and learning objectives, and accommodating daily instruction for ELs. The goal of shared responsibility addresses Howard and Gail’s concern that historical pull out ESL services in Eastlake removed responsibility from the classroom teacher.

Defining ESL Services in the Policy Text

The ESL facilitator policy combines the expectations for teacher learning with expectations for services for English learners. In this section I present an analysis of how ESL services are constructed in the policy text. I begin with an analysis of how the teacher-facilitator relationship is assumed to ensure appropriate services for ELs. Second, I analyze the expected content of the services students will receive. Finally, I analyze the text to determine what would constitute successful services for ELs.

Teacher-Facilitator Relationship. The ESL facilitator policy text has certain assumptions about how the ESL teacher-facilitator relationship will provide services for students. First, through coaching, teachers learn strategies and accommodations and are given resources to provide services in the mainstream classroom. For students with more advanced English proficiency, the ESL facilitator-teacher relationship is described as ‘checking in.’ Through conversations with the classroom teacher, the ESL facilitator monitors a students’ progress in the mainstream classroom and need for additional support. For these students, services are assumed to occur in the mainstream classroom. Second, the ESL facilitator provides direct services to

targeted students. The language used to describe the direct services clearly differentiates them from the historical pull out services.

The list of coaching strategies described in the previous section is assumed to have an impact on the mainstream classroom teacher's instruction. Through modeling of best EL practices, providing strategies and accommodations, developing language and learning objectives, and sharing resources, the ESL facilitator builds the capacity of the classroom teacher to address the needs of English learners in the classroom. The assumed role of the classroom teacher is the implementation of accommodations, strategies, and resources shared by the ESL facilitator.

The ESL facilitator also consults with teachers to determine if students' needs are being met in the mainstream classroom. Through consultation, coaches have informal conversations or "check in" with teachers to discuss problems, and make informal plans (Poglinco, Bach, Hovde, Rosenblum, Saunders, and Supovitz, 2003). The policy text expects the ESL facilitator to monitor the progress of advanced proficiency English learners and kindergartners through consultation. "The ESL facilitator checks in with the general education teacher on a regular basis through ongoing conversations, e-mail, or through written notes to monitor the learning progress of advanced ELs. (5)" "Kindergarten students are served through the language-rich environment of regular classrooms primarily by the Kindergarten teachers. ESL teachers provide support for the K teachers through **consultation**, modeling and co-teaching. (6)" Consultation, or checking in through informal conversations, positions the mainstream classroom teacher as the primary service provider for English learners. The ESL facilitator is expected to check in with teachers to determine the amount and types of supports students need. It is assumed that the classroom teacher will have adequate knowledge and insight into her students' language learning process to

identify when additional support is needed, and communicate that to the ESL facilitator during the check in.

For intermediate students, the ESL facilitator can assume the role of providing direct instructional services to students. The ESL facilitator prioritizes the needs of ELs and designs a schedule to spend more of her time with the students of greatest concern: “Organize ELLs in a rank order list placing those with the greatest need at the top. Maximize time with the most at-risk students” (4c). The facilitator is expected to provide direct support to students who are the most “at-risk.” The type of support provided to these students is clearly defined in contrast to historical ESL services. The policy text offers examples of facilitators providing individualized support for students which are couched in restrictive language: “Assist students within the classroom on a specific skill, concept, or content area. (Group students for a specific period of time if needed)” (4E) “Kindergarten students will be served directly by the ESL facilitator on a ‘specific needs basis’ *only* when their needs cannot be addressed within the regular classroom through scaffolding and other accommodations.” (6) Both statements create parameters and conditions for individualized support for students. Both are linguistically constructed to indicate that they are secondary options, to be used only in unusual situations. Gail’s assertion of “no more pull outs” comes through clearly in the policy text.

In the ESL facilitator policy document, services are situated within the mainstream classroom. The support facilitators offer to classroom teachers provides a positive learning environment in which students can learn the grade level curriculum while developing English. The direct support the facilitator provides to students is also expected to occur within the classroom.

Content. The policy text defines two types of services for English learners. First, the classroom teacher uses accommodations, strategies, and language objectives to engage students learning the core curriculum. Second, the ESL facilitator provides direct support to English learners on a specific skill, concept or content area. In both cases, ESL support is expected to align to and support students' access of the mainstream curriculum. The policy text is constructed through Howard and Gail's positioning of the district adopted curriculum as essential, positive, and benefitting all students.

Evidence of Success for Services for Students. The stated goal of the ESL facilitator policy is: *All English Language Learners will learn at high levels and all staff will share in that responsibility.* The implied evidence for the success of services for students would be students learning at high levels.

Conclusion

The facilitator policy text was constructed through discourses that prioritized standardization, inclusive support, and coaching while devaluing pull out and site based decision making. Aligning with a standardization discourse, the facilitator policy text emphasized access to the mainstream curriculum. Teachers and students are supported by the facilitator around the content of the core curriculum. The policy drew upon the popularity of instructional coaching and inclusion to create a new role for the ESL teacher as a supporter of mainstream teacher learning. The historical role of the ESL teacher pulling small groups of students out of the classroom was discredited. The stated goal of the policy reflected the importance of shared responsibility, something that Gail and Howard saw lacking in the pull out model. In the facilitator policy text, the ESL department constructed

a vision for teachers and facilitators sharing responsibility for students, collaborating with one another, and providing appropriate services to students in the mainstream curriculum.

Policy Processes

The ESL department engaged in numerous events to promote the ESL facilitator policy. The communication of a policy is critical in engaging key agents, negotiating conflict, and supporting implementation (Knapp, 2004; McDonnell & Elmore, 1990; Seashore Lewis et.al, 2005). The ESL department promoted new expectations for teacher learning and ESL services that were vastly different from the historical ESL programs in Eastlake. Principals, teachers and facilitators needed opportunities to engage with the policy text and be introduced to and begin to negotiate the new expectations. In this section, I share a brief summary of policy communication to principals and teachers. I will discuss policy communication with facilitators in the next chapter.

The initial communication of the facilitator policy occurred at school sites with the ESL teacher or the ESL department presenting the new model to the staff. Howard recollected these initial policy communication sessions with a sense of regret.

Howard: In retrospect, I wouldn't have done it the same way –I asked the ESL teachers to get on a staff agenda and do a presentation and talk to the staff about the facilitator model. And I said, “By the way, I'm so serious about this that this isn't something that you may think about, we want to know the date that you're going to do it because we're going to come. And, quite frankly, you may believe that we're coming because we're holding you accountable. And the answer is, yes, we are. But the other reason is- is- let us be the target at the target practice that's going to occur. And when the questions get really kind of tough and you're feeling kind of tense about it, then you put us on board.

Put us up front and let us do it.” So the learning from that that I came away with is it was a missing ingredient and it was the principals.

(Interview, 15 January 2008)

The initial communication of the policy occurred at staff meetings led by the school’s ESL teacher with Howard and Gail present for support. As Howard indicated, many principals first heard about the ESL facilitator policy at these meetings. Howard perceived the overall reaction as negative. He indicated that he and Gail attended the meetings to be “target(s) at the target practice” when the conversation turned tense and difficult.

After the initial roll out at staff meetings, Gail and Howard took a different approach and attempted to work with principals to co-create a policy that principals would support.

Howard: So it was maybe two summers ago in August we had a principals’ retreat where I invited the principals and the ESL facilitators to come together. I admitted to them, I said, “You know something? I’ve made a big mistake in this of not bringing you all on board earlier on this. We relied on the ESL staff to do it and it felt pretty lonely. So let me make a covenant with you. Here is the facilitator model.” We had it printed up and everything and we distributed it. And I said, “We can throw the whole thing out if you don’t like it. There is no sense following a program that’s not working that you can’t support. So I want to tell you there’s nothing sacred about this. So when we go in this retreat and we talk about it, you need to know that I’m prepared to swallow hard and say, ‘This is the wrong thing for this district.’”

(Interview, 14 February 2008)

Gail: We started creating documents that said, “This is what we’re doing. This is what we believe in,” sending out to the principals, “Would you give us your feedback?” We started meeting with small groups of principals. We started having – and looking at the materials and, “What would work in your building?” and, “What’s not working?” and, “What are you hearing?” and, “How can we address this?” so that we were partnering with them.

(Interview, 15 January, 2008)

After the rocky beginning, Gail and Howard attempted to build partnerships with principals and gain their support for the policy. They created opportunities for principals to negotiate, transform, and rewrite the ESL facilitator policy. Howard kept his covenant with principals and integrated their input into the policy. The policy text analyzed in this study is the product of these meetings.

Despite the efforts to include the principals in rewriting the facilitator policy, there were still a few principals with strong concerns about the ESL facilitator policy who decided to approach the superintendent.

Howard: So I think the next major permutation is the principals got to [the superintendent] and complained to him about this and intentionally dis-invited me from the meeting. And [the superintendent] told me he was dis-inviting me.

Bonnie: So this was after the principal retreat.

Howard: Yeah, oh yeah. The principals talked about some of the issues that they were facing in their school, and then [the superintendent] gave me the notes. There was a sting to it in many respects. What I had found out subsequent to this – and [the superintendent] confirmed it – is that there were among the 15 elementary schools, there were three who

were very vocal about this. My concern was, is, “Does three constitute a groundswell of opposition?”

(Interview, 14 February 2008)

The three principals with concerns about the policy went directly to the superintendent after participating in the retreat. Howard was not invited to this meeting, but debriefed with the superintendent afterwards. Following their conversation, the superintendent requested a meeting with a group of facilitators to discuss the facilitator policy.

Howard: [The superintendent] met with our ESL teachers at his request. It was his meeting for that about three hours and they let him have it. Letting him have it meant that they weren't tentative about this program at all, that they could nail its philosophical underpinnings. They could nail how it was working in their schools. They could nail the impact it was having on kids and some of the impediments that they were feeling. So I remember one of them, looking [the superintendent] in the eye and said, “The problem is, is you haven't led.” [the superintendent] takes this as a powerful statement and he acknowledged that. So he had the meeting last August and said, “You know something? We don't give principals or teachers discretion about teaching our math program in Eastlake. This isn't discretionary either. This is the program at Eastlake School District.” So it was at that point that the principals wanted the fall meeting where the ESL teachers did the presentation. I thought the message was, “We want to hear it from our teachers and not from the talking heads,” and that was fine with me. I thought that they did a superb job.

(Interview, 15 January 2008)

The superintendent asserted his leadership by validating the ESL facilitator policy as an official district policy and coordinating a presentation to the principals in the fall of 2007. The principals had requested a meeting with the facilitators, to hear it from the practitioners rather than the administrators. The facilitators' presentation to the principals, and the planning for the presentation are two of the events analyzed in the next section.

In summary, the communication and negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy encountered a significant amount of resistance from principals. The initial roll out and the lack of the superintendent's leadership were both blamed for this resistance. By the time of this study, the principals in Eastlake had engaged in numerous opportunities to learn about the policy, and were informed of the policy's status as the official Eastlake ESL program.

Policy communication for classroom teachers was less complicated. Teachers were introduced to the policy with the initial staff presentations. Any subsequent communication of the policy was coordinated by the school's ESL facilitator and principal. Most facilitators presented the facilitator policy at a back to school staff meeting each year.

The district did coordinate professional development opportunities for mainstream teachers, aligned to their implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. These included a study of Pauline Gibbons (1993) *Learning to Learn in a Second Language* in 2004, opportunities for mainstream teachers to earn their ESL endorsement, and workshop sessions at the annual summer institute for Eastlake teachers. The first two focused on increasing the knowledge and skills of the classroom teacher, supporting their role in the ESL facilitator model of providing accommodations in the classroom. The 2007 summer workshop included facilitator-teacher partnerships sharing successes. Teachers who attended this optional workshop saw examples of the ESL facilitator policy in action.

The year of this study was the first time that the district coordinated an event to bring ESL facilitators and classroom teachers together to discuss the policy. The half day workshop for classroom teachers and their ESL facilitator partners is a part of the data collected for this study.

Discourse Analysis: Policy Communication

In this chapter I have presented a picture of the existing socio-historical context in which the ESL facilitator policy was created; an analysis of the policy text to determine the meanings assigned to teacher learning and services for ELs; and a history of the policy communication with teachers and principals. In this section, I delve into data collected from three communication events to determine the meanings assigned to the teacher learning and ESL services. The previously discussed presentation of the policy to principals attempted to recruit principals as partners promoting the ESL facilitator policy. Although the presentation was led by ESL facilitators, Howard and Gail led two full day planning meetings to shape the presentation. The stories and ideas shared by the facilitators were approved and endorsed by the ESL department staff. To engage classroom teachers in learning about the policy, Gail and Howard conducted a half day workshop for collaborative partnerships. Last, the department gathered all of the ESL facilitators for a two day retreat focused on objectives. Through these three events, the ESL department reproduced certain discourses to assert specific expectations for teacher learning and ESL services.

Communicating Expectations of Teacher-Learning

In communicating the ESL facilitator policy, the ESL department made explicit the expectation for teacher learning. The ESL facilitator was defined as a collaborator, sharing resources, strategies, and accommodations. In the policy communication events, the ESL department provided multiple examples of collaborative relationships supporting teacher

learning. In the following sections I analyze how the district constructs teacher learning as a key element of the ESL facilitator policy.

Teacher-facilitator relationship. The ESL department reinforced the meaning of facilitator as collaborator which was the dominant definition of facilitator in the policy text. Through collaboration the ESL facilitator shares her expertise to improve a classroom teacher's instruction.

At the principal presentation one facilitator explicitly defined the facilitator policy as a teacher learning policy. She contrasted this with historical ESL services in which the support was directed to students:

When we implement interventions we use strategies we think might help students and share them with the teacher. We are building teacher capacity by modeling our work, or sharing the work we did so they can use those next time. Our overarching goal is that the teacher can continue that work.

(Field Notes, 14 November 2007)

The facilitator presented the policy to the principals as a professional development policy in which classroom teachers gain the capacity to make accommodations for English learners. Interventions for students were a means of supporting teacher learning. Direct services to students were not "the overarching goal." Unlike the historical pull out services for ELs, interventions were expected to occur in the classroom, be temporary, and be shared with the classroom teacher for ongoing implementation.

At the half day workshop for elementary classroom teachers, the definition of facilitator as collaborator was again promoted to describe how facilitators should primarily support teacher learning. The workshop was structured to support the development of collaborative relationships,

with ESL facilitators and classroom teachers attending as partners. Howard began the workshop by stating the objective:

I'm giving you the objective: Serving ELLs in their classroom through trained professionals who support classroom teachers in their instructional strategies to reach ELLs. That is a complete objective. That's what we want you to know when you walk out (Field Notes, 1 November 2007).

At the end of the workshop, Howard reinforced his objective by asking teachers to summarize what they had learned about the role of the facilitator.

Howard: I'd like for someone to succinctly describe the facilitator model who is not ESL. Can somebody give us one component?

Teacher #1: A facilitator works with classroom teachers and children

Teacher #2: Supports classroom teachers

Howard: why do you think we value that? I call it sustainability. The classroom teacher—we have for years and years. It's a far bigger impact than just with an ESL teacher. What we want is for the classroom teacher to adopt the strategies and use them.

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

Howard's concluding activity encouraged teachers to reproduce the facilitator as collaborator definition. The expectation communicated to classroom teachers is that an ESL facilitator should provide them opportunities to learn new instructional strategies to meet the needs of ELs.

Howard assigned ESL facilitators a certain status, calling them “trained professionals.”

Classroom teachers were assigned the role of receiving support from the ESL facilitator in instructional strategies. Howard's objective made explicit the expectation for teacher learning, and positioned the facilitator in a coaching role.

As collaborators or coaches, ESL facilitators had a wide range of strategies laid out in the policy text. At the workshop with classroom teachers, the ESL department prioritized coaching through modeling best EL instructional strategies. They committed one hour of the three hour session to a PowerPoint presentation entitled: *Modeling in the mainstream classroom: Establishing objectives for both student learning and the classroom teacher's learning*. Gail shared that she had seen some unsuccessful collaboration in which the classroom teacher did not know what to look for. In the PowerPoint, the ESL department offered a few sample objectives for teacher learning.

Objectives for the Teacher

1. Teacher will know that pre-teaching vocabulary supports comprehension
2. Teacher will know that all students are engaged in vocabulary development and developing their ability to accurately use the words in sentences.

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

The ESL department communicated a clear expectation for teacher learning through modeled lessons. Facilitators were expected to create clear objectives for teacher learning. The classroom teacher was expected to focus on and learn about the strategies modeled in the lesson.

While modeling was emphasized as an important strategy for teacher learning at the classroom teacher workshop, the ESL department clarified the expectation that facilitators differentiate their support for teachers. At the principal presentation, a facilitator explained how facilitators differentiate support. "As ELL facilitators we collaborate with people to create lesson scaffolds... Collaborating with the classroom teacher varies a lot depending on the style of teacher, culture of building, and our assignment." (Field Notes, 14 November 2007). This

statement was prompted by a comment Howard made at the principal workshop planning session. He told the note taker for the meeting:

Add 'differentiate.' Do you want me to explain? I believe you don't support teachers all in the same way. New teacher have different questions. Sometimes new teachers are easier than veterans. Different teachers have different needs and different attitudes.

There is not a template to support teachers. I may need 30 different approaches. I want complexity to come across.

(Field Notes, 17 October 2007)

Facilitation may look different depending on a wide variety of factors. Howard wanted the facilitators to emphasize the fact that the policy text is not a template or a checklist of strategies to use with each teacher. Facilitators had to choose which strategies would work with a certain teacher. Howard push for the facilitators to discuss differentiation in the presentation was a move to reframe the policy text. Rather than interpreting the policy text as a list of required strategies for facilitators to use, he framed the text as a list of possible strategies facilitators could use depending on the teacher and the context.

As Howard and the facilitator indicated, the relationship with the classroom teacher influenced the type of collaboration that will occur. In multiple instances, the necessity of a trusting relationship between facilitator and teacher was emphasized. At the principal presentation, one facilitator stated: "These are essential – trust and relationships are paramount. The teachers trusted me to come into their weekly meetings. I trusted them with implementing the scaffolds and providing them with feedback." (Field Notes, 14 November 2007). Within a trusting relationship, the facilitator could provide feedback or suggestions to teachers. In contrast, without a trusting relationship, the facilitator would be limited in supporting teacher

learning. In planning for the principal meeting, one of the facilitators stated that her effectiveness as a facilitator ultimately depended on building trusting relationships.

Facilitator C: My overarching theme is my ability to be successful as a facilitator is my relationship with teachers and their ability to trust me as a professional. I can't do my job successfully if teachers don't have this perspective on who I am and what I do.

(Field Notes, 17 October 2007).

At the meeting with principals, the facilitators presented suggestions for how the principal could support these trusting relationships, including: team planning time, opportunities to share at staff meetings, and having regular meetings with the facilitator to discuss successes and struggles (Field Notes, 14 November 2007). The policy text indicated that teachers and facilitators would work as partners. In the communication of the policy, the partnership was redefined through with an understanding of a “trusting relationship”

In summary, the communication of the ESL facilitator policy assigned particular meaning to the ESL facilitator-classroom teacher relationship. In line with the policy text, the meaning of collaboration was emphasized in contrast to Eastlake's historical pull out services. Any supports provided to students were expected to occur in the classroom and support teacher learning. The communication of the policy clarified or redefined other aspects of the policy text. Modeling best practices was emphasized as a method of teacher learning. Teacher learning was dependent on a trusting relationship between teacher and facilitator. Facilitators could choose how best to support a teacher depending on the type of relationship they had.

Content of Teacher Learning. The ESL facilitator policy text did not clearly define the knowledge and skills teachers would gain through collaboration. It included references to best instructional practices, but did not provide details examples or indicators. To further complicate

the expectations for what teachers should learn through facilitation, at each event, a different instructional paradigm was emphasized. With classroom teachers, the department introduced Jim Cummins' 4 quadrants for analyzing the cognitive and linguistic demands of a lesson. With principals, the content was more narrowly defined. And, finally, with facilitators the focus was on writing clear learning objectives.

The workshop for classroom teachers began with facilitators and classroom teachers sharing success stories of collaboration. Next, Gail facilitated an activity in which ESL facilitators and classroom teachers interacted with Jim Cummins' 4 quadrants² (See Appendix C). Gail introduced the four quadrants and explained the criteria. Participants were asked given an envelope with 8 slip of paper. They had to categorize the activities on the slips of paper into the 4 quadrants. When the partners were working together Gail approached me and explained:

Cummins gives them a research base and a framework for what we have been talking about... This is part of the ELL world. We want the classroom teachers to have access to this framework as a way for thinking about times that they should be asking for support.

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

Gail provided classroom teachers with Cummins' four quadrants as a resource for them to understand when English learners would need support in a lesson. She suggested that the strategies and accommodations provided by the ESL facilitator would be explained by the 4 quadrants.

² Cummins' four quadrants are a tool for classifying the language demand of a particular activity. The four domains are created through an intersection of an x axis of context and a y axis of cognitive demand. Tasks that are cognitively demanding with minimal context are the most challenging for language learners. Instructional tasks should either be cognitively demanding presented in embedded context. When teachers take a cognitively demanding task and add extra contextual support, this is often referred to as comprehensible input.

At the principal presentation, a different definition of the content for ESL services was provided. One facilitator presented two clear goals for the content of teacher learning: comprehensible input and increased oral participation.

We have two primary goals: making input comprehensible through word banks, TPR, through real context experiences. The other main goal is to increase ELL oral participation in the class. We don't want anyone silent in the class: promote student repeating, have ELL student repeat back what mainstream student said. We always want them involved in the lesson...

(Field Notes, 14 November 2007)

The principals were introduced to the expectation that through facilitation, their classroom teachers should be more competent at providing comprehensible input and increasing students' oral participation in the lesson. In contrast to the presentation for teachers, the principals did not see Cummins' four quadrants, which is a tool for understanding comprehensible input. Principals did, however, hear the messages that oral participation was part of the content teachers were learning. The teachers did not receive that same message.

In their communication with facilitators, Gail and Howard focused on a completely different aspect of the content for teacher learning. They led a two day institute training facilitators to effectively write and use learning objectives. Howard led the facilitators through multiple exercises to enhance the facilitators' skills in writing learning objectives. After an icebreaker activity, Howard delved into the purpose of the workshop:

Howard: When I write objectives I have to think a long time before I actually put my pen to paper. Think about 'what do I really want the learner to know?' I want you to ask what was going through your mind when you developed that objective. I want you to get

to the metacognitive part of writing objectives. We are going to write an objective for a forthcoming lesson. Today – practice time. Second stage – tomorrow- lots of planning time. Our hope is that you would be planned for January. At the bottom (of the handout) there is an assessment. I will stand at the door. You will have to hand me one of these. Let us know how well we met our objectives.

(Field Notes, 12 December 2007)

The two day workshop proceeded as Howard described. The first day a few facilitators were invited to share lessons Howard had previously viewed and approved. At the end of the first day, each facilitator was required to create a learning objective. Howard reflected with each facilitator, pressing them to use precise language and coaching them through the process of thinking about learning outcomes. On the second day, the facilitators worked in small groups creating objectives as well as assessments to determine whether students had met the objectives.

While the policy text included the expectation that ESL facilitators would support teachers with *language* objectives, the ESL facilitator retreat focused exclusively on writing *learning* objectives. Language objectives were not addressed. The facilitator retreat was the main professional development event for facilitators. They left the retreat with homework to go observe each other and critique each other's use of learning objectives. Later in the year Gail conducted an hour long session in which the facilitators shared out what they had learned and how they were using learning objectives (Field Notes, 16 January 2008). The message sent to the facilitators was a prioritization of learning objectives as the content for teacher learning.

The ESL facilitator policy text did not clearly define the content of teacher learning. In the communication of the policy to principals and teachers, the broad focus was on supporting teacher learning with accommodations and strategies to use with the district adopted curriculum.

But, at each communication event a different message was sent about what that content included. The classroom teachers and principals both received information about comprehensible input. The principals also learned that EL oral participation was part of the content. But, the two day facilitator retreat prepared them for something completely different: writing learning objectives.

Evidence of Teacher Learning. Assuming that teacher learning is the process of the facilitator providing strategies and the teacher implementing them; evidence of teacher learning would be visible in their daily instructional practice. Teachers demonstrated their learning by implementing the strategies and accommodations suggested by the facilitator. At the half day workshop with elementary teachers, Howard shared the expectation that teachers learn to use the accommodations and strategies shared by the facilitator.

Here are the characteristics I want to touch on. First, the **expectation that the colleague will use the strategy independently**. When the facilitator disappears are the strategies and supports still there? We know we can bring them to the classroom. Are they staying there and being used day in and day out? This isn't just for the four or 8 kids in my room who are ELLs.

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

In Howard's comment, the continued use of strategies indicated successful teacher learning. Howard suggested that the strategies teachers learned through facilitation would benefit all students, not just English learners.

At the principal workshop, Howard and Gail requested a classroom teacher and a facilitator to co-present their story of successful collaboration. Howard provided a half-day substitute for the classroom teacher to attend, signifying the value he assigned to this teacher's input.

Teacher – I was looking ahead and thought it [the next science unit] would be challenging. I was concerned that our kids wouldn't be successful. Originally, I thought [the facilitator] could help just with vocab.

Facilitator C: We began with planning scaffolds – took a look at the original mock rock sheet. We wanted kids to give us the detailed response. We created a scaffold on two levels. The first sheet you see is highly scaffolded with the cloze sentences.

Teacher – I had several special ed students, also. We gave them a less scaffolded sheet. We decided to do it double sided and pass them out to the students certain ways. Students kept looking back to the scaffolded sheet so they could write it and fill it out.

Facilitator C –It was a way for them to evaluate their own progress. We saw the instructional impact. It was not just ELLs benefitting from the scaffolds. The [second grade] team began looking for more ways to scaffold

Teacher – We realized that observation is a critical piece. Why not just continue building in this kind of practice all year long? Students went through the same process of observation in each unit. By the end of the year they knew what it meant to write an observation.

(Field Notes, 14 November 2007)

Through collaboration, the facilitator supported teacher learning. The facilitator provided cloze sentences for students to use for completing their science observation reports. The classroom teacher had originally thought the facilitator would only provide support with vocabulary. The teacher learning was two-fold: understanding that English learners needed more than vocabulary support, and gaining the skill of scaffolding with cloze sentences. Evidence of successful teacher learning included teachers' ongoing use of the strategies or accommodations shared by the ESL

facilitator. In this case, the teacher's ongoing planning with her grade level peers to scaffold observation worksheets was evidence of successful teacher learning.

Conclusion. The discourses engaged to communicate the policy emphasized particular meanings for the role of the facilitator in supporting teacher learning. Noticeably absent in the communication of the policy was the expectation for facilitators to lead professional development for the whole staff. At the meeting for principals, the facilitators requested time to share success stories at staff meetings, but did not ask for any other professional development time.

Teacher learning was implied in the policy text, but not a stated expectation. The communication of the ESL facilitator policy made explicit the teacher learning objective of the policy. The communication explicitly linked the various coaching strategies to teacher learning. There was an added emphasis on the need for trusting relationships for facilitation to be successful. In addition, the anti-pull out discourse was reproduced when discussing interventions for students. Examples of providing direct support to students were always connected to teacher learning.

The content of teacher learning included accommodations and strategies to support students in gaining access to the district adopted curriculum. However, at each event the ESL department focused on a different facet of the content. Teachers, principals, and facilitators all received different messages about the content teachers were expected to learn from facilitators.

In the next section, I explore how services for English learners were constructed in the communication of the policy. As with the communication of teacher learning, particular elements of the policy text were emphasized while others were ignored.

Communicating Expectations of Services for English Learners

The ESL facilitator policy text contained two expectations for how ESL facilitators and classroom teachers shared responsibility for services for ELs. First, the classroom teacher's implementation of strategies and accommodations was constructed as the dominant support for students. The role of the ESL facilitators was constructed as "checking in" with teachers to monitor student performance. Second, ESL facilitators could rank order her list of students and provide direct services to the students with the highest needs. In the communication of the ESL facilitator policy, the term "case manager" was often engaged to indicate the ESL facilitator's direct services to students. As case managers, facilitators prioritized their time and attention to lower attention proficiency students. With facilitators positioned as case managers, the role of the classroom teacher was constructed as requesting support for students.

Teacher-facilitator relationship

Communication of the ESL facilitator policy primarily defined services for English learners as the classroom teacher implementing accommodations to the mainstream curriculum. This was often achieved by de-legitimizing the pull out services that were the historically dominant meaning of ESL services. At the workshop for classroom teachers, Howard shared a brief history of the ESL facilitator policy and its opposition to the traditional pull out model:

4 years ago we were talking about this. Gail suggested, 'let's put this in writing.' We pulled it all together into a document. Next, we came up against resistance. There was a previous way of doing service – a certain amount of time each week when kids left the room. There was clear evidence that kids were getting a service. Most teachers didn't know what their kids were doing; they just knew they were leaving the classroom... Somebody else was doing it. We suggested that they will be in the mainstream. ELLs learn English from English speaking students, with native speaking students.

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

Howard illuminated the discursive tension between the ESL facilitator policy and the discourses promoting pull out services. Teachers who were accustomed to the previous types of ESL pull out support expected services to include instructional time between the ESL teacher and students. The new policy minimized direct services to students, instating a new definition of services as something that could be accomplished by the mainstream teacher in the classroom. The relationship between the ESL facilitator and classroom teacher was expected to lead to students receiving services within the context of the mainstream classroom.

The policy text defined how ESL facilitators should allocate their time with the students identified as having the greatest needs. For the remainder of students on their list, facilitators “checked in” with teachers or “monitored” progress. In my data collection, I first became aware of the distinction between the role of the ESL facilitator as a collaborator and the expectation for ESL teachers to be case managers during an interview with Gail. I asked Gail about the discrepancy I had noticed between some facilitators who were working with six teachers, and other facilitators, like Amy Allen, who were working with 50 teachers. I was operating with the understanding of facilitator as collaborator. Gail responded to my question using the facilitator as case manager definition.

I asked Gail: “But how do you imagine it plays out differently, the ESL specialist role, when they’re at a school where they’re working with maybe four to ten teachers versus 20 to 30 teachers?”

Gail responded that facilitators approach their job as case managers.

But what we find is where the high number of students are, there are more teachers that are impacted, and so we have what we call our case manager list, very much like special

ed uses. And so if I were a facilitator, I can have up to 100 students on my case manager list. For every .1 of my FTE, I can have ten students. Somebody might have 96, but out of that, 75 of them are advanced. Another piece of our model is beginning students get more; intermediates have less time, and advanced even less. Then the kids that are waiting to transition out, they need less time. They need less of our time. They need less support from their classroom teacher. So it's really on a needs basis. So look at your case manager list and 'where are the kids that need you the most?' Whose classrooms are they in? How do we set this up?

(Interview, 15 January 2008)

Gail used the case management definition of facilitator to justify the ratio of 1 full time ESL facilitator for 100 English learners. The case management definition shifted away from collaboration and to emphasize time with students. Gail mentioned that the intermediate level students needed more of the facilitator's time, while students with advanced English proficiency required less time. As a case manager, the facilitator was expected to prioritize her time with intermediate students, supporting advanced students only when the teacher brought up a concern.

At the principal presentation, a facilitator reproduced the definition of facilitator as case manager. The facilitator was sharing a slide entitled: *Identifying Student Needs*. The slide contained three bullet points: gathering analyzing data, case management, and goal setting.

Facilitator D: (Pointing to the Case Management bullet) Each facilitator has our own case management list: students we are responsible for. We prioritize our students – maximize the time we spend with the most at risk students. For the advanced level students we regularly meet or talk with the classroom teachers to monitor these students

to make sure they are making constant progress. Twice a year we do academic profiles meetings with classroom teachers...

(Field Notes, 14 November 2007)

As case managers, facilitators identified and responded appropriately to students' needs.

Facilitators monitored the progress of all students, but only provided direct supports to targeted students. In the presentation to principals, the facilitator used the language of the policy text to describe how she "checks in" with teachers to monitor student progress. Students who were identified as advanced English learners were monitored and often not seen directly by the facilitator. The facilitator was responsible for asking the classroom teacher how the student was progressing. One structure that the ESL department established to support the facilitator's case management was the bi-annual academic profile conference, which was not a part of the policy text. At the academic profile conference, the facilitator met with every teacher who had EL students in their classrooms to discuss assessments and grades.

For students who were at the top of the case management list, the facilitator could provide direct support. In the policy text this support was defined as temporary, within the classroom context, and to build a specific skill, concept or content. In the communication of the policy, the direct services for students were constructed in the same way. At the workshop for classroom teachers, the Gail and a facilitator role played a scenario in which a classroom teacher asked a facilitator to pull out a student for reading support.

Gail (pretending to be a classroom teacher) "I've got a child struggling with reading.

Can you take him out half hour a day for reading instruction?"

Facilitator: "That would be really disjointed from the classroom reading environment. I can conference with student and teach strategies, set goals with the

student, and teach you what I'm doing. Pull-out is never OK... We are in a collaborative partnership. I believe the child is best served in the classroom with the person who best knows him or her.”

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

Gail and the facilitator discursively constructed services for English learners as something that happens in the classroom. In this case, the facilitator delivered direct services to the student. These services were situated within the classroom and were shared with the classroom teacher. The statement “Pull out is never OK” was a strong rebuff of the historical expectation of pull out services.

Later in the workshop a classroom teacher presented a problem with the “check in” support she was receiving. She indicated that she did not know when or how to ask for support.

“What support do I receive for intermediate students or advanced students...? (Last year, one) student struggled so much. The facilitator came in two days. She didn't really give me that kind of information that I needed. I don't know how to advocate for my students because I don't know what they should get. “

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

The teacher pointed out that she did not have the expertise to know what to ask for, and therefore did not feel that she was in a good position to formulate specific requests for her ELs. Gail asked one of the facilitators to respond. The facilitator explained: “As an ESL facilitator you could have 4, 8, 10 teachers you are working with. We need you to advocate for the student who needs help.” (Field Notes, 1 November 2007) Another facilitator added: “The facilitator should be monitoring students, checking in every few weeks. When they are in the room, they should let

you know what they did and why they did it. You need to ask ‘what can I do when you aren’t there?’.” (Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

These responses were accepted by Gail and the presentation moved on. The teacher’s confession that she did not know what types of support the student should receive was not directly addressed in any of the responses. Rather, the responses placed responsibility on the teacher to ‘advocate for the student who needs help’ or ask the facilitator ‘what can I do when you aren’t there?’ While the teacher learning component of the facilitator policy recognized a need to build teacher expertise, the “check in” component of the policy expected teachers to have adequate expertise to know when to request services for students.

Content of EL services. The definition of services for English learners was directly related to access to the mainstream curriculum. Services include language and learning objectives, accommodations, interventions, and resources applied to the mainstream curriculum. Facilitators could support their highest need students through interventions, which related to areas in which the student struggled in the mainstream content.

To support English learners in mainstream classrooms, Gail and Howard placed great value on writing clear objectives. The two day retreat the ESL department held for facilitators was entitled: “ESL Retreat: Developing Lesson Objectives” (10 December 2007). The retreat was the only professional development the district provided for ESL facilitators during the year of this study. The choice to emphasize learning objectives as an essential skill for ESL facilitators reflected the department’s belief that English learners’ needs can be met through well designed lessons. At the end of the first day, Howard summarized the day’s lesson:

Objectives are measurable and use precise words. You should have definitions and examples of what you want students to know. You need to know exactly what you are

looking for. Your objectives and questions have to have the right bait to get what you want. Our kids can learn so much more when we are pacing our lessons, because we are staying focused. Don't allow extraneous information into your lessons. A kid might come up with a great idea you want to pursue, but you need to keep your focus on your lesson.

(Field Notes, 10 December 2007)

Howard suggested English learners' instructional needs are addressed when teachers have well developed objectives, clear questions, and appropriate pacing. Student input was not an acceptable excuse for deviating from the lesson objective. At this retreat, facilitators learned how to write clear learning objectives, a skill which they could share with classroom teachers as a means for addressing EL learning needs through the mainstream curriculum.

The interventions, resources, and accommodations provided by facilitators were all focused on enabling English learners to engage with the mainstream curriculum. Two facilitators shared their work on constructing EL accommodations for the district's science curriculum. They showed 4 PowerPoint slides and explained what scaffolds had been added for English learners.

We are making smartboard presentations with ELL scaffolds. When oral speech is written you are giving the student an extra hook to hang on. You are making the input more comprehensible. First, we put up a question about prior knowledge [Slide #1]. The question has bolded key term. It also has a sentence starter to prompt kids to speak in a complete phrase. Then we have a learning objective and we include a visual to make the key term more comprehensible. We have a doing objective with a picture to make it more comprehensible [Slide #2]. Then, we frontload specific questions to think about when they are doing their group work [Slide #3]. In this lesson we adapted the chart from the

science kit [Slide #4]. We added visuals and the questions. We took the key terms and put questions up to become more conversational. We adapted the lesson to increase student participation.

(Field Notes, 14 November 2007)

In this example, the facilitators shared a PowerPoint (or SmartBoard) presentation that was available curriculum web to be used by any teacher. They summarized the adaptations they made to the original lesson as: activating prior knowledge, bolding key words, adding pictures, writing a sentence starter, writing clear objectives, frontloading questions, and adapting a chart. This lesson was shared as an example for the different types of accommodations classroom teachers could use with the mainstream curriculum.

In addition to accommodations, ESL facilitators could provide targeted resources for students to use. The resources for students were constructed as supports that students could use without the ongoing support of the facilitator or the classroom teacher. At the facilitator presentation, one facilitator stated:

The next way we support is providing resources- Just right books, they're not just for independent reading. They're also for *Curiosity* and *Connections* lesson. All of these resources promote independence. We want to shift away from them relying on us for every word they write – see themselves as competent learners.

(Field Notes, 14 November 2007)

Facilitators could provide students resources to use independently, such as “just right books” or books at their reading level. The resources facilitators provided students connected to the mainstream curriculum. *Connections* and *Curiosity* were district created literacy curriculum. This speaker made a discursive connection between providing resources and the historical ESL

model. With the statement, “We want to shift away from them relying on us for every word they write,” the facilitator constructed the previous ESL model as restricting or making students over dependent on teacher support. In contrast, facilitator support was constructed as promoting students’ independence and confidence.

In the communication of the ESL facilitator policy, the content of ESL services was the mainstream curriculum. With accommodations, interventions, and resources, the students were expected to participate in the mainstream classroom using the grade level, district adopted curriculum.

Evidence of success of EL services. Successful EL services could be measured by EL performance in the mainstream classroom. With the case manager definition, the facilitator needed to ensure that students they were ‘monitoring’ and students they were serving directly were receiving appropriate services. Evidence of successful EL services in the mainstream classroom included the students’ ability to state the learning objective and participate in the lesson. The success for of the interventions provided by the facilitators for students was based on students’ ability to master the specific skill, content or concept.

At all three events, the importance of students’ knowing the learning objective was prioritized. At the workshop for classroom teachers, Howard stated:

ESL teachers know that the objectives must be clearly displayed in the classroom. When we observe – every kid should be able to tell us what they are learning that day. For ESL staff, we always want to see the student learning objectives and an assessment of it.

(Field Notes, 1 November 2007)

The importance of learning objectives was reinforced by the two day retreat for ESL facilitators. Using this definition, facilitators should be able to assess whether a student was accessing the

curriculum by asking if the student knew the learning objective or looking at the assessment at the end of the lesson.

As case managers, ESL facilitators provided direct services to their highest needs students. In the policy, these services were constructed as interventions: targeting a specific skill, concept or content. There were no cases of successful interventions shared at any of the district sponsored events. All of the success stories shared focused on the facilitator collaborating or coaching the classroom teacher. In communicating the policy, as in the policy text, collaboration and coaching were prioritized over direct supports to students.

Summary

In communicating the ESL facilitator policy, ESL services were constructed as primarily the responsibility of the classroom teacher. The academic and linguistic needs of English learners were assumed to be appropriately addressed through accommodations to the mainstream curriculum. The ESL facilitator was expected to use a case management approach to rank order students; providing direct support only to the neediest students. All other students were expected to receive appropriate instructional services from the mainstream teacher through accommodations to the mainstream curriculum and strategies they learned from the ESL facilitator. In contrast to the implied teacher role in the facilitator policy text, the ESL department explicitly defined the role of the classroom teacher as providing services for students.

The construction of the facilitator as case manager limited her direct supports to students who required “interventions” or were “high needs.” There was a clear message that these interventions were different from the historical pull out services. Interventions were linked to the mainstream curriculum and occurred in the classroom setting. In addition, facilitators

provided students with resources, such as just right reading books, that would foster independence.

In the conclusion of this chapter, I summarize the connections I have made between the ESL facilitator policy and discourses prioritizing standardization, inclusion, and coaching.

Conclusion

In the creation and communication of the ESL facilitator policy, certain discourses were engaged to create meanings for ESL services and teacher learning. The three discourses described in the socio-historical context were engaged in creating and communicating the policy.

Standardization. The ESL facilitator policy reproduced existing discourses of standardization. In both the creation and communication of the policy, the content of ESL services was defined as the mainstream curriculum. Facilitators could provide interventions or strategies to support students' access to the mainstream curriculum. The validity of using a curriculum designed for mainstream English speaking students to teach English language development was never questioned. In addition, there was no coherent message about what specific strategies and accommodations English learners needed to support their linguistic and academic development. The policy text does not provide any definition of accommodations. In the communication of the policy, the definition of accommodations changed at each event. In the communication of the event, there was numerous references to the idea of "just good teaching." (deJong and Harper, 2005). Accommodations for English learners were constructed as supports that could benefit all students. Drawing from national and local discourses of standardization, the ESL facilitator policy created a definition of services for English learners that valued accommodations, loosely defined as "good teaching," for the mainstream curriculum.

No More Pull Outs. The creation and communication of the ESL facilitator policy was firmly constructed in opposition to the existing discourses supporting pull out services for English learners. Inclusive supports were valued and promoted. Any interventions or direct supports facilitators provided to students were expected to occur in the classroom and be communicated to the classroom teacher.

Coaching: The role of the facilitator was partially constructed through discourses of coaching. The expectation for ESL facilitators to support teacher learning through coaching were consistently articulated by the ESL directors, within the policy text, and in the communication of the policy. The success stories shared at all of the policy communication events were examples of coaching. Despite the clear connection to existing discourses of coaching, facilitators were never referred to as coaches. The rationale for choosing the title of “facilitator” over “coach” was never explained in the policy’s communication and creation. The facilitator role combined both the expectation for coaching and case management.

Facilitators were predominantly defined through the coaching discourse. However, there were two lines in the policy that created an expectation that the facilitator would work directly with students. The facilitator was expected to maximize her time with students with the greatest need. The facilitator’s “interventions” or support for students also supported teacher learning. The facilitator was expected to share the supports with the classroom teacher, who could then continue using those supports in the classroom.

Defining the facilitator as case manager, the classroom teacher was responsible for requesting for support for students. Because of their large caseload, facilitators did not coach or support all teachers equally. The role of teacher was constructed as being responsible for advocating for their own students.

The two definitions prioritized different parts of the ESL facilitator's role. The coaching role emphasized teacher learning. The case management definition emphasized services for students. As a case manager, the facilitator determined where and how to allocate her time depending on student need. As a coach or collaborator, the facilitator developed relationships with classroom teachers to provide supports to English learners. The two discourses overlapped in their understanding of the facilitator as providing support to students through their relationship with classroom teachers. These two discourses disconnected around the nature of the relationship and amount of collaborative support offered to a teacher. As a coach, the facilitator differentiated her support based on the relationship with the classroom teacher. As a case manager, her support was determined by the proficiency levels of students in the classroom.

In the following chapters, I explore how the ESL facilitator policy was negotiated by the facilitator and enacted in four classrooms. The meanings assigned to the key terms of teacher learning and ESL services were negotiated by individuals, with consequences for English learners. While the ESL department valued standardization, inclusion, and coaching, the facilitator and teachers engaged different discourses to understand and implement the policy.

6.

AN ESL FACILITATOR'S INTERPRETATION OF THE FACILITATOR POLICY

Introduction

This chapter is the first step in the process of answering the second research question: *How do varied enactments, interpretations, and assumed responsibilities influence **teachers' learning and instruction and services for English learners?*** In the conceptual framework for this study, the ESL facilitator is positioned between the district's ESL department and the school. The ESL department depended on the facilitator to be the primary communicator and implementer of the ESL facilitator policy at two schools. The facilitator participated in all three discourse communities as she developed her own interpretation of the policy. Her interpretation of the policy had significant consequences on the communication, enactment, and influence of the policy at Birchfield and Cedar Valley.

I begin this chapter with an analysis of Amy's teaching history. Amy's interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy was constructed through the broad range of discourses in which she was already invested (Mehan, 2001; Weedon, 1987). Amy's telling of her personal history revealed the discourses she drew upon to construct her identity as a teacher (Allen & Hardin, 2001). Amy's teaching identity and her existing discursive commitments shaped her understanding of and engagement with the ESL facilitator policy.

Next, I analyze Amy's participation in different opportunities to learn about the ESL facilitator policy. Amy negotiated the ESL facilitator policy through her ongoing engagement with the ESL department over two years. Coburn (2005) asserts that meaningful, structured, and sustained opportunities to learn affect an individual's understanding of and response to a policy.

In terms of discourse, an individual can be apprenticed into reproducing a policy's discourses through ongoing engagement and negotiation.

I devote the remainder of the chapter to an analysis of Amy's interpretation of the key constructs of the ESL facilitator policy: teacher learning and ESL services. Amy drew upon multiple discourses to construct her understanding of the policy's intentions. I illuminate key tensions as well as similarities between Amy's understanding of the policy and those assigned by the ESL department.

Personal Historical Context

An individual's interpretation of a policy is influenced by their personal history and the multiple discourses they reproduce (Johnson, 2007). Amy's retelling of her personal history illuminates how her existing attitudes and beliefs shaped her interpretation of the facilitator policy.

Amy accepted the ESL facilitator position in Eastlake and moved to the United States in the summer of 2006. Amy came to Eastlake after a seven year career of teaching in a variety of contexts. Her first teaching position was in England, where she taught physical education and music. After one year, Amy took a position as a classroom teacher at the same school. She taught for two more years in England before moving back to her birthplace of Toronto, Canada. In Toronto, Amy earned her ESL certification while teaching in an elementary classroom. At Amy's school in Toronto, ESL services were provided through a pull-out program model. Amy explained that, in her opinion, pull-out is not inherently bad. As long as there was shared responsibility and open communication, Amy recognized the benefit of students receiving pull out supports. In my field notes I recounted a conversation Amy and I had one afternoon about her experiences of students being pulled out of her mainstream classroom:

She says that she personally doesn't have a problem with the pull out model of services. She explains that in her old school they had the pull out model and the ESL specialist would take her kids during reading time. But, she said that she sat down with the ESL teacher and they did the report cards together. She acts out the conversation with both people saying what they notice about the student and what they think the next steps are. Amy says that in her old school there was shared responsibility between the ESL teacher and the classroom teacher.

(Field Notes, 15 February 2008)

Amy's history as a classroom teacher included a positive experience of sharing responsibility with an ESL teacher in a pull out program. Amy used this experience to frame her interpretation of the facilitator role. Linking her previous experience to the facilitator model, Amy envisioned the benefits the facilitator model could offer the classroom teacher:

I mean as a classroom teacher previously, I had 20 [English learners] in my class, so I'm thinking, 7? I'm thinking that's a walk in the park. I would take 7. Give me them all and I'm going to get the help too?! Bring it on! I would be on board, totally on board because I came from a district where 40 minutes four times a week for three kids or four kids - the rest are yours. You're telling me the rest of these kids, I can get service **and** have someone come into my room, team-teach with me even? That would be a dream, to me. But no one seems to, no one gets that. No one gets that. And I'm just thinking maybe I've missed something or they don't know of other districts or they don't realize how good they have it.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Drawing on her personal teaching experience, Amy constructed the ESL facilitator policy positively as “a dream.” She recognized the potential for both teacher learning and services for students. At Cedar Valley and Birchfield she encountered teachers who “don’t get that.” Amy’s personal history provided her a discourse through which she interpreted the ESL facilitator policy as a great benefit to teachers. But, as Amy indicated, the teachers at the two schools did not share that discourse.

When Amy moved to Eastlake from Toronto, she transitioned from being a classroom teacher to an ESL facilitator. Amy often referred to her six years of classroom teaching as a resource for building relationships with classroom teachers. Amy’s initial reaction to the facilitator policy was enthusiastic. She was eager to help other teachers.

I thought that was the perfect job for me. [Yes]. Going... I can see so many things as a classroom teacher, that if I could help that classroom teacher now - [Mm-hm]. You know, it’s kind of like seeing both sides of the fence kind of thing, and I jumped it to say, ‘I can help you and this is what I want to do.’ [Mm-hm]. So that was really kind of powerful for me to come here and try to make a difference.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy connected her new role as a facilitator to her previous role as a classroom teacher, imagining them as two sides of a fence. Amy initially interpreted the facilitator policy as peer coaching, in which she could support teacher learning by sharing her own experiences.

Amy’s personal history shaped her initial interpretation to the ESL facilitator policy. She was an outsider, interpreting the policy through discourses from her previous teaching experiences. Positioning herself as a classroom teacher, and drawing on her personal experiences

of ESL services, Amy interpreted the ESL facilitator policy as positive supporting teacher and student learning.

Engagement in Policy Communication

Amy interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy was supported through her ongoing engagement with Eastlake's ESL department. When Amy relocated from Toronto to Eastlake in the summer of 2006, Howard invited her to learn about the policy at a two day workshop for principals. Amy described the event in our interview:

So it was important for me to know what the philosophy was to get to know how to impact the classroom teachers. [Mm-hm]. So it was a two-day seminar explaining to the... principals, what they were hoping to see in the classroom, and what their expectations were, and what their struggles were, and then how this model worked for them, so it was more of a principal-orientation kind of thing [Yeah], but I was there being orientated as well.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy's introduction to the ESL facilitator policy was at an event designed for principals. Amy learned about the expectations, struggles, and practical application of the ESL facilitator policy from the ESL department and principals. The principal workshop was Amy's only introductory learning opportunity to prepare her for her new role as a facilitator. In our interview Amy explained that she relied on her relationship with Gail, the assistant ESL director to help her continue to construct an understanding of the ESL facilitator policy.

They didn't give me any formal training to say, "This is how you need to go about it."

Any time I had questions or concerns, Gail would come out and visit me [Yeah] and she'd have a discussion about things and - [Yeah]. If I was struggling with something or

I didn't understand how this worked, either it was a phone call or that kind of thing but no formal - [Yeah]. This is what you need to do.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Through her personal relationship with Gail, Amy engaged in ongoing policy negotiation. Amy approached Gail with questions as they arose to determine her role as a facilitator.

In addition to her personal communications with Gail, Amy attended monthly department meetings. The ESL department gathered facilitators from across the district for two hour monthly meetings to discuss a broad range of issues.

We do have meetings once a month...so they do a little bit of mini training, I guess in a two-hour session. [Uh-huh.] To say this is how this works and this is how you need to do that, for example, when the kids come in at the beginning of the year, you have to set them up and figure out what levels they are [Yeah] and find a list of who's your most needy kid. [Mm-hm]. And I was just kind of making that up as I went because I'm thinking how do I get to all these kids and [Yeah] sort of make that happen so.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Her ongoing engagement in the ESL department meetings supported Amy in refining her interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy. In the example provided, Amy shared how she came to understand the case manager expectation of the facilitator policy. Prior to that meeting, she had developed her own strategy for dealing with the large number of students on her list.

During the course of this study, Amy participated in three of the district sponsored events detailed in the previous chapter. She presented at the principal meeting. She brought two classroom teachers with her to the classroom teacher workshop. And, she attended the two day retreat on writing learning objectives. At each of these events, Amy negotiated her current

understanding of the facilitator policy with the ESL department's communicated policy intentions.

In her two years at Eastlake, Amy's interpretation of the facilitator policy was scaffolded by the ESL department. For Amy, the ESL policy had strong intensity, with multiple, sustained opportunities to learn (Coburn, 2005). Her ongoing relationship with Gail and her active participation in ESL department events provided multiple opportunities for Amy to engage with the department's discursive construction of the facilitator policy.

Interpretation of the ESL Facilitator Policy

As the primary instrument for implementing the ESL facilitator policy, Amy's interpretation of the policy affected the types of ESL services and opportunities for teacher learning at Birchfield and Cedar Valley. Amy drew upon numerous discourses to interpret the policy. Her previous history, her engagement with the ESL department, and her participation in two school contexts mediated her interpretation of the facilitator policy.

In the following section I present an analysis of Amy's interpretation of the two key constructs of teacher learning and services for students. For each term, I explore Amy's expectations for the teacher-facilitator relationship, the content, as well as what she considered evidence of success. In this section I illuminate Amy's interpretation of the policy, not her implementation of the policy. As Cohen (1990) suggests, there is often a disconnect between a person's understanding of a policy and their implementation. In this chapter, I focus on Amy's construction of how the ESL facilitator policy should look, using data from interviews and field notes which captured Amy's reflections and opinions.

Teacher Learning

In one interview, Amy shared an understanding of the importance of teacher learning in the ESL facilitator policy. When I asked Amy to describe the facilitator model and how she was implementing it, she explained:

Well, the ESL model kind of is divided into different sort of sections where you can team-teach with a teacher. [Mm-hm]. And kind of work on skills and how to get make sure those kids understand a lesson. There are observing kids and giving teachers feedback and/or materials to use based on what you saw [yeah]]. And there is basically just kind of reading with kids or doing sort of like intense little mini sessions with the kids. ”

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy, Amy focused on three key factors. First, the facilitator could team-teach with or model specific skills for the classroom teacher. Second, the facilitator could work directly with students, and provide the teacher with feedback or resources to continue using of those strategies. Third, the facilitator could offer intensive support to students. The first two factors of Amy’s definition closely mirror the ESL department’s construction of teacher learning through collaboration and sharing of accommodations.

Facilitator – Teacher Relationship. Amy recognized the importance of building strong, supportive relationships with classroom teachers in order to support teacher learning. In one interview, Amy built upon her own experience of classroom teacher to articulate how she envisioned a facilitator support teacher-learning.

Well, a facilitator in my head basically is someone who has honed their skills into one certain area [Mm-hm]. As a classroom teacher, you have to have maybe not so many skills but a lot of skills in a lot of different areas. [Yeah]. So it’s really difficult for a

classroom teacher to be always thinking about this particular ESL kid or these five kids or these two kids, so as a facilitator, I think I'm an extra set of eyes for that teacher. [Mm-hm]. To say, "I see a concern with those kids and this is how you can help them." And giving them that feedback to say, "If you need help with that, I'm here for you." [Yeah]. "And if you don't need help with that, this is what I think you should do." [Mm-hm]. Now it's not a "you need to do it; you should do it." [Yeah]. This is a, this is what I'm seeing and let's take that with a grain of salt. How can that work into your regular day? (Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy constructed the facilitator-teacher relationship as an opportunity for the facilitator to share her expertise with the classroom teacher. Drawing on her own experience in the classroom, Amy positioned herself as understanding the multiple demands on a teacher's time and attention. As a facilitator she could narrowly focus on the specific needs of English learners. In this hypothetical example, the facilitator supported teacher learning by observing classroom instruction and providing suggestions of strategies or accommodations for the teacher to implement. Amy recognized that the facilitator-teacher relationship was more complicated than the facilitator providing suggestions and the teacher implementing them. She used deferential language to couch her suggestions: "Now it's not a 'you need to do it; you should do it.' [Yeah]. This is a, this is what I'm seeing and let's take that with a grain of salt. How can that work into your regular day?" Amy's construction of the facilitator-teacher relationship recognized the teacher's power to choose how and whether to implement her suggestions. The language she used attempted to recognize the teacher's power while asserting the validity of her suggestions.

Amy expected teachers to negotiate her suggestions with their understandings of students' needs as well as their current instructional demands. In this construction of the policy

teacher learning occurs through a process. The facilitator observes instruction and provides suggestions to the classroom teacher focused on supporting students' needs. The teacher negotiates the facilitator's input with her own practice. Amy's construction of teacher learning mirrored the ESL department's focus on the collaboration between ESL facilitators and classroom teachers as the primary support for teacher learning.

Amy's construction of the facilitator model reproduced the ESL department's expectation for teachers to request support from the facilitator. Amy expected teachers to identify an area of need and requesting support.

Bonnie: I guess in your mind what would this model look like ideally?

Amy: Ideally, I would like to see teachers who want to utilize me in the classroom to either team-teach a lesson. [Mm-hm]. Or come to me for materials or specific things that they need. [Mm-hm]. For me to constantly guess what teachers need it makes it really challenging because sometimes I guess wrong, and I'm not perfect. And what I'm thinking might be really beneficial; it might not be what's beneficial, and they see those kids way more than I do. For me to pop in for 20 minutes or half an hour or an hour to see that kid in a snapshot situation to go - [Yeah]. "I think this kid needs vocabulary words." Well, maybe they only needed vocabulary words in science.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy expected the ESL facilitator-teacher relationship to be a two way street. She constructed the ideal classroom teacher as an active agent requesting materials, instructional support, and coaching from the ESL facilitator. With the limited time a facilitator could spend in each classroom, Amy was unsure whether her suggestions would be the most useful or relevant to supporting that student's specific needs. Amy imagined the teacher playing a more active role in

requesting her input. Amy's interpretation was similar to the department's construction of the ESL facilitator-classroom teacher relationship. Both expected teachers to play an active role in requesting services and implementing the facilitator's suggestions.

In the communication of the ESL facilitator policy, the ESL department fluctuated between discourses which privileged the collaborative partnership of teachers and facilitators, and discourses that focused on case management. Understanding facilitation as responding to teacher's requests for supports, Amy did not assign value to the department's case management discourse

I brought up case management, suggesting Amy should be spending her time supporting the teachers with the neediest kids. Amy responded that case management didn't make sense to her, because it should be about supporting the neediest teacher. The classroom teachers who have been getting support all along shouldn't really need much from her. Amy pointed out that with case management the teachers are not expected to ever take over responsibility for ELLs. She reiterated her belief that she was supposed to be supporting the classroom teachers so that they can provide services in their classroom. Amy explained that her time should be spent supporting the neediest teachers, not necessarily the neediest kids.

(Field Notes, January 17 2008)

In this incident Amy prioritized her role as supporting teacher learning, dismissing the validity of the case management discourse. Case management did not align with Amy's understanding of shared responsibility. Amy wanted to support the teachers who she saw as having the highest need, regardless of the proficiency level of students in those classrooms.

Amy created her own interpretation of case management, which focused on the needs of the teachers as opposed to the needs of the students.

I don't need to teach 45 teachers about ESL. I'll start with five. [Uh-huh.] If I could work with five teachers this year, five new teachers the next year, five new teachers the next year, and then by five year time is over, I've taught them all. [Yeah]. That to me sounds like a more sound way of kind of going about it.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

With an understanding of teacher learning as a temporary relationship between ESL facilitators and classroom teachers, Amy suggested that she should be allowed to focus on five teachers each year until she had taught every teacher. Amy expected teachers to become competent in meeting the needs of ELs independently. According this quote, Amy envisioned the classroom teachers gaining the skills and strategies they needed after a year of facilitation, and then being able to appropriately meet the needs of students without facilitator support. In Amy's interpretation of the policy, case management would focus more on the needs of the teachers and less on the needs of the students.

The previous quote reveals a different construction of teacher learning through facilitation than Amy had previously used. In all of the other quotes in this chapter Amy focused on teacher learning as providing teachers strategies to support a specific student in a particular content area. Here, Amy presented a different conception of teacher learning as a mastery of skills and strategies that could be applied to address the needs of any English learner. Amy elaborated on her expectation that through facilitation teachers would develop knowledge and skills so that they would no longer need her support:

Really the model is not about necessarily the kids. <Yeah>. It's how to educate those teachers so that eventually they won't need me. They will have all the knowledge that I've helped them along with to go, "I know what I'm doing and I don't need you anymore, Amy." <Mm-hm>. So then I would maybe go back to be a classroom teacher, and we'd all have all the skills. I mean I guess, ideally, giving them the skills so that they don't need me anymore is what I want to see.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this interpretation of the policy, teachers could learn enough through facilitation to be able to implement ESL services without continued facilitator support. Here, Amy constructed her role as a temporary intervention for teachers. She expected to work with teachers for a short period of time sharing her knowledge and skills.

Amy simultaneously held two different understandings of teacher learning in her mind. In one, teacher learning consisted of a teacher approaching her with concerns about a student and the facilitator providing targeted support. In the other, the classroom teacher was expected to gain mastery over a broad range of skills that would enable her to provide ongoing support for all ELs without the facilitator.

In understanding her role of facilitating teacher learning, Amy reproduced some of the discourses engaged by the ESL department to construct and communicate the policy text. She defined the role of the facilitator supporting teacher learning through co-teaching, modeling strategies, and leaving explicit feedback about students' needs. At the same time, Amy held some interpretations of facilitation that significantly differed from the ESL department. She dismissed the value of the ESL department's case management discourse, prioritizing an understanding of facilitation as supporting needy teachers rather than needy students. Amy

wanted to support 5 teachers each year, and then move on to 5 more teachers the following year. Amy expected the classroom teacher to assume responsibility for English learners, and no longer need facilitator support, after one year. This interpretation of the policy was never communicated from the ESL department.

Content of Teacher Learning. In her interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy, Amy decided what content to emphasize in her interactions with classroom teachers. In the written policy, the content for teacher learning was vaguely defined as language objectives, accommodations to the mainstream curriculum, and best instructional practices. The ESL department's communication of the policy was equally ambiguous, presenting different expectations at each of their communication events. Amy engaged two discourses to validate the content she chose to teach classroom teachers. First, Amy referred to the specialized knowledge she learned through her ESL endorsement coursework. Second, she engaged an understanding of instruction for English learners as good teaching.

Amy identified her role of supporting teacher learning as sharing her expertise with classroom teachers. Her ESL endorsement coursework provided her with specific knowledge and skills to share with teachers.

Where I clearly don't know it all. I can give you suggestions when I'm specifically looking at two kids. [Yeah]. Just like you could give me specific instructional ideas if you looked at just two kids. [Exactly]. I happened to go through three years of training to tell me look for this, and look for this, and look for that, and look for this, and so in my head, I've got a this mini checklist that I go through going can they do this, can they do this; no, they cannot, they, can't, can't. [Yeah] Here's some ideas to fix those problems. I

don't know if that's maybe part of it, if that came down to it, that the facilitator is here to help you to fix those kids, but you need to do what they say.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this quote, Amy combined the expertise she gained through her ESL endorsement coursework and the specific needs of the students in the classroom to determine the content of facilitation. It is interesting to note that Amy reproduced a subtractive discourse (Valenzuela, 1999) when discussing the specific needs of English learners. She constructed her role as 'fixing' the problems (that ELs have in the mainstream classroom) and 'fixing those kids' (ELs). This is the same language Gail used to describe the historical ESL model: "walk down the hall, fix 'em, bring them back" (Interview, 15 January 2008). Here, Amy engaged a subtractive discourse to describe English learners in the mainstream classroom.

During one of my observations, Amy met with another facilitator and discussed some of her concerns about the model. She engaged the 'just good teaching' discourse (deJong and Harper, 2005) to describe what teachers needed to learn through the facilitator model.

Maybe we need to begin with a list of best practices. I don't know how to say – "this is what a good teacher does" – without saying "this is what a good teacher does".

(Field Notes, 2 November 2007)

Like the ESL department, Amy used different discourses to determine the knowledge and skills teachers needed to learn about teaching English learners. In the first quote, Amy emphasized the fact that she went through three years of training to develop an expert lens for looking at the needs of ELs. But, in the second quote, Amy suggested that teaching ELs is really just best practice or good teaching. Amy never articulated a clear vision of the specific skills and knowledge she expected teachers to acquire through facilitation.

Evidence of Success. Amy reproduced the ESL department's construction of successful teacher learning as teachers implementing strategies suggested by the facilitator. Amy constructed successful teacher learning as the continued implementation of strategies she had modeled.

And some teachers even take it from year to year where I've seen, "Hey, Amy, I remember you telling me about books on tape for those kids to help them with their vocabulary, so I've tried that again or can you give me some books for this kid because he's kind of like the kid from last year or this other kid I had two years ago." [Mm-hm]. And using those skills that I've taught them from year to year to year and that's ideally what you want.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this quote, Amy constructed successful teacher learning as a teacher continuing to use the skills she had introduced. In Amy's interpretation of the facilitator policy, teachers should eventually become proficient in serving the needs of English learners and Amy's support would no longer be needed.

In addition to implementing strategies and accommodations, Amy recognized that teachers needed to make an ideological shift in embracing ELs in their classrooms. Successful teacher learning was indicated by teachers who developed a commitment to incorporating the needs of English learners in all of their instruction.

Whereas, I can have one teacher who totally buys into it and is always thinking about that ESL kid. [Yeah]. Always thinking about that kid. That kid blossoms and does great and that's it, and that's one kid. [Yeah]. Now you can have a teacher who also has four kids

who doesn't really buy into the model and just kind of thinks well whatever, and nothing really develops. Nothing really builds on those four kids.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Teachers' attitudes played a significant role in their willingness to implement the strategies and accommodations. Amy used the phrase "buys into the model" referring to teachers who recognized the needs of ELs, and sought support. Whereas, the teachers who did not "buy into the model" did not seek input from Amy and did not implement her suggestions. In addition to the learning of knowledge and skills, Amy considered a teacher's commitment to English learners as evidence of success.

Amy's constructed successful teacher learning as teachers taking responsibility for the education of English learners. She expected teachers to use her strategies and accommodate English learners in their daily instruction.

Supporting Services for ELs

Amy's interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy included interrelated expectations for teacher learning and services for students. In the previous section I described how Amy assumed the facilitator would share her expertise with the classroom teacher, provide suggestions for accommodations to classroom instruction, and eventually release responsibility to the teacher. In this section, I analyze how Amy imagined instruction and services for English learners would look in the ESL facilitator policy. Amy's primary understanding of student services involved the classroom teacher implementing strategies and accommodations.

Facilitator – Teacher Relationship. Amy expected her relationship with classroom teachers to lead to the ongoing implementation of strategies or accommodations to support English learners in the mainstream classroom. While this expectation is implicit in the ESL

facilitator policy, Amy pointed out that the role of the classroom teacher was noticeably absent from the policy text. In October, Amy communicated to Howard and Gail via email that she found the ESL facilitator policy document to be incomplete without a description of the role of the classroom teacher. Amy related her interaction to me during our interview:

In the model it has a facilitator role, what we're supposed to do, administration role and what they're supposed to do, a principal role and what they're supposed to do. But there's no teacher role and what they're supposed to do, a classroom teacher role. [Yeah]. So it makes it difficult for me if I was a classroom teacher thinking I have responsibility there. [Yeah]. Because it's not making me accountable. It's basically saying Amy's supposed to do it. [Mm-hm]. And when you're in there, fix it. [Yeah]. Other than that, it's supposed to get magically get fixed. There's no spot where it says once Amy's given you these suggestions, it's your responsibility to either talk to her about why this would or would not work. [Yeah]. Or implement it. [Uh-huh.] And see if it helps. I mean there's no accountability there, so when you're talking about the feedback, I don't get any. [Yeah].

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy reproduced the department's expectation for the classroom teacher to implement the strategies provided by the facilitator. But, she felt that the policy text did not adequately identify this expectation. Amy articulated the belief that the classroom teacher should be providing services based on her input. Amy advocated adding a clear role of the classroom teacher to the policy document to ensure teachers understood their responsibilities for delivering services for ELs. While advocating for a change in the policy text, Amy continued to engage a subtractive discourse of "fix them" when referring to the instructional needs of English learners.

In one significant aspect, Amy deviated from the ESL department's expectations for services from students. Amy dismissed the 'no pull out' message from the ESL department. In our interview, Amy discussed how she could provide pull out supports as long as she knew the teacher's objective:

Oh, clearly, they need to write a paragraph using descriptive words. <Yeah>. If that's the objective. Then I'm going 'oh, okay.' So I could easily even take the kids right out of the classroom at that moment and say, "For the next 40 minutes, we're just going to figure out how to write a paragraph with descriptive words." <Yeah>. And I don't need the lesson. I know what you want to get and I'll do that.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this construction of ESL services, Amy suggested that she could provide direct supports to students aligned to the mainstream curriculum outside of the classroom. I observed Amy consistently pull one student out of his fourth grade classroom. We often discussed this student because of the sharp contrast between his personality in class and his personality with Amy. Whenever Amy arrived, a huge smile appeared on the boy's face. When they worked together in a separate room, the boy was very talkative and had a great sense of humor. In the classroom, the boy was timid and rarely participated. I asked Amy about her support for this study:

Bonnie: Is it valuable for you to go and spend time with kids who are at that intermediate level? Would the ideal be that that kid does not get extra pull-out time or extra time with the ESL specialist; that the classroom teacher is making the accommodations, and they're in the mainstream classroom the whole day?

Amy: Well, when a student has the happy face or the - [Yeah]. 'I'm so excited to see you' look it's because they know I'm going to help. [Yeah]. Ideally, you want that teacher

to be that person for that kid. [Okay.] Not me. [Yeah]. I mean I'm glad that he sees someone in his world going, 'oh, you're here to help.' and I'm only there one day a week. And if I have a meeting or something, then he misses, and that could be couple of weeks 'til he sees me. So it's a struggle for me to think about that kid in particular.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy interpreted the contrast between the student's in class behavior and his behavior during one on one time as a reaction to a helpful adult. She concluded that if the classroom teacher were more helpful, the student would not need her support. In line with her interpretation of facilitator services being temporary, Amy constructed an understanding that the classroom teacher should be able to provide the type of individualized support she gave to students. She expected teachers to become competent in using EL strategies and become the primary service provider for students. While she understood that pull-out support was something she could offer to students, in her understanding of the policy, the classroom teacher would eventually be able to provide that type of support to students.

Content of ESL Services. Amy reproduced the ESL department's construction of ESL services as accommodations and supports for the mainstream curriculum. At the beginning of the year, Amy suggested to Howard that they add the classroom teacher's role to the ESL facilitator policy document. Amy and I sat down one afternoon to brainstorm what the role of the classroom teacher would actually entail. Amy suggested classroom teachers should: provide clear learning objectives, develop language and learning objectives, and model EL practices (Field Notes, 12 December 2007). In articulating her idealized role of classroom teachers, Amy mirrored the department's expectation for objectives and an undefined set of "EL practices" as the types of support English learners needed to access the mainstream curriculum.

During one interview, I asked Amy how she decided what services to provide students when she walked into classrooms:

So I have a little pre-conference with them at the beginning of the day. [Mm-hm].

Sometimes that works and sometimes it doesn't. Sometimes teachers are like, "I don't know what I'm doing at that point in the day." And other times, teachers are like, "Oh I'm definitely, we're going to be writing. We're going to be writing about the fourth chapter in such and such a book." [Yeah]. "And what we're doing is we're writing a summary. Can you help so and so with a summary." So I mean there's a very specific objective which they've just told me, and they didn't have to write it on the board 'cause I know so. I take a book with me and I sort of jot down notes, especially if they're specific things like that. [Mm-hm]. To say this is what we're doing, but most times teachers are kind of like, "Oh, you can read with the student or you can do those kind of things so." And that's okay too. If that's what the teacher needs, I want to give teachers what can help them not just be a wasted person in the room so.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this quote, Amy constructed services as "helping so and so" and "read(ing) with the student." In her concluding statement, Amy stated either type of services were OK. In this construction, ESL services supported students in meeting the specific lesson objectives or in promoting a students' reading progress.

In her construction of the content of ESL services, Amy reproduced the ESL department's focus on supporting students' access to mainstream curriculum. Ideally, Amy envisioned these supports as the responsibility of the classroom teacher. In her role as a

facilitator she aligned her supports to the mainstream classroom and was willing to work with student both in and out of the classroom.

Evidence of success. Amy expected teachers to provide her feedback to indicate whether students were receiving appropriate support. Her construction of success was similar to the ESL department's expectation that students master a particular skill, content or concept. Amy described how she looked to teachers to provide her feedback about students' progress:

I mean there are a few teachers who'll go, "Thank you for the response. I totally agree with what you're saying. [Yeah] I see that Johnny here has a real hard time with such and such, and if you could keep coming and reading with him, focusing on comprehension, that would really help him out" or "Hey, after four weeks of working with him, I was reading with him today and he really has it, and thanks so much for your help." I mean I do have those ah-hah moments, where I'm going, "Yes, there is a meaning to what I'm doing."

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In this quote, Amy focused on her expectation for classroom teachers to identify students' progress. Amy reported her own feelings of success when teachers reported that students had made progress from her support. Success for ESL services would be measured through teacher evaluation or through the students' progress in the mainstream classroom.

Conclusion

Amy's interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy was significant in determining how the policy was promoted and communicated at her two schools. Amy was the primary instrument for implementing the ESL facilitator policy at Cedar Valley and Birchfield. Her interpretation of

the policy was a mediating factor in her relationships with teachers, leading to particular opportunities for teacher learning and services for students.

Amy filtered the ESL facilitator policy through multiple discourses, creating her own interpretation. Amy reproduced both additive and subtractive discourses when discussing English language learners. In many ways, she reproduced the ESL department's definitions for teacher learning and services for students. But, she also constructed divergent definitions as she made sense of the policy. One significant difference was Amy's interpretation of the goal the teacher-facilitator relationships. The ESL department communicated an expectation of the ESL facilitator and classroom teacher working in partnership to address student needs. While Amy reproduced this discourse, she also maintained a different vision. Amy interpreted her role as a facilitator as providing temporary support to teachers, eventually leading to teachers taking full responsibility for ELs. She defined her role as serving the neediest teachers, in contrast to the district's expectation that she serve the neediest students.

In her construction of the policy, Amy accepted inconsistencies. In defining her role in supporting teacher learning, Amy fluctuated between a focus on providing targeted skills to address a specific student and a more generalized understanding of ESL strategies. Amy expected teachers to become competent in meeting the needs of English learners independently, yet she constructed her primary role as responding to teachers' requests for help. Amy also held two conflicting understandings of the content of teacher learning. She suggested that she had gained expertise in ESL methods, but also implied that meeting the needs of ELs was just good teaching.

In her position as an ESL facilitator, Amy negotiated her interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy within the school context and with individual teachers. In the next two chapters

I present findings from the enactment of the ESL facilitator policy within two classrooms at two school sites.

ENACTING THE ESL FACILITATOR POLICY AT BIRCHFIELD ELEMENTARY

Introduction

In this section of the findings, I delve further into addressing research question #2: *How do varied enactments, interpretations, and assumed responsibilities influence **teachers' learning and instruction and services for English language learners?*** The previous chapter included an analysis of Amy's interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy. This chapter explores Amy's interaction with two teachers at Birchfield elementary to enact the ESL facilitator policy.

To situate my findings, I begin with a brief introduction to the school's socio-historical context. Next, I explore the policy communication at the school site. I consider opportunities to learn about the policy as well as the leadership role of the principal in communicating the policy. I follow this with an analysis of dominant discourses in the school context that Amy encountered as she attempted to implement changes.

After examining the school context, I analyze two cases of facilitation: Shelley Blake and Natalie Burrows. For each case, I present the teacher's interpretation of the policy as well as the co-constructed enactment of the policy. In each classroom, Amy and the teacher negotiated their understandings and expectations of the policy to create opportunities for teacher learning and services for English learners.

Socio-Historical Context of Birchfield Elementary

Birchfield is a medium sized elementary school with approximately 500 students. During the year of this study, the population of English learners ranged from 50 to 60 students (approximately 10% to 12%) in Kindergarten through 5th grades. The English learner population had been fairly steady for the past ten years.

The ESL teacher before Amy had been at the school for 15 years. Although the ESL department had introduced the facilitator policy in 2003, the previous ESL teacher continued to provide services through a pull out model until she was displaced by Amy. Amy recalled her surprise entering Birchfield, finding a school unaware of and resistant to the facilitator policy:

Birchfield seemed to not know what I was talking about when I explained the new model. And they were going (confused look) huh? They were really hesitant to try it, very hostile when it came to implementing a model. So I think a lot of the pull-out model, which they previously had, yeah, came in that one department where - . They'd focus on a skill and they'd pull 'em out for those kind of things. Where, they're really comfortable with that and they want to see that continue.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

The ESL department transferred Birchfield's former ESL teacher to another school. Amy saw herself as being placed at Birchfield to compel the implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. Amy's experience as a facilitator at Birchfield was shaped through constant comparisons to the previous ESL teacher.

Like, I was the first shakeup in 15 years in Birchfield. Fifteen years this teacher who was at Birchfield - Was there. So, I mean, they always look for her. The first four months I was there everyone was like, "Oh, I miss so and so so much. I miss her. She's so- She was the greatest ESL teacher." Which is hard to hear. So that's challenging when you're replacing someone who's been there for so long –

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy interpreted her placement at Birchfield as a 'shakeup,' or the ESL department's attempt to force the facilitator policy upon a non-compliant school. Amy's attempts to implement the

facilitator policy met with resistance. Unclear on the change in policy, the staff compared Amy to the previous teacher and found her to be lacking. Amy faced the double challenge of replacing a beloved staff member and introducing a policy which violated teachers' expectations for support.

Communicating the ESL Facilitator Policy at Birchfield Elementary

In the conceptual framework for this study, the facilitator and principal are both positioned between the ESL department and the school context. They share responsibility for communicating and supporting the ESL facilitator policy. A principal's leadership can strongly influence a policy's status within the school context (Knapp & Meadows, 2005). Principals decide what to prioritize and how to support the staff in meeting the expectations of a policy. At Birchfield, the principal's interpretation of the policy, his status as a newcomer, and his leadership style shaped how the ESL facilitator policy was communicated to the staff.

Mike Basso, the principal, arrived at Birchfield the same year as Amy. Amy constructed the introduction of a new principal and the arrival of a new ESL teacher was a shock to the Birchfield staff:

Umm, it's interesting for Birchfield because when I arrived, a new principal arrived. So the principal they had before had been there for, I don't know, 35 years? So they were used to... Most of the staff has stayed on there hasn't been a whole lot of shift in that staff, so it's been the same people with the same principal and the same expectations.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

As a new principal, Mike faced many of the same challenges as Amy. His leadership style was a radical change from the previous principal. Just as Amy was compared to the previous ESL teacher, Mike was compared to the previous principal. Amy shared:

So, when I arrived with a new model, with a new principal, it was a lot of newness for that staff. So I think it may have been the wrong time to introduce one more new thing. Because I think I was the one they sort of went, ‘you can **stop** because we can’t take any more new.’ < laughing>. And I don’t... And I can sympathize...it just seems like there’s a lot of change for them... They had such a huge difference with Mike. I mean their principal, from what they tell me, was very lovey and ‘everybody is nice and sweet and loving’ and ‘let’s all hug and make everything better.’ Whereas, Mike is very much a ‘I’m keeping to myself and I’m going to kind of shoot out what I’m telling you and see how you like that,’ and they’re used to being the touchy- feely, huggy, and ‘this is a great world,’ and so that’s very different for them.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy constructed the previous principal as being very involved in the staff as an emotional care taker. Mike, on the other hand, communicated regularly with the staff, but was not outwardly committed to developing a social, emotional support network for the staff. Amy postulated one reason for the staff’s resistance to the ESL facilitator policy as a consequence of being overwhelmed by too many simultaneous changes.

Mike interpreted the facilitator policy as a teacher-centered policy. He expected teachers to approach Amy with questions or concerns about their English learners. Mike’s construction of the policy prioritized the role of the facilitator as providing activities and resources to the teacher over direct support for students.

What it should look like more than anything is teachers should understand what kind of things Amy has to offer in terms of helping. Amy should be more of a resource versus – I mean there’s certain things she can go in and help with like testing and you know certain

things... facilitators should provide support. They should you know check in with the kids see what the teacher needs as far as materials and recourses and – and where that is happening in the school it's working very well.

(Interview, 26 February 2008)

In Mike's interpretation of the policy, the classroom teacher was positioned as responsible for knowing what services Amy could provide and then seeking out support for themselves. Mike interpreted the role of the facilitator as a "resource" or "support," contrasting that with "go(ing) in and help." Mike expected the facilitator to "see what the teacher needs," prioritizing resources and supports to the teacher over direct support to students. Mike acknowledged that this was happening in a few places, but that the whole school was not at a high level of implementation.

While Mike prioritized the role of the facilitator as a resource or support for teachers, he did not interpret the ESL facilitator policy as a coaching policy. During our interview, I asked Mike to describe the role of the technology coach. Then, I asked "So is it similar to what Amy does?" Mike responded:

It's very different. He basically is curriculum support. Is – he is defined as curriculum support and he also supports technology. And so basically he is – well he's doing a ton of work with – well like we have a book study group going in math with our –he's creating umm math continuum for you know elementary math skills and he – he does some of the grunt work when it comes to collecting books and inventorying. You know, like passing out materials like curriculum materials and helping teachers with grade reporting, lot of the technical stuff. And then he – like he's done quite a – we've used him more this year. We had a previous one last year who's now a principal. And she didn't really do a whole lot of presentations to the staff. But he's doing a ton of staff development. Like today he's

– you know five big ideas in reading we're going to do that at our staff meeting again.

Kind of a continuation of that discussion – so I'm using him a lot in that capacity and he feels under-utilized quite honestly.

(Interview, 26 February 2008)

Mike interacted differently with the Amy and the on-site coach, leading to disparate outcomes for these two positions. Mike expected the on-site 'tech' coach to help teachers implement and understand the curriculum. Mike's understanding of the coach's position included professional development, creating a continuum of skills, leading a book study, leading staff presentations, and furthering the staff's understanding of how to implement the curriculum. Mike positioned the technology coach as under his domain ("so I'm using him a lot in that capacity") and responsible for the whole staff's professional development. Mike maintained disparate expectations for the technology coach and the ESL facilitator, stating "It's very different." Mike's interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy did not include professional development. He constructed the role of the facilitator as offering resources or support, but not supporting teacher learning with the broad range of skills assigned to the role of the curriculum coach. Mike did not see Amy in a coaching capacity and thus did not take advantage of her ability to do support teacher learning as he did with the technology coach.

Mike's support for the ESL facilitator policy aligned with his general leadership style. He communicated the policy message to the staff, but did little to foster positive engagement with the necessary policy changes. Mike explained how he perceived his role:

My role is to talk to the teachers and say, "You know what it is – make sure the teachers understand what – what qualifies and what doesn't qualify." And, I've done that a couple of times. But then also on the same hand I need to know when there's stuff that's going

on that – that isn't kosher. And then if I don't know that - then it's – so I kind of rely on Amy to tell me.

(Interview, 26 February 2008)

Mike's ensured the communication of the policy by inviting Amy to present the model every year at a staff meeting. After that, Mike assumed a passive role in policy implementation. He expected Amy to bring any conflicts or challenges to his attention. When Amy did bring conflicts to Mike, she constructed his support as insufficient.

Mike and Amy had adjoining offices at Birchfield. He often stopped by her office, asking how everything was going. Amy occasionally brought up concerns, but usually she would say things are fine. She explained to me that when she had asked for support, Mike pushed all the responsibility back on her shoulders.

Amy: When you come across teachers that aren't interested in the model, don't want to follow through, won't do the expectation of the model. They (the principals) – it's not the right word is I almost want to say become a coward. And just don't want to face that – it's easier to face me and say, "Didn't work," – or "We're trying" or, "Just give that person another chance," or, "Why don't you go talk to them face-to-face." or, "You do something to see this go through," versus you know saying, "I sent three emails, got no response." "This has to get done"; "I have to do this." They need to set a time or I need to get in the classroom or whatever that is. - Um, when you need the support to say bring down the hammer and make this happen-

Bonnie: - It's not there.

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

In Amy's interpretation of the facilitator policy, she expected the principal to enforce compliance with the policy. She expected the principal to support her by holding teachers accountable for implementing the policy. Mike fell short of Amy's expectation. She wanted him to 'bring down the hammer' and referred to him as a 'coward' for lack of a better word. When Amy approached Mike with a problem, she expected him to use his administrative authority to force teachers to comply. In this instance Mike did not directly intervene, which, from Amy's point of view, was inadequate support. While Mike voiced his support of the ESL facilitator policy, he did little to dismantle the status quo or confront teacher resistance.

At Birchfield, the ESL facilitator policy was communicated numerous times to teachers, but the policy message was transformed and diminished by the principal. The principal's construction of the policy did not recognize the full potential for the facilitator to support teacher learning. In addition, Amy interpreted the principal's leadership style and status as a newcomer status detracting from the expected transition from pull out to the ESL facilitator policy.

Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy at Birchfield

Birchfield's school culture consisted of a complicated mix of previous policies, norms, and an infusion of new staff members. Approximately half of the teachers at Birchfield had taught there more than ten years. According to the principal, this group of teachers was vocal and still maintained a great deal of clout in determining what happened at the school (Interview, 26 January 2008). The other half of Birchfield's teachers were new to the profession and the school, with under five years of experience. The two teachers profiled in the next section were new teachers (under five years at Birchfield). The teacher I had selected from the older generation (as an example of a teacher who was resistant to the policy) chose to withdraw from the study. The older generation's dominance shaped the school culture in which Amy attempted to implement

the ESL facilitator policy. As Amy sought to implement the ESL facilitator policy, she encountered teachers' strong attachments to pull out services which led to overwhelming passive resistance of the ESL facilitator policy.

Pull Out Structures

All support services at Birchfield, except ESL, continued to pull students out of the classroom. Pull out supports included LAP (Learning Assistance Program), Title 1, MAP (Math Achievement Program), Special Education, Speech, and Enrichment (Gifted). Within this context, Amy's attempts to shift to the facilitator model were resisted and constructed as illegitimate supports for students.

The pull-out model of support was endorsed through a school discourse that focused on providing small group pull out support for 'targeted kids' based on test scores. Mike Bosco, the principal, explained: "Small groups – usually small groups. Because we have targeted kids so that's the qualification." (Interview, 26 February 2008). In staff meetings, Mike guided the teachers through a process of identifying targeted students who would benefit from extra support. These students were then referred to one or more of the different pull out programs. Many English learners were receiving pull out support from these various other programs because they were identified as targeted students. When Amy met with the LAP teacher to discuss the students she served, she discovered that seventeen EL 4th and 5th graders were receiving pull out services. Recalling this conversation, Amy commented that "They're just finding a different way to go about the same pull out program" (Interview, 16 May 2008). The well established networking of pull-out services allowed teachers to ignore Amy's new role as a facilitator.

Pull Out Content

While the ESL department and Amy both highly valued alignment to the mainstream curriculum, that value was not equally embraced at Birchfield. The Special Education, MAP and Enrichment programs all used separate curricula with their pull out groups. Classroom teachers were not responsible for implementing any part of this curriculum. The instruction during pull out was unrelated to classroom instruction.

Bonnie: No, that's – my question was do the teachers see it as their responsibility to give this special instruction to the kids?

Mike: And the answer is – no.

Bonnie: Okay.

Mike: Because it's a different curriculum.

(Interview, 26 February 2008)

Teachers at Birchfield had students coming and going from their classrooms all day long, receiving a variety of pull out services. Some of these supports related to the mainstream curriculum. But, for certain populations, students received instruction through a separate curriculum that was not a part of the classroom teacher's responsibility. These pull out support systems had an historical precedence, defining what support should look like for students. Amy's attempts to implement the facilitator policy were interpreted and resisted through this definition of support.

Tensions Between Facilitation and Pull Out

Many teachers at Birchfield expressed resentment about the lack of pull out services Amy provided. Amy reconstructed a volatile encounter with a second grade teacher who refused to schedule a meeting with her.

Amy talked to the teacher explaining that she needed to have a meeting with her to figure out what is going on with her kids. The teacher replied that Amy doesn't support her kids. She continued by saying that it was nothing personal or nothing to do specifically with Amy. She just thinks this model sucks. She told Amy that pull out works so much better because her kids were getting what they needed. The teacher asked why she would need to meet if her kids are advanced ESL. Amy says that they could figure out other ways to support them. The teacher scheduled a meeting for today.

(Field Notes, 7 December 2007)

The meeting with the teacher never happened. The teacher called in sick the day of the meeting and Amy completed the required paperwork without the teacher's input. This teacher was the most vocal opponent of the facilitator policy at Birchfield, but Amy experienced resistance from many teachers at Birchfield who were not interested in the change in model. Amy and her mentee, an ESL teacher at another school, revealed the high level of resistance Amy had experienced the previous year.

Amy shares that Howard moved the old ESL teacher to another school, and put her in that position. The teachers were all really upset. Last year she heard a lot of, "That's not the way _____ used to do it." Amy tells me that last year some teachers actually yelled at her. Her mentee suggests that I stay in a separate room and have Amy go around with a microphone. They think my presence is actually improving the way that people are treating Amy on the staff.

(Field Notes, 2 November 2007)

Amy was placed in Birchfield to take the place of an ESL teacher who had not transitioned to the facilitator policy. According to Amy and her mentee, Amy experienced significant resistance

and mistreatment. The support Amy offered did not align with the existing expectations for pull out services.

Within this context Amy struggled to build positive, trusting relationships with classroom teachers. Amy debriefed with me after meeting with one teacher:

Amy says that at this school she is really forcing responsibility on people who don't want it. The teachers at this school are not happy because they don't want more responsibility. They see it that Amy is the ESL specialist and that it is her responsibility. Most teachers want some kind of in class support or a pull out session for Amy to work one on one with her kids. She refers to the last teacher we conferenced with and Amy says that those two kids are both advanced and are not at the top of her priority list. Amy says she gets comments from teachers like, 'It would be nice if you could come in here during this time.' Amy sighs and says that she's thinking that she's doing what she can. She says that her response would be to put it back on the teachers and ask them, "What can you do to support them? But, Amy thinks the teachers would get really upset and defensive if she put it that way. The teachers really want Amy to come in and do the instruction with the English language learners.

(Field Notes, 4 December 2007)

In Amy's interpretation of the policy, she recognized her primary purpose as promoting teacher learning. But, at Birchfield, she struggled to find teachers who were willing to work with her. Her expectation that teachers would assume responsibility for their English learners was not met. With this particular teacher, Amy wanted the teacher to assume more responsibility for educating English learners. But, if she forced the issue she would likely sacrifice the relationship with the

teacher. Amy struggled to build positive relationships when she was unable to meet teachers' expectations for the types of services they wanted.

While a few teachers were outright rude or dismissive towards Amy, many teachers at Birchfield passively resisted the policy. For the most part, the staff worked around her, ignoring her and the policy she was there to implement. The network of pull out services allowed teachers to find alternative supports for their English learners without having to interact with Amy. Amy interpreted the teachers' reaction to her:

Birchfield is very passive, like "come in and do what you want;" and/or "don't do what you want;" or "you couldn't show up today, so it's not a big deal"; or "I know you're really busy;" or whatever the reason is. It seems to be like a passive "Whatever."

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Teachers' resistance to the policy was communicated through a lack of engagement with Amy and what she offered. In her role as a facilitator, Amy relied on input from classroom teachers to determine what skills and language she needs to develop with individual students. At Birchfield, teacher's passive resistance to the ESL facilitator policy mean that Amy received very little feedback or guidance from teachers.

They struggle to give me a goal, so I often feel like I need to come up with my own goal for that kid based on observing them and giving the teacher some feedback. So I look at the feedback that I use with the kids at Birchfield, and I try to build my own goal and then try to give some intensive training... If I approach a teacher and ask them, "Did you read my feedback, and what do you think about the next steps?" I'm I would say probably 80% of the time get a response of, "Oh, I haven't gotten to it yet." And I don't know if they ever read them because I will ask two or three times and then I'll stop

because by then, the next week has come. And you can only harass someone so much before it becomes annoying and then the person doesn't like you.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Many teachers at Birchfield did not provide Amy with instructional goals, nor did they give her any feedback on the work she was doing with students. The individual support Amy offered to students was often done in isolation, even though it occurred in the mainstream classroom.

Teachers' unwillingness to communicate goals or provide feedback to ensured that the objective of collaborative partnerships was unmet.

Student Placement

Despite the common passive resistance at Birchfield, there were a few teachers who were supportive of Amy and the policy. But, Amy encountered another barrier of student placement. Amy met with Mike numerous times to encourage him to intentionally place EL students with certain teachers. But, EL students continued to be equally distributed throughout the school. English learners were placed into classrooms with teachers who were not willing to work with Amy, while teachers who had background knowledge about ESL were not given any English learners. Amy was frustrated by the process of student placement, perceiving that the school as a whole did not hold the needs of English learners as a high priority.

Amy sighs 'how do you build trust when they won't let you in the door?' Amy tells a story about one person on the staff here at Birchfield who shared at a staff meeting last year. The teacher is from Vietnam and came to American schools not speaking English. He wanted the other teachers to understand what it is like to be in a classroom and not understand what's going on. The teachers at this school were really moved by his speech, some of them even cried. Amy says that he would be the perfect teacher for her

to work with because he is already passionate about this issue. Yet, this year he has no English language learners in his room. She cries out “It must be a conspiracy against me!”

(Field notes, 4 December 2007)

EL students at Birchfield were distributed across the teaching staff, without acknowledging that some teachers were more committed to serving their needs. This forced Amy to approach with a large number of teachers who were unwilling to work with her. For example in fifth grade, Natalie, the teacher in the second case study had only one English learner. Another fifth grade teacher had two students and a third teacher had four students. Of the three teachers, Natalie was the only one who willingly communicated with Amy, and she had the fewest number of English learners.

Summary of the Context for Policy Implementation

The socio-historical context at Birchfield influenced the interpretation and enactment of the ESL facilitator policy. Amy, the ESL facilitator, and Mike, the principal, introduced significant changes to a school that had a long history of doing things their own way. Amy replaced an ESL teacher who had continued to use the pull out model of services despite the change in the official ESL policy. Amy looked to Mike for support to ensure teachers complied with the new policy, but Mike did not act as an enforcer. With little explicit support from the principal, Amy struggled to navigate the school culture and enact change. Many teachers on staff passively resisted the policy and a few were quite vocal in their opposition. The existing network of pull out services and the sprinkling of English learners across all of the classrooms limited Amy’s ability to engage teachers in ways that promoted teacher learning and improved instruction for students.

In the next section, I present two case studies situated within the Birchfield context. The case studies focus on the relationship of the facilitator and the classroom teacher. Through their relationship, the teacher and facilitator co-constructed the ESL facilitator policy. I provide a description of how the classroom teacher learned about the policy and their expectations of teacher learning and services for students. Next, I analyze the enactment of teacher learning within the facilitator-teacher relationship. I conclude with an analysis the services EL students in this classroom received.

Shelley Blake: Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy in a K/1 classroom

Shelley Blake taught a combination kindergarten and first grade class at Birchfield. Amy identified Shelley as a strong implementer of the policy. In this section I present how Shelley interpreted the ESL facilitator policy, and how the policy was enacted through her relationship with Amy Allen.

Learning about the Policy

Early in the year Amy invited Shelley to join her at the department sponsored workshop for classroom teachers. Amy and Shelley spent the morning discussing the different ways Amy could support Shelley and her students. Shelley's participation in the department sponsored workshop introduced her to the department's expectations for the facilitator model. More than any other teacher in this study, Shelley understood and reproduced the expectations articulated by the ESL department. She was able to clearly articulate the different types of support Amy could offer. Shelley reflected on her experience at the workshop.

I think that was really helpful because it gave people a lot of ideas for what they could – like I just got a lot of ideas. I was just writing down notes, “Oh! This is, this is something

that I could have so-and-so do.” Or, “I never thought of using this,” so I would just write it down. So I think that the facilitator model, I really like the idea that they’re – the sharing of ideas and things that teachers can do. It doesn’t have to always be someone else coming in and doing it - it is something that you can incorporate into your classroom every day, you know, at every lesson.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Shelley walked away from the workshop with a list of ideas for how to use Amy’s support. She valued the opportunity to collaborate with Amy.

Prior to the facilitator model, Shelley had experienced very little ESL support. The previous ESL teacher had spent the majority of her time with students in the intermediate grades (3rd – 5th). From Shelley’s perspective, there had been an increase of support since the implementation of the facilitator policy.

Um, the other one, the person who was it never really came and worked with my kids. I know she was working with other kids at this school but mine weren’t as severe... [she would] just would check in with me. I feel like I have greater contact with Amy and she’s not as tied to other students, so she’s freer.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Shelley’s previous history of minimal support and her participation in the department sponsored workshop shaped her positive interpretation and enactment of the facilitator policy.

Shelley’s Interpretation of the Policy

Teacher learning. Shelley interpreted the facilitator policy as a teacher learning policy. She positioned herself as responsible for the instruction of English learners. She positioned Amy as a coach, someone to help generate and fine tune ideas.

So my role is kind of to assess the students that I have in my class, let her know about what I'm seeing. And she's – her role is to kind of tell me what I can do to help them better.

(Interview, 14 March 2008).

Shelley articulated the roles of the facilitator and the classroom teacher with clear delineations of responsibility. In Shelley's interpretation of the facilitator policy, she was responsible for assessing students and then consulting with Amy about how to tailor her instruction. Shelley further explained her interpretation of the policy:

Amy's is here as a support to the teachers to help us uh, to help us create lessons and create an environment for our EL learners to be successful in the classroom. So, the support could be um, like the picture dictionaries like materials, or the support could be um, maybe some, like Smartboard files or visuals to help facilitate learning through lessons -- instruction. It could be just some giving some tips and strategies after discussing what our, the EL learner needs, like well what I could do. Like "Here is the problems I'm seeing," she's the one I can talk to. "Here's some problems I am seeing, what do you think I can do to help this child?" Um, and also like, since I teach such a younger grade, a lot of the time they just need that additional one-on-one talk time or initial instruction in um, greater clarification with vocabulary and things like that I can't always provide them.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Shelley valued Amy's support of her own learning and the individualized support she could provide to students. She positioned Amy as a valuable resource, providing materials, strategies,

and lesson plans. Shelley positively interpreted the policy, valuing the opportunity to problem solve with a colleague and receive some one on one time for her students.

Shelley exhibited comfort with her own skills as a teacher in meeting the needs of English learners. She was willing to learn more strategies to refine her pedagogy.

I think that she – there are a lot of strategies that I know already for how to teach reading effectively or for how to present information or how to group students or give them opportunities to speak, but It's helpful for me to hear from her ones that are specific for the students and also for ELL learners cause some are more helpful to them than others.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Shelley positively interpreted the facilitator policy as providing an opportunity for her to increase her knowledge and understanding for accommodating English learners.

Services for Students

As a teacher of kindergarteners and first graders, Shelley understood the needs of her English learners as very similar to the needs of native English speaking students. Shelley articulated her teaching philosophy as meeting the needs of all students, including English learners.

And it's interesting cause since I'm teaching kindergarten and first grade, I think a lot of the things that they might- the ELL support that Amy gives and provides to the other upper grades. I already do just because it's a matter of the curriculum and they give it to all of them. There's always a lot of visual support anyway and a lot of... background knowledge. And it could not just be because they're ELL learners and had those life experiences. I think a lot of the things I already do help them, so in a sense I don't think that I feel her presence as necessary sometimes.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Shelley engaged a colorblind discourse in constructing EL support as a part of quality teaching for kindergarten and first graders. She included the use of visuals and the development of background knowledge as supports that were already integrated into her teaching. She commented that Amy's support was not always necessary because she already had adequate scaffolds embedded in her curriculum.

One area that Shelley did value Amy's support was working individually with English learners. Shelley used formative assessments and attempted to tailor her instruction to individual students. Alone in the classroom, Shelley found this amount of differentiation to be overwhelming. She valued Amy's ability to provide independent or small group support for her students.

Since I teach such a young grade, a lot of the time they just need that additional one-on-one talk time or initial instruction and um, greater clarification with vocabulary and things like that I can't always provide them So she's [Amy's] been in the classroom to help with that as well, just so they can get - support because even just a general Kindergarten and first grade student needs a lot of time from me, just to because they're not independent workers, yet. So she's able to be that extra teacher when I need that as well.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Shelley's constructed of the needs of English learners as nearly identical to the needs of an English speaking kindergartener or first grader. In this quote, Shelley stated that all kindergarteners needed additional time and support with a teacher. With this understanding of student needs, she positioned Amy as an 'extra teacher' in the classroom, providing additional small group and individual learning opportunities.

Enactment of the Policy: Teacher Learning

Teacher-facilitator relationship to support teacher learning. Through their relationship, Amy and Shelley co-constructed their enactment of the ESL facilitator policy. Shelley's engagement with Amy enhanced her pedagogical knowledge and allowed her to discuss her questions and concerns with a colleague. Shelley's interactions with Amy primarily focused on the specific needs of her English learners, which she determined through formative assessment. Conversations between Amy and Shelley typically began with a concern Shelly had about one of her English learners. Amy offered her perspective on the child and then suggested some strategies or materials. In one example from the end of the year academic profile, Amy and Shelley discussed one child who was struggling to make personal connections while reading.

Shelly: So it's – yeah it's not – it's like social conversation type of topics. It's not even anything academic, which he might even do better at. But he does do better at – but I can hear him talking – this is my birthday party, but what it was with me – I don't know, maybe it's a cultural – it's a cultural thing too when speaking to adults.

Amy: He has – he's really good with retelling a story or making a connection in the story, but has a hard time making connections to real life. That's where he struggles.

Shelley: That's a really good way of putting it – yeah.

(Academic Profile, 14 May 2008)

In this conversation, Amy's outside perspective clarified Shelley's thinking about this student. Amy summarized Shelley's concerns into a distinct skill that this child was having difficulty with. Because Amy tied her suggestions to Shelley's concerns about her students, Shelley valued and implemented them.

Content of teacher learning. The content of teacher learning focused on both Shelley’s whole group instruction, as well as specific feedback about certain EL students. Amy often wrote anecdotal notes after working with Shelley’s students or observing in her classroom. Amy wrote detailed notes of what she did and saw along with suggestions for next steps. Amy’s anecdotal notes primarily focused on the type and amount of support individual students needed from her as well as the appropriateness of the lesson or materials for these students. In this example, Amy shared her interpretation of students’ reading progress.

N- needs to pay attention while the group is reading. He is really distracting! Even though he follows the reading and can remember sequential events. C. and A. read well and were able to retell and predict the ending. All good readers at this book level. N. sounded out the words ‘consequential without any prompting!

Next Steps: *N: Very good reading but needs quiet mouth and quiet body when it’s someone else’s turn to read or speak. Needs more challenge – harder books.*

A: Just right book for him

C: Reads well – can use harder books.

(Anecdotal Student Record, 12 March 2008)

The anecdotal notes Amy wrote for Shelley provided Shelley with additional information about her students’ progress. In this note, Amy shared that the students met the lesson objective of sequencing and predicting. She also suggested that one student was ready to move on to a higher level reading group. Shelley placed value on the anecdotal notes, seeing them as a tool to reflect on her teaching and her students’ progress.

Um, well, I, I read them over and then I kind of like process like, “Is this kind of like what I’m seeing? Am I seeing the same things?” Um, and most of the time, it’s just good

confirmation like “Oh, yeah, I’m noticing that they’re doing that too.” or “Oh good! She’s doing that with them, I’m doing that with them as well.” Um, so a lot of the time it’s like good confirmation that we’re on the same page and that we’re both seeing the same things in the students. Sometimes it’s just like, “Oh! That’s interesting that she presented it that way,” or, “I think I’m gonna try that with my group, too, next time.” And then times it’s like a behavior, “Okay, I need to talk to that kid about this.” So it’s really helpful to make sure the group is good for her and it’s good for me to just kind of know what’s happening there. I guess I just really like the confirmation like, “Oh, okay, good. That, she’s doing that too or “She’s seeing that too,” or, “She’s on top of that as well.” It’s good to share your students with someone else who knows what’s going on and can, as a teacher too, I just really like that aspect of someone who works with them too.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Shelley’s value of formative assessment and tailoring instruction to meet students’ needs played a significant role in how she interacted with the anecdotal notes from Amy. She reflected on Amy’s input, comparing her own instruction with the specialized instruction Amy provided. Shelley learned more about her students and was reflective of her own instruction through her reading of the anecdotal notes.

Evidence of teacher learning. In addition to anecdotal notes, Amy supported Shelley’s learning by providing instructional resources. One example of this was a Powerpoint template that Amy created to help support Shelley in writing kid friendly objectives for all of her lessons. In our interview, Amy shared that her primary learning focus with Shelley had been writing kid friendly objectives.

Well it was to do um, objectives and getting those kids and I think that definitely – if you’re telling me that they even see in other cla- in other subject areas – then that’s great...I mean, I couldn’t have asked for more in that particular circumstance.

(Interview, 2 June, 2008)

In all of my observations of Shelley’s teaching, I saw her use a PowerPoint template that Amy had developed which began with lesson objectives. Shelley used the PowerPoint templates to support her negotiation of a disjointed curriculum for Kindergarten and first grade.

But there’s no real curriculum for literacy for kindergarten through second grade for Eastlake School District. It’s kind of like there’s resources on the web. And a lot of people like it. It gives them freedom to like explore – choose their own books and explore different topics. And choose their own writing organizers and things like that. But sometimes for me it’s a little bit overwhelming, and it’s not very – and I try to be systematic about it, but I also can see where there will be gaps.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Without a clear curriculum to guide her, Shelley feared there may be gaps in her instruction. The PowerPoint template from Amy gave structure to her lessons, ensuring Shelley’s teaching objectives were clear. The resource Amy provided fit into Shelley’s need for a systematic approach to instruction. Amy accepted Shelley’s implementation of this resource independently and her response to suggestions in the anecdotal records as evidence of teacher learning.

Enactment of the Policy: Services for Students.

Amy spent a significant amount of time every week in Shelley’s classroom. Her typical schedule included supporting students in the classroom an hour during a science or writing

lesson, as well as a pulling a group of EL students for a 45 minute guided reading lesson. The English learners in Shelley's classroom received a variety of supports from Shelley and Amy.

Teacher-facilitator relationship to support ESL services. Shelley valued the targeted support Amy provided for her EL students. She not only saw this time as benefitting the students, but also as an opportunity for her to learn more about these students' specific ESL needs.

And uh, sometimes I like, there's this one student that I wasn't really quite sure of his reading level, because it was different because he's a Japanese speaker, he's learned a lot of English. I feel like – I was telling her, I feel he's like way beyond, I think he can read a whole lot and comprehend a whole lot but there's problems speaking and I was trying to get a, I have him reading at this lower level but I really feel like this is too easy for him. But so I, I needed some more feedback, some more consistent feedback from her about what she thinks about where he is.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Shelley connected Amy's support to students to her understanding of formative assessment. Amy's support was guided by Shelley's observations and was an opportunity to provide specific ESL feedback in response to Shelley's concerns. Shelley positioned the LAP teacher and Amy as providing extra practice in areas that she has identified. She maintained her own responsibility for teaching the students all subject areas. She believed these students would benefit from additional time and attention to learn the new skill. Shelley explained:

She (Amy) works on them with the reading, kind of like a small group reading so that they're able to um, just get extra time – when they work with me in a small group, we talk about all those good prediction strategies and looking at the pictures and you know,

thinking about what vocabulary do they have, what vocabulary do they still need? What words do they understand? And so, they get that with me but not every day. But when she comes in, they just get um, that once more. So she's like helping them to just have that same repetition practice.

(Interview, 14 March 2008)

Amy and Shelley collaborated with the LAP teacher to determine the most appropriate supports for this group of English learners. Shelley took advantage of this collaboration as an opportunity to learn more about how to better serve her English learners.

Content of ESL services. Amy provided in class support to students during the science and writing time on a weekly basis. Amy's role was to monitor students and provide individualized support as needed. Amy wrote anecdotal student records to share how she had supported students.

Observations and Summary: During a writing time. I missed the directions but Shelley gave me a brief run through. Kids were expected to write a beginning/middle/end. They gave paper and lines to do their writing. I worked with A- very difficult to understand spelling he talked me through it and I helped organize his thoughts. Then I talked with J- she was well on her way. Y- also did very well – he even had a comma and speech marks!! I asked him about it and he said it was because someone was talking. He learned this on his own from looking at books and a little help from older brother.

Next Steps: Come in work with S- or N- as well as others.

All seemed to be on task and understand what was needed.

M. Seemed on her way.

I liked the closing for sharing and welcoming other kids to provide answers.

(Anecdotal Student Record, 12 January 2008)

As documented in the Anecdotal Student Record, Amy checked in with many students, noting the skills they were developing and providing assistance to students who needed support with the writing lesson. Amy's support focused on the lesson objective of organizing writing into beginning, middle. She also paid attention to students' spelling and punctuation. Amy's support during the writing block fulfilled Shelley's expectation for the facilitator to provide individualized support for students.

Amy also provided individualized support to a group of English learners during a weekly guided reading group. Amy shared her perspective on the support she provided for Shelley's students during the small reading group.

I work with four kids, one of them moved just recently –um so I have only had three of them. They're all boys...So you know, it – for once a week for an hour for those kids and three out of the four with – receiving LAP services. And I, you know, you speak to the LAP teacher, talking to them about, "This is where I pushed them" to check to see if that's where you feel they're at, and then we'll go back to Shelley and give her the feedback on that. You know, those kind of things are, are good. But there's been some, some pretty big growth with those kids. And I'm sure it's not just me – I just happen to be in there to witness the kids really growing and moving on their reading levels so. Yeah.

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

Amy's reading group objectives were created in collaboration with the LAP teacher and Shelley. All three teachers worked with these students on developing reading skills. Through this collaboration, they articulated the students' needs and develop a clear instructional focus. As

Amy noted, all three of the boys she worked with demonstrated significant gains in reading scores by the end of the year. All three met the district expectations for reading proficiency at the end of first grade.

Evidence of successful ESL services. The English learners in Shelley's classroom received ongoing support through Shelley's implementation of the strategies and suggestions she learned through facilitation. Every time I observed Shelley's instruction she had clear objectives. For example, one afternoon Shelley introduced an editing lesson to the whole class:

Shelley pulls up the smartboard and calls all of the students back to the carpet in the front of the room. The first slide says: What are we going to learn today. We are going to learn how to edit our writing. Edit = fix your writing. The students all read the question together: What are we going to learn today? Shelley reads the rest of the objective explaining what edit means. She reminds students that they have been working on the All About Books – “what am I an expert on?” She holds up one example from a student who wrote an all about Hannah Montana book. She tells the class that some students have already finished and that they have been to the editing table with her. For these students she will explain later what they will be working on. On the next slide is a list of ‘what are we going to do today?’ It shows a picture of a checklist. There are three steps. She reads them to the students: 1) finish your writing 2) edit your writing 3) use your checklist.

(Field Notes, 24 January 2008)

Clear objectives were a strong emphasis for Amy and from the department, as evidenced in the two day facilitator retreat focusing on objectives. Shelley followed the format that Amy had

introduced: “*What are we going to learn?*” and “*What are we going to do?*” Shelley’s whole group instruction included a clear modeling of the lesson objective.

Next, Shelley pulls up an editing checklist on the smartboard. She tells them to point to the first thing. She reads it for them: ‘I put spaces between my words.’ Shelley pulls up her sample writing for the students to look at. She asks them if she put spaces between all of her words. She shows them how to check by using her fingers for spacing. There is one place that needs a finger space. She returns to the checklist and shows the students how to check it off when it is done...

(Field Notes, 24 January 2008)

Shelley ended the direct instruction with an active engagement of students repeating the learning objective:

Shelley asks them if they can do this. She flips back to the smartboard slide that tells them what to do. She asks them what to do first. Then she explains that when they finish writing they should come and get the editing checklist. Before setting them loose she clarifies with a few more students what they are going to do first.

(Field Notes, 24 January 2008)

Shelley scaffolded her instruction for her whole class, ensuring they received visual and linguistic support. She also created a classroom environment where students were free to talk, to work with each other, and to explore. During the writing period, Shelley encouraged students to share their writing with each other. In other observations, I saw Shelley’s students actively engaged in math centers and in partner science observations.

Shelley created a classroom in which all students could participate. She scaffolding whole group instruction and specially designing small group instruction. The combination of

Shelley's scaffolded whole class instruction with Amy's small group and in class support created a system of support for English learners. Within this context, Shelley perceived the facilitator model as providing adequate support for her students.

And I think she's just so knowledgeable, has so many great ideas and is really good at what she does. So I really appreciated all of that. And I really felt like if I hadn't— if she hadn't me then I some of the things wouldn't have been so successful this year, and just like all right.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Shelley valued Amy's expertise and the support of an additional teacher in her classroom. She integrated Amy's suggestions to provide quality instruction for English learners throughout the day.

Analysis of Shelley and Amy's Interpretation and Enactment of the ESL Facilitator Policy

Through their relationship Amy and Shelley co-constructed a particular enactment of the ESL facilitator policy. Shelley formed a collaborative relationship with Amy to meet students' needs. Shelley was committed to using formative assessment and learning as much as possible about her students. English learners in Shelley's class benefited from the change in Shelley's instruction based on her interaction with Amy, and the language support Amy provided in her weekly reading sessions.

Their relationship aligned with many of the expectations expressed by the ESL department. But in two areas, it was significantly different. First, Amy provided pull out services that were not temporary. This aligned with Amy's interpretation of pull out services as something that could be positive if there was adequate communication. Amy, Shelley, and the LAP teacher coordinated their support for a group of students, working together to bring the

students up to grade level expectations. Second, Amy did not use the case management approach in deciding how to allocate her time. Interestingly, Amy did not follow her own vision of providing the most support to the neediest teacher. In Amy's schedule, she allocated more time with Shelley than any other teacher at Birchfield. This preference for working with Shelley appeared to be based on their positive relationship rather than Shelley's need to learn or the high needs of her students. In our interview Amy described Shelley as

Very easy to work with and very um, also eager to learn new things and take advantage of – “You can help me” and “How can you support me in the learning” – absorbing the information and implementing it and trying it.

(Interview, 6 June 2008)

In a school where Amy had doors shut in her face, teachers ignoring her, and passive resistance, she gravitated towards a classroom where she felt welcome and appreciated. As Shelley stated in her interview, “I think a lot of the things I already do help them, so in a sense I don't think that I feel her presence as necessary sometimes.” (Interview, 23 May 2008) Shelley had a significant number of strategies already in practice to scaffold her instruction. Amy's input helped Shelley refine her practice, and reminded her of strategies she already knew.

Amy classified her relationship with Shelley as a positive example of facilitation. Shelley fulfilled Amy's expectation for the role of the teacher: requesting support, implementing strategies, and taking ownership for ELs. Amy responded by providing additional support to Shelley and her students than she provided to teachers who were passive or resistant to the ESL facilitator policy. While this relationship can be considered a success, it is important to note that Amy's choice to spend extra time in Shelley's classroom meant the other 22 classrooms with less knowledgeable and accommodating teachers received less support.

Natalie Burrows: Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy in a 5th Grade Classroom

Natalie Burrows was a fifth grade teacher at Birchfield elementary. Amy identified Natalie as a “middle of the road” implementer of the ESL facilitator policy. In this section I present how Shelley interpreted the ESL facilitator policy, and how the policy was enacted through her relationship with Amy Allen.

Learning about the policy

Natalie’s was first introduced to the ESL facilitator policy during her student teaching at Birchfield. Natalie completed her student teaching internship in one of Birchfield’s fourth grade classrooms. She was hired as a fifth grade teacher the next year. Natalie learned about the policy primarily through her relationship with Amy. Natalie did not attend the district’s workshop for classroom teachers and had never seen the actual ESL facilitator policy text (Interview, 15 April 2008). Natalie understood the policy as Amy supporting students through individual, in-class assistance.

Okay. So I think it’s just that – Amy is there and she’s there to help if I need her to. I can go to her and say -“So David’s having trouble in science right now and can you come in and sit with him through the lesson and explain it to him?” Or what I actually had her come in and help with earlier in the year was the math was the sixth grade unit, because there was so much vocabulary. So she’d just come in and sit with him and then explain to him words he didn’t understand or help him with that.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

In Natalie’s interpretation of the facilitator policy, Amy was available to support her English learners through one-on-one assistance in the classroom. Natalie used the phrase “sit with him” twice to describe how Amy supported David, her one English learner. Natalie’s interpretation of

the facilitator policy focused on one type of service: individualized support for students in the classroom. She constructed Amy's role as sitting with the student and clarifying her instruction. She constructed her own role as requesting Amy's support for ELs.

Interpretation of the policy: Teacher Learning

Natalie interpreted the facilitator policy as an individual support, classroom assistance program. She did not discuss the facilitator policy in terms of teacher learning. Natalie positioned Amy as a resource to turn to when her students had a problem.

I guess whenever he's having a problem, I'll talk to her more. Right now I probably haven't talked to her in like two months. But we just talk about David and what – what I think he's having trouble with or what I think he's understanding or she'll ask me about the book she's given him or something like that.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

Similar to Shelley, Natalie sought Amy's support and advice when David, her one EL student, was struggling. Natalie stated that the support she had received from Amy was insufficient support for her to gain adequate knowledge and skills for teaching English learners through the facilitator policy.

I don't have very much training with ESL students it would be helpful to have more ideas of how to do the things she does on my own, although that's hard too. I guess that's why it's easier for me to just say, "Yeah come in." Because then I can just worry about what I'm already doing. But I think it would be just in general good to have tips on how to communicate if he's not understanding something or how I could show him a different way.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

Amy and Natalie's problem solving conversations typically resulted in Amy supporting the student directly in the classroom. This ensured that the student received support, but did not foster Natalie's acquisition of strategies or resources to provide similar accommodations on her own. Natalie continued to do "what I'm already doing," expecting Amy to address David's specific needs. Natalie requested specific support for her students, but did not construct these services as supporting her own learning.

Interpretation of the Policy: Services for Students

Natalie had limited background knowledge of working with English learners. She understood the needs of ELs in terms of vocabulary and grammar. Natalie also used an achievement discourse to justify the lack of services her students needed or received.

Natalie constructed the needs of English learners as a need for vocabulary and grammar. She created a dichotomy between the needs of English learners and the rest of her class.

I think just how important and how hard vocabulary is. Because I know that's hard for all the students, and then it makes me appreciate how much harder it is for ELLs students --- who are struggling sometimes with just repetitive vocabulary, and not that new math vocabulary and Science vocabulary -- and all of those.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Natalie recognized that the vocabulary in the mainstream curriculum was challenging for English learners. She pointed out that ELs are not only learning the new science and math terms along with the rest of the class. They are also struggling with "repetitive vocabulary" or basic linguistic fluency.

Like I've said before he puts in lots of commas, or he doesn't structure it the way that I want him to, even if I've tried and showed him multiple times. <<Uh-huh.>> He doesn't

seem to get it...I'm more focused on with my kids doing details and how to put your paragraph in order. <<Uh-huh.>> I think they need more rudimentary instruction, but then also why – like David why he keeps going back to it even when I've showed him...Because the ideas in his paper will be good. <<Uh-huh>> And I will know what he's trying to convey. <<Uh-huh>> And it's always is good. He always has good ideas. <<Yeah>> But it's the way that he presents them. Yeah, the spelling conventions, the grammar, and I just don't know the best way to help him with that.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Natalie was flustered by the challenges she saw in David's writing. With the rest of her class, she was teaching paragraph and essay structure, but David needed support with grammar, conventions, spelling, and sentence structure. Natalie associated these skills with 'rudimentary instruction' which she was not sure how to provide. David's persistent errors puzzled her. She could not understand why he continued to make the same errors after she had shown him the correct way numerous times. Natalie recognized David's specific language needs, but she constructed those needs as outside the mainstream fifth grade expectations.

Natalie articulated an understanding that EL students need specific language development, but she did not alter her daily instruction to focus on language development. Natalie explained that the English language learners in her class had been 'bright' and able to catch on to the classroom learning objectives easily.

Both (last year's English Learners) and David, both have been very bright and very quick with everything I feel like. So, it's been fairly easy for me.... With David I just don't feel like I need quite as much help.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

Natalie referred to students 'brightness' as a rationale for not needing additional support. Like many teachers, Natalie confuses intelligence with language development (Harklau, 2003). Because David and her previous English learners quickly assimilated into her classroom Natalie did not see additional language support as necessary. Natalie's attitude towards her English learners is similar to the colorblind attitude documented by Harklau (2003) in which 'good' English learners Americanize and assimilate, rapidly acquire English, and do not disrupt the status quo.

When I asked Amy about her perception of Natalie's instruction for ELs, she explained that Natalie is often too 'easy' on her English learners.

In terms of thinking about their grade level - is probably the biggest thing that she struggles with. I mean, she wants him to do so well. That she sort of pushes him along with it. In terms of saying- "Oh! I think he can really do this and he can really do that," but is he doing it at fifth grade level? And oh, no he's not doing it at fifth grade level kind of thing. And you - you're looking at "Does he have those down? Or Doesn't he have those down?" Even though he's an advanced student <<Yeah.>> If he doesn't have those kind of fine-tuning things, he's still not at grade level.

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

According to Amy, Natalie did not hold ELs to the same standards as their English speaking peers. Natalie discursively constructed her English learners as bright or successful without holding them to grade level expectations. She embraced the contradiction of knowing students need language support in vocabulary and grammar, but believing that because they were bright they did not need support during regular instruction.

Enactment of the policy: Teacher learning

Unlike Shelley, Natalie did not feel comfortable with her own knowledge and expertise in supporting English learners. Through facilitation, Natalie developed some ideas about the general needs of English learners. Most of her learning focused on the specific needs of her one English learner.

Teacher-Facilitator Relationship to Support Teacher Learning. Through her relationship with Amy, Natalie constructed some general understandings of how she could change her instruction to support ELs.

Bonnie: Okay. Have you learned anything new working with the facilitator? Like anything about working with ELLs that you didn't know?

Natalie: Yeah, I think – I mean one big thing is what I already told you that I talk too fast. And then that's not helpful, which is probably something for all of the kids. Like something I need to work on with all of the kids, and then also I think just how important and how hard vocabulary is. Because I know that's hard for all the students, and then it makes me appreciate how much harder it is for ELLs students –who are struggling sometimes with just repetitive vocabulary, and not that new math vocabulary and science vocabulary - and all of those.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Natalie focused on the strategies for ELs that she determined to be beneficial for all students. Slowing her speech and emphasizing vocabulary blended in with practices Natalie constructed as good for all students.

Natalie and Amy communicated via email to discuss David. Natalie asked Amy very specific questions about David's learning and where he could need support. Natalie recalled what she has gained through her email communication with Amy:

She's emailed me a couple times and like one thing she emailed me at the beginning of the year was that I talk too fast, which I know and so that's good to remember for him, that I have to slow it – slow it down a little bit. And then just told me the things that he was really understanding and the things that he was struggling with so that I knew more of where he was. He doesn't ask for help very much, so it's hard for me – like if I don't go to him, he'll just sit there, so that was nice to hear at that time where she – where he was at.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

Amy assessed and interpreted David's needs for Natalie. Whenever Amy came into Natalie's classroom to work with David, she provided clear feedback on what David understood and where he needed more support. Natalie integrated this new information with her own understanding of David's progress.

He has some trouble with some of the vocabulary. And actually she did one time – I thought that – I was thinking that he was having trouble with the math vocabulary at the beginning of the year and actually he was having trouble with the *Connections*, which I didn't realize. I just – I don't know why, I guess I just didn't really ask him, I just figured that the math vocabulary was challenging so he must be having a hard time with that, but it was actually the *Connections* so that was really helpful that she had sat and talked with him about that and she was able to come in for a few connections lessons to sit with him.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

This example was a typical interaction between Natalie and Amy. Natalie approached Amy with a prediction of where David was struggling. Amy came into the classroom to work with David and determine where he actually needed additional support. In this instance, Natalie thought he

was struggling with math vocabulary, but Amy determined that he was really struggling with *Connections*, the humanities curriculum.

Natalie engaged with Amy to discuss David, her EL student. She recognized that through her relationship with Amy she had gained a better understanding of ELs, but she did not feel comfortable in her level of expertise. Natalie's learning primarily focused on monitoring the progress and the specific needs of David. Natalie heavily relied on Amy to provide specific supports to David, while leaving much of her own practice unchanged.

Content of Teacher Learning. Amy's learning goals for Natalie aligned with Natalie's desire to deepen her knowledge about David.

Bonnie: Um, so what would you say was your goal or intention of working with her this year?

Amy: This year just to keep an eye on David to make sure and also to see that he's – kind of keeping up with everybody not feeling overwhelmed. Because a lot of a kids, I mean, including David. He's a very outgoing kid – - and really fun to hang around with but when you don't get it, you tend to get quiet and you know, just kind of um, fade into the group rather than say "I don't understand that Um, I've worked with David, too, about being confident enough to say, "I don't understand."

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

Amy's focus for the year of this study was to ensure that Natalie monitored David, and realized that David was not always going to ask for help when he did not understand. When I asked Natalie how she supported David throughout the year, she responded:

I think just checking in or restating vocabulary especially what it means. He's not really big on asking questions, so I have to make sure that I go to him to say, "Did you

understand that?” “Do you want me to read this to you?” and he likes to be very self sufficient, so it’s just kind of hard. Because I’d rather have him tell me “I don’t get this part” or “read this to me.” But I do just check back with him sometimes, and then at the beginning of the year he did tell me that he was having problem with some of the vocabulary.

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Amy and Natalie shared the same goal for monitoring and supporting David. Both positioned David as unwilling to ask for help and Natalie as the one who would be responsible for asking David questions to determine whether he needed extra support or not.

Evidence of Success of Teacher Learning. Natalie’s increased check ins with David met Amy’s expectations for teacher learning for the year of this study. In addition, Amy saw evidence of Natalie creating and using curriculum modifications, developing clear expectations for English learners, and checking for understanding.

Bonnie: So, looking over the course of the year, what do you think that uh, she has learned through the process of facilitation?

Amy: Um, how to modify curriculum. I think she’s done a lot of modifying in terms of expectations for ESL kids. I mean, last year she had two and this year she has one. But um, checking in with them, making sure that they’re okay...She had a unique case um, last year, which I think really opened her eyes in terms of the facilitator model where she had a kid who was speaking no English whatsoever – had come from Germany – went to the Center Program and by Christmas was out of the Center. Now, hard worker and someone who’s really great, but came into the classroom and is really willing to try and really willing to work so – um and then we worked on

vocabulary lists and things of that nature last year. And she had all those um, stored up in a bank of things that she had for ESL facilitation that I'd provided for her last year and just used many of those same ideas again this year.

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

According to Amy, facilitation had supported Natalie in changing her instructional practice. Amy saw Natalie reusing the strategies and resources she provided last year. Natalie kept a 'bank of things' to refer to assist her in supporting English learners.

In my observations, I saw Natalie check in frequently with David, but I never observed any curricular modifications such as vocabulary lists. I only observed her write one vocabulary word on the board during 5 hour long observations.

With Amy's prompting, Natalie checked in more frequently with David during lessons. But, she recognized her limitations of being able to foresee areas he may find challenging and asking for support prior to the lesson.

I try to check in with him more frequently, I guess than I would normally would just to make sure he gets – he gets what we're doing. And then probably my role, though, is to figure out when he's going to need help or to try to beforehand to ask her to come in, which I guess I'm not that good at.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

While Natalie became more comfortable checking in with David, she lacked the expertise to be able to analyze upcoming lessons for potential language challenges. Natalie constructed her check ins as an opportunity to determine what kind of support she would request from Amy. She did not connect checking in with David to change her own instructional practice.

Enactment of the Policy: Services for Students

In Natalie's classroom, the facilitator policy was enacted as one-on-one assistance for David.

Facilitator-teacher relationship to support EL student learning. Amy and Natalie communicated on a regular basis to determine if David needed any additional support in upcoming units or lessons. Amy described the support she has provided for David.

Okay. Now, David is a pretty advanced kid. And he's on the advanced list so I have done very little with him just because when I come in and check in with um, Natalie, she says most things are at grade level or just a little bit below.

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

During my observations, Amy worked with David on a weekly basis from September through March. She had originally arranged her schedule to come into Natalie's class during math, after Natalie expressed concern about the math vocabulary. Through her interactions with David, Amy determined that he was not struggling with the math as much as he was struggling with *Connections*, the humanities curriculum. Amy changed her schedule so that she could support David during *Connections* time.

Content of ESL services. Amy's method of support was to sit with David and clarify the lesson, use the vocabulary, and engage him in conversations about the topic. David sat at the back of the classroom, and Amy pulled up a chair next to him. While Natalie taught, Amy and David had an ongoing conversation about the lesson. Natalie constructed Amy's support as legitimate.

Really, what I just ask her to do is come and sit, which is most helpful for me, because then I can concentrate on getting the lesson ready for everyone else then know that she'll

be there to help him with what he's doing. So I guess, again, not that I wouldn't ask her to do that or look at a lesson with me, I just haven't.

(Interview, 15 April 2008)

When Amy supported David, Natalie turned her attention to the rest of the class abdicating her responsibility. She taught the lesson without specific accommodations for David, knowing that Amy was there to support him. When Amy was not there, I observed Natalie providing support through visuals and peer support.

Amy's weekly support for David did not address one area of concern for Natalie: David's writing. During their academic profile meeting, Natalie and Amy discussed David's writing:

Natalie: He still gets very mixed up on his tenses and so he'll just put is where it should be are. He'll put, I can't think of examples right off the bat, but it's just tenses, he gets them really mixed up. And

Amy: Does he do present tense, like, get those kinds of things mixed up?

Natalie: Let me try to grab – he just – I think his ideas are as good as any of the other kids and the things he wants to say are, but sometimes he just can't say them as perfectly the way that we write. So like here, he wrote, "If world don't have the freedom of religions." That's another thing, he puts S's in weird places, "They can't even be the religions they want to be so it might affect them so that's why this law is important." So it's like s's and then it's –

Amy: Even did and didn't, and plurals where there shouldn't be plurals. Okay.

(Academic Profile, 6 May 2009)

Without Amy's support during writing time, Natalie employed the support of peer editors.

I think the first time I did it, I think he was like, “I don’t really want them to look at my work” because he knew he had mistakes like that and so I think he was little bit wary. Like, he didn’t really want to, but it went really well. The girl that he was paired up with is like – was like really nice and she was like, “Oh this is so good and just change this and this.”

(Interview, 23 May 2008)

Natalie recognized David’s need for language support in writing. She addressed this need by having students help David with editing his paper. Natalie felt this was insufficient support for David’s written language to develop. She saw a need for “rudimentary instruction” and admitted, “I just don’t know the best way to help him with that.”(Interview, 23 May 2008).

Evidence of successful ESL Services. Natalie interpreted Amy’s ESL services as successful, but noted that her own support of David, specifically in writing, was inadequate. Because she classified David’s writing problems as “rudimentary” she did not see these services as falling under her responsibility as a classroom teacher. Without any additional (ESL or other) services offered to David in writing, many of his grammatical challenges remained uncorrected.

In one of my visits, Natalie shared David’s assessments with me to show where he was doing well and areas of concern. After Amy switched to supporting David in the literacy block, his math assessment demonstrated a lack of understanding of key vocabulary such as prime factorization.

The question asked for the prime factorization of 48. David’s answer showed three factors pairs for 48: 12X4, 6X8, and 24X2.

(Field Notes, 15 February 2008)

In my analysis of David's assessment, he showed an understanding of the mathematical concepts. But, he often did not answer the actual test questions. In the question above, he shows that he understood factorization, but not the distinction between factorization and prime factorization. (In another question, he did demonstrate prime factorization, indicating that he did have the skill).

Analysis of Natalie and Amy's Interpretation and Enactment of the ESL Facilitator Policy

The facilitation relationship between Natalie and Amy focused on the specific needs and progress of David, the only English learners in Natalie's class. Their relationship aligned with the general expectation of the ESL facilitator policy for the facilitator to support students and provide the classroom teacher with feedback. But, direct support for David remained primarily Amy's responsibility. Natalie developed a better understanding of David and his learning needs and trajectory, but she relied on Amy to both assess and address David's specific needs. When Amy was in the classroom, Natalie did not assume responsibility for scaffolding the lesson for him. Natalie did not scaffold her instruction specifically for David, operating under the assumption that he was a bright student and could keep up.

Natalie gained some general knowledge about teaching ELs through her relationship with Amy, all of which aligned with her definition of good teaching. Amy's goals for working with Natalie were too narrow to support Natalie in becoming proficient in identifying and addressing the instructional needs of ELs. Amy identified her learning goal for Natalie as increased awareness of whether David understood a lesson. Amy did not provide specific support for Natalie to develop accommodations or strategies to address the instructional needs of ELLs. She provided that support herself. Even though Natalie had shown growth and met Amy's learning

objectives, she did not have the knowledge or skills to provide appropriate supports for David independently.

Natalie's case was an interesting scenario where a student was classified as advanced and not requiring much support, but the teacher was in need of significant coaching and learning. In Amy's interpretation of the policy, she stated that she did not adhere to the district's "case management" discourse. She believed her role was to support the neediest teacher. But, in this case, Amy engaged the case manager discourse, pointing out that David was an advanced proficiency student and required less of her time and support. While Natalie was a needy teacher, with few skills and resources for addressing the needs of ELs, Amy did not dedicate any additional time in her classroom. In fact, in my final interview with Natalie, she reported that Amy stopped working with David at the end of April.

8.

ENACTING THE ESL FACILITATOR POLICY AT CEDAR VALLEY ELEMENTARY

Introduction

In this section of the findings, I explore the interpretation and enactment of the ESL facilitator policy and its influence on teacher learning and instruction and services for English learners at Cedar Valley.

To situate my findings, I begin with a brief introduction to the school's socio-historical context. Next, I explore the policy communication at the school site. I consider opportunities to learn provided by the district as well as the leadership of the principal in communicating the policy. I follow this with an analysis of dominant discourses in the school context that Amy encountered as she attempted to negotiate the policy. I then analyze two cases of facilitation: Carolina Cross and Priya Chatterjee. For each case, I present the teacher's interpretation of the policy as well as the co-constructed enactment of the policy. In each classroom, Amy and the teacher negotiated their understandings and expectations of the policy to create opportunities for teacher learning and services for English learners.

Socio Historical Context of Cedar Valley

Although the facilitator model had been official district policy for a number of years, Cedar Valley, like Birchfield, had not fully implemented the new policy until Amy arrived. Amy's arrival prompted a shift to an unfamiliar service delivery model. Helen Cole, the principal, explained:

First we had the pull out model. Then the pull out model went away and then we had support. And then we moved to facilitator. So it's been a gradual increment of – and I think even as many times as people have heard that Amy is the facilitator there still is

that, “Well why isn’t she in here working side by side with my kids? I have only seen her once or twice. I have these kids identified as ELL learners. And I’m not getting any support.” So and that said I do understand that from a classroom teacher’s perspective.

(Interview, 27 February 2008)

Amy’s predecessor had made the transition from providing pull out services to a general support model, which included in class as well as pull out support for students. When Amy came to Cedar Valley, the staff expected Amy’s support to be similar to what they had experienced in the past. Amy’s implementation of the ESL facilitator policy collided with existing beliefs at Cedar Valley about what kind of services English learners needed and who was responsible for providing those supports.

In contrast to her chilly reception at Birchfield, Amy recalled her introduction to Cedar Valley as much more positive. She interpreted the Cedar Valley staff as being generally open to trying the facilitator model as something new.

At Cedar Valley, I got the feeling that things were slowly transitioning. They weren’t totally buying the new model and they’re sort of caught between the two models with some of the staff members. Where Cedar Valley’s kind of like, “Okay, this is something new. It’s like anything else.” “We will try something new here. Let’s give it a try and see how it goes.” And for I would say 90% of the staff here, they’re open to trying all the different things, and the teachers that have tried it, have really seen the benefits from it, and the teachers that haven’t tried it, don’t. And so you know you can’t get everybody on board.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Amy found an openness at Cedar Valley that was not apparent at Birchfield. There were many new teachers, predominantly in the primary grades, at Cedar Valley. The majority of the staff had been there less than five years. Amy found these teachers were willing to experiment and try something new. But, there were also pockets of resistance at Cedar Valley.

Communicating the ESL Facilitator Policy at Cedar Valley

At the beginning of the school year, Amy shared a PowerPoint presentation with the staff at Cedar Valley explaining the ESL facilitator policy. She shared the policy document, pointing out the variety of supports she could offer. In our interview, the principal revealed that the staff had had a similar presentation each year (Interview, 27 February 2008). Despite multiple attempts to communicate the expectations of the ESL facilitator policy, there was still a lot of confusion at Cedar Valley about policy's intention for teachers to assume primary responsibility providing instructional supports for English learners.

Bonnie: So do you feel like there are teachers in this school who are still at some point expecting Amy to start doing pull out?

Helen: Absolutely. Absolutely. Even though we've said over and over again. And I mean I just had a teacher who in the staff meeting stopped me and said, "I have three ELL kids who are really in need and I've never seen Amy. I need to talk to you about it." So I mean I need to be able to get from her what does that mean. What do you mean you haven't seen Amy? Is your expectation she's gonna be in there to help them learn? Or that she's gonna come and give your strategies?
(Interview, 27 February 2008)

Helen claimed that the expectations of the ESL facilitator policy had been communicated numerous times. But, some teachers still held on to the idea that ‘services’ should look like the ESL teacher working with students.

Helen understood the ESL department’s expectations for the facilitator policy as primarily supporting teacher learning. But, not all of the staff shared this understanding of the policy’s intention. She shared her interpretation of the ESL facilitator policy as placing an additional burden on classroom teachers:

And I think some of our teachers who have been on site for a long time, used to the pull out model, just don’t have the orientation that they are now responsible for carrying on the adaptations that take on. And you know it, I think it can sometimes feel to a teacher well that’s just one more thing. I’m supposed to adapt the curriculum for my, these autistic IEP learners and now ELL and I don’t really see that I have much support. I don’t have much background knowledge about the acquisition of second language. So what do I do?

(Interview, 27 February 2008)

The principal engaged a subtractive discourse, positioning English learners as a burden on the classroom teacher. She constructed classroom teachers who did not have a background in second language acquisition as ill prepared to provide the supports these students need. She positioned English learners with special needs students as ‘just one more thing’ on the classroom teacher’s overflowing plate of responsibilities.

In the district’s discourse, responsibility for the success of the facilitator policy is shared between the principal, facilitator, and the district administration. The principal’s leadership can significantly help or hinder the implementation of a new policy (Seashore Louis, Febey &

Schroeder, 2005). Helen Cole, the principal of Cedar Valley, portrayed herself as supportive of the policy. Amy, on the other hand, interpreted Helen's support as inadequate to make any real changes.

Helen recalled instances when teachers complained to her about the policy and she reinforced Amy's role as a facilitator.

So I always encourage people when they, and Priya's one of the people who came to me actually and said, "I am really upset. I have all these ELL here and I'm not getting any help." I said, "Well you need to get a hold of Amy. And understand that Amy will come and help you adapt the curriculum. She's not gonna pull these kids out."

(Interview, 27 February 2008)

Helen was aware of a common discourse at Cedar Valley which constructed ESL support as pull out services. Through her interactions with teachers, Helen attempted to shift their thinking to understand that Amy's support was directed towards the teacher, not the student.

In her interview, Helen discursively constructed herself as a strong supporter of the policy, including it as part of teachers' evaluations.

Bonnie: So when you walk into a classroom how do you know okay the ELL facilitator model is working in this classroom?

Helen: Because I can talk to the ELL learner and they know what's going on. And they are able to participate in instruction in the classroom. And if they can't and I push back on a lot of teachers. If they are just sitting there and nothing – and there's obviously everything's up over above their head it's not working. And that's the teacher's responsibility. You know and I'm really – I will talk to them in a post-observation conversation and say, "We really – I noticed that so and so was not at

all involved and had no idea what the lesson objective was. Wasn't able to do any of the learning. So how are you adapting curriculum?" So that's the first thing. And then if they're struggling with it then I ask Amy. I mean and I will write that in an observation report. That we agree that Amy would come in and support you on how to make certain that this learner is. So that to me is – I mean it's collaborative all the way around.

(Interview, 27 February 2008)

In this example, Helen suggested that she provided administrative support for the facilitator policy through her observation and evaluation of classroom teachers. She placed responsibility for accommodations on the classroom teacher and offered the suggestion of working with Amy to learn more about making effective accommodations.

In my interviews with Amy, she had a different interpretation of Helen's support for the ESL facilitator policy. She agreed that Helen had made attempts to communicate the intention of the policy to the staff. But, when teachers resisted collaborating with Amy to implement the policy, Helen remained neutral.

The staff at Cedar Valley has had the same principal for a few years like prior to me being here. They understand what her expectations are. They understand when she says, "Amy's here to help you. This is gonna be a good thing." They believe her which means they believe me, and then we go from there.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Helen's years of experience at Cedar Valley positioned her as a dependable source for guidance. Amy saw that Helen had the respect of the teachers and was able to influence school culture.

Yet, when Amy came up against the pull out discourse and teacher resistance, Helen's support was inconsequential, as the teacher continued to refuse to work with Amy.

Amy tells me about a fifth grade teacher at Cedar Valley who she had a horrible time working with last year. The teacher didn't want anyone in her classroom. Amy tried to talk to her throughout the year, but the teacher would say that the students are doing fine and she didn't want Amy's help. I ask what she did and Amy says that she got Gail from the district involved. Gail had a meeting with the principal, but Amy still wasn't able to access the classroom.

(Field Notes, 4 December 2007)

Amy constructed the memory of teacher resistance, showing how neither Helen nor Gail were able to make a difference in whether this teacher allowed Amy access to her classroom. Amy expected Helen to play the role of a policy enforcer, a role that Helen did not fulfill. During the year of this study, Amy experienced ongoing conflict with another teacher at Cedar Valley. She complained to Helen about not having access to this classroom and nothing changed. The conflict came to a climax when the teacher openly complained about Amy at a staff meeting.

Amy explained that one of the third grade teachers had gone to a meeting on Thursday morning and had complained to everyone about her. The teacher claimed that she had really needy kids in her room and that Amy wasn't offering her any support. The vice principal was at this meeting and decided to follow up with Amy about it. Amy, upon hearing this complaint, said she was shocked and really upset. She showed the Amy that she had tried to schedule so many different times to go into this teacher's room. Amy showed me the list she had given the Vice Principal (VP) with six different times that she could go into this teacher's room. The teacher had responded that none of those times

worked for her and the only time that worked was Monday from 1:30 – 2:00. Amy explained to the teacher (and again to VP) that at that time she was in a fourth grade room working with three other kids. Amy also related that this teacher had cancelled services with Amy three different times. Once she had a substitute who didn't have any idea that Amy was coming, another time the teacher told Amy that they were watching a movie and she shouldn't come, and the third time the teacher had planned literacy testing during the time that Amy was scheduled to come. Amy admits that she may have cancelled once on the teacher. Amy had sent another email (ccing the VP and Helen) to say that she would be happy to come in during the first hour of Monday morning to work with these kids. The teacher responded that time would not work for her and the only time that would work was Monday from 1:30 – 2:00.

(Field Notes, 3 March 2008)

In this situation, Helen and the vice principal took minimal responsibility in ensuring that teachers were participating in the facilitator policy. Although Amy had previously asked for support with this teacher, the administration did not intervene until the teacher publicly criticized Amy. Amy expressed great frustration with this response from the administration. She positioned herself as being overly accommodating and the teacher as being dismissive and difficult to work with. After this interaction, the principal responded to Amy's email telling both Amy and the teacher that they needed to find a time that would work for both of them. The teacher continued to insist that Amy come in on Monday afternoons. Eventually, Amy changed her schedule to meet the teacher's demands.

In our interview, Helen performed the role of supportive principal citing examples of how she encouraged teachers to seek out Amy's support. But, Amy constructed Helen as an

ineffective in sharing responsibility for implementing the ESL facilitator policy. After the above incident, Amy continued to encounter teacher resistance, but she no longer asked for Helen's support which led to disparate services for students and opportunities for teacher learning across Cedar Valley.

Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy at Cedar Valley

Amy introduced and negotiated the ESL facilitator policy within Cedar Valley's existing school culture. In her role as school leader, Helen had strongly emphasized collaboration. The large number of new teachers in the primary grades (K-2) worked closely in collaborative grade level teams. The intermediate teachers, many of whom were more experienced teachers, were more resistant to collaboration. Helen described the division she observed in her teaching staff:

Bonnie: Yeah. I think it's just you know the teachers who you see who are accessing Amy is there anything that in particular like knowledge that you feel like have or a particular dispositions that they have? Like is there a particular type of person who's accessing Amy versus people who are not?

Helen: It's more primary. And I think it's more of those – I do think that it wanes in the fourth and fifth grade. And the reason I think is because as I explained to you the school is much more collaborative K-3. And then we get into that four/five realm where people are – there's a great deal of negativity amongst some of the staff. And enough that it kind of colors the two grade levels. I think we're moving beyond it but we're not there yet. And so that's a lot of having somebody else's problem.

(Interview, 27 February 2008)

Helen described the collaborative culture at Cedar Valley as predominantly in the primary classrooms. She recognized some resistance to collaboration in fourth and fifth grade, placing blame on a few teachers' negative attitudes. The collaborative nature of Cedar Valley's primary team eased Amy's implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. But, the intermediate team's resistance to collaboration proved to be a barrier for Amy.

In addition to a culture of collaboration, Cedar Valley also had a strong commitment to specialized support, which usually happened outside the classroom. Amy worked within these social constructs to negotiate the ESL facilitator policy with the staff at Cedar Valley.

Collaboration

For Amy, the collaborative school culture cultivated the implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. Teachers at Cedar Valley were accustomed to working with their peers. Many were willing to open their doors to Amy's support. Amy had described her role as a facilitator as encompassing three primary types of service: co-teaching, co-planning, and student support. In reflecting on her experience at Cedar Valley, she expressed feelings of success in her ability to enact all three supports:

Cedar Valley is open to all three avenues of that, so I feel like I can give my whole 100% of the model to this school... I get a lot of feedback from the Cedar Valley staff. Of, "this worked; this didn't work. Can you help me with this or I need help with this particular skill..." Cedar Valley is more of a, "I know you know what you're doing with this. Help me with this particular skill;" or "Can you come in, and team-teach this lesson;" or "how would you do make sure that the ESL kids knew what they were supposed to know at the end of the lesson?" So they're more focused on the three avenues. Cedar Valley is.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

In Cedar Valley's collaborative culture, teachers were open to a variety of the supports Amy offered. Amy particularly valued the feedback she received from teachers. At Birchfield she complained that her supports often occurred in isolation with little teacher input. At Cedar Valley, Amy represented her experience as having greater reciprocity.

It's, again, different at Cedar Valley. I get a lot more feedback. I would say it's more 60/40 that I get feedback, 60% of the time; 40% of the time I don't. . But if I give a teacher a face-to-face conversation, I'm more than likely to get some sort of a response from them to say, "I think we're done with that" or "I think we need to keep going with that" or "Could you work on this instead?" kind of response. So face-to-face is usually the best because I think people feel like they've got the pressure on to say something. But it doesn't always work so. Yeah.

(Interview, February 6 2008)

Amy worked within Cedar Valley's collaborative culture to build relationships with two-way communication about the supports and services EL students needed. She determined the most successful approach for maintaining open communication was approaching teachers for face-to-face conversations. While she acknowledged that not all teachers provided her feedback, compared to her experience at Birchfield, she experienced greater success at Cedar Valley than at Birchfield.

As Helen noted in her interview (27 February 2008), Cedar Valley's primary teachers were much more open to collaboration than the intermediate teachers. Amy experienced the same division in terms of engagement with the ESL facilitator policy. One third grade teacher, described in the previous section, resisted collaborating with Amy. In addition, there were two

fifth grade teachers who denied Amy access to their students. Amy would visit their classrooms when the teacher was absent.

Amy returns to her story about the teacher who wouldn't let her in the classroom. The teacher took 3 sick days and on all three of those days Amy went in to check in with the students. She explains that teachers usually leave a bunch of busy work for students to do with the sub. She doesn't feel bad pulling them and checking with them when there is a sub in the room. She explains "I need to know for myself." (Field Notes, 4 December 2007).

I observed Amy using this strategy on one of my visits. A different fifth grade teacher had called in sick. Before school started Amy approached the substitute explaining that she needed to work with two students in the classroom. It was the only time we ever went into that classroom and saw those students. There were not attempts to follow up or communicate with this teacher (Field Notes, 13 March 2008).

Carolina, the second grade teacher involved in this study, proposed a different explanation for the fourth and fifth grade teachers' resistance to Amy's collaborative attempts. Amy was complaining to Carolina about the resistance she experienced from some of the intermediate teachers. Amy told Carolina that she wished EL students would not be placed in these classrooms. Carolina suggested that she could be running into a problem of teachers who were scared she would report them for not teaching the prescribed curriculum. Amy responded that she didn't care what they were teacher as long as the ELL students could understand and participate. (Field Notes, 4 December 2007). The fourth and fifth grade teachers were veteran staff members who were struggling to negotiate numerous new policies from the district including the standardized curriculum, collaborative planning, and facilitation.

Despite the resistance she experienced from the intermediate teachers, Amy positively described her implementation of the ESL facilitator policy based on her collaboration with the primary teachers. When I asked Amy to describe one of her greatest successes, she stated:

One thing that was really good was probably at Cedar Valley in the second grade where I feel like in the beginning 'cause it's grown since then, one teacher who was really interested in ESL who sort of had come from a district to she had lots of kids in ESL.

(Interview, 6 February 2008)

Because of the collaborative nature of the primary teachers, when Amy collaborated with one teacher that teacher would then share her experience with her grade level team. This often led to Amy co-teaching similar lessons or providing similar resources to the other teachers on the grade level team. The collaborative grade level teams supported the sharing of resources and supports from the facilitator.

Specialized Support

Cedar Valley had a history of providing students with specialized support using the ESL teacher, the special education teacher, literacy specialist, and volunteers to work with individuals or small groups of students. As Amy negotiated the ESL facilitator policy at Cedar Valley, she came into conflict with a common expectation for her to provide specialized, direct support for students.

Cedar Valley had a strong cadre of parent and community volunteers. The volunteers received a two hour orientation before working one on one with students. At Cedar Valley, volunteers were predominantly paired with EL students and emotionally fragile students for one on one support. Helen, the principal, explained that the volunteers supported students in reading or math either in or outside the classroom.

They sometimes work on reading or math outside the classroom just on a door. But mostly they're in the classroom.

(Interview, 27 February 2008).

In her role as an ELL facilitator, Amy was limited in the amount of individualized support she could offer to students. Many teachers partnered EL students with volunteers, sending the out of the classroom or in the corner to receive individualized tutoring.

In addition to tutoring from volunteers, many EL students were receiving specialized instruction from the literacy specialist. The literacy specialist was responsible for working with students struggling with reading. At a school with many high performing students, her roster soon became populated with a large number of EL students. Amy became concerned that the literacy specialist was working with many of her students, but she did not have a background in teaching English learners.

Amy and I talked about how some teachers were using the literacy specialist as a supplement for ESL services. Amy said that perhaps she should stop supporting these teachers all together and just work with the literacy specialist and make sure she knows effective ESL methods.

(Field Notes, 3 March 2008)

The teachers at Cedar Valley used the available resources of volunteers and the literacy specialist to provide individualized support for EL students. But, this support was being provided by individuals who were not trained in ESL methods. As Amy negotiated her role as a facilitator, attempting to increase the knowledge and skills of classroom teachers, these teachers turned to untrained individuals to provide the type of individualized support they used to receive from the ESL teacher.

In my interview with Priya, the fifth grade teacher in this study, she explained that she had a hard time understanding why the ESL facilitator was not pulling kids out of her classroom, when kids were being pulled out for so many other reasons.

Priya: Especially with fifth grade, we have band and orchestra in the afternoons twice week. There's art class.

Bonnie: Safety patrol.

Priya: Safety patrol, library, so in the afternoon we cannot do any of those. In the morning hours it's best to do our math and literacy, and so literacy comes right after the snack and read aloud and that's when they (enrichment students) leave. So if the district says, "You don't want the ESL to be pulled out," why do you want the enrichment to be pulled out especially since they're changing the curriculum to make it so enriching? See that's – I find that puzzling then. I can understand the resource because they're – maybe the resource I can kind of understand that pullout.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya listed a number of reasons her students are pulled out of the classroom, ranging from safety patrol to enrichment. Enrichment was a specialized curriculum for students who qualified for gifted education. These students received their 60 minutes of literacy instruction from a specialist in a separate classroom. Priya also had three students who left her room every day to receive special education support for literacy. In this context, the lack of specialized ESL support was puzzling. Priya pointed out the mixed messages she was receiving about who should be pulled out of the classroom and for what reasons.

In a school with numerous resources for specialized supports, teachers found the role of the ESL facilitator both confusing and avoidable. As Priya pointed out, students were pulled out

of the classroom for such a wide variety of reasons it did not make sense that ESL was the one area that did not provide pull-out support. Many teachers avoided full engagement with the policy by using volunteers or the literacy specialist to provide support for their EL students, often outside of the classroom. Amy found it difficult to support teacher learning when the teachers were sending EL students elsewhere for services. The existing web of specialized services at Cedar Valley led to classroom teachers engaging alternative supports for their EL students, often from untrained individuals.

Summary of the Context for Policy Implementation

School cultures are constructed through multiple, contrasting discourses. There is no uniform culture that all teachers belong too. Yet, certain discourses gather more followers and become dominant – creating a sense of truth or validity. At Cedar Valley, the school itself divided around the discourse of collaboration. The intermediate teachers (grades 3-5) were characterized by Amy and Helen as being resistant to collaboration. The primary teachers (grades K-2) were characterized as being open to collaboration and by extension open to working with Amy as a facilitator. The collaborative culture of the primary team provided Amy with positive experiences in her role as a facilitator, in which she was able to co-teach and co-plan with multiple teachers. But, the resistance she faced at the intermediate level and the lack of enforcement from the administration meant that Amy was completely denied access to some classrooms. In these cases Amy had no impact on teacher learning or the services EL students were receiving.

Despite multiple attempts to communicate the policy, there remained some confusion about Amy's role. Some teachers were still waiting for her to begin providing services to students. Others, like Priya, were confused about why there were so many other pull out services

but none for EL students. In her role as a facilitator, Amy was unable to meet teachers' expectations for supporting individual or small groups of students. Many teachers at Cedar Valley circumvented the ESL facilitator policy, finding alternative direct supports for the EL students.

In the next section I explore two cases of facilitation at Cedar Valley. I first delve into the case of Carolina Cross, a second grade teacher who worked closely with Amy to support her one EL student. The second case examines the relationship between Priya, a fifth grade teacher, and Amy. Both Helen and Amy positioned Priya as a part of the resistant intermediate team of teachers who were uninterested in collaboration. In both cases I investigate the understanding and implementation of services for students and teacher learning.

Carolina Cross: Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy in a 2nd Grade Classroom

During the year of this study, Carolina Cross was a second grade teacher in her sixth years of teaching. She started her position at Cedar Valley at the same time as Amy. Carolina had taught for three years in another district before coming to Eastlake. During her teaching credential program, Carolina did not take classes focusing on ESL and nor had she subsequently received formal professional development on teaching ELs. Despite her lack of formal training, Carolina considered herself an advocate for English learners. She attributed her strong commitment to two aspects of her personal life: her parents, and her previous teaching experience. Carolina mentioned her parents during one interview as a motivating factor for her advocacy for ELs:

But I think my background also helps me to empathize with these kids because my parents were from the Philippines – they spoke English but I mean they still – have an

accent, they still don't conjugate verbs correctly, you know, and yeah, since I don't, I want people to look at them like they're normal and so that's how I feel about my kids (Interview, 4 June 2004).

Carolina's personal experience, seeing her parents treated as not 'normal,' inspired a commitment to ensuring her students would not suffer the same discrimination.

Before coming to Cedar Valley, Carolina taught in a district about 50 miles south of Eastlake. At her previous school, Carolina developed an understanding of ESL services through a close relationship with the ESL specialist there. In interviews, Carolina often referred to her past teaching experience as an ideal system of support for ELs:

Okay. I think, like through my perspective, 'cause I came from a different school, where I saw the ESL, our ESL model or whatever from the district really work. And I think it's really failed here. I mean it's, it's failing – we've even told the School Board it's failing, like at our meetings.

(Interview, 4 June 2008).

When I pressed Carolina to explain what really worked in her old district, she elaborated:

There was a lot of collaboration ... the ESL teacher, who was also our special ed teacher, sat down with every teacher and you filled out – and it was different the way we do it here. But you filled out the goals at the beginning... Like I remember coming in as a first-year teacher and my very first meeting was with [the ESL and Special Education teachers]. They sat down with me and said, "Here are your kids in your classroom, and they came to me telling me who these kids are, why they're in special ed, why they're getting ESL, it was never me. And I go, "Okay, great. What can I do?" So it was completely reversed.

(Interview, 4 June 2008)

At her previous school, Carolina's students received targeted support three to five times a week from the ESL specialist. In addition, the constant communication with the ESL specialist helped Carolina learn how to support students in the classroom. In Carolina's interpretation of her previous teaching experience, she and the ESL specialist shared responsibility for educating the EL students in her classroom.

Learning about the policy

In contrast to the support, collaboration, and communication in her old district, Carolina found Eastlake's facilitator model both confusing and insufficient. Carolina arrived at Cedar Valley the same year as Amy. Both were new staff members trying to acclimate to a new school. Carolina recalled Amy's presentation about the ESL facilitator policy. She interpreted it as not helpful in understanding what ESL services would look like at Cedar Valley

Bonnie: I know she does a presentation.

Carolina: She does a presentation.

Bonnie: During the very beginning of the year...

Carolina: But that – it's not in like teacher language. It's almost it feels like it's – that presentation comes from the administration. Where it's like, "Here you go. Now present it."

Bonnie: From the district. Yeah.

Carolina: Which is not the way I would want to listen to a presentation. You know. I don't know. I would just like I'm the ESL teacher and this is my role and this is what I'm gonna do to help you guys. And it wasn't like that. It was a lot of statistics too. It that makes sense. Like here is our ESL population. I think that's what it was. I could be

wrong. But it was. I just remember the information really didn't help me as a classroom teacher.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina's walked away from Amy's presentation without a clear understanding what the model looked like and how to access services. She stated it was "not in teacher language" and the "information didn't really help me as a classroom teacher" indicating that she as a teacher had difficulty accessing the presentation's content. Her next interaction with Amy led to further confusion:

Like you just kind of it's the blind leading the blind. They don't sit down and say, "Hey this is our facilitator model for ESL." I had no clue. The first week of school Amy, who I didn't know. You know she was new. We both started last year. She walked into my room and says, I remember in the middle of lesson, "Do you have ESL students?" And I looked at her like, "I have no clue. Like nobody's told me. How am I supposed to know?"

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina's early exposures to the facilitator policy contrasted with her expectations for EL services. She came from a school where the ESL teacher provided her with information and consistent support. Carolina was confounded by the fact that she, as the classroom teacher, was expected to provide information to the ESL teacher.

Carolina made sense of the policy through her existing discourses, comparing it to her previous teaching experience.

Bonnie So the next part is really looking at your understanding of what are ESL services and how do you understand how the facilitator model works.

Carolina That was really hard coming to this district. Because the whole facilitator was new to me. And I understand the theory of inclusion and having her come into the classroom and working with the kids with the current curriculum and in the classroom so it's more authentic. But it was really hard because I came from a place where the kids were pulled out and got really rigorous EL services. I didn't like the pull out as much. I mean for you know there's a lot of different reasons. So here it's all about Amy coming into the classroom and helping with what's going on in the classroom.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Referring to a "theory of inclusion," Carolina interpreted the policy's intention as an in-class support model for students, rather than a support for teachers. She contrasted this with the rigorous support her students received through ESL pull out services at her previous school district.

Carolina's Interpretation of the Policy

Teacher learning. Throughout our interview and in the discussions I observed between Amy and Carolina, Carolina primarily discussed the facilitator policy in terms of supports for students. She did not initially interpret the policy as a support for teacher learning. During one interview, my question prompted Carolina to reflect on whether she saw Amy as a coach, similar to the instructional coach in the building.

Bonnie: I'm just thinking, like, do you see Amy as in a coaching role? Or is she –

Carolina: Oh that's a good question. I guess I do. Because to me like she is the expert in ESL. So I see her more as a coach. Like I'll often go to her and say like, "Oh I don't know to – what do I do about this?" And she'll be the one to like tell me lessons or guide

me through some things. So yeah I guess I see her as a coach. I see her as a teacher with the kids and a coach to me.

Bonnie: okay. Do you feel like that's a common way that people see her at this school?

Carolina: No.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

In Carolina's response, she began with "that's a good question, I guess I do" suggesting that she hadn't given it much thought. She never firmly asserted that she saw Amy as a coach, always couching her words with "I guess." Prompted by my question, Carolina constructed an understanding of Amy as a coach for her and a support for the students. But, this was her only indication that she understood the ESL facilitator policy as promoting teacher learning. In responding to my other questions about her understanding of the policy, she focused on services for students.

Services for students. Carolina's understanding of ESL services for students focused on targeted instruction, resembling her previous teaching experience.

I'm used to having – like if I'm assessing Sam and then he has these areas, whether it's grammar, I'm used to isolating those specific needs for that individual. And having like pretty rigorous work in that area. I feel like that's missing. I feel like we get a lot of support with what we're doing in the classroom. But especially with last year with my two kids. I mean they didn't know blends. Like they were still working on I mean the basic. Just reading. Decoding. You know we weren't even touching vocabulary.

Vocabulary I did a lot with that. But just some other basic stuff that I wasn't a part of the learning.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina's understanding of student learning needs emphasized targeted practice to fine tune language skills. She focused on grammar, vocabulary, and decoding/blending as skills that her English learners needed. As a classroom teacher, she committed herself to teaching vocabulary. But, she positioned the other skills as outside of the basic education curriculum. Carolina did not believe that the needs of English learners were always met through the general education curriculum. When we discussed how she would like to work with a facilitator in the future, she suggested:

I would say a one-on-one meeting with the ESL teacher to set the goals for each student 'cause I feel like it's sometimes, more "Okay, just come in, yeah, here's my ESL, you work with him, we're doing writing right now.," But I think it needs to be more focused and really sit down to um, kind of isolate what are those maybe three things that Sam and Tomoku need to work on. Because the facilitator model is to come in and is to do what's going on in the classroom. But in a sense, sometimes that's not the best because they're not getting those specific skills that they need.

(Interview, 4 June 2008)

Carolina clearly defined the facilitator model as "to come in and do what's going on in the classroom." She devalued this type of support because it was haphazard and not goal oriented. She would have preferred if Amy would work with her students on specific skills rather than come in and support students in completing whatever task the class is working on.

Enactment of the Policy: Teacher Learning

Teacher-facilitator relationship to support teacher learning. Amy and Carolina offered very different interpretations of their relationship as related to teacher learning. Carolina sought

out Amy's support and guidance more than any other teacher at Cedar Valley. Amy interpreted Carolina's active pursuit of support as a positive teacher learning relationship:

Um, well, Carolina has learned a lot about writing with the facilitation... (through) team teaching kind of thing where she asks me for an idea, I prepare a lesson, um, in terms of like we talked about it first – I put something together and I run it by her - we tweak that lesson and then we try and do it together... so she's learned a lot about how to be really clear with the kids and how to talk about the kid – or how to talk about topics that make things really clear and breaking things down into a really fine-tune kind of place. ...She's learned how to pick out things that she wouldn't have noticed about a kid ... when she sees all the questions that I have laid out, you know, she asked me for a couple of um, sheets that I give back, like a feedback for her and she take – she took a blank one but then changed it to suit her needs ... there's so many things that I have shown her or given her an example of and she's changed it into her own and made her teaching that much better because of ideas that she kind of said, "Hey, this is what I'm thinking, what do you have or what can you support me on that would um, meet the goal that I'm trying to meet (Interview, 5 June 2008)

Amy reflected positively upon her relationship with Carolina, pointing out all of the skills Carolina had gained: improved writing lessons, enhanced clarity, and a better understanding of her English learners. Amy was excited to talk about Carolina and how she took Amy's ideas and transformed them into something that matched her personal teaching style.

Carolina did not interpret the purpose of relationship with Amy as supporting her own learning. Rather, she saw herself as an advocate for her English learners, tapping into the one

available resource. Carolina quickly came to realize that in the ESL facilitator policy, she would not receive support for students unless she asked for it.

Carolina: I think I'm pretty good at like grabbing Amy when I need her. I don't think a lot of teachers – you know whether it's they're so busy, there's so much to you prioritize. But I'll grab her if I'm doing a lesson then I'll say, you know, "Can you come in and team teach this with me?" Like cause we do that. Amy and I have team taught.

Bonnie: So is there anything that you can identify that made it like... Have you had any special training? Any like collaboration? So that you feel comfortable going and asking Amy for that kind of help.

Carolina: I haven't had any special training. I just know that if I'm only going – if I'm going to get support I need to be – there's nobody else out there really helping me. So I need to go and get it myself. So that's, I think that's just my own knowledge.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina fostered a relationship with Amy in order to acquire support for her students. She acknowledged that in the facilitator model, support would not just come to her. She assumed an active role to ensure that her students received some support. I asked Carolina whether she had special training, because she was the only teacher who approached Amy so readily asking for support. Carolina noted that she did not have any training; her engagement with Amy was a response to what she perceived as inadequate services for her students.

Carolina reflected on the negative consequences of the ESL facilitator model relying on teachers to seek out support. Amy spent a significant amount of time in Carolina's classroom because of Carolina's persistence. But, there were other classrooms with more EL students and less assertive teachers who were not receiving much attention or time from Amy. Carolina

stated: “So now at second grade I know upstairs (another teacher) has 5 kids. And I know that Amy, and it’s not her – this is ___ it’s not her fault. But I know that she’s only been in once....” (Interview, 4 March 2008). The relationship between Amy and Carolina included strong, ongoing communication and encompassed multiple areas of the facilitator policy. But, Carolina and Amy’s interpretation of their relationship contrasted starkly. Amy felt great success in supporting Carolina’s learning. Carolina, on the other hand, felt that she only received the support from Amy because she was a vocal advocate for her students. She also recognized that teachers who were not as assertive or who did not have a similar relationship with Amy did not receive equivalent support.

Content of teacher learning. When I asked Amy what her goal was for Carolina’s learning she was unclear. She depended a great deal on Carolina to approach her with lessons and problems and did not have a clear objective for working with Carolina.

Bonnie: Um, have you had, an instructional goal or intention of working with her over the year?

Amy: Have I had an intention?

Bonnie: Like a goal, like I really wanna help Carolina...

Amy: We went through the writing traits. We did the whole series, six writing traits. So I did a series of six lessons... Um, what we did do is she taught the lesson, I observed it and then we came back and did another ideas lesson where we gave the kids um, uh, idea boxes to work with rather than just an open space -- and try to make a map and things like that so she found that to be really good.

(Interview, 5 June 2008)

Amy responded to my question with an example of the lessons that she helped Carolina with, but did not articulate a clear focus for what she expected Carolina to learn.

The positive relationship between Carolina and Amy led to multiple opportunities for Amy to support Carolina's learning. While Carolina did not interpret the ESL facilitator policy as a teacher learning policy, she was able to articulate what she had learned from Amy and how she learned it.

Um, but from Amy, just even in conversation, that's the part I've learned more, because she'll help me with lessons or we'll just sit and bounce ideas back and forth... Yeah, I'll show her like a Science lesson and she'll adapt it and then I'll use that –

(Interview, 4 June 2008)

Carolina positioned Amy as a peer to support her lesson planning. Through frequent conversations with Amy, she developed her own ideas and gathered new perspectives.

Um, I've actually learned to be a lot harder with my ESL kids. Like even in a whole group setting like calling them out and really helping them figure out words are – Amy has taught me that. As opposed to like not calling them because of not wanting them to feel as embarrassed.

(Interview, 4 June 2008)

Carolina recognized that she had learned to have higher expectations for her EL students through her relationship with Amy.

One of Amy's primary supports for teacher learning was leaving anecdotal notes for the teacher with a summary of the services she had provided and suggestions for future learning. Carolina read and responded to Amy's anecdotal student notes. She followed up on suggestions that Amy gave her to help support her English learners.

So the notes, I've actually used or I keep the notes like in Sam's files. That when I go back and like when I'm writing report cards right now I can think about the areas that he struggles in . And then— cause Amy could really pinpoint something. And then so I go back and look at those notes for those reasons. I also go back like last year with a couple of my kids it was a lot of grammar issues. And just going back will help me, will remind me, "Oh I need to help him really practice these."

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina used the notes from Amy to learn more about her students and continue to provide intentional support. Carolina's learning was supported by frequent communication, her active seeking of Amy's input, and her use of Amy's notes. Through their relationship Carolina learned to modify her lessons for EL students, maintain high expectations for EL students, and focus on particular skills that her EL students lacked.

Evidence of teacher learning. Amy saw clear evidence of Carolina's learning through her two years of supporting her as a facilitator.

Amy: You know she, there's so many things that I have shown her or given her an example of and she's changed it into her own and made her teaching that much better because of ideas that she kinda said, "Hey, this is what I'm thinking, what do you have or what can you support me on that would um, meet the goal that I'm trying to to meet - at the end of the lesson or at the end of the week. Or whatever she's looking for.

Bonnie: So the question about um, implementing and changing her instruction.

Amy: She definitely does that. I mean, immediately, too. It's not like she waits 'till next week. She tries it the next day and you know she'll even give you feedback on terms of you know, this worked really well but let's try it – if I would've done this

slightly differently, I think it would've been even better. And then tries it the next day and then gives me the feedback to say, "It did!" or "It didn't." It totally blew up or you know, as much as I thought that was gonna work, it didn't --- or omigosh, it worked so much better, we just needed to change that one little thing so if you ever do it with another teacher, remember to change that one thing and then I'll make a note of it.

Which, you know, it's great to see someone actively involved in the things that you're saying, and takes them to heart and then can even give you feedback on how to make it even better, which is great.

(Interview, 5 June 2008)

Amy classified Carolina's learning as successful because she saw evidence of Carolina personalizing strategies she had suggested. In addition Carolina provided Amy with feedback, something she valued. Amy described how Carolina sought her expertise in addressing particular questions about meeting the needs of EL students. She took Amy's input and adapted it to meet her own instructional needs. Carolina was an assertive teacher who sought Amy's input to improve her instruction for EL students. She met Amy's expectations for teacher learning by seeking advice, implementing changes, and providing Amy with feedback.

In my observations of Carolina's teaching, I observed her using many of the strategies and resources Amy had shared with her. During math observations, I noticed that she always had a separate paper prepared for Sam with highlighted directions and vocabulary. This was one of the strategies Amy had shared with her. In addition I observed Amy and Carolina co-teach a writing lesson using a proofreading checklist. Carolina continued to use this checklist in future writing cycles. Because Carolina's learning was usually a response to a question or problem she posed to Amy, she was committed to implement Amy's suggestions.

Enactment of the Policy: Services for Students

Carolina regularly utilized Amy as a direct support for her two EL students. In addition, when Amy was not there, Carolina prioritized the needs of these two students, placing them at the center of her instructional planning.

Teacher-facilitator relationship to support services for students. Carolina frequently engaged with Amy to support her planning, co-teach lessons, and brainstorm ideas for supporting her EL students. She also relied on Amy to come into her classroom to provide direct supports for her EL students.

And I guess like I'm friends with her. So that makes it easy for me to just go up to her and grab her too. But if I didn't have a relationship I would be kind of tentative to go grab her and have her in my classroom. But we've kind of you know formed a relationship. So it's easy to just say, "Hey I need you for this." And she'll come then.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Because of their friendly relationship, Carolina felt comfortable asking Amy to come into her classroom to support her students. She recognized that teachers who did not have a similar relationship might be more tentative to ask Amy for help. Despite Amy's responsiveness to Carolina's requests, the ESL facilitator model did not meet Carolina's expectations for ESL services.

But I just don't think the kids are getting served enough here. They're not. So. But Amy is very good. I can go up to Amy and say, "I'm having – okay we're doing this assignment. What do I do with Sam?" And she is so quick to give a response. Here's what you could do. I'll come in that time. So it really is just me going to grab her is how. That's really how I see this model work.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina had clear expectations for the types of services she wanted for her English learners. Based on her previous teaching experience, Carolina wanted consistent, skills based support for her learners. Carolina did not feel that the ESL facilitator policy adequately served the language development needs of her students. As the year progressed, Amy's in class support became more sporadic. Carolina acknowledged that Amy was stretched thin, but she expressed concern that Amy was no longer providing direct support to her EL students.

I mean I don't remember last time she was here with Sam. I know she's been busy with testing stuff. So that has a lot to do with it. But even before testing it's – she's trying to serve so many kids in the school. It's like hit or miss if she'll you know come. But that's – yeah that's more the system. It's not Amy.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Carolina wanted consistent, intensive support for her English learners which she was not getting through Amy. She acted as a strong advocate for her two students, forming a relationship with Amy to draw on her expertise whenever possible.

I observed Amy working in Carolina's classroom on multiple occasions to support Sam and later Tomoku. Amy usually arrived at Carolina's class at 10:00 twice a week, during their math period. Amy typically walked into the classroom and went to Sam's desk and helped him complete the work that was in front of him. On two occasions I saw her write vocabulary words from his math work and provide definitions and illustrations. Carolina shared her interpretation of Amy's services in an interview:

You know. So Amy just pops in. And she'll see what we're working on. And she'll take Sam. Sometimes she sits with Sam at his desk or comes back here. And just works with

him on whatever we're doing. But it's two days a week and every other Wednesday or something like that she's not here. So it's so hard. I mean even that, the small time she's here, just grabbing her and she's in a different classroom it's. I think there's got to be a better way.

(Interview, 4 March 2008)

Coming from a district with consistent, clear ESL support, Carolina found flaws with the type and amount of support Amy offered.

At the end of the year, Amy's schedule prohibited her from consistently working in Carolina's classroom. Sam, one of Carolina's EL students, independently approached Amy to ask for her help a special assignment. Carolina noted that Sam received additional support from Amy, despite being at a higher proficiency level than Tomoku, because he sought it out.

Um, Sam has received more (support). And in a sense that he's written a letter – and so he's had a lot of one-on-one time. He's also read with her. And that's also more because Sam kinda takes it upon himself, too. “Is it okay if I go walk down and see,” and I'm just like, “Sure, go see if Ms. Allen is there.” And then he'll come back, grab his stuff and then go. Which is fine with me because he likes that time and needs it. But that's it. No other services.

(Interview 4 June, 2008)

Sam approached Amy in May, asking if she would help him write a letter about Carolina to submit to a local television station, nominating her for “Teacher of the Week.” Amy agreed to help Sam with the letter, and provided one on one support for this during the morning literacy block. After the letter was written, Sam continued to seek out Amy's support during the literacy block, walking down to her room to see if she was available to read or write with him. Carolina

approved of this one on one pull out session because she interpreted it as the type of direct support she had been looking for. But, the other EL student in her classroom who was less proficient in English did not receive the same support from Amy.

In addition to the intermittent support provided by Amy, Carolina's two EL students received consistent support from Carolina's daily instruction. Every lesson in Carolina's class involved differentiated instruction specifically for Sam. She explained to me how Sam was at the center of her lesson planning process:

I guess a lot of lessons I'm just super explicit. And I write and highlight things for Sam so he understands. It just makes my job easier too because then his hand's in the air a couple of times. So if I prep everything. Like anything I give them, like worksheets, I'll make sure to read through it just in case if I think Sam won't know. Then I'll highlight, write it out. Things like that....And so when I'm reading things I actually am looking through how would Sam see this? What would be difficult for him? I would say that's a good way of kind of summing up how I look at the lessons. Or anything I play on the Smart Board. Making it visual. How is this easier? If Sam can understand it then everybody else can

(Interview, 6 April 2008)

Carolina's response to the lack of support for ELs in Eastlake's facilitator model was to transform her whole teaching approach to focus on what was best for her one EL. She took on ESL support as her own personal responsibility, creating structures and procedures that focus on language development.

Content of services for students. When Amy worked with Carolina's students, she predominantly supported them in understanding and completing the classroom assignments. On

two occasions Amy came into Carolina's classroom and co-taught a lesson on using checklists for editing and revising.

Carolina provided services for her EL students through scaffolded whole class instruction as well as individualized literacy instruction. For every lesson I observed Carolina teaching to the whole class she had provided an accommodation for Sam. In one math lesson, she used physical movements to represent column, row, and tile, and then gave Sam a modified worksheet which explicitly tells him to use these words in his response (Field Notes, 5 February 2008). On another occasion, after a lesson on comparing the area of different shapes and Carolina provided Sam with a sentence frame for his answer. She had him orally tell her his thinking using the language frame, then she encouraged him to write it down. (Field Notes, 22 January 2008). In her whole class instruction I observed Carolina use strategies including turn and talk, asking Sam to restate another student's answer, and visually scaffolded PowerPoint presentations. After the direct instruction period, Carolina provided Sam with additional scaffolding so that he could successfully complete the assignment.

Carolina also provided the targeted skill instruction for Sam similar to the supports she had observed in her previous district. When I came for the first observation in Carolina's classroom, Carolina's parent volunteer did not arrive to help during the literacy hour. Carolina explained to me that she usually spent the literacy block working one-on-one with Sam while the other students rotated between working with the parent volunteer and working independently (Field Notes, 22 January 2008). She asked if I would work with Sam so that she could work with the other students. For the next few weeks when I came in, Carolina had me work with Sam using the first grade reading anthology while the rest of the students used the second grade anthology. She left notes in the book with specific questions for me to ask, and vocabulary to

discuss with Sam (Field Notes, 12 February 2008). Carolina identified specific worksheets from the accompanying workbook for Sam to complete. On one occasion, Sam completed four workbook pages related to the story “If You Give A Moose A Muffin.” covering recalling the story, a phonics cross word, writing complete sentences, and plurals. The rest of the class worked on differentiating fact and opinion in a non-fiction text and justifying their answers (Field Notes, 12 February 2008). On another occasion, Sam read “George Shrinks” He completed a cloze paragraph using vocabulary from the story and filled in a graphic organizer retelling the beginning, middle and end of the story. The rest of the class read the story “Patrick’s Dinosaur” and wrote persuasive letters to their parents, convincing them that a dinosaur is a good pet (Field Notes, 25 February 2008). Carolina provided separate literacy materials for Sam and chose assignments for him from the first grade workbook. But, the assignments that Sam completed were not aligned to the objectives Carolina was teaching to the rest of the class. While they were learning about fact and opinion and cause and effect, Sam was practicing retelling the story and doing grammar worksheets. Sam did not have access to the rigorous, standards-based instruction the other students were receiving.

In addition to the one-on-one time Carolina spent with Sam in the classroom, she also created specialized homework for him to practice specific skills she thought were important.

I’ll send home like packets like at the beginning of the year. Oh he’s, oh my gosh he has just grown so much academically. Oh and socially too. But I used to send home like he wouldn’t get certain blends. Like the – what’s an example. Like the “sl” blend was hard for him. So then I would go and pull what I had for certain blends and send it home just as extra that he could work on at home too with his parents.

(Interview, 4 June 2008)

Based on her independent work with Sam, Carolina determined areas where he needed extra practice and support. She created packets for him to work on independently or at home with his family.

With this much attention to one student, the other students in her second grade classroom were often left to work independently or with a parent volunteer. She explained:

I'm lucky because I've set, I think the expectations are pretty high in the class that the rest of the 24 kids they could actually sit there for a good 45 minutes and be quiet, do their work. You know. And so that allows me to work one-on-one with Sam

(Interview, 4 June 2008).

Knowing that most of her students were at grade level and could work independently, Carolina chose to spend the majority of the literacy instructional period focusing on Sam and later Tomoku. She assumed responsibility for delivering the intensive support she believed these students should be receiving from the ESL teacher. As a consequence, the other 24 students in her class spent a significant amount of time working independently.

Evidence of Successful EL services. At the end of the year Sam exited the ESL program based on his Washington Language Proficiency Test. Tomoku, who arrived in April, did not exit and would be served by the facilitator model for another year. I asked Carolina to reflect upon Sam's progress over the year.

Yes. I even showed Amy it's just like his writing. And he wrote a fable and he had the plot – and it's kinda hard to write a fable because you need a trick, like something that happened – he got all of that and he is just amazing. And he has come so far. Like definitely more oral um, his writing, his reading, even his math and reasoning has come really far. So I would say in all subject areas, and even friends, like social, um, which is

hard, too, because we'd don't have any kind of, we don't have time to socialize or teach social skills in this district at all. But he has made friends, he goes on play dates, I mean just overall, Sam has made a lot of progress.

(Interview, 4 June 2008).

Carolina recognized the amount of progress that Sam had made over the year. She saw growth in his reading, writing, math and his social skills with his classmates.

Analysis of Carolina and Amy's Interpretation and Enactment of the ESL Facilitator Policy

While Carolina primarily interpreted the facilitator policy through an inclusion discourse, focusing on support for students rather than teacher learning; she was one of few teachers who took full advantage of all the supports Amy could offer. She co-taught with Amy, had Amy come and observe her teach, and would ask Amy to preview lessons to ensure she had enough accommodations. She positioned herself as an advocate for EL students, seeking Amy's input and support for her EL students. Amy interpreted their relationship as a positive example of facilitation in which Carolina sought her support and actively implemented any suggestions and strategies. But, Carolina did not view their relationship as successful support for her EL students. Compared to her prior teaching experience, the ESL facilitator policy did not provide the rigorous, skills based instruction she expected.

Although Carolina did not interpret the facilitator policy as a teacher learning policy, she gained significant knowledge through her relationship with Amy. Amy did not establish clear learning goals for Carolina. Rather, Carolina took charge of the relationship, assertively asking for support for her students. Through the supports Amy offered (team teaching, working with students and leaving anecdotal notes, and co-planning) Carolina increased her general knowledge of working with English learners. While Amy expressed satisfaction and success with regards to

Carolina's teacher learning, their relationship did not align with Amy's stated interpretation of teacher learning. Amy asserted that she saw her role as supporting teacher learning so that teachers would gain knowledge in EL strategies so that they would no longer need her support, she did not provide those learning opportunities to Carolina. Amy was responsive to Carolina's requests, but did not present a clear understanding of the learning she expected Carolina to demonstrate which would indicate that she no longer required Amy's support.

In fact, the close relationship between Amy and Carolina revealed the inequity of the ESL facilitator policy in terms of teacher or student need. Carolina received a disproportionate amount of Amy's support because of their friendly relationship. Carolina felt comfortable asking for Amy's support, and Amy felt successful because Carolina utilized her services. But, Carolina pointed out that her colleague, another second grade teacher, did not have the same relationship with Amy and consequently only saw her one time between September and March. In the ESL department's communication of the policy, the facilitator should prioritize her time with the highest needs students. In Amy's stated interpretation of the policy, she believed she should prioritize her time with the neediest teacher. But in this enactment of the ESL facilitator policy, Amy prioritized her time with Carolina who was not the neediest teacher and did not have the neediest students. Carolina's advocacy for her students and her friendly relationship with Amy led to her receiving significantly more support than other teachers.

In response to what she perceived as inadequate services, Carolina significantly changed her classroom instruction to support her EL students. According to Amy, Carolina was an example of the success of the ESL facilitator policy. She took responsibility for her EL students, sought modifications and support, and consistently aimed to meet their needs. But, upon closer analysis, Carolina's supports for her students were problematic. First, without clear guidance,

her supports lacked rigor and alignment to grade level standards. She had Sam and Tomoku using the first grade curriculum for reading, denying them access to the second grade curriculum and standards. In addition, Carolina's commitment to her EL students led to a disproportionate amount of her literacy time being dedicated to these two students while the remainder of her students worked independently.

Priya Chatterjee: Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy in a 5th Grade Classroom

Learning about the policy

Priya Chaterjee had been teaching at Cedar Valley just one year before Amy arrived and began implementing the facilitator model. Priya remembered how the previous ESL teacher worked much more closely with her students:

Priya: She actually took the ESL out of the classroom and right in front of the – it was outside in the classroom and she worked with them.

Bonnie: So would she take all the fifth graders at one time or would she take kids –

Priya: No, just by class. She would – yeah. A couple times she took all of them out at one time and then sometimes just particular – just it depends on the child, so they had a little bit more of that – more of a personal help.

Bonnie: So when she would come how often was it that she would work with kids?

Priya: She was here at least maybe once or twice a week she would pull them out.

Bonnie: So it was more regular?

Priya: Yeah, yeah. It was more – oh yeah. That's the thing. We could always depend.

We always knew that at least once a week we would have –

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya valued both the consistency of the support and the personalization of services in the previous pull out model. She interpreted the facilitator model by comparing it to the support the previous teacher had provided. The previous teacher worked with students on a regular schedule, whereas the facilitator model discouraged facilitators from creating schedules. The previous ESL teacher worked with kids outside the classroom in a variety of grouping configurations depending on the student and the lesson. The facilitator policy offered limited support to students inside the classroom setting.

Like Carolina, Priya remembered a staff meeting where Amy explained that she was a facilitator and passed out the policy document. But, she remained unclear as to what a facilitator was expected to do.

Like I said, I'm not quite sure what all they are supposed to give us. I know if I have a specific issue I will just e-mail her and she's right there, but I don't know of what – the CD. I didn't even know she had the CD of Fighting Ground but I had a note that, "I've got the CD of Fighting Ground," which is great because now they can take it home.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya understood that according to the ESL facilitator policy she was expected to ask for help, but she was unsure what this could actually entail. She was not aware of the resources or kinds of support Amy could offer. In this instance, I had observed Priya's students reading The Fighting Ground, and I knew that Amy had it on CD. I told Amy that she should make copies of it for Priya's two EL students, Sakura and Hideo, to listen to. Without my intervention, the resource would have likely gone unused. Amy did not know what Priya's students were reading; Priya did not know that Amy had this resource.

Priya's confusion about the facilitator model was amplified by the many other pull out services her students received. Priya had five special education students who are pulled out of her class throughout the day to meet their IEP goals. She had eight students who were part of the school's enrichment program for students who are identified as gifted and talented. She also had two students who were pulled out weekly to receive social skills support from the counselor. Priya negotiated her understanding of the facilitator policy in relation to these other pull out services.

So if the district says, "You don't want the ESL to be pulled out," why do you want the enrichment to be pulled out especially since they're changing the curriculum to make it so enriching?...See that's – I find that puzzling then. I can understand the resource because they're – maybe the resource I can kind of understand that pullout.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya made sense of the ESL facilitator policy in relation to other available support system for students. All of the other support systems at Cedar Valley happened in pull out sessions. Based on her previous positive experiences with ESL pull out and the continuing variety of pull out services at Cedar Valley, Priya was confused by the ESL facilitator policy.

Priya's Interpretation of the Policy

Teacher learning. Priya did not understand the role of the facilitator was to support her learning. She always referred to Amy in terms of offering support to students. She built upon her existing discourse of ESL services as pull out support for students to understand the facilitator model as push in support for students.

In the middle of the year Priya complained to the principal that she never saw Amy and that her students were not receiving services. The principal explained to her that Amy's job was

not to work with the student, but to help her accommodate the curriculum. Helen related this conversation to me in our interview, “I said, ‘Well you need to get a hold of Amy. And understand that Amy will come and help you adapt the curriculum. She’s not going to pull these kids out.’ (Interview, 27 February 2008)

After this conversation, Priya did not know how to approach Amy for support. She expressed a need for a better relationship to understand how to utilize Amy’s supports. “I just wish that it was more – it’s very impersonal. Put it that way. It’s very – it’s like, “Call me if you need me.” (Interview, 28 February 2008). Without the personal relationship, like Amy and Carolina had, Priya struggled to understand how to engage with Amy.

Understanding of EL student needs. Priya carried strong beliefs that an important aspect of ESL services should be a focus on the emotional and social needs of EL students. Throughout our conversations she brought up her concerns about how the facilitator policy embarrassed students and did not provide them with a personal connection to the ESL teacher. Priya referred to the close connection her students felt to Carol, the previous ESL teacher, as a model for the kind of support she believed English learners needed.

It was around 1:00 p.m. after lunch. I saw Carol and the kids really enjoyed her and they knew her. They would see her. “Hi, Ms. Carol! Hi, Ms. Carol!” So there was a connection – already connects – she was fabulous with these kids, and you can even see from beginning of the year to the end even the confidence level of these children who were with Carol – and I think Carol, it’s because she made them feel included. Even though she did take them out of the classroom, but she only took them maybe 20, 30 minutes.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya valued the development of confidence that she witnessed in her students which she attributed to the time they spent with the ESL teacher. While the facilitator model was intended to be more inclusive by keeping the students in the classroom, Priya believed it had the opposite effect. She saw the time they spent with Carol as helping them feel included. Whereas, she interpreted the support Amy offered in the classroom as further ostracizing and humiliating her English learners.

It's just asking them questions, having them do a little work just one-on-one with her so these students didn't feel like – sometimes I feel when Amy comes in or someone comes in to help anybody they feel a little bit like embarrassed– and especially in fifth grade. So I don't really saw – I see pulling them out in the hallway and get more work out of them rather than making them feel uncomfortable because I know when she comes in and she is sitting with them they don't like it. Sakura was like – she always is very cautious. She doesn't – and that's what the Asian culture is like. They don't wanna be ostracized.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya placed herself in the students' shoes, imagining the shame and discomfort they must feel with having an adult come and sit next to them in class.

They don't wanna be left out of something. They don't want people to stare at them like they don't know something or they're not smart enough. I just know that culture and they don't like that.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Based on her interpretation of Asian culture, Priya believed that her Asian students did not want to be singled out as different. Both pull out support and push in support single out children for extra services. But Priya preferred pull out support which could be private, outside of the

classroom. Amy's push-in support was very public where all the other students could see and hear the kinds of support the English learners received.

Enacting the Policy: Teacher Learning

Teacher – facilitator relationship to support teacher learning. Priya did not interpret the policy as a teacher learning policy, and Amy made minimal attempts to expand Priya's knowledge and skills for working with English learners. Their relationship was strained as a result of Priya's desire for pull-out services for students and Amy's negative experience modeling a lesson in Priya's class.

During one of my interviews, I prodded Amy to determine why she did not focus more on helping Priya accommodate her instruction, or give her some useful ESL strategies. Amy related a story to me which shaped her ongoing relationship with Priya.

I have done a lesson for her with uh, the curriculum coach. The problem that we had when did the lesson together is that she sat back in the back of the classroom and did marking. <<Grading papers.>> Grading papers and things like that, so she got nothing out of the lesson and both myself and the tech coach were really disappointed. And uh, until we were – until you see that happening, and you need to make the teacher aware - that you need to be paying attention for this reason or that reason, um, I guess I don't know just – it was shocking to me.

(Interview, 5 June 2008)

Amy's interpreted Priya's actions during her model lesson as rude and dismissive. She and the tech coach were modeling a lesson with the understanding that Priya was going to learn something from this. Priya did not share this same understanding and used the time to catch up

on some grading. Amy never discussed the model lesson directly with Priya. But, after this experience she did not pursue further coaching with Priya.

Amy and Priya's relationship did not provide many opportunities for teacher learning. Priya did not interpret the policy as a support for teacher learning and was unsure of what types of supports to request from Amy. After one negative experience in Priya's classroom, Amy was reluctant to invest more time in supporting Priya's learning.

Content of teacher learning. I asked Amy if she had any teacher learning goals guiding her work with Priya. She responded:

Just right books, writing and presentational skills um, understanding vocabulary, trying to work up vocabulary banks -But those are things I've provided for them. That's not something that she's taken initiative to do.

(Interview, 5 June 2008)

Amy's list of goals refer to the services she provided in the classroom rather than strategies she expected Priya to learn. Amy supported students individually in choosing just right books and helping them prepare for a presentation. Amy generated vocabulary lists for the students from the history and science curriculum and provided them to the fifth grade team.

Amy communicated with Priya using anecdotal notes, sharing the strategies and resources she had used with Priya's EL students. Priya did take advantage of these notes.

No, I read them and I think they're helpful 'cause she kinda gives me an idea of what she saw when she was with them, and she kinda gives me some suggestions of what we can do pertaining to that matter, so yeah. They're helpful. I'm glad she does that.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya valued the suggestions Amy provided in the anecdotal notes. She appreciated the insight that an extra set of eyes provided. Over the course of this study, Priya's learning was limited to what she read and understood from the anecdotal student records and what she gleaned from observing Amy's interactions with students.

Evidence of teacher learning. Reflecting on Priya's growth, Amy felt that very little had changed in her instruction.

Well she hasn't really – I don't really feel she's changed that much. In terms of how she gives instruction, she has tweaked things, small, little things here and there. She has an idea of how to tackle problems when they come around - like if I don't have a kid that's reading whatever, I'm hoping she'll be able to take those skills to next year and say, "If I have a kid that's not at my reading level, this is how we fixed it last year. If I got a kid whose got speech problems, this is how we fixed it last year." So she'll have those in her mind - "Do you have a voice recorder so we can practice that?" And get that from a facilitator for next year. Rather than me coming up with the idea, saying, "Do you want to use it,"

(Interview, 5 June 2008)

Amy saw minimal changes in how Priya delivered instruction in her classroom. Amy's support for Priya's learning focused more on becoming aware of available resources and what to ask for, as opposed to instructional changes. Over the course of the year Amy had provided some targeted support for Priya's students focusing on just right reading levels and pronunciation. If Priya had an EL student the following year, Amy expected Priya to seek out some of the same supports Amy provided this year.

Enactment of the Policy: Services for Students

Teacher-facilitator relationship to support services for students. Amy and Priya had very different understandings of the needs of the English learners in Priya's classroom, leading to an often uncoordinated set of services. Amy focused on supporting students with the fifth grade curriculum: tutoring students during instruction, offering some pull out, and giving the students independent work to practice. Priya valued social and cultural sensitivity, interpreting Amy's support for her students as problematic.

There was one example of services for students that met both Amy's and Priya's expectations for student support. The students in Priya's class were expected to give an oral presentation in the front of the room. Priya asked Amy if she could help prepare the students for the oral presentation. Amy worked with them in her own classroom for one week to ensure they were prepared.

Priya: One time we had to do a presentation and I knew Hideo and Sakura are very uncomfortable speaking in front of the class, which I understand...I just happened to run into Amy in the hallway. I said, "Amy, can you come in and see Sakura and Hideo do their presentation and maybe help them out?" and she says, "Oh, sure," so she did come in. She took them aside and she saw what they were going to read or present and she wanted to make corrections. Then that's when she took them to her room because she said, "To be more comfortable I took them to the room and practiced with them," so she let them do it in front of her first and that was great.

(Interview, 20 March 2008)

Priya interpreted this example as the type of social support she valued for English learners. She sought Amy's support because out of concern for the students' comfort level in delivering oral

presentations. Amy removed the students from the classroom to allow them private rehearsal time, which Priya thought was “great.”

Amy also positively interpreted this event:

Amy: So we practiced that in this room (Amy’s office). And I did a pull out for those specific skills and we practiced for one week, um, just practicing presentation in front of another ESL kid who’s also having trouble and that seemed to make it um, more light-hearted and easier for them, so when they did it. She (Sakura) was really impressed she could do it, because she didn’t think she was gonna be able to, in the end. But she did and it’s like “See, a little practice will help.”

(Interview, 5 June 2008)

Both Amy and Priya valued the one week of pull out services Amy offered to the two students. Priya valued Amy’s support to help the students feel more comfortable. Amy valued the experience because it fostered independence and growth in Sakura.

Content of services for students. Aside from this one session, Amy typically came into the classroom to work with the students during an instructional period. Priya described the support as: “It’s just asking them questions, having them do a little work just one-on-one with her” (Interview, 20 March 2008). Amy generally pulled the students to the back table in Priya’s room and helped them through whatever assignment they were working on. In one of my observations, the students were reading an article about Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi and describing the different qualities that make him a hero. Priya read the story aloud to the class and explained the writing prompt. Amy pulled the two students to the back table and re-read the story. She had the students write synonyms for words in the story she thought they may not know. Then, she picked some personality traits to have the students write about. The first one

was courageous. Both students used their Japanese-English electronic dictionaries to look up the word courageous. Amy asked them to explain what courageous means in English. Then, she prompted them to look through the story to find examples of how Gandhi was courageous. In the thirty minute period, Amy helped them find two examples of Gandhi's courageousness. During this time, Priya came to check in with Amy one time to see how things were going. As Priya left, Amy reviewed with the students the process that they went through to identify a quality and then find examples in the story. On her way out, Amy told Priya what she had done and explained that the children would need additional support in order to complete the writing prompt (Field Notes, 13 December 2007).

Amy's support for the Sakura and Hideo typically focused on breaking down the challenging assignments that their fifth grade curriculum expected of them. Amy would chunk the assignment, often providing graphic organizers, visual representations, and vocabulary support for the students to understand the content. During my observations of Priya's instruction, this type of support was not generally provided to students. Priya expected the students to be very independent. Her room was usually very quiet, with students working on their own assignments. When she did have students work in pairs, I observed the English learners copying the work of their peers, rather than actively participating.

Being a fifth grade teacher myself, I often assumed the role of scaffolding for the EL students during my observations, if I did not see that Priya was doing it herself. I would sit in the back of the room observing Priya's instruction. When she had the students engage in independent practice, she did not often check in with Hideo or Sakura. If I saw Sakura and Hideo disengaged from the task, I would intervene. An example from one of my field notes:

Priya pulls up the worksheet on the SmartBoard. While she is doing this she reminds students that their math sheet is for homework tonight. On the SmartBoard Priya points to the directions. She tells them that they are supposed to go through page six and find sensory words. Priya reads aloud the examples on the workbook page of sensory words and phrases.

The bells stay silent – sound

fancy blue jacket – sight

Priya tells the students they have five minutes to independently identify sensory phrases in the book they are reading The Fighting Ground. Priya heads to her desk and begins looking through papers. (I go over and work with Sakura on this. I ask her if she knows what the five senses are. She does not. I review the five senses and then we read two paragraphs together. I ask her if there is anything that she could see, hear, feel, taste, or touch).

(Field Notes, 13 March 2008)

This example was typical of Priya's instruction in which she would introduce the task, expect the students to complete the task independently, and then she would conduct a whole class review of the worksheet with the students contributing answers. Sakura and Hideo were often ill prepared to complete the independent task without further scaffolding. I often saw Priya 'check in' with Sakura and Hideo asking if they knew what to do. They would respond positively and she would leave them to work independently. As she mentioned in her interviews, Priya was sensitive about drawing attention to these students and the fact that they were in any way different from their peers.

Priya's support for English learners primarily took the shape of cultural sensitivity. Priya learned a few words in Japanese to use with the children. During instruction she would stop and ask Hideo and Sakura how they would say certain vocabulary words in Japanese. Priya encouraged the students to bring in their culture to share with the class. When Amy and Priya met to discuss the Hideo for his academic profile, Priya discussed his excitement to share Japanese news stories with the class.

You should read his current event. Hideo's so funny. He gets it from the Japan news and they're – some of the news is really odd and farfetched and he always comes up with these weird, weird current event things like the biggest jelly fish that was found and – off of this shore and it was so funny and he like – and the kids love it and he's gotten so much confidence, because every week when we share, I can see the kids like, "Oh," because they were just dying to know. "Okay what does Hideo got now?" And it's always from this Japan news site. And it's so funny, because he'll – he has his confidence now where he – it's still is kind of hard to understand for the kids so I kind of have to help with that.

(Academic Profile, 16 May 2008)

Priya's support for her students aligned with her belief that students need to feel welcome and develop socially. By encouraging Hideo to share stories from the Japanese news, Priya provided him with an opportunity to share his culture and personality with the other students in the class. The other students began to see him as someone who was funny and tells interesting stories.

Evidence of successful services for students. At the end of the year neither Hideo nor Sakura passed the Washington Language Proficiency Test. In the academic profile conference, Priya noted that they would still need a lot of support as they transitioned to middle school. She

told Amy to write a note to their sixth grade ESL teacher that the both students need encouragement and a teacher who shows a personal interest in the students.

And she (Sakura) needs encouraging, encouragement. She really likes to be told, “Oh that’s great.” If you encourage her and – what works really well with me is if I speak a little Japanese to her. So sometimes I respond to her a little bit in Japanese. Just like, *konnichiha*, like how are you doing, whatever. And she really, really loves that and she really respects that and she tries really harder.

He (Hideo)– again needs encouragement. He loves when people show an interest in him, again it’s the same thing I talk about his – I speak Japanese to him a few little words or I ask him, “How do I say this in Japanese?” He loves that. And if you encourage him that way or just – just befriend him, he really responds.

(Academic Profile, 16 May 2008)

Priya continued to emphasize the students’ social and cultural needs as she thought about their continuing education. Her support over the year focused on building a supportive environment for the students to feel respected and welcome. But, she did not maintain high expectations for the students. On two occasions I saw her call on Sakura and move on to another student when Sakura looked down at her paper in silence (Observations, 14 February 2008; 13 March 2008). Amy’s support over the year focused on helping the students make sense of the 5th grade curriculum by pulling them to the back table. Amy’s support was inconsistent, happening at most once a week. Priya did not provide the same type of academic scaffolding for the students, based on her concern that it was embarrassing to the students.

Analysis of Priya and Amy’s Interpretation and Enactment of the ESL Facilitator Policy

The co-construction of the ESL facilitator policy was problematic in Priya's classroom. Amy and Priya interpreted the policy and the needs of ELs through vastly different discourses, leading to frustration and miscommunication on both sides.

After a negative experience coaching in Priya's classroom, Amy stopped offering coaching that would focus on increasing Priya's instructional capacity for working with EL students. After a conversation with the principal, Priya recognized her role was to request support from Amy. But, she lacked the knowledge of what to ask for and the relationship with Amy to feel comfortable asking for support. In communicating the ESL facilitator policy, the ESL department emphasized the importance of a trusting relationship between the facilitator and the classroom teacher. In this case, Priya's disengagement in a coaching session violated Amy's expectations and had significant consequences on their ongoing relationship. The strained relationship minimized opportunities for teacher learning.

Priya had a unique interpretation of ESL services, focusing more on the social, emotional, and cultural development of the students. She attempted to build strong relationships with her students and create a safe learning environment to help her EL students feel comfortable. Amy, on the other hand, focused on the students' academic skill development. The contrasting discourses Amy and Priya engaged to interpret the policy created misunderstanding between them. Implementing the ESL facilitator policy, Amy was not able to develop a strong relationship with either student, something Priya found problematic. Priya fostered strong, positive relationships with the students through her encouragement and cultural sensitivity. But, she did not provide instructional supports for the English learners to manage fifth grade level content, which concerned Amy. Both teachers interpreted their own support as serving the needs of students and the other teacher's support as inadequate.

ANALYSIS

Introduction

The four preceding findings chapters have focused on the localized construction of meaning as the ESL facilitator policy was negotiated across context. I analyzed how the concepts of teacher learning and services for students were assigned meanings and negotiated through multiple discourses at the district, school, facilitator, and classroom levels. In this chapter, I apply my definition of discourses as constituting *meaning* through *difference* with *power* to discuss the ideological tensions within and between the discourses presented in the findings chapter.

In this chapter I critically analyze and discuss the discursive meanings assigned to four key terms in my research questions. Discourses are not neutral, and are constantly in competition with one another, vying for legitimization (Weedon, 1987). As discourses come into conflict with one another, individuals have the agency to align themselves with a particular representation, reproducing particular ideologies and inequalities. Through a critical discourse analysis, I illuminate the enactment of power as individuals reproduce discourses which normalize certain ways of teaching and learning. In the interpretation and implementation of the ESL facilitator policy, the negotiation of these key terms through discourses led to disparate educational opportunities for English learners. Here is a list of the terms to be discussed, and the discursive binary through which they were constructed and negotiated.

Table 5

Discursive Binaries of Key Terms

Key Term	Discursive Binary
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Facilitator Role	Negotiating the roles of collaborator and case manager.
Shared Responsibility	Negotiating the shared responsibility of teacher and facilitator for educating English learners.
ESL Instruction	Negotiating the tension of ‘just good teaching’ and targeted language instruction.
ESL Services	Negotiating the benefits of small group instruction outside the classroom and support in the mainstream classroom.

For each term, I present the examples of the conflicting discourses engaged to construct meaning. I follow this with an analysis of the material consequences for students.

Negotiating the Role of the Facilitator: Collaborator vs. Case Manager.

The district’s construction and communication of the facilitator model included inconsistencies in the definition of the role of the facilitator. The term facilitator was constructed through two contrary discourses, representing significantly different ideologies. First, the facilitator was defined as a case manager responsible for rank ordering students and allocating instructional time according to specific student needs. This was a student-centered definition which constructed the facilitator’s role as providing instructional support to the neediest English learners. Second, the facilitator was defined as a collaborator responsible for forming partnerships teachers with teachers and dedicating her time to co-planning, co-teaching, and providing the teacher resources. This was a teacher-centered definition in which the facilitator was expected to commit her time to the ongoing, professional learning of classroom teachers.

While these two definitions are not oppositional, they represent different ideologies, which were left to be negotiated by facilitators in their school contexts.

As the role of the facilitator was interpreted and negotiated at the two schools, existing expectations of services for English learners strengthened the case manager definition of facilitator while ignoring and undermining the collaborator definition. In this section I present an examination of how the case manager definition of facilitator was promoted and legitimized, effectively thwarting the collaborative intent of the policy. The four areas in which the collaborative definition of facilitator were undermined and deflected were: staffing, existing expectations for student services, training for facilitators, and the voluntary nature of the collaborative relationship.

Staffing

Gail cited the case management definition as the rationale for staffing 1 full time ESL facilitator per 100 EL students. In our interview, Gail explained that the ESL facilitator should identify the intermediate proficiency students on her case management list and focus on providing services in those classrooms. Although an ESL facilitator may have 100 students on her case management list, in the case management definition, she was expected to focus her time predominantly on students with the highest language needs. The case management definition presented the expectation that the ESL facilitator would “check in” with teachers who had higher proficiency students.

With this ratio based on the case management definition, Amy was spread across two separate schools, working with over 50 teachers. Amy’s attempts to build and sustain collaborative relationships with teachers were constrained by the ratio established through the case manager discourse. Collaborative relationships take a great deal of time to develop (Reeves,

2007). Friend and Cook (1992) list defining characteristics of successful collaboration as: 1) being voluntary; 2) requiring parity among participants; 3) based on mutual goals; 4) shared responsibility for participation and decision making; 5) consisting of individuals who share their resources; and 6) consisting of individuals who share accountability for outcomes. The district's staffing decisions, created through the case management discourse, undermined the expectation for facilitators to create successful collaborative relationships.

Existing Expectations for Student Services

The teacher learning component of the facilitator's role came into conflict with existing discourses at the two school sites which defined the role of the ESL facilitator as offering direct supports to students. Shelley Blake was the only participant in this study who defined the role of the facilitator as supporting teacher learning. It is significant to note that Shelley was the only teacher in this study who attended the half day workshop the district provided for classroom teachers. The principals of Birchfield and Cedar Valley also recognized the facilitator model as a teacher learning policy, but did little to challenge the existing discourses in their buildings. The rest of the participants in this study continued to construct the role of the facilitator as providing direct support for students.

In her implementation of the policy, Amy's attempts to act as a collaborator were rare and often unwelcome. Modeling scaffolds, providing materials, sharing accommodations, developing lesson accommodations, co-teaching, or attending grade level meeting were all promoted by the district. But, at both of her schools, these teaching learning strategies came into conflict with the existing discourses in which Amy was expected to provide direct support to students. Teachers, like Natalie, asked Amy to come and sit with their students. Shelley and Carolina engaged with Amy as a collaborator. But, both explicitly valued and benefitted from

the direct support she offered for students. In these cases, they created parallel structures (Coburn, 2005) in which they implemented the new policy while holding on to their old ways of thinking. For Carolina and Shelley, collaboration was a bonus, an added benefit of the facilitator policy, but they both maintained an expectation for Amy to directly serve their students.

Amy's solution for negotiating the tension between the collaborative and case management definition of her role was to work directly with students and then leave notes for the teachers with suggestions for follow up. Teachers, continuing to engage a case manager discourse, expected Amy to dedicate her time to working directly with ELL students in the classroom. Amy, using a collaborative discourse, attempted to build upon the in class support time and use it for teacher learning opportunities, with varying results.

Amy struggled to negotiate the ideological inconsistencies between the case management and collaboration discourses. Early in the year, she stated her belief that the ultimate intention of the policy was to prepare all teachers to work effectively with English language learners, no longer needing facilitator support (Interview, 6 February 2008). But, as the year progressed, Amy shifted her role to more closely align with the case management discourse. She rearranged her schedule so that she could support every classroom with ELLs, which left little time for collaboration. Amy's change in schedule was positively received at both schools. Her new schedule matched the existing discourses and expectations of the ELL teacher to provide services to students.

When I prompted Amy to reflect on her effectiveness as a facilitator at the end of the year, she did so with the case management discourse.

Well, case manager load is probably my biggest frustration. The fact that there is over a hundred kids on my list and I want to serve all the kids and I want to feel like I'm

doing my job. <<Uh Huh>> And I struggle with the fact that I don't – I can't do my job to the level I want to do my job. And I know what it takes to do my job and I need to be doubled to do the job I wanna do.

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

Amy considered 'doing her job' as personally providing service to all of the students across her two schools. With nearly 100 students in over 50 classrooms this was a physically impossible task. Amy continued this line of thinking, revealing why she prioritized time with students.

I mean I just don't have enough time for the amount of time they want me.

Everybody does. I mean even to just email teachers accommodations and things like that still, I don't see those kids and I worry about the kids. 'Cause I just you know, 60% of the staff doesn't – they don't accommodate. Or they don't check in, or they don't know, and then I feel like all my kids are being left to the wolves. Because no one knows what's going on with them. And until I go in and say, "Wow, they're really at a low reading level," or "They don't really know how to write," or "They have no idea what they're doing in Math," –<<Yeah.>> "They don't understand this whole thing in Science,"

(Interview, 2 June 2008)

As Amy negotiated the role of the facilitator she situated herself between the case manager and the collaboration discourses. Amy explained that teacher learning was secondary to the pressing needs of the students. Because she did not see teachers implementing accommodations for English language learners, Amy felt compelled to work with all of the students personally. While the ESL department's case management discourse focused on serving the neediest

students, Amy's interpretation of case management aligned to teachers' expectations that she serve all eligible students.

Teachers did not have sustained, coordinated opportunities to grapple with the collaborative definition of facilitator. As Coburn (2005) explains, teachers need opportunities to negotiate the conflict between their existing practice and the expectations of a new policy. Without such conflict, most teachers at Cedar Valley and Birchfield ignored the collaborator definition and continued to interact with Amy through the case manager discourse. Amy eventually caved to the pressure from teachers to shift her service schedule to meet their expectations for working with students.

Becoming a Facilitator

Although the facilitator policy clearly listed a number of coaching strategies to support teacher learning, the term coach was never used to define their position. Howard and Gail referred to the policy as a "teacher-centered" policy, but never explicitly made the connection to coaching. When I originally read the ESL facilitator policy I made an assumption that the district had a clear expectation of coaching and teacher learning. In the analysis of the policy text, the coaching discourse is dominant. But, as evidenced in the data, the ESL department had a vague expectation of the facilitator's role in coaching and supporting teacher learning.

In addition to classroom teachers not understanding the collaborative role of the facilitator, Amy struggled to construct her own identity as a facilitator. The training provided by the district did not prepare teachers like Amy to become coaches. An individual's identity is a discursive accomplishment, created and sustained through social interactions (Edley, 2001). Coaching requires a new set of skills focused on developing and managing learning relationships

with adults (Bean, 2004). Amy's construction of her coaching identity was predominantly shaped through interactions with teachers who did not perceive or value her as a coach.

Staff at Birchfield and Cedar Valley were accustomed to working with coaches. Both schools had a half-time curriculum or "tech" coach. Tech coaches were positioned as professional development leaders by both of the principals. The tech coaches held a position of privilege and respect in the school and district culture. I asked Amy if she thought the tech coaches experienced as much resistance as she does.

I think tech coaches come with a, a bit of privilege, "I've been a teacher for a few years and I know a lot about the curriculum, I know a lot about the web, I know how to do this and do that" and because it's almost like a stepping stone to becoming a principal --<<Yeah> -- that you have to have a lot of credentials to even get the job in the first place... You're like above a teacher. In the classroom teacher's eye. --<<Yeah.>> "They know more than I do about this. So I'm gonna respect them like this". Versus ESL facilitator. "Whatever, they don't know anything. Or, whatever they do know, sounds great but let's see that happen." And you can't provide the results that they want. (Interview, 2 June 2008)

Every person I interviewed from the district office down to the classroom teachers defined the role of the facilitator as different than that of a coach. The role of the tech coach was clearly aligned with teacher learning. The role of the facilitator was more ambiguous. Without a clear connection to the term coaching, the collaborative definition for facilitator was vague and poorly communicated.

In addition to the lack of support for developing a coaching identity, the ESL department was unclear as to the specific skills or knowledge that classroom teachers were expected to

master through the collaborative partnerships with facilitators. Reeves (2007) claims that coaching which is solely focused on supporting teachers is counterproductive. Both the teacher and the coach must understand and agree upon the learning to occur. The goals Amy established for individual teachers were arbitrary and informal. There was no process for setting goals or assessing of how much teachers had learned and what skills they still needed to develop.

While the policy text clearly defined the expectation for the facilitator to serve in a coaching capacity, there was little support or training for facilitators to create identities as coaches. In communicating the policy and providing professional development for ELL facilitators, the district ignored the specific skills and knowledge facilitators would need, as well as the specific content they were expected to share with teachers. Without these opportunities to construct coaching identities, each facilitator was left to create their own expectations for what collaboration should look like and what to focus on with teachers. In addition, the term facilitator was constructed as “other” than the role of the district “tech” coaches. There was a common understanding that tech coaches were supporters of teacher learning. Facilitators, on the other hand, were constructed at all levels as “not coaches” and the expectations for collaboration and coaching were not clear.

Consequences for English Learners

At both school sites, the ESL facilitator position was primarily defined through a case-management or student centered discourse. The case management discourse aligned with existing normalized ways of serving students, or regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980). The collaborator discourse conflicted with and was negotiated through the existing dominant discourses. Teachers who had already been recruited into a student-centered discourse continued to reproduce that discourse, maintaining its power and legitimacy. Amy’s attempts to construct

collaborative relationships were undermined by the pressure she received to provide direct support to students. As a result, students received minimal support from Amy and classroom teachers had minimal opportunities to gain knowledge and skills to accommodate the needs of their English learners.

Shared Responsibility: Negotiating Responsibility between ESL facilitators and Classroom Teachers

The redefined role of the ESL facilitator had significant consequences on the expected responsibilities of the classroom teacher. In the policy text, the goal of the ESL facilitator model was stated as: “All English Language Learners will learn at high levels and all staff will share in that responsibility.” Educational researchers tout the importance of shared responsibility for creating an additive school in which English learners are embraced by all staff members (August & Hakuta, 1997; Gibbons, 2002; Miramontes, et. al., 1997; Valenzuela, 1999). The discursive construction of shared responsibility counters the historical, dominant discourse in which English learners are positioned as “other” or not the responsibility of classroom teachers (Walker, Shafer & Iiams, 2004; Valenzuela, 1999). The ESL facilitator policy’s goal of shared responsibility introduced a positive theoretical expectation for all staff to assume responsibility for English learners. However, the policy text was vague in defining the practical expectations for sharing responsibility. Specifically, the policy lacked a clear expectation for how ESL facilitators and classroom teachers would share responsibility for providing quality instructional services. In implementing the facilitator policy, the construct of shared responsibility had to be negotiated between the ESL facilitator and teachers within the existing school contexts.

In this study, the facilitator and classroom teachers had vastly different expectations for their own roles and the roles the other should play. In the cases presented in the findings, the

teachers and the facilitator expressed frustration over the lack of shared responsibility. The classroom teachers insisted that the policy placed too much responsibility on them, removing all responsibility from the ESL facilitator. In contrast, Amy asserted that the classroom teachers did not have clear responsibilities in the policy, therefore she was expected to maintain responsibility for English learners. In this section, I discuss the shifting expectations for the classroom teacher, prompted by the expectation of shared responsibility, and the material consequences for English learners.

Shifting Expectations for Teacher Responsibility

The facilitator policy used a discourse of shared responsibility, but did not include a clearly defined role of the classroom teacher. The ESL department and Amy communicated the expectation that classroom teachers demonstrate shared responsibility by seeking support from the facilitator and implementing suggested accommodations. The facilitator's responsibility was communicated as provide resources, strategies, and support to teachers who had requested it.

Requesting Support: In the communication of the policy, the ESL department clearly articulated the expectation for classroom teachers to request support for English learners. However, teachers' existing discursive constructions of support for English learners were never questioned or problematized. Previous studies have documented that classroom teachers who have minimal experience with English learners may not know what types of supports and services their students need (Bourne, 2001; Curtis, 2005; Kailin, 1999; Harklau, 2003). Some classroom teachers, operating out of a colorblind discourse, are hesitant to implement accommodations or special treatment for English learners believing that all students should be treated the same (Harklau, 1994; Reeves, 2004). In their negotiation of the ESL facilitator policy,

teachers drew existing discursive constructions of ESL support in their interactions with the ESL facilitator.

At the half-day workshop for classroom teachers, one teacher clearly articulated the paradox in expecting teachers to know when to ask for help. She explained that she did not know what her English language learners needed and she did not have the background knowledge to know when to ask for help. Gail and Howard responded to this query by reiterating the responsibility of the classroom teacher to serve as an advocate for her English learners. The discourses used to construct and communicate the expectations of shared responsibility ignored the significant factor of the requisite knowledge and attitude of classroom teachers to serve as advocates for English learners.

The four classroom teachers participating in this study had a range of awareness and comprehension regarding the needs of English learners. Natalie at Birchfield acknowledged her unfamiliarity with the instructional needs of English learners. Shelley, on the other hand, reproduced a colorblind discourse, suggesting that English learners and kindergarteners needed the same things. Carolina and Priya at Cedar Valley both had pre-existing ideas about ESL services through from which they advocated for particular types of support for their students. Priya valued social-emotional supports for her language learners, while Carolina expected her students to receive explicit language scaffolding and instruction. The divergent, existing beliefs and knowledge of teachers influenced the types of supports they requested and ultimately the services their English learners received.

Amy reproduced the district's expectation that teachers were responsible for requesting her support. Teachers who did not request her support were positioned as not assuming responsibility for their English learners. Based on the expected responsibility of a teacher

requesting support, Amy provided disproportionate support for certain, vocal teachers. Amy chose to spend the majority of her time in classrooms in which the teacher frequently requested her input or support (such as Carolina's and Shelley's). Students in other classes did not receive as much of Amy's time and attention. In Carolina's case, she had one advanced level student, and she was already implementing significant support on her own. Because of her existing understanding of ELL support, she requested support more than any other teacher. But, as Carolina pointed out, there were other classrooms at Cedar Valley who had more ELs and would benefit from additional support. The change in expectation for teachers to request support for English learners led to increasing disparities in services for English learners. Teachers who had sufficient background knowledge to ask for supports received a disproportionate amount of time. Teachers who did not have the background knowledge, or who were reproducing a subtractive or colorblind discourses, often did not request or receive support.

Implementing Services for English Learners

The second shift in the role of the classroom teacher was the expectation that the teacher would implement the accommodations and strategies shared by the facilitator. Any direct support for students provided by the ESL facilitator was expected to be temporary, eventually taken over by the classroom teacher. Based on this expectation, Amy expressed frustration that the teachers at Cedar Valley and Birchfield did not take responsibility for the education of English learners. She did not see evidence of teachers consistently providing accommodations for students. Over the course of this year, Amy pushed Howard and Gail to clearly articulate the teacher's responsibility in the facilitator policy. Amy explained:

But there's no teacher role and what they're supposed to do, a classroom teacher role. So it makes it difficult for me. If I was a classroom teacher thinking I have responsibility

there <Yeah>. Because it's not making me accountable. It's basically saying Amy's supposed to do it. <Mm-hm>. And when you're in there, fix it.<Yeah>

(Interview 6 February 2008)

Without clear responsibilities delineated for classroom teachers, Amy felt that the policy did not disrupt the status quo in which teachers expected the ESL facilitator to maintain responsibility for English learners. The classroom teachers in this study provided a very different perspective. Priya, Natalie, and Carolina all mentioned the lack of support they received from Amy. In their interpretation of the policy, the classroom teachers were forced to take full responsibility for the linguistic and academic development of ELLs. The ESL facilitator's flexible schedule meant the classroom teachers could not rely on any type of dependable support from Amy. This did not meet with the teachers' expectations of shared responsibility. In the past, the ESL teacher had maintained a consistent schedule and provided ongoing support for students. For most of the year, Amy's schedule fluctuated each week to accommodate individual teachers' requests. Towards the end of the year, she adjusted her schedule to be more consistent in providing classroom support. But at our final interviews, all three of these teachers mentioned that they did not see her as often as they expected. The teachers reproduced an understanding of shared responsibility as a sharing of instructional time with students, which was incompatible with the shift in roles for the facilitator and teachers.

Given the inconsistent support from the ESL facilitator, the disparate levels of knowledge and skills of classroom teachers led to inequitable learning opportunities for English learners. On one extreme, Carolina drew upon her understanding of language development, dedicating a significant amount of time to her one English learner. This specialized support occurred at the expense of her other students. Her whole class worked independently for thirty to forty-five

minutes at a time while she provided individualized instruction for one English learner. On the other extreme, Natalie had little knowledge of accommodating English learners. She attempted to implement the strategies suggested by Amy, such as speaking slower and writing vocabulary on the board, but her instruction did not change enough to support the linguistic development of her EL student. At the end of the year she acknowledged that this student continued to demonstrate linguistic challenges (pronunciation and grammar), but she did not request or receive any support from Amy to address these issues.

Consequences for English Learners

As more schools and districts across the United States move towards inclusion, there is an increasing awareness of the need for classroom teachers to become more knowledgeable and capable in teaching English learners (Clair, 1995; Curtis, 2005; deJong & Harper, 2005; Gibbons, 2002; Hite & Evans, 2006; Lucas, Villegas & Freedson-Gonzales, 2008). The ESL facilitator policy attempted to provide opportunities for teacher learning to improve instructional practices under the prospect of shared responsibility. But, rather than articulating the expectations for how the facilitator and teacher would share responsibility for educating English learners, the policy prematurely removed the supports from classrooms with unprepared teachers. In Amy's interpretation and implementation of the policy, the teachers with the least amount of awareness and knowledge of the needs of English learners were often the ones who received the least amount of her attention. Whereas teachers, like Carolina, who had enough background knowledge to advocate for her students received excessive support. The education of English learners was thus contingent upon the classroom teachers' discursive construction of services, existing awareness and knowledge, and relationship with the facilitator.

To effectively share responsibility between classroom and ESL teachers, there must be a shared vision and understanding of what types of services and supports English learners need (Arkoudis, 2006; Miramontes, Nadeau & Commins, 1997). Without a shared sense of understanding of how and why English learners should be supported, the ESL facilitator policy was open for negotiation through divergent discourses which led to a broad range of enactments. The construct of shared responsibility was introduced in the policy to counter the prevalent ‘pull out’ discourse, in which classroom teachers relinquished responsibilities for EL students. But, what it created was an environment in which responsibility was placed upon teachers who did not necessarily have the skill or the ideological commitment to provide support for the EL students in their classrooms. The outcome was a reenforcement of inequities, in which EL students with teachers who had adequate background knowledge to request support received disproportionate support, while EL students with teachers who had little knowledge, skill, or interest in educating English learners received little to no support.

Negotiating ESL Instruction: Just Good Teaching vs. Targeted Language

Instruction

The next construct negotiated relates to understanding the instructional needs of English learners. In the communication and implementation of the ESL facilitator policy, two dominant definitions were assigned to the construct of instruction for ELLs: just good teaching and targeted instruction. DeJong and Harper (2008) clarify the difference between “just good teaching” (JGT) and targeted instruction for English learners:

While we acknowledge the importance and relevance of many JGT practices, we argue in the sections below that reliance on this approach overlooks the needs of ELLs within the domains of language and culture... We believe that while JGT teacher preparation is an

integral part of preparing mainstream teachers to work with ELLs, teachers must also have the opportunity to systematically develop additional knowledge and skills related to the domains of language and culture in order to be effective in integrated classrooms that include native and non-native speakers of English (pp. 103).

In creating and communicating the policy, the ESL department predominantly engaged a JGT discourse. As the policy was enacted and negotiated in schools, teachers resisted the JGT discourse. While most did not articulate a clear definition of instruction as targeted instruction, they could articulate the fact that something was missing from their EL students' education.

The district's policy documents and workshops all emphasized the importance of "just good teaching" for ELLs in the mainstream classroom. At each workshop, the district reproduced at least one example of JGT (deJong & Harper, 2005), including comprehensible input³, oral participation in class, and clear objectives. Classroom teachers were introduced to Cummins' four quadrants diagram, and at almost all presentation district representative used Krashen's term comprehensible input. While these two constructs are foundational pieces of understanding language acquisition, the teachers engaged with both of them under the JGT construct of providing accommodations for students to understand the content. The message communicated from the ESL department suggested that English learners' instructional needs could be addressed good teaching in the mainstream classroom.

For the most part Amy's interactions with teachers and students reproduced the district's discourse of JGT. She provided teachers general strategies for tailoring their instruction, such as highlighting important vocabulary words or using visuals. The majority of her support focused

on helping students understand the content through one-on-one conversations, then writing anecdotal notes for teachers suggesting ways they could make their instruction more accessible.

But, Amy also recognized a need for targeted language instruction. She acknowledged that students needed some instruction that was not aligned to the mainstream curriculum and outside the purview of the classroom teacher. With Hideo and Sakura in Priya's classroom, Amy determined the students needed help with pronunciation. There were certain consonant blends the students struggled to produce in English. Amy uses her ESL resources to find word lists for the students to practice. She did not spend time with the students providing instruction. Rather, she recorded herself reading the list of words on a digital voice recorder (DVR). She then presented the list and the DVR to the students. The students took the list home and practice, and then recorded themselves reading the list of words. This was Amy's creative solution to providing specific language support to students, in light of the policy's denunciation of pull-out services.

While the dominant policy discourse emphasized JGT, and the majority of Amy's support was a product of this discourse; the teachers in this study noticed that the needs of English learners were not all addressed through general accommodations to the curriculum. Every teacher in this study had a different slant on what English learners needed based on their personal teaching philosophy. But, all of them recognized that there was something missing, despite their efforts to provide just good teaching. All of them expressed the sentiment that they could not meet all the needs of English language learners in the classroom on their own. Shelley saw the needs of English language learners as similar to her other kindergarteners. But, she expressed a need for of extra oral practice in a small group or in a one-on-one setting. Natalie recognized that her English learners lacked vocabulary and grammar development. But, she

admitted that she was ill equipped to develop these on her own. Carolina believed that English language learners need explicit language development, focusing on the specific linguistic skills they lacked. Finally, Priya prioritized the social and cultural needs of English language learners. She expressed frustration that the new facilitator model did not recognize students' cultural backgrounds or support their social development.

With so many different interpretations of what English language learners need, students at these two schools received disparate amounts and types of targeted instruction. Carolina's English learner received targeted language instruction on a regular basis. But, it is important to note that Carolina did not have a background in teaching ESL and she created lessons based on materials and ideas she brought from her old school. On the other hand, Natalie's student demonstrated a strong need for grammatical and oral language support. His pronunciation was unclear and his writing contained numerous grammatical errors. Natalie admitted that she did not know how to teach grammar or pronunciation to this student. Therefore, he received almost no language instruction over the course of the year. In Priya's classroom, she focused on acknowledging and responding to the cultural needs of students. She valued their cultural backgrounds and created opportunities for students to share their home languages and culture with the rest of the class.

Consequences for English Learners

The ESL facilitator policy did not provide a clear framework for quality instruction for English learners. The construct of instruction for English learners was left to be negotiated and defined by facilitators and teachers. Amy, as a facilitator, suggested strategies and resources drawing on her own value system and expertise. In consulting with teachers she often focused on "just good teaching" or strategies they could incorporate in their whole class instruction. She

did not incorporate cultural competence in her coaching, and she rarely addressed specific linguistic forms or function. Research has shown that this is often the case when a policy attempts to address the needs of language learners solely through mainstream classroom instruction (Creese, 2005; Arkoudis, 2003; Leung, 2001; Leung & Franson, 2001). Teachers in these studies implemented inconsistent or diluted language supports.

Harper and deJong (2009) have found similar consequences in Florida, as the state pushes forwards with its goal of full inclusion for English learners. Harper and de Jong (2009) note the reproduction of the just good teaching discourse: “Teachers don’t need specialized ESL training; common sense and good intentions work fine” (143). They argue that English learners need more than comprehensible input. Instruction geared towards ELLs must

Target more informed attitudes towards teaching linguistically and culturally diverse students, deeper understanding of second language and literacy development and of the language demands of the content area texts and tasks, and more sophisticated approaches to integrating language and content instruction. (Harper & de Jong, 2009, pg 147).

The EL students at Cedar Valley and Birchfield did not receive systematic language instruction, because the dominant discourses focused on just good teaching. While some teachers, like Carolina, attempted to provide language support she had neither the expertise nor the resources to create a systematic language development program.

Negotiating Services: Pull Out vs. Push In

The final discursive tension shaping the implementation of the facilitator policy centered on the location of services for English language learners. In the past, English learners had been served through a pull-out model. The pull out discourse remained the normalized or “common sense” discourse at both Cedar Valley and Birchfield, reproduced by the majority of the teaching

staff. The ESL facilitator policy attempted to introduce and promote a new discourse which devalued pull-out and emphasized services in the mainstream classroom. The discourse promoted by the ESL department was summarized succinctly when one facilitator stated “pull out is never OK.” (Field Notes, 1 November 2007). The district attempted to disrupt the discursive relationship between “ESL Services” and “Pull Out.” To delegitimize pull out, the department focused on the value of the mainstream curriculum and the importance for English learners to have access to it.

Amy did not share the district’s condemnation of “pull-out.” As a classroom teacher in Canada, she had seen her students benefit from targeted language instruction taught in a pull out model. Amy complied with the facilitator policy and rarely pulled students out of the classroom. But, based on her experiences as a facilitator, Amy created a proposal to modify the policy in which intermediate students would receive pull out language instruction and advanced students would be supported through facilitation. Amy stated the belief that the needs of intermediate students were not adequately served in the mainstream classroom. In the current model, she was unable to provide intensive services to all of the intermediate students. A pull out model would give her an opportunity to provide those students the targeted language instruction they need.

The teachers at Birchfield and Cedar Valley continued to reproduce the pull out discourse, despite the implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. All other specialized support services were provided through pull out services. Students were pulled out for enrichment, LAP support, special education, small reading groups, and individual tutoring. At both schools, pull out services were the norm, and the ESL facilitator policy was an aberration. The teachers in this study all saw the benefit of students receiving specialized instruction from the ESL facilitator. Shelley wanted her students pulled out for guided reading instruction. Priya wanted her students

pulled out for language development, to save them from embarrassment, and to promote a positive relationship between the ESL teacher and student. Carolina and Natalie both wanted students pulled out to work on specific language skills that the rest of the class did not need.

In an environment where the norm was pull out support; teachers were not prepared to take advantage of having Amy in their classroom. Placing two certificated teachers in a classroom does not guarantee improved instruction or specialized support (Arkoudis, 2006; Creese, 2005). Sileo (2003) suggests that for two teachers to work effectively in a single environment they need to have a common purpose. Without a specific purpose or assignment, specialists often assume subordinated roles, minimizing their effect with the students they are assigned to serve (Creese, 2004; Friend, Reising & Cook, 1993; Fisher, Sax & Pumpian, 1996; Platt, Harper & Mendoza, 2003). Amy was a fully certificated teacher with specialized ESL knowledge. But, her interaction with students was often limited to sitting next to them and tutoring through classroom instruction. While the teachers in the study acknowledged the need for specialized instruction for language learners, they were accustomed to that support occurring outside the classroom. They had not been recruited into a discourse which would provide structures for Amy to provide targeted support in the classroom. Thus, Amy's expertise was underutilized and the needs of English learners were unaddressed.

Amy's services were unpredictable and random, based on access to students and what was currently happening in the classroom. Her engagement with students primarily focused on clarifying the instruction and helping them complete class work. She occupied the role of a classroom assistant. One consequence of this subordinated role was that teachers changed their lesson plans at the last minute or told Amy that she did not need to come in because they were doing something off schedule. On more than one occasion, Amy's classroom visits were

cancelled because the teacher was showing a movie to the class. Because the services Amy provided were not valued by the classroom teachers, the classroom teacher could effectively deny English learners access to her support.

The tension between pull out and push in discourses was closely related to the discourses of shared responsibility and the instructional needs of English learners. In the ESL facilitator policy, the department espoused the beliefs that classroom teachers needed to take responsibility for English language learners, and that teachers could meet ELL needs through just good teaching. Based on these two assumptions, the mainstream classroom would be the best place for ELLs. The role of the facilitator was defined as supporting classroom teachers in developing expertise and implementing accommodations.

Consequences for English Learners

Carolina and Amy both related their positive experiences of pull-out, in which the classroom teacher and the ESL specialist shared responsibility for English learners. The classroom teacher was responsible for scaffolding content instruction and the ESL teacher was responsible for providing systematic language support. The two teachers communicated and coordinated their support for students. The setting of ESL services is ultimately far less important than the quality of instruction and the systems of communication and collaboration between the classroom teacher and the ESL teacher.

The ESL department's intense push for ESL services to occur in the mainstream classroom overlooked the type and quality of instruction the ESL facilitator was able to offer. By focusing on the physical location of support, this policy ignored the myriad of factors required for two teachers to successfully collaborate (Friend, Riesling & Cook, 1993). Without a clear purpose, the ESL facilitator's knowledge and expertise were underused. As a consequence,

English learners received occasional tutoring support from the ESL facilitator rather than well-designed instruction.

Summary

The four discursive tensions I have presented are all interrelated. The district resisted a pull out model, believing teachers would not assume responsibility for teachers' learning. But, my findings indicated that many of the teachers who advocated for pull out services did so because they were committed to the success of their English language learners. Amy, Priya, and Shelley all recognized that they could not address all the needs of English learners on their own. In Carolina's case, she recognized that she lacked the specific knowledge and training to provide quality language support for her students. While she created a make-shift language program for her English learner, she contended that her students would be better served in a pull out model with a qualified ESL teacher.

The educational consequences for English language learners were constructed through the negotiation of these four terms. Some children were forsaken in a sink or swim environment with a teacher who refused to work with Amy or did not implement accommodations. In other classes, the children had teachers who assumed full responsibility for seeking Amy's support and providing accommodations. The policy effectively widened the gap in services for English language learners. Without the consistency of pull out support for all EL students, their education depended entirely on the classroom teacher.

10.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Implications for Policy, Practice, and Research

In this study I have explored how multiple discourses shaped the ESL facilitator policy as it traveled through the contexts of the ESL department at the district, the school, the relationship between the teacher and facilitator and finally the classroom. Through a critical analysis, I deconstructed the key terms of teacher learning and instructional services for English learners. This analysis captured the complexity of policy negotiation, illuminating how discourses have the power to shape the meaning of key terms, leading to varied enactments and significant consequences for English learners.

While the ESL facilitator policy text nobly stated the vision of “All English language learners will learn at high levels and all staff will share in that responsibility,” there were four key discursive constructs that were open for negotiation, hindering the policy’s potential to transform the education of English learners in Eastlake. This study offers unique insight into policy negotiation and the concepts of: shared responsibility, ESL expertise, teacher identity and learning. In this chapter, I connect my findings to the existing field of research, offering clear connections to policy and future research.

Defining Shared Responsibility

Implications for ESL Policy

The ESL facilitator policy had a bold vision of sharing responsibility for English learners among all staff members. But, this construct of shared responsibility was never directly addressed or clarified in the policy’s communication. The communication of the policy focused on eliminating pull out services as opposed to creating structures for shared responsibility. The

ESL department communicated the policy through discourses which positioned pull out services as a non-example of shared responsibility. At the school and classroom level, teachers advocated for pull out, rejecting the in class or coaching support from Amy. With pull out services there was clear evidence of the ESL facilitator sharing responsibility for student learning. Amy rebuffed teachers' appeals for pull out, interpreting it as teachers shirking responsibility for their students. The teachers and facilitator negotiating the policy in this study wrangled with the surface level structure of where services occurred rather than constructing a common expectation for shared responsibility.

When creating policies that aim to disrupt entrenched beliefs about who is responsible for EL students, the findings from this study suggest certain factors must be addressed. First, the policy must address the issue of time. The teachers in this study constructed an understanding of shared responsibility as shared instructional time with students. The communication and collaboration required for teachers to share responsibility for a group of students requires a significant investment of time (Arkoudis, 2006; Creese, 2004; Sileo, 2003; York-Barr, et. al., 2007). Research suggests that for teachers and ESL specialists to converse, co-plan, and create a relationship in which both are equally invested in the educational outcomes of students, the school's communication structure must be renegotiated (Brisk, 1998; Miramontes, Nadeau & Commins, 1997). At both Cedar Valley and Birchfield, the building did not engage in any significant restructuring or structural changes to encourage collaboration and shared responsibility. Principals play a significant role in deciding a policy's intensity by allocating resources or making structural changes to support a policy's implementation (Coburn, 2005). Without structures to support shared responsibility, the participants in this study experienced the policy as perpetuating the inequitable distribution of responsibility for English learners.

Second, as indicated in the findings for this study, each teacher will interpret shared responsibility through their existing discourses. Teachers make sense of new policies through reproducing a range of personal, institutional, and socio-historical discourses (Bourne, 2001; Coburn, 2001; Creese, 2005b; Datnow, 2006; Galluci, 2003; Grossman & Thompson, 2004; Zhang & Hu, 2010). Teachers are agents in policy implementation, shaping the enacted policy through their existing discourses (Stritikus, 2002; Valdez, 2001; Varghese & Stritikus, 2007). Teachers to be apprenticed into new discourses, introducing new ways of thinking about shared responsibility while disrupting existing, conflicting discourses (Jennings, 1996; Kanno, 2003; Lipman, 1997).

Research has documented many attempts to encourage increased collaboration between ESL specialists and classroom teachers. Most research studies have indicated that without meaningful opportunities to learn and negotiate their new roles, asymmetrical power relationships develop between classroom teachers and ESL specialists, hindering the potential benefits of collaboration (Creese, 2004; Creese, 2005; Garza & Crawford, 2005; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1995). In contrast, Fearon (2008) offers a self-study of her experience as an ESL co-teacher. She emphasizes the importance of the opportunity for collaborators to set norms and begin co-planning during a district sponsored collaborative institute. She reflects on her co-teaching experience, stating

Facing challenges and solving problems as a team is not nearly as daunting as individually. Even planning lessons collaboratively results in a higher quality learning experience for students because two brains and two sets of hands are almost always better than one (pp. 49).

Fearon's self-study offers a striking counter-point to the numerous challenges facing collaboration. The significance of negotiating roles and responsibilities throughout their relationship allowed Fearon and her colleagues to become apprenticed into the discourses constructing their newly defined roles and responsibilities.

Shared responsibility is one of the key tenets of school reform for English learners (Brisk; Garcia and Stritikus; Miramontes, et.al). In order for English language learners to succeed, coordination of educational services throughout schools must be intentional and coherent (August & Hakuta, 1997; Brisk, 1998; Gandara, 1999; Miramontes, Nadeau & Commins, 1997). While it is true that pull out services often lead to disorganized learning opportunities (Ovando, Collier & Combs, 2003); barring pull out services will not inevitably create coordinated services and shared responsibility. Teachers need meaningful opportunities to co-construct expectations for shared responsibilities within a structure that offers them the necessary time and support.

Implications for Research

This study adds to the existing base of research which illustrates the complication of transforming educational institutions to improve instruction for English learners (e.g. Arkoudis, 2006; Creese, 2004; Platt, Harper & Mendoza, 2003). There has been limited research to illuminate the policy implementation and leadership required to transform the relationship between ESL teachers and classroom teachers into one of shared responsibility. Stritikus, Elfers, Lucero and Knapp (2011) have provided a case study illuminating the significant investment and intensity required by district leaders to create systems of support for teachers negotiating their role as instructors of ELLs. There is a need for additional research of schools that have defined and enacted shared responsibility.

ESL Expertise

Implications for ESL Policy

The ESL facilitator policy lacked a clear definition of what constituted quality instruction or services for English learners. Current research indicates a pervasive misunderstanding of the specialized instruction EL students need to acquire both language and academic content (Arkoudis, 2005; Clair, 1995; Creese, 2005; Davison & Williams, 2001; DeJong and Harper, 2009; Leung & Franson, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 2011).

In the communication of the policy, quality instruction for English learners was promoted as using learning objectives, engaging students in oral discussions, and scaffolding content instruction to make it more comprehensible for students. All of these strategies fall under the general category of “just good teaching.” (deJong and Harper, 2008). In her implementation of the ESL facilitator policy, Amy positioned herself as a classroom teacher and sought to offer teachers suggestions they could implement into their daily instruction. Most students at Cedar Valley and Birchfield did not receive any explicit language instruction. The one exception was the EL student in Carolina’s room, who received a significant amount of language support. But, Carolina was untrained in ESL theory and methods and created a makeshift program without a clear scope and sequence or objective.

A clear definition of ESL expertise needs to encompass the domains of language, content, and culture. First, there needs to be a clear understanding of the specific language instruction students need to become proficient in English. As Davison and Williams (2001) suggest, it is often hard to perfectly wed the mainstream curriculum and the language development needs of English learners. Too often, students’ language development needs are subordinated, as classroom teachers focus on the content. Dutro and Moran (2002) suggest English learners need systematic instruction in English language development, recognizing “English instruction as its

own discipline that follows a scope and sequence of language skills that builds from simple to complex structures within the context of a range of everyday and academic language functions.” (pp. 422). Without the systematic attention to academic English, language learners often languish at an advanced proficiency level, without gaining proficiency equal to their native English speaking peers. Gebhard (2010) argues “This lack of attention to how academic English works in disciplinary texts has contributed to the persistent achievement gap between majority and minority students, a gap that only widens as students enter high school.” (pp. 797). The ESL facilitator policy did not incorporate an understanding of English as a discipline, but rather treated it as something that could be accommodated through strategies in the mainstream classroom.

Explicit language instruction is a critical component of the instructional needs of English learners, but it cannot stand alone. Classroom teachers do need strategies and resources to make their content instruction comprehensible for students. There are numerous frameworks defining quality instruction for English learners. The most common frameworks are listed in Table 6.

Table 6

Instructional Frameworks for Classroom Teachers of English learners

Framework	Acronym	Components
Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (Echevarria, Vogt & Short, 2000)	SIOP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparation • Building background • Comprehensible input • Strategies • Interaction • Practice and application • Lesson delivery • Review and assessment
Center for Research on Education, Diversity	CREDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers and students producing together • Developing language and literacy across the curriculum

& Excellence: Five Standards for Effective Pedagogy (Dalton, 1998)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making lessons meaningful • Teaching complex thinking • Teaching through conversation
Cognitive Academic Language Learning Approach (Chamot & O'Malley, 1994)	CALLA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cognitive-social learning model • Authentic content • Academic language • Learning strategies
Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English (Diaz-Rico & Weed, 2009; Genzuk, 2011)	SDAIE <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low affective filter • Context clues • Modified speech • Comprehensible input • Realia • Comprehension checks • Formative and summative assessments

In her coaching, Amy covered a variety of instructional supports and strategies for English learners, but had no clear guidelines shaping her practice. Rather than relying on ‘Just Good Teaching,’ policy makers need to frame their expectations for classroom teacher learning in the existing wealth of literature on scaffolding instruction for English learners. Paired with explicit language instruction, language learners would have access to both the academic language and content required to succeed in schools (Fillmore & Snow, 2000).

The final component of ESL expertise is a respect and value of students’ cultural resources. Both Carolina and Priya at Cedar Valley questioned the effectiveness of the ESL facilitator policy through this lens. For teachers to work effectively with English learners, they need specialized knowledge of their students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Téllez & Waxman, 2006). Building on close relationships with students, teachers can develop an understanding of students’ cultural identities, rather than relying on static notions of culture (Gutierrez & Orellana, 2006). At a school or district level this would include: A vision of diversity as an asset, a commitment to teachers’ learning about their students, elimination of policies that categorize

diverse students and limit their access to rigorous academic content, and a reflection of and connection to the surrounding community (Stritikus & Garcia, 2003). In the classroom, Santamaria (2009) suggests that teachers learn to integrate differentiated instruction and culturally responsive teaching, differentiating not only in response to academic difference, but also with regard to cultural and linguistic differences.

Platt, Harper and DeJong (2009) lament the devaluing of ESL expertise as policy makers move towards a vision of inclusion without fully understanding what quality instruction for English learners needs to include. Drawing from existing research, the implication for policy makers is to embed three elements of ESL expertise: specialized language instruction, scaffolded content instruction, and cultural connections, in future policies for English learners. For this study, the lack of a clear definition for ESL instruction made it impossible to determine whether facilitators or classroom teachers were meeting the goals of the policy.

Implications for Research

Recent publications in educational research have paid significant attention to the type of linguistic knowledge teachers need to effectively support the language development of EL students (Lucas & Villegas, & Freedson-González, 2009; deJong & Harper, 2005). While a movement in educational researchers promotes a balance of comprehensible input of content, meaningful interaction and explicit language instruction (Goldenberg, 2008) we are lacking empirical evidence of effective ESL programs that integrate such a balance. A few studies have lauded the importance of students having a separate block of time dedicated to ELD instruction, focusing on vocabulary, language forms, and oral production (Carlo, August, McLaughlin, Snow, Dressler, Lippman, Lively, & White, 2004; Saunders, Foorman & Carlson, 2006). Other studies have documented quality classroom instruction which promotes student interaction

and ample scaffolding (Kaje, 2010). But, we are missing studies of educational programs that incorporate both.

Teacher Identity and Learning

Implications for ESL Policy

Howard and Gail, the ESL directors in Eastlake, promoted the primary purpose of the ESL facilitator policy as a supporting teacher learning. As a facilitator, Amy also interpreted this as the policy's objective. But, the policy lacked a clear conceptual understanding of teacher learning and how the interaction between the ESL facilitator and the classroom teachers would lead to improved instruction.

In this study, I have framed policy implementation and teacher learning as discursive accomplishments. As such, learning is not merely an accumulation of strategies or knowledge, it requires teachers to grapple with their existing ideological commitments (Fairbanks & LaGrone, 2006; Tsui, 2003). Fairbanks & LaGrone (2006) theorize knowledge construction as a discursive accomplishment: "Teachers' situational knowing becomes available for analysis through groups... because such analysis illustrates how exploring questions deepens and enriches understanding and sets the stage for transforming practice" (pp. 24). The key word in the quote from Fairbanks and LaGrone's quote is "transforming." For teacher learning to transform practice, teachers need opportunities to transform their beliefs, existing practices, and ultimately their identities (Alsup, 2006; Britzman, 1991; Tsui, 2003; Varghese, Morgan, Johnston & Johnson, 2005).

Understanding teacher learning as discursive negotiation of beliefs, practices and identities, it is clear why Amy's attempts at coaching had minimal effects on teachers' practice. Amy implemented a variety of methods to promote teacher learning, such as co-teaching, writing

anecdotal notes with suggestions, and providing teachers with resources or specific strategies. She expressed frustration over the lack of changes she observed in teachers' practice despite her efforts to support their learning. Amy's coaching focused on transference of skills without engaging teachings in opportunities to negotiate their existing discourses with the new discourses Amy was introducing.

If we conceptualize teacher learning as discursive negotiation, it is significant to note that at all levels of this policy's communication and implementation, subtractive and colorblind discourses were reproduced and unchallenged. The ESL departments and two of the teachers (Natalie and Shelley) reproduced a colorblind discourse focusing on the standardized core curriculum, ignoring the cultural and linguistic differences of English learners. Amy and the principal at Cedar Valley reproduced subtractive discourses. Helen Cole of Cedar Valley feared her teachers would be overburdened with English learners. Amy referred to her work with students as "fixing those problems." Teacher learning policies that focus on surface level changes ignore the deeper ideological commitments of teachers which influence and distort their learning (Bartolome, 1999; Tsui, 2003).

Research on the education of English language learners has underscored the consequences of teachers' ideological commitments (attitudes and values) on their classroom practices learners (Bourne, 2001; Clair, 1995; Chen, 2007; Curtis, 2005; Franson, 1999; Garcia-Nevarez, Stafford & Arias, 2005; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stritikus, 2003). Bartolome (1994) suggests that teacher political clarity is the foundation for 'humanizing pedagogy' which challenges the deficit view of culturally and linguistically diverse students. To disrupt subtractive ideologies permeating individual, institutional, and cultural epistemologies, school staff need opportunities to evaluate their beliefs, knowledge, and current practices through meaningful and

sustained engagement (Darling-Hammond, 1993). This sustained engagement would include a critical reflection on whiteness, an understanding of globalization, and recognition of the hegemony of monocultural education (Alcoff, 2000; Nieto, 2002). Rorrer (2002) outlines the necessary process for ideological transformation as: acknowledging that the current system reproduces inequity, recognizing the multiple forces at play, and reconstructing the culture to disrupt the inequities identified. While Rorrer's system is slightly too linear and uncomplicated, it acknowledges that ideological changes are constructed through a dialectical relationship between individuals, the institution, and the school culture. All three must be transformed for the changes to be lasting and systemic. Teachers can only assume the role of advocate, working in the best interest of their students with this type of political clarity (Hamayan, 1990).

Transforming teachers' classroom practice into additive learning environments requires challenging conversations about existing beliefs and practices for English learners. As (Burns, 1978) reminds us, harmony is much more dangerous than conflict. A leader's role is to mediate and express the conflict inherent in change, recognizing the motives behind the conflict, making conscious what is unconscious to those involved in the conflict. Teacher learning to support English learners would thus incorporate opportunities for teachers to grapple with the ideological inconsistencies between their existing discourses of what it means to be a good teacher and the new discourses offered around teaching English language learners. It is through the exploration and evaluation of these tensions that learning can occur (Bartolome, 1998).

In communicating and implementing the ESL facilitator policy, there were limited opportunities for participants to recognize, question, or evaluate their existing beliefs about educating English learners. Transformative teacher learning can only occur through a process of learning and unlearning beliefs and teaching practices (Jennings, 1996; Spillane, 1995). Without

engaging in the deeper level of confronting beliefs and existing practices, the ESL facilitator policy's attempts at teacher learning were largely unsuccessful.

Implications for Research

There is a need for ongoing research on teacher learning utilizing a discursive framework. Understanding how teachers are inducted into new discourse communities to transform their practice can help shape the future of instructional coaching and professional development.

CONCLUSIONS

The primary goal of this study was to critically analyze a policy which intended to support the instructional needs of English learners by increasing the knowledge and skills of classroom teachers. Designing this study, I engaged the methods ethnography of language policy studies to capture the complicated process of policy negotiation from the district level into classroom practice (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, Johnson, 2009). Using ethnography of language study, I was able to illuminate the power struggle between the discourses used to create and communicate the ESL facilitator policy and the discourses that shaped the policy's implementation in multiple settings. Through critical discourse analysis, I focused on the power of discourses to create and hinder teacher learning and instructional services for English learners. My findings revealed the ways that discourses transformed, complicated, and restricted the ESL facilitator policy with critical effects for English learners.

Historically, English learners have faced numerous obstacles in obtaining quality instruction in the mainstream classroom. Whether it has been a result of teachers' negative attitudes or lack of knowledge, English learners are often under-supported when integrated into mainstream classrooms. The ESL facilitator policy promoted a lofty goal of increasing the knowledge and the commitment of classroom teachers so that they became true partners, sharing

responsibility for the education of English learners. In this study I have shown how the assumptions and expectations embedded within the ESL facilitator policy came into conflict with existing discourses leading to disparate enactments.

Summarizing Research Question #1

*What are the assumptions and expectations in the ESL facilitator model about **teacher learning and instruction and services** for English learners?*

In the creation and communication of the ESL facilitator policy, certain discourses were engaged to create assumptions and expectations for ESL services and teacher learning. The messaging from the district consistently engaged discourses promoting access to the mainstream curriculum and discouraging pull out services. But, as documented in the findings and analysis, the communication of the role of the facilitator, the content and process of teacher learning, and the expectation for ESL services varied significantly.

The ESL facilitator role was constructed through two ideologically dissimilar discourses. First, the ESL facilitator was expected to serve as a coach, in a teacher-centered role. In contrast, the ESL department engaged a case-management discourse to describe how the facilitator prioritized her time depending on student need, a student centered discourse. The ESL facilitators were left to interpret the policy and negotiate the two different discourses that defined their position.

The ESL facilitator policy also lacked a clear definition of teacher learning. The policy did include specific methods for teacher learning (i.e. coaching, modeling lessons, co-planning). The process, content, and criteria for success were not provided in the policy text or in district communication. The policy rested on the assumption that through teacher learning opportunities, classroom teachers would become competent in addressing the linguistic and academic needs of

English learners. Again, ESL facilitators were left to determine what teachers needed to learn, how to support their learning, and how to determine whether they were successful.

Finally, the policy lacked a clear definition of what types of supports and services English learners needed to be successful. The assumption within the policy was that teachers would be providing supports and accommodations, but it was unclear what those supports should include. At each communication event, the district focused on different supports for English learners. In my analysis, I categorized all of these as just good teaching approaches (deJong & Harper) which ignore the specific linguistic instruction English learners require. The content, type, and quality of services were open for negotiation.

Summarizing Research Question #2

How do varied enactments, interpretations, and assumed responsibilities influence teachers' learning and instruction and services for English learners?

The quote at the beginning of this dissertation shared Amy's frustration with teachers who were not providing ample support for their students. English learners at Birchfield and Cedar Valley experienced very different learning opportunities depending on the classrooms in which they were placed. As illustrated in the conceptual framework, Amy's personal interpretation of the policy interacted with the school context, the principal's interpretation of the policy and each individual teacher's interpretation creating a variety of learning opportunities for teachers and students. The ESL facilitator policy ultimately widened the gap in the supports and services that were offered to teachers and EL students.

Teacher learning. Amy's implementation of the facilitator policy contained numerous inconsistencies leading to disparate opportunities for teacher growth.

Teacher –Facilitator Relationship. Amy expected teachers to request her support or expertise. Teachers with some background knowledge about teaching English learners could identify gaps, request support, and integrate strategies into their own instruction. Teachers who did not have this background knowledge often did not request support for their students and were positioned by Amy as not taking responsibility for their students. Students in those classrooms received little attention from their classroom teachers and even less from the ESL facilitator.

While Amy voiced her belief that her job should be focused on providing support to the neediest teachers, she in fact provided the most support to the most skilled teachers. The data I collected indicated that the personal relationship Amy had with teachers significantly influenced the amount of time and support their classrooms received, regardless of the needs of the students or teachers. She spent a disproportionate amount of time in Shelley and Carolina’s classrooms, often at the expense of other teachers with less expertise.

Content of Teacher Learning. The content of teacher learning varied depending on the teachers’ request and Amy’s interactions with students. With little guidance from the ESL department, Amy constructed learning goals that ranged from a teacher understanding how to choose just right books for her students to a teacher (Shelley) using the smartboard template she created with clear learning objectives.

Evidence of Success. While Amy espoused the opinion that through facilitation teachers should become competent in independently meeting the needs of English learners independently, she accepted successful teacher learning as teachers implementing whatever strategies she had introduced. The evidence of success was thus teacher specific and did not demonstrate that the teacher had become competent in meeting the needs of English learners.

ESL Instruction and Services. Just as the opportunities for teacher learning varied from classroom to classroom, so did the instruction and services for English learners.

Teacher-Facilitator Relationship. As Amy pointed out, while the ESL facilitator policy expected classroom teachers to take on more responsibilities for English learners, the policy text lacked a defined role for them. Many classroom teachers at Cedar Valley and Birchfield were unaware of the expectation that they were the primary service provider for English learners. Teachers who did take on that responsibility, like Shelley and Carolina, received additional support from Amy. This enactment of the policy broadened the gap in services and supports for English learners. Teachers who assumed responsibility for meeting English learners' instructional needs were acknowledged and supported by the facilitator. But, students whose teachers who did not assume responsibility for their educational needs received less attention from the ESL facilitator. By the end of the year, Amy altered her schedule to ensure she was in each classroom at least once a week to work with students. But, the content, quality, and transfer of that support varied.

Content of ESL Instruction and Services.

The enactment of the ESL facilitator policy at Cedar Valley and Birchfield provided inconsistent services to English learners depending on the relationship between the teacher and the facilitator.

Content of ESL Services. ESL services included the instructional modifications from classroom teachers and the individualized support Amy provided to students. The accommodations provided by classroom teachers varied depending on their background knowledge and their willingness to incorporate Amy's strategies. Amy generally followed the district's expectation for ESL services to support students in accessing the mainstream

curriculum. In many classrooms this meant that Amy would sit next to a student and clarify the assignment of the moment. In this interpretation of the policy, students received inconsistent support driven by the mainstream curriculum as opposed to the development of language proficiency.

Evidence of Success. In my discussion of the ESL facilitator policy, I documented the consequences for English learners resulting from the implementation of the ESL facilitator policy. The ESL facilitator policy created an environment in which English learners were at the mercy of classroom teachers and did not receive positive social, cultural, or linguistic supports. But, it is important to note that according to the federal expectations, the ESL facilitator policy at these two schools met with the expectations of success. Both schools met the AMAO (Annual Measurable Achievement Objectives) expectations. AMAOs are the performance and growth targets for English learners established and enforced by No Child Left Behind. Looking only at the AMAO data, one could define the ESL facilitator policy a successful model for supporting English learners. My findings and discussion have provided a very different story of the educational experiences of English learners at Cedar Valley and Birchfield.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON CONSENT FORM

Researcher: Bonnie English, graduate student
College of Education, Curriculum and Instruction
206-412-1819 benglish@u.washington.edu

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Tom Stritikus, Associate Dean for Academic Programs
Associate Professor College of Education
(206) 543-9569 tstrit@u.washington.edu

Please note that as with all e-mail communications we cannot completely ensure the confidentiality of information sent via e-mail.

Researchers' statement

I am asking you to be in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you the information you will need to help you decide whether to be in the study or not. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When I have answered all your questions, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This research proposes to learn how elementary schools are implementing the 'push-in' model of ESL services. The study will examine how services are designed, how decisions are made, and the work done by the ESL staff. The study will also ask participants to come up with guidelines based on their experience for other schools that are planning to transition from ESL pull out to ESL push in.

STUDY PROCEDURES

If you choose to be a part of this study, I will be asking you for five types of information: 1) observations at staff meetings, collaborative planning sessions, and professional development sessions; 2) Samples of documents such as school improvement plans and communications to staff and the community on ESL services; 3) individual interviews, 4) focus group sessions.

Data will be collected throughout your participation in the study from August 2007 – May 2008 (for pilot school from February 2007 – May 2007).

An explanation of the four types of data collection follows:

- 1) **Professional engagement observations such as staff meetings, collaborative planning, and professional development:** If permission is granted, I will observe regular staff meetings and any professional development activities in which the school staff participates. During the observations I will take notes, which will be then typed up. I would also collect a copy of any materials distributed at the professional engagement session. A study code will be assigned to the observation notes and documents to protect confidentiality. In the study, you will be identified only by a pseudonym, as will your school, district, and any references to other people.
- 2) **Documents:** I will ask you for samples of documents such as school improvement plans, and communications to staff and the community on ESL services and any other related articles that you may wish to provide. I will also request other documents related to your ESL program like: instructional guidelines, parent newsletters, schedules, memos, and other communications of this nature
- 3) **Individual interviews:** I will invite you to participate in 3 – 5 forty-five minute interviews throughout the study. The questions are open-ended in nature, and will focus on the ESL services at your school. For example, I will ask, “What were some of the reasons that led your school to implement a ‘push-in’ model?” With your permission, I will audio-tape all interviews, so that I can have an accurate record. I will be the only one who will have access to the recording, which will be kept in a locked file cabinet. You will have the right to decline to answer any question, to stop the interview at any time, or stop the audio-taping. The interview will be transcribed within four weeks of your interview. To protect your confidentiality I will assign you, your school, district, and anyone else you refer to a pseudonym. Audio recordings will be destroyed by June 2014. Please indicate below whether you would agree to have your interview recorded.
- 4) **Focus group sessions:** I will invite you to participate in up to 4 one-hour focus group sessions. I may invite you to participate in only one focus group or I may invite you to participate in four focus groups throughout the year. I will serve as a facilitator of all focus groups. The focus group sessions will engage all participants in the creation of a model or guidelines for other schools to use when transitioning from ESL ‘pull-out’ to ‘push-in.’ The focus group sessions will be audio recorded. Subjects will have the right to decline to answer any questions, to leave the focus group at any time, or stop the recording. You will be identified only by a pseudonym as will your school, district, and any references to other people. The focus group will be transcribed and coded within four weeks of their occurrence. Audio recordings will be destroyed by June 2014. Although the research team will take precautions to safeguard your privacy, we cannot guarantee that the other focus group participants will not repeat information presented during the focus group discussion. Please indicate below whether you would agree to participate in the focus group sessions.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

Some people may feel self-conscious when they are audio-recorded. As noted above, you have the right to stop the interview at any time, or request that I cease recording at any point. As well, some feel that being asked questions is an invasion of privacy. You may choose to not answer any question that is asked of you. Another source of possible discomfort is the taking of notes during an observed event at your school. You may request a copy of the typed notes.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

We hope that this study will help better inform principals, district administrators and ESL specialists implementing the ‘push-in’ model of ESL services, however, you may not directly benefit from taking part in the study.

OTHER INFORMATION

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, refuse to participate in certain activities, or may withdraw from this study at any time. Choosing to take part in this study, to not take part in this study, or to withdraw from the study will not affect benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Information about you is confidential. I will code the study information using pseudonyms. I will keep the link between your name and the pseudonym until October 31, 2008. Then I will destroy the link. Information that clearly identifies you or your school will be altered or deleted. All audio recordings will be destroyed by June 2014.

Government and university staffs sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

The data will be used for the completion of my dissertation research and may be used in conference presentations and other publications.

If you have any questions about this research study, please contact Bonnie English at the telephone number or e-mail listed above.

I may want to re-contact you to clarify information you provided. In that case, I will telephone you and ask you for a convenient time to ask you additional questions closely related to this study. Please indicate below whether or not you give your permission for me to re-contact you for that purpose. Giving permission for me to re-contact you does not obligate you in any way.

Bonnie English

Printed name of study staff obtaining consentSignature

Subject’s statement

This study has been explained to me. I volunteer to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later about the research, I can ask one of the

researchers listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call the Human Subjects Division at (206) 543-0098. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

I give my permission for all interviews to be audio-recorded.

_____yes _____no

I give permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information.

_____yes _____no

I agree to participate in the focus group session(s)

_____yes _____no

Printed name of subject

Signature of subject

Copies to: Researcher

 Subject

APPENDIX B

EASTLAKE'S ESL FACILITATOR POLICY

IMPLEMENTING THE ELEMENTARY ESL FACILITATOR MODEL (Revised 10/24/2006)

Eastlake School District Goal: Provide all K-12 students an intellectually engaging and meaningful education that enables them to access a college education, and to have the skills and knowledge to be successful in a diverse, global society.

ESL Facilitator Model Goal: All English Language Learners will learn at high levels and all staff will share in that responsibility.

The role of the ESL Facilitator:

1. Advocate for ELLs and their families
2. Work in a partnership with students, families, school staff, and building administrators.
3. Work in partnership with building administrators and staff to build a flexible schedule that meets individual student needs.
4. Provide support to the general education teacher and link all planning and teaching to the Eastlake School district curriculum. The ESL teacher works directly with the classroom teacher to:
 - a) Gather, organize and analyze data for intermediate and advanced level ELLs.
 - b) Use data to identify priorities within the school that reflect the needs of the ELLs.
 - c) Organize ELLs in a rank order list placing those with the greatest need at the top. Maximize time with the most at-risk students.
 - a) Maintain a flexible schedule that meets individual teacher and ELL needs.
 - b) Assist students within the classroom on a specific skill, concept, or content area. (Group students for a specific period of time if needed.)
 - c) Develop appropriate language and learning objectives for ELLs.
 - d) Develop a variety of communication strategies to foster collaboration with the classroom teacher. Examples include:
 - a. Attending grade level or team meetings on a regular, planned basis
 - b. E-mail updates
 - c. Parent/ teacher, teacher/teacher, teacher/student conferences
 - d. Attending and participating actively in MDT and CST meetings
 - e) Send Newsletters to staff
 - f) Develop strategies and accommodations to support teachers in scaffolding learning for ELLs.
 - g) Model best ELL instructional practices.
 - h) Co- teach lessons.
 - i) Assist with planning and delivering staff development.
 - j) Demonstrate respect for and recognize contributions by all staff and students.
 - k) Share resources with general education staff.

5. Monitor Advanced Level Students: The ESL facilitator checks in with the general education teacher on a regular basis through ongoing conversations, e-mail, or through written notes to monitor the learning progress of advanced ELLs.
6. Support Kindergarten ELLs through the Kindergarten Teacher:
 - Kindergarten students are served through the language-rich environment of regular classrooms primarily by the Kindergarten teachers. ESL teachers provide support for the K teachers through consultation, modeling and co-teaching.
 - Kindergarten students will be served directly by the ESL facilitator on a "specific needs basis" *only* when their needs cannot be addressed within the regular classroom through scaffolding and other accommodations. This is a joint determination that will take place *over a period of time* and will involve conversations with the classroom teacher, the ESL teacher, and central office personnel.

The Role of the Building Administrator:

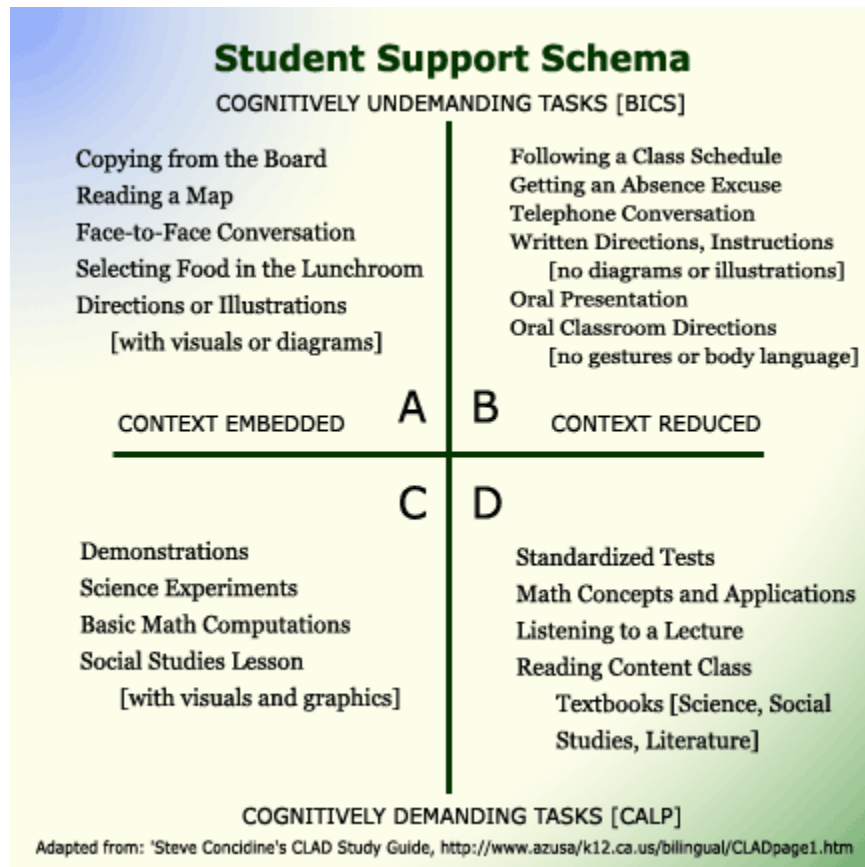
1. Provide administrative support for ELL staff and program.
2. Establish support for the facilitator model at the beginning of the school year with the entire staff by describing the facilitator model.
3. With the support of ESL staff provide ongoing professional development for all staff based on prior knowledge of staff.
4. Work in partnership with ESL Facilitator to provide time for meaningful collaboration, rapport-building, and communication between ESL and general education staff.
5. Continue ongoing, consistent communication with ESL staff and ESL Department. Solve problems collaboratively.
6. Promote focused, purposeful grade level, team meetings with ESL staff participation.
7. Work in partnership with staff to build a flexible schedule that meets individual ELL needs. The facilitators' contact with teachers reflects the learning goals for the neediest students, rather than an attempt to give each teacher an equal share of time.

The Role of the District ESL Staff:

1. Provide consistency of ESL staffing whenever possible.
2. Provide clarity of ESL program by providing written program descriptors.
3. Support building positive relationships between classroom teachers and ESL staff through ongoing professional development.
4. Support flexibility of ESL staff when needed.
5. Provide district wide, school based ELL accommodation workshops based on individual school needs and prior knowledge level.
6. Support all staff and administrators in providing a rigorous education for ELLs.
7. Provide required resources.

APPENDIX C

CUMMINS' FOUR QUADRANTS



CURRICULUM VITA

Bonnie English, PhD

7153 18th Avenue SW
Seattle, WA 98106

Phone (206) 412 -1819
e-mail : bonenglish@gmail.com

EDUCATION

University of Washington, Seattle	Ph.D., Education: Curriculum and Instruction. Dissertation: <i>Negotiating the ESL Facilitator Policy: Consequences for Teacher Learning and Instructional Services for English Learner</i> <i>Expected date of graduation</i>	<i>Defense date: May 25, 2012</i> <i>June 9, 2012</i>
University of Washington, Seattle	M.Ed., Language, Literacy, and Culture, 2006	
California State University Sacramento	Multiple Subject Teaching Credential, 1998	
University of California at San Diego,	B.A. General Literature, 1997	

ADJUNCT UNIVERSITY FACULTY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Adjunct Faculty: Language Literacy and Culture Module (2007-present)

Danforth Educational Leadership Program, University of Washington

- Developed and co-taught 'Language, Literacy & Culture Module' (with Ellen Kaje) to prepare future principals and administrators to serve as advocates for quality education for English learners.
- Introduced future educational leaders to four areas of quality education for English learners: language, culture, differentiated instruction, and appropriate assessments.

Adjunct Faculty: Educational Linguistics (9/2010-12/2010)

Central Washington University

- Taught the fundamentals of linguistics to undergraduate students completing their TESL endorsement.
- Created opportunities for students to apply linguistic theory to the practical task of teaching reading and writing.
- Assessed students' ability to identify linguistic challenges for English learners and plan appropriate instruction

Adjunct Faculty: ESL Assessment (9/2007-12/2007)

Central Washington University

- Designed and taught a course to prepare undergraduate students completing their TESL endorsement.
- Assessed student's ability to appropriately create, analyze, and implement different forms of assessments for English learners.

Adjunct Faculty: ESL Assessment (6/2006-8/2006)

University of Washington

- Designed and taught a course to prepare Masters in Teaching students completing their ESL endorsement.
- Assessed student's ability to appropriately create, analyze, and implement different forms of assessments for English learners.

Adjunct Faculty: Second Language Acquisition (6/2005-8/2005)

University of Washington

- Designed and taught summer session course at the University of Washington.
- Introduce participants to the major theories, concepts, processes, and factors pertinent to learning a second language, especially in relation to English.
- Intentionally structured classroom activities and readings to empower participants to relate second language acquisition theories to pedagogical implication for classroom teaching.

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant (9/2005 - 6/2007)

University of Washington: Schoolwide Preparation for English Language Learners (SPELL)

- Under the guidance of Dr. Tom Stritikus developed and implemented an inquiry based professional development program.
- Supported the collaboration of inquiry teams of teachers and para-professionals collaborating to address a site-based concern about English language learners.
- Facilitated the inquiry process for three school teams annually.
- Designed and delivered workshops to all participants on: second language acquisition, assessment, and analyzing student work.
- Supported teacher teams through continuous addition to online research and resources library.
- Assisted in the development of project evaluation materials.
- Collaborated on a qualitative research study of professional development model.

Research Assistant (9/2004 - 6/2005)

University of Washington: Expanding a Community of Math Learners (ECML)

- Assisted Dr. Elham Kazemi in the final year of the ECML project, supporting the development of classroom teachers as mathematical leaders.
- Facilitated a group of elementary teacher focusing on ELL issues in mathematics education.
- Modeled effective strategies for using ELL instruction during math lessons.
- Created and updated a project website.
- Collected, maintained, and coded data from 8 different math groups

ADMINISTRATIVE / SUPERVISORY EXPERIENCE

Project Manager / Instructional Coach (9/2008-present)

Seattle Public Schools: Department of English Language Learners & International Programs

- Redefined ELL program models through active engagement with stake holders and a needs analysis survey.
- Evaluated and modified programs annually through analysis of student progress.
- Engaged key stakeholders to create coherent "Roles and Responsibility" document for the delivery of instructional services to English learners
- Spearheaded the creation of a new, differentiated professional development model for the district (SCALE UP) which integrates Susana Dutro's EL Achieve, GLAD, SIOP, and CREDE. Led a team of 6 coaches in creating and implementing the new professional development.
- Developed relationships with school principals to empower them as instructional leaders for ELLs
- Designed and implemented a week long collaborative teaching institute to prepare classroom teachers and ELL teachers to co-teach.
- Initiated opportunities for collaboration across curricular departments at the central office which has resulted in the inclusion of ELL coaches in Common Core State Standards, Readers Workshop, and Writers Workshop professional development

- Provided ongoing coaching to teachers to support instructional growth using frameworks from SCALE UP, DuFour, and Danielson.

TESL Practicum Supervisor (9/2007 – 12/2007)

Central Washington University

- Supervised and evaluated 20 student teachers in their ESL practicum placements.
- Evaluated planning, instruction, and assessment of student teachers aligned to the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol and the Washington State OSPI ELL Endorsement Performance Standards.

ESL Practicum Supervisor (9/2006-6/2007)

University of Washington

- Supervised and evaluated six teachers in their ESL practicum placements.
- Evaluated planning, instruction, and assessment of student teachers aligned to the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol and the Washington State OSPI ELL Endorsement Performance Standards.

ESL Practicum Supervisor (9/2005-12/2005)

University of Washington

- Supervised and evaluated twenty practicing teachers in Kent School District and Bellevue School District in completing their ESL practicum
- Evaluated planning, instruction, and assessment of teachers aligned to the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol and the Washington State OSPI ELL Endorsement Performance Standards.

K-12 CERTIFICATED TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Elementary ESL Summer School Teacher (6/2008-7/2008)

Shoreline School District

- Taught a multiage class of ELL students ranging from 2nd – 4th grade.
- Implemented a readers workshop model to engage students in differentiated reading instruction.

Secondary ESL Summer Academy Teacher (6/2007-7/2007)

Northshore School District

- Taught one middle school and one high school newcomer ESL course during summer session.
- Developed and implemented curricula and assessments focused on immigration and student directed topics.

5th Grade Teacher (9/2001-6/2004)

Skycrest Elementary, San Juan Unified School District

- Classroom teacher for 34 diverse students annually, approximately 12 – 20 students each year were English language learners.
- Facilitated professional development on differentiated instruction for English language learners.
- Mentored 3 student teachers.
- Served as the science and technology lead teacher.
- Participated as a fellow with the Sacramento Area Science Project: Inquiry Based Instruction for ELLs.
- Engaged in collaborative, grade level planning to align curriculum and assessments to California standards.
- Participated in annual district-wide evaluation of student writing samples.

4th Grade Teacher (8/1998-6/2001)

Woodlake Elementary, North Sacramento School District

- Classroom teacher for 28 students annually.
- Served as student council president
- Founded Woodlake cross country club

CONSULTING EXPERIENCE

Professional Development and ESL Program Model Consultant (1/2012-6/2012)

St. Louis Public Schools

- Prepared and delivered a professional development institute to introduce ELL and classroom teachers to collaborative teaching.
- Provided resources and ongoing support for the ELL department to begin implementing the collaborative teaching model in two schools.

Professional Development Consultant (1/2010-4/2010)

Teach First (Editure Professional Development)

- Created an elementary ELL module for an online professional development website.
- Wrote the facilitator's guide, including connections to research, prompting questions, and clear expectations for language development.

Professional Development Consultant (6/2008-8/2008)

Shoreline School District

- Prepared and delivered a professional development institute to engage ELL teachers in an examination of data in order to inform teaching.
- Guided participants through the process of analyzing data and making decisions about instruction.

ESL Program Model Consultant (9/2007-6/2008)

Sumner School District

- Visited multiple school sites to conduct a needs analysis survey.
- Developed and presented clear guidelines for programmatic change.
- Collaborated with district's ESL leadership team to design an implementation plan for recommended changes.

Professional Development Consultant (9/2006-5/2007)

Federal Way Public Schools

- Collaborated with the district's ESL director to create professional development courses for classroom teachers and for para-professionals.
- Designed and taught a course for classroom teachers building upon their knowledge of 'good strategies' for ELLs, and added an emphasis on culturally relevant pedagogy as well as explicit language objectives.
- Designed and taught a course for para-professionals to provide strategies for teaching vocabulary and making content comprehensible to EL students in the mainstream classroom.

Guest Lecturer: Teaching Exceptional Children (2006 & 2007)

University of Washington:

- Designed and taught a session for Gene Edgar's special education course to introduce future teachers to ESL programs, instructional models, and policies.

Professional Development Consultant (2/2006-5/2006)

Seattle Public Schools

- Designed a professional development series with three objectives: introducing the essentials for vocabulary development, analyzing current practices and curriculum to find ways to better engage English language learners in all classroom lessons, and assessing the language development of ELLs to tailor future instruction.
- Delivered the ten week professional development series for teachers at Sanislo Elementary.

Professional Development Consultant (2/2005 - 5/2005)

Kent School District

- Designed and taught a ten week professional development series (*Methods in ESL Content Instruction*) for elementary and secondary teachers in Kent School District.
- Facilitated teachers' use of variety of strategies and resources for integrating language objectives across content area instruction.
- Taught and assessed teachers' abilities to integrate ELD standards with grade level expectations using the SIOP framework.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

English, B., Stone, M., Boone, T., Gallardo, V.M., Burke, N., Golosman, D. & Roodhouse, V.B. (2010). *Shared responsibility: Making schools work for English language learners*. Paper presented at the annual conference of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Boston, MA.

English, B. & Varghese, M.M. (2010) Enacting language policy through the facilitator model in a monolingual policy context in the United States. In K. Menken & O. Garcia (Eds.) *Negotiating Language Policies in Schools: Educators as Policymakers*. Routledge

English, B. (2009) Who is Responsible for Education English Language Learners? Discursive Construction of Roles and Responsibility in Inquiry Conversations. *Language and Education*, 23(6), 487 – 507

Stritikus, T. & English, B. (2009) Language, Culture, Policy and the Law: Issues for Latino Students. In E.G. Murrilo, Jr. (Ed.), *Handbook of Latinos and Education: Theory, Research & Practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

English, B. & Kaje, E. (2009). *Envisioning equity: Empowering principals to advocate for English learners*. Paper presented at the annual conference of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). Denver, Co.

English, B. (2007, May). *Beyond the myth of mathematics as a universal language: Negotiating mathematics with an English language learner*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the University of California Language Minority Research Institute, Phoenix, AZ.

English, B., Joyce, J., Lucero, A. & Stritikus, T. (2007, May). *Toward a critical conception of teacher community: The micropolitics of inquiry based professional development*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the University of California Language Minority Research Institute, Phoenix, AZ.

English, B., Joyce, J., Lucero, A. & Stritikus, T. (2007, April). *Additive professional development for teachers of English language learners: An empirical interrogation of a documentary account*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of American Education Research Association, Chicago, IL.