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Leading for Equity:
How Education Leaders Navigate Conflicts to Implement Dual Language Immersion Policies

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Abstract

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Dual language immersion is an instructional model increasingly adopted by school and district leaders to improve educational opportunities for traditionally marginalized emergent bilingual or bilingual students. Current studies suggest that dual language programs support bilingual students' academic achievement and bilingual development, but often fail to disrupt social structures and instructional practices that disadvantage students from language-minoritized communities. Echoing trends in literature depicting the implementation of other equity policies, dual language implementation studies show that leaders tend to compromise the justice-focused elements of these program when confronted with overwhelming implementation challenges, including scarce resources, accountability pressures, and resistance from parents. Drawing on theories of micro-politics and Strategic Action Fields, this study investigates how education leaders navigate this contested terrain to achieve their equity aims by. This qualitative comparative case study analyzes conflict episodes during dual language immersion policy implementation in four

different grade-level teams at two schools in a single district to trace how leaders' strategic actions influenced policy outcomes. Across cases, leaders' actions produced a spectrum of more or less successful implementation outcomes, ranging from short-term understandings to enduring agreements built on shared logics and values. Findings depict effective political leadership moves in varied educational contexts, illustrating how leaders drew strategically upon different sources of authority and adapted their approaches based on local conditions. This study contributes to existing literature by focusing on how actors built and sustained the team's agreement to participate in implementation efforts and illustrates successful equity-policy leadership practices. Findings suggest that school and district leaders might productively navigate equity-policy implementation by acting strategically to build buy-in over time.

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Chapter 1:**What can dual language immersion programs reveal about navigating conflict during equity policy implementation?**

Research indicates that bilingual and emergent bilingual students continue to receive inequitable educational opportunities, leading to disparities in educational outcomes compared to their monolingual English-speaking peers (Callahan, 2005; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Gándara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly, & Callahan 2003; García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008). District and school leaders across the country are implementing dual language immersion programs to address these gaps, among other important reasons. In the context of public schools in the United States, dual language programs integrate students whose home language is not English with English-dominant students. Teachers provide content instruction in both languages with the goal of fully developing students' bilingualism and biliteracy. Researchers and advocates affirm that dual language immersion models have the potential to equalize educational opportunities and boost achievement for emergent bilingual students (Steele, et al., 2017; Umanksy & Reardon, 2014), but studies show that implementation of this complex instructional approach poses significant challenges. In particular, conflict seems pervasive. Studies suggest that dual language implementers such as teachers, parents, principals and district central office staff disagree over resources and the goals of dual immersion policies (Dorner, 2011; Freeman, 1996, 2000; Palmer, 2007, 2010). These ongoing conflicts threaten the ability of dual language immersion programs to realize their promise of greater opportunity and equity for emergent bilingual students, yet few studies examine how leaders navigate these disagreements.

As I collected data for this dissertation, one principal recounted a story that exemplifies the challenge of implementing a dual language immersion program in pursuit of equity. Karen¹, the principal at Horizon Elementary school, told me about a time when an enrichment activity created an equity conflict for the school's staff. Karen recalled:

It was a surprise assembly. When you think about the idea of the assembly, it's all pretty silly. But it raised questions again [about equity]. [All-Star Baseball Player] from [Major League Baseball Team] came out to our school and did a presentation to everybody... He is a primarily Spanish speaker and speaks very little English, so the assembly was primarily in Spanish.

I received some feedback [from English-speaking teachers] that "Boy, that was really uncomfortable, and I didn't care for the fact that I can't share the message of [All-Star Baseball Player] with my students as clearly as others because I don't speak Spanish."

That kind of reignited this idea of "Maybe I don't fit at this school because I don't speak Spanish," or "Maybe the school really does value this more than my general education program." (Interview, October 2016)

Karen's story illustrated many of the themes from research literature about the difficulty of implementing a dual language program that sets out to transform educational spaces and practices to benefit bilingual students. Through a justice-focused lens, an assembly featuring a prominent Spanish-speaking professional athlete might have been viewed by the staff as an opportunity to both affirm the cultural and linguistic identities of their Spanish-speaking students and promote authentic Spanish use among their Spanish-learners. Instead, Karen reported that English-speaking monolingual teachers expressed feelings of marginalization. These teachers

¹ I use pseudonyms to refer to all participants and schools.

reacted to their inability to participate in the assembly, failing to recognize that dual language models attempt to counter the norm in the U.S. school system of excluding non-English speaking students. The assembly revealed a conflict between staff members over who the dual language program was meant to serve.

As shown in previous studies of dual language programs, such as those by Palmer (2010), and Weise (2004), these types of interpersonal conflicts tend to result in compromises to program implementation. In Karen's case, there was little danger to existence of the dual language program because Horizon's staff widely acknowledged students' academic success under the model. However, had Karen capitulated to teachers by eliminating assemblies and other opportunities to promote Spanish use and Latinx cultures, her program would have had fewer tools to reshape the socio-cultural landscape and promote greater participation and representation of the school's Spanish-dominant students and communities.

Literature on equity policies more broadly echoes this pattern of leaders struggling to support equity initiatives through implementation conflicts. Scholars such as Oakes and Lipton (2002) and Trujillo (2012) describe leaders' inability to create transformative change due to lack of resources and resistance from parents, teachers, community members, unions, or principals. With the exceptions of a few hopeful examples, including Turner and Spain (2016) and Irby (2018), studies largely depict leaders who fail to support equity policies through implementation in the face of conflicts.

Unfortunately, there is little in existing equity-policy literature to describe or theorize what successful leadership entails to guide educators like Karen who seek to promote justice-focused policies. Current studies acknowledge the political nature of debates about equity policies, but typically trace the macro-level trajectory of policy-making, enactment, and large-

scale outcomes. These studies rarely look at the micro-level conflicts shaping implementation in schools and classrooms. Existing studies of dual language immersion portray the implementation actions of teachers in the classroom, but typically only indirectly allude to the influence of conflicts and of actors such as principals or central office leaders. This dissertation focuses on what actually happens at the micro-level when leaders guide implementation in support of transformative programs and policies. What moves do they make when they encounter implementation conflicts? I seek to fill this gap in existing literature by examining how leaders negotiate implementation conflicts toward justice-oriented outcomes, using dual language immersion programs as a case of equity policy implementation.

To focus on salient issues concerning conflicts during implementation, I draw on theories of micro-politics and Strategic Action Fields (SAF). I use micro-political theories to highlight interactions between a wide range of actors that shape a policy's meaning and outcome (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Malen, 2006; Stone, 1997). Concepts from SAF contribute to my framework by illuminating the implementation field as socially-constructed and emphasizing individual actors' agency in shaping collective policy actions (Fligstein, 1997; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011). Based on this theoretical orientation, I focus on agreement between actors to participate in implementation as essential outcomes, and I examine how actors' moves during conflict episodes influences such agreements. Where leaders act collectively to implement a given policy, I describe agreements in which actors find alignment around both ideology and actions as deep. On the other end of the spectrum, I consider agreements in which actors strike bargains about immediate implementation actions without ideological agreement to be shallow. Applying these theoretical concepts to the case of dual language immersion, I ask the following research questions: 1) How do actors create and maintain agreements in support of dual language

program implementation over time? And 2) How do actors' leadership moves to navigate conflicts influence dual language program implementation processes and outcomes?

To capture the complex micro-political interactions of actors in an implementation field, I conducted a qualitative case study of four grade-level teams implementing a district-wide dual language immersion policy in two elementary schools. I collected data in Ridgetop Public Schools during the 2016-2017 school year, during which time the district began implementation of a new biliteracy policy, shifting dual language literacy instruction in its primary grades. The policy set out to change dual language program practices to acknowledge that the majority of students entered the program with some amount of both English and Spanish and with pre-existing bilingual identities. These four cases offered the opportunity to observe how actors navigated the particular conditions in each different field. Across ten months of data collection, I conducted 40 semi-structured interviews with 20 individual participants, including teachers, school and district-based coaches, principals, and central office administrators, and conducted over 33 hours of observations of planning meetings. I also collected and analyzed 37 artifacts documenting the implementation process. My goal was to describe how actors' interactions shaped the course of implementation and the outcomes of the policy in each field.

Summary of Findings

Over the 2016-2017 school year, I documented the implementation process taking place in the kindergarten and first grade teams at Manzanita and Horizon elementary schools in Ridgetop Public Schools. The district's equity-focused biliteracy policy required teachers to plan and collaborate in new ways to teach mixed groups of students in both languages. I found that all four grade-level teams acted collectively to implement the biliteracy policy by the end of the school year. These successful implementation outcomes indicate that the actors in each field

managed to form an agreement and consented to participate in policy implementation. Although each had a successful outcome, the agreements in the four fields varied in depth and that actors' leadership moves in navigating these conflicts over the school year influenced that depth. In three of the fields, actors navigated conflicts to reach agreements despite lingering disputes about the instructional approach advocated by the policy. These agreements remained shallow. In one field, the agreement deepened over time as leaders persuaded their colleagues of the policy's merits. This study provides a rare depiction of successful implementation of an equity policy, but also considers variation in the alignment of logics and explains how the interactions between leaders shaped this alignment over time.

Implementation Agreements Across Four Fields. Each team managed to reach some agreement about whether and how to implement the biliteracy policy, but the path to that agreement and the eventual depth of each agreement's alignment varied. At Manzanita Elementary, the district administrator delayed announcing the policy shift to the kindergarten teachers until spring. The principal's formal notice spurred three contentious conflict episodes on the kindergarten team, but ultimately lead to a shallow agreement with teachers' grudging participation. In contrast, the first grade team at Manzanita raised objections to the policy in a series of conflict episodes early in the year but shifted their stance over time in line with their administrators, resulting in a deep agreement. Despite ideological disagreement, Horizon's kindergarten team began the year with a shallow agreement to implement the biliteracy policy as outlined in the grade-level pacing guide. The team maintained their shallow agreement by navigating repeated conflicts over the pacing guide throughout the year. Similarly, the first grade team at Horizon experienced conflicts regularly, starting at the beginning of the year and

continuing through the spring. The team came to a crisis point, but managed to maintain their shallow agreement through compromises and concessions.

Leadership Moves for Navigating Conflict Episodes. In each field, I identified one conflict episode that acted as a turning point in directing implementation for the rest of the year. In each case, leaders navigated the particular context to make moves that determined who won or lost in each episode. For instance, in Manzanita's kindergarten field, a central office specialist and a teacher engaged in framing and counter-framing of the problem and moved to influence where and with whom negotiations over implementation would occur. The contentious episode concluded when the principal put her positional authority behind the central office specialist, creating a shallow agreement by compelling a resistant teacher to participate. In contrast, the first grade team began the school year with a shallow agreement that deepened after the principal took a listening and learning stance. Teachers shifted their ideas about the policy after they attended a national conference, deepening the alignment between actors. For the kindergarten team at Horizon, the pivotal conflict came at the beginning of the year when a teacher proposed that the group adopt the biliteracy policy as a compromise after gathering information from allies. The actors formed a shallow agreement based on interest convergence despite the teacher's lingering disagreement with the model. Lastly, the first grade team at Horizon experienced frequent conflicts that lead to a shallow agreement throughout the year. The assistant principal and central office administrator took a learning stance and offered concessions and support. These moves managed to sustain the agreement by responding to lobbying and threats by one teacher.

Plan of the Dissertation

In the second chapter of this dissertation, I offer background information to ground the study in the context of broader discourse about education and equity for bilingual and emergent bilingual students. To begin, I justify my use of particular terminology, namely “emergent bilingual” to describe students, and define the term “equity.” I situate this study relative to historical and political conversations about bilingual education and offer technical information about dual language immersion instructional models.

In the third chapter, I review three bodies of literature to explore existing scholarship on the leadership of dual language immersion policy implementation. I begin with a review of existing literature on dual language immersion program achievement outcomes. These studies suggest that dual language programs support ELL-qualified students to attain higher levels of academic achievement compared to other instructional models. Studies also indicate that dual language programs largely succeed in developing students’ first and second language proficiency. While this literature presents convincing evidence of dual language immersion’s potential to improve student performance, results are mixed concerning the ability of programs to combat systemic inequities that disadvantage bilingual and emergent bilingual students.

To understand the inconsistent socio-cultural outcomes, I examined a group of studies concerned with the lived experiences of students and teachers in these programs. These studies indicate that implementation often stalls when teachers and other implementers experience conflicts over resources or over values. These conflicts tend to lead to compromises in components of the model meant to transform the social dynamics between language communities.

Since the dual language literature seldom explains how implementers overcome these pervasive conflicts, I turned to a group of studies that depict the implementation of other equity-

focused policies. These studies investigate implementation of policies addressing a range of problem, including racial segregation, disproportionate enrollment of students of color in Special Education services, and inequities associated with school-based tracking. I found that these studies largely portrayed failed implementation efforts. However, in the rare depictions of successful implementation efforts, I identified four types of moves used by leaders to navigate conflict: making concessions, framing, leading a learning process, and making mandates. I conclude this chapter by considering how a study focusing on the political aspects of implementation leadership might address gaps I identified in these bodies of literature.

The fourth chapter outlines a theoretical framework for investigating the influence of actors' leadership moves during implementation conflict. Drawing on theories of micro-politics and Strategic Actions Fields (SAF), I outline major concepts that guided my data collection and analysis. I begin with an exploration of agreements as implementation outcomes, then describe conflict episodes as venues in which actors negotiate with one another to influence collective action. In Chapter Five, I describe the research design and methods I used to document these phenomena.

I outline my main findings in Chapters Six and Seven. In Chapter Six, I describe each field's implementation outcomes in terms of agreement depth and discuss the variation between fields. In Chapter Seven, I look deeply into one conflict episode in each field to analyze how the actors' strategic leadership moves shaped implementation.

In Chapter Eight, I conclude with implications for research and practice. For researchers, I argue that a micro-political and SAF lens on equity-focused implementation leadership highlights the political dynamics that profoundly influence the organizational life of schools and school staff while acknowledging actors' agency. This dissertation also takes a more nuanced

view of implementation outcomes, moving away from a binary view of implementation as happening or not, to include a spectrum of successful outcomes that can shift through the implementation process. By focusing on successful dual language leadership practice, this dissertation contributes to the fields of bilingual education, policy implementation, and equity-focused leadership. I describe how future research might begin to expand on these findings. For practitioners, this study depicts positive examples of equity-focused leadership, moving beyond technical steps toward more complex considerations for ongoing implementation support.

Chapter 2:

Background on Bilingual Students, Equity, and Dual Language Immersion

In this dissertation study, I am particularly interested in how education leaders implement programs that can improve the experiences and outcomes of students with dominant home languages other than English, who have been traditionally pushed to the margins in educational settings. In this dissertation, I refer to the student population of interest as “emergent bilinguals”. In choosing this term, I align myself with scholars who advocate for broader acknowledgment that students from non-English dominant communities bring an existing set of language skills with them into classroom settings and that effective English instruction will make them bilingual (García, 2011). Within this population, individual students demonstrate varied levels of home language and English proficiency. Those that score below a specific threshold for native-like English proficiency on standardized tests are referred to as “English Language Learners” (ELLs) in federal, state, and local policies. Scholars and educators question this designation because it classifies students based on a language deficit and assumes that monolingual English speakers are the norm (García, 2011; García, Kliefgen & Falchi, 2008; Palmer & Martinez, 2013). In this dissertation, I use the asset-based terms bilingual or emergent bilinguals to describe the larger population of students from language-minoritized homes and communities and utilize the term “ELLs” specifically to refer only to students who qualify for additional instructional services based on a formal assessment of their English proficiency. Some bilingual and emergent bilingual students qualify for ELL services, but many have not been tested or do not qualify for services. Federal accountability policies require schools and districts to gather and report data for ELL-qualified students, but the lack of reporting requirements for the larger population of bilingual or emergent bilingual students makes it more difficult to measure and describe

academic performance of these broader groups. While students from these groups may be immigrants, children of immigrants, or members of immigrant-origin communities, the terms bilingual, emergent bilingual, and ELL refer only to language use, not immigrant status.

Bilingual, emergent bilingual, and ELL students are a growing presence in U.S. public schools. According to the U.S. Department of Education, roughly 4.85 million students from language-minoritized communities qualify for services as English Language Learners, constituting approximately 10% of the total school population (Ruiz, Soto, Hooker, & Batalova, 2015). This population of ELLs is rapidly expanding, increasing nationally by 53% between 1998 and 2008, compared to 8.5% for the general school-aged population (Batalova & McHugh, 2010). Patterns of immigration have also changed in recent years, shifting from traditional immigration arrival sites, such as urban areas in California, Florida, New York, and Texas toward rural destinations and mid-Western and Southern states. For example, the number of ELL students in South Carolina grew more than 800 percent between the 1998 and 2008 school years. Similarly, during the same period, Indiana's ELL population grew by more than 400 percent from 9,114 to 46,417 (Batalova & McHugh, 2010). These patterns of growth in non-traditional immigration areas mean that both immigrant and American-born bilingual students now constitute a higher percentage of the population served by schools and other public institutions than ever before (Hopkins, Lowenhaupt & Sweet, 2015; Winders, 2012).

Research suggests that educators are scrambling to address these shifting demographics by adapting instructional practices to meet the educational needs of emergent bilingual students. Studies indicate that current instructional practices tend to limit opportunities for students to cultivate their primary language and literacy skills and curtail their ability to use their existing language skills to develop English language skills and content knowledge (i.e. Combs, Evans,

Fletcher, Parra, Jimenez, 2005; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Asato, 2000; Iddings, Combs, Moll, 2012; Palmer & Rangel, 2011). ELL students segregated in separate classrooms or pull-out models often receive less access to rigorous courses (Koyama, 2004; Trujillo, 2012), curriculum that narrowly focuses on English at the expense of rich content learning (Pacheco, 2010; Pease-Alvarez, Samway, & Cifka-Herrera, 2010), inadequately funded programs (Gándara & Baca, 2008; Iddings, et al. 2012), and less qualified and experienced teachers (Dabach, 2015). As a result of these and other social inequities, ELLs lag behind their English-dominant peers on standardized tests, often by 20 to 30 percentage points, and show little improvement over time (Abedi, 2004; Durán, 2008).

In this dissertation, I consider how educators work to reduce the unacceptable inequities in opportunity and outcomes between bilingual or emergent bilingual students and their peers from English-dominant homes. I use the term *equity* to describe the goal of cultivating just educational policies, environments, and practices in order to equalize power and privilege and eliminate marginalization and/or oppression (Giroux & McLaren, 1986; Kumashiro, 2000; North, 2008). Broadly, working for educational equity involves redistributing resources and balancing representation and engagement in decision-making processes in favor of low-income students and families of color to reduce disparities in educational outcomes, such as test scores, graduation rates, and numbers of discipline incidents. Creating more equitable schools requires leaders to acknowledge and actively work to combat historical and cultural forces that manifest in educational systems and processes that advantage or disadvantage students and families based on race, class, gender, religion, sexuality, ability, and other distinguishing characteristics (Galloway & Ishimaru, 2017).

For bilingual and emergent bilingual students, biases based on race, language, nationality, religion, and immigration status, in particular, continue to shape school policies and practices that severely limit access to excellent schooling for this group of students (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Menken & Solorza, 2012). Indeed, current efforts to develop instructional models for ELL and emerging bilingual students are part of a long-running historical debate; influenced by shifting beliefs about race, language, and national origin (Schmidt, 2000; de Jong, 2013; Pyon, 2009). While these ongoing disputes over bilingual education appear to address instructional policy and practice, scholars such as Flores (2016) and Mitchell, Destino, Karam, and Colón-Muñiz (1999) argue that they are actually venues for debating conflicting views on multi-culturalism in the United States. Scholars such as Flores (2016), Malsbary (2014) and Shuck (2006) characterize the actors on one side of the debate as advocates for the assimilation of immigrant and language-minoritized communities into mainstream America. These scholars argue that English-use often stands in for Whiteness, middle-class values, and Christianity in public debates. In opposition are advocates promoting pluralism and racial justice, which envision American schools and communities as promoting multi-cultural and bilingual identities as a means of building more just societies.

Throughout the historical debate about public schooling for non-English dominant students, the supremacy of either assimilationist or pluralist ideas ushered in educational policies that expanded or restricted learning opportunities for emergent bilingual students. For example, early in the history of the United States, immigrant communities took advantage of pluralistic perspectives to establish schools using their own language as the medium of instruction. German Americans, in particular, created hundreds of community schools around the country with the goal of preserving their cultural and linguistic heritage (Mondale & Patton, 2001). Moving

toward an assimilationist stance in the 1870's, federal officials began the practice of sending Native American students to boarding schools that only allowed the use of English, with the mission of "civilizing" the students and readying them for participation in American culture (Schmidt, 2000).

Pluralistic perspectives on schooling for emergent bilingual students dominated the middle of the 20th century, spurred by societal changes, such as the Civil Rights movement and *Brown v. Board of Education*. These social movements empowered language-minoritized communities to push for policies that promoted greater linguistic recognition within public schools (Pyon, 2009). For example, in 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court sided with Chinese-speaking parents in San Francisco public schools who argued that instruction exclusively in English denied their children access to learning. The case, *Lau v. Nichols*, established a national mandate for districts and schools to provide appropriate language accommodations for ELL students (Crawford, 2000; Hakuta, 2011; Ovando, 2003).

More recently, state and federal policies have emphasized English-acquisition over bilingualism, signaling a cultural shift toward the goal of assimilation. In 1998, California passed Proposition 227, known as "English for the Children", which eliminated non-English instruction and mandated a one-year English immersion model for ELL students (Crawford, 2000; Hakuta, 2011; Ovando, 2003). Arizona and Massachusetts followed with analogous initiatives in 2000 and 2002. Although Colorado voters rejected a similar measure in 2002, state and national level policies emphasizing rapid English acquisition resulted in a wave of schools and districts shifting instructional models away from bilingual education toward English immersion approaches (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Menken & Solorza, 2012). In the 2016 election, Californians repealed Proposition 227, perhaps signaling a renewed support for pluralistic school language

policies. However, the anti-immigrant rhetoric that fueled the eventual victory of Donald Trump in the 2016 United States presidential election indicates the continued dominance of assimilationist values.

Dual language immersion programs apply a pluralist set of values to schooling for bilingual and emergent bilingual students. Dual language immersion, also referred to as “Two-Way Immersion,” integrates English-dominant students and speakers of other languages and delivers content and language instruction to all students in both languages (Howard et al., 2003). Dual language immersion is a form of bilingual education, but differs from other instructional models for ELL students, such as transitional or developmental bilingual education and Structured English Immersion (or “SEI”)² models, in a number of key ways (See chart below). For example, both transitional and developmental bilingual education and SEI are specifically meant for ELL-classified students who speak a language other than English, while dual language models additionally address the linguistic development of English-dominant students. Students from both language groups learn together in dual language classrooms, in contrast to other models that separate students who speak a language other than English from English-dominant students, often into distinct classrooms. Unlike other ELL service models, participation in dual language immersion programs extends is meant to extend through elementary school, and into middle and high school in some cases, in order to fully develop students’ proficiency in both languages, rather than gradually phasing out as students develop stronger English skills.

¹ Districts and schools use a variety of terms to describe services that fall under the general category of SEI. For example, some states use the term English Language Development (ELD) to refer to their SEI programs. Other common descriptors include English as a Second Language (ESL) and Sheltered Instruction. At the local level, these programs may have slightly different goals for language and content learning.

Table 1. Comparison of Structured English Immersion, Transitional and Developmental Bilingual Education, and Dual Language Immersion Models³

	Structured English Immersion (SEI)	Transitional and Developmental Bilingual Education	Dual Language or Two Way Immersion
Target Students	ELLs	ELLs	ELLs/ Emergent bilingual students and English-dominant students
Goal	Rapid acquisition of English to facilitate quick transition into general education setting	Gradual acquisition of English while continuing to develop content knowledge and primary language skill	Full bilingualism and bi-literacy for both groups
Structure	Separate classroom or pull-out/push-in service model	Separate classrooms	Inclusive, linguistically balanced classroom
Language of Instruction	English	Students' heritage language and gradually increasing amounts of English	Specific ratio of instruction in both languages
Content	English language development, sometimes academic content	Academic content (Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Literacy, etc.)	Academic content (Mathematics, Science, Social Studies, Literacy, etc.)
Time in Program	Dependent on state and local policies	Early-Exit (3 years) or Late- Exit (up to 7 years)	Through elementary school, and into middle and high school in some cases

In theory, dual language immersion approaches aim to produce more equitable outcomes for emergent bilingual students by shifting instructional practices and classroom environments. Advocates of dual language immersion suggest that these instructional models equalize access to high quality learning opportunities for emergent bilinguals because they allow students to use their existing language skills in service of increased academic content learning (Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2005). In addition to academic opportunities, dual language supporters claim that the equal treatment of both languages in dual language classrooms can combat broader social and

³ Since most Dual Language Immersion programs exist in elementary schools, I focus on elementary-level ELL service models. There are different structures in middle and high schools that I do not address in this chart.

cultural norms and practices that disadvantage and marginalize language-minoritized students and communities and facilitate broader cross-cultural understandings amongst students (Freeman, 1996; Gómez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005; Lindholm-Leary, 2011, 2012).

While few scholars question the potential for dual immersion programs to positively reshape learning opportunities of emergent bilingual students, some caution that the model's inclusion of and reliance on English-dominant students can undermine equity efforts. For example, scholars argue that this model creates a dynamic in which language learning opportunities for emergent bilingual students depend on English-speaking families to garner resources and advocate for programs (Burns, 2017; Cervantes-Soon, 2014; Valdés, 1997; Valdez, Freire, Delavan, 2016; Varghese & Park, 2010). These scholars contend that this relationship allows English-speaking families, who often already benefit from social privilege based on race and class, to exploit bilingual students' linguistic and cultural resource to gain further economic and social advantages within an increasingly global society. I do not wish to minimize the potential for harm that a poorly implemented dual language program might inflict upon bilingual and emergent bilingual students and their communities. In the next chapter, I elaborate on inequities within dual language immersion classrooms, as reported in current literature. However, in this dissertation, I operate under the assumption that dual language immersion models are fundamentally concerned with increasing emergent bilingual students' power, status, representation and opportunities. In this study I consider dual immersion programs to be equity policies but acknowledge that the model can be, and is, coopted to serve other purposes.

Within this broader context of historical debate and lingering inequities for bilingual and emergent bilingual students, the number of dual language immersion programs operating in

public schools in the United States has grown substantially in recent years, up from a few hundred in the early 2000s to thousands currently (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, 2003; Harris, 2015; Watanabe, 2011). In addition to growth in number of programs, states and districts are also attempting to implement these programs on a larger scale to serve greater numbers of students. For instance, New York City schools and the state of Utah created policies aimed at growing and supporting dual language programs across their systems (Harris, 2015; Healy, 2013).

Chapter 3:

Review of Prior Literature

In this section I investigate what current research reveals about how leaders are managing to create more equitable educational experiences for emergent bilingual students by implementing dual language immersion programs. To do this, I first drew upon a collection of studies that report on the effectiveness of dual language programs for ELL-qualified students. This literature provides evidence that dual language immersion is a promising model. However, when I looked more closely at literature depicting local implementation of dual language programs, I found that putting these programs into place requires leaders to navigate significant conflicts that threaten the ability of programs to achieve equity goals for emergent bilingual students.

Existing studies provide little explanation of how leaders negotiate disagreements around dual language programs to improve conditions for emergent bilingual students. To shed light on this process, I reviewed a third body of literature: studies of leaders responding to conflict in support of equity initiatives. This broader literature indicates that leaders might use comparable leadership actions, such as framing or making mandates, to navigate disagreements in service of fully implementing dual language immersion programs. This review also suggests that a lens highlighting the politics of implementation would productively illuminate how leaders influence the implementation of dual language immersion programs.

Dual Language Program Outcomes

After a search of current research related to outcomes for emergent bilingual students in dual language programs, I selected twenty-two empirical studies specifically addressing the outcomes of dual language immersion programs for English language learners. I included studies

that explicitly address dual language immersion or two-way immersion programs that serve populations of emergent bilingual students, rather than foreign language immersion program oriented toward English-dominant students or traditional bilingual programs for ELL students. I did not include studies at sites outside of the United States because differences in the educational policy context and population of students are significant. Of the articles included in the review, fifteen employed quantitative methods, including data gathered from surveys and from student test scores. These studies primarily compared results for students in dual language immersion programs with peers in SEI or other bilingual instructional programs. Additionally, six studies described student outcomes based on data collected using qualitative methods. In addition to the empirical studies, I consulted four literature reviews reporting on dual language outcomes, for a total of twenty-five articles. Some of the articles included in the reviews were also part of my sample.

In reviewing this literature, I asked: What are the outcomes of dual language programs? Are they producing more equitable outcomes for emergent bilingual students? I found evidence that dual language immersion models have been associated with positive educational outcomes for emergent bilingual students both in terms of academic achievement and bilingual literacy development. However, the evidence related to the dual language model's socio-cultural outcomes is mixed; some studies report positive outcomes while others describe dual language programs failures to transform students' relationships, identities, and classroom environments.

I investigated how well dual language program improve the academic achievement of emergent bilingual students by reviewing a subset of the sampled studies that employed quantitative methods to examine student standardized tests and other indicators. I found that researchers have associated dual language immersion programs with greater levels of academic

success for ELL-qualified students. For example, in their longitudinal study of ELL students in English immersion programs, traditional bilingual programs, and dual language immersion, Thomas and Collier (2002) determined that dual language programs produced the fewest drop-outs among all language development programs studied. In comparison to peers who received instruction only in English, these researchers found that students who participated in 4-7 years of dual language schooling showed significantly higher academic achievement on standardized tests in all subjects. Cobb, Vega & Kronauge (2009) echo these positive student outcomes in their study comparing dual language middle school students' reading and mathematics scores to those of their peers served in SEI or traditional classrooms in one district. More recently, Marian, Shook & Schroeder (2013) found that ELL students who participated in one district's elementary dual language immersion program outperformed peers in other programs in both math and reading standardized tests. Steele and colleagues (2017) reported similar results in a recent study. They recorded no statistically significant difference in math or science scores between eighth-grade students in one large district's dual language programs and their peers in other programs but found that dual language-educated students scored 22% higher on reading assessments.

Other studies specifically address the development of language proficiency for emergent bilingual students. Research on pre-school aged ELL-qualified students shows that dual language immersion models support Spanish-speaking students to both develop their English skills and increase their Spanish literacy performance (Barnett, Yarosz, Thomas, Jung & Blanco, 2007; Rodríguez, Díaz, Durán & Espinosa, 1995). Murphy (2014) found that second-grade dual language students in one elementary school showed higher levels of Spanish proficiency than peers served through a transitional-bilingual model. A series of studies by Lindholm-Leary and various colleagues (2010, 2011, 2014) report similar results related to the superior performance

by ELL-qualified students on Spanish and English language assessments compared to peers in other instructional programs. Umanksy & Reardon's (2014) study suggests that these positive results hold true over time, finding that Latinx ELL students enrolled in dual language immersion programs through elementary school had higher overall English proficiency by the end of high school than students enrolled in other language development programs. Valentino & Reardon (2015) report analogous results in their comparison of English Language Arts test scores for over 13,000 ELL students in one district over ten years. They found that, despite lower test scores in early grades, ELL-qualified students in dual language programs scored substantially higher than their SEI-educated peers by 7th grade.

This group of studies presents positive data about the ability of dual language programs to increase student academic achievement and develop students' biliteracy but is largely silent about outcomes related to dual language programs' ability to create more equitable and culturally relevant educational experiences for language-minoritized students. Feinauer and Howard (2014) argue that this "third goal" gets less attentions from researchers, in part because it is more difficult to define and measure. These scholars, along with Reyes and Vallone (2007), contend that that researchers can begin to measure the socio-cultural impact of dual language programs by examining students' academic and cultural identities and their attitudes about other cultures. Accordingly, I reviewed a subset of primarily qualitative studies that describe dual language immersion program outcomes in terms of student identity development and cross-cultural competence.

These studies present mixed evidence about the capacity of dual language programs to shift cultural norms toward empowering students from language-minoritized communities. Some studies show that well-run dual language programs build discourse and routines that both

explicitly and implicitly convey the value of bilingualism and bi-cultural learning. For example, Esquinca, Araujo, and de la Piedra (2014) describe how teachers in one school in Texas created an environment in which students used Spanish and English fluidly to build meaning in their science and mathematics classes, affirming students' bilingual participation. Lindholm-Leary & Borsato (2005) address the influence of dual language instruction on students over time. They found that low-income Latinx high school students who participated in dual language immersion programs in elementary school maintained positive academic identities over time, in contrast to general trends identified in other literature that show a decline in both achievement and academic self-efficacy for Latinx students in upper grades.

On the other hand, studies provide evidence that dual language programs can fail in their attempts to overcome pervasive social biases. For example, studies by Potowski (2004), Rubinstein-Avila (2002), and Babino and Stewart (2017) all report on findings that dual language students consistently used more English than the partner language, indicating that programs were unable to equalize the status of the other language in relation to English. Other studies show that disproportionate allocation of resources, including time, attention, and materials, between student or language groups contradicted program messages about the equal importance of both languages (i.e. Amrein & Peña, 2000; Palmer, 2008). Barse and de Jong (2008) found that, over time, Latinx dual language students connected language to culture and heritage, while their White classmates conceived of Spanish use primarily as an economic advantage. In their review of dual language literature, Cervantes-Soon and her colleagues (2017) argued that inequities tended to manifest across program contexts, such as school policies and patterns of community participation, in teachers' orientation, preparation, and background, and in classroom contexts, including pedagogy, student relationships, and student identities.

From the perspective of academic achievement, current research supports the idea that dual language programs are effective at equalizing outcomes for emergent bilingual students. However, this review shows that some programs fall short in their goals of providing equitable classroom environments. What explains these mixed results?

Dual Language Program Implementation

To understand why dual language programs sometimes struggle to support socio-cultural outcomes, I examined a body of literature depicting dual language immersion program implementation within schools and school districts. I asked, what happens when implementers try to establish and maintain dual language programs that transform educational environments to equalize opportunities for emergent bilingual students? With one exception, the studies included in this section use qualitative methods to portray the local context. Of the studies sampled, twenty-three are single case studies of dual language immersion programs, schools, or classrooms and two are cross-case studies (Mora, Wink, & Wink, 2001; Scanlan & Palmer, 2009). The only departure from the case study format is a study by Torres-Guzmán, et al. (2005) that evaluates multiple dual language programs in a single district.

The most prominent finding about implementation from this collection of studies is that teachers and other implementers confront a myriad of challenges to creating and developing equity-focused programs. I argue that these challenges are the product of conflicts, which I classify as either struggles for adequate resources or disagreements about norms and values, between individuals and groups. I contend that dual language leadership may be a key, though little-studied, component of program implementation. Unless leaders use agency to navigate these disagreements, these conflicts can compromise vital elements of the dual language model, to the detriment of emergent bilingual students.

Conflicts over resources. Teachers charged with implementing dual language programs often lack sufficient time to meet and plan together, create new materials, and redesign classroom and school routines (de Jong & Bearse, 2014; Freeman, 2000; Freeman Field, 2011). In one example, Freeman Field (2011) found that inadequate time was a major hurdle for teachers in one district as they worked to create and implement a new system of portfolio assessments to provide data on student progress in Spanish. Teachers' time for professional learning may also be stretched. De Jong and Bearse (2014) revealed that teachers, particularly at the secondary level, found it difficult to focus on language-oriented professional learning given the heavy emphasis on gaining content-specific knowledge and instructional practices.

Gaining access to bilingual materials or materials in non-English languages also challenges dual language program implementers. While texts and educational materials exist in other countries, teachers may not have funds or the ability to secure these resources for classroom use. For example, de Jong and Bearse (2014) describe how teachers in a middle school dual language program found it difficult to locate a range of appropriate bilingual texts to meet their students' varying reading levels, interests, and language needs in English and Spanish (de Jong & Bearse, 2014). Similarly, in their case study, Amrein and Peña (2000) document how the limited availability of Spanish-language materials in one dual language school forced the Spanish classrooms to use English texts, resulting in fewer opportunities for students to read in Spanish. Given the lack of readily available materials, teachers in some studies opted to translate existing English-language materials or develop their own, requiring extra time and effort (de Jong & Bearse, 2014; Freeman 2000; Howard, et al., 2003). Dual language programs also struggle to obtain accurate standardized assessments in languages other than English, limiting

their ability to credibly measure and report student progress (de Jong & Bearse, 2014; Freeman, 2000).

These studies imply that implementers need more time, funding, and materials. However, securing those resources creates conflicts in an educational context crowded with multiple demands. Resource challenges, like those mentioned above, may be the result from dual language programs losing out when pitted against existing programs and practices in schools and districts. For example, de Jong and Bearse (2014) illustrate the frustrated attempts by a dual language Spanish teacher in one middle school to collaborate with colleagues around Language Arts curriculum. In this case, the school's practice of classifying Spanish as an "elective" foreign language class confounded the dual language program's requirement of alignment between Spanish and English Language Arts curriculum, denying the teacher common planning time with the Language Arts team. Implementation conflicts emerge over district level structures and practices, like application deadlines, entrance criteria, and geographic school assignment (Dorner, 2010; Palmer 2007, 2010). In Palmer's study (2010), the district's enrollment system frustrated one teacher's attempts to register sufficient numbers of Spanish-speakers to balance the population of English-speakers in her classroom. The teacher found that the existing enrollment process put Latinx families at a disadvantage because they tended to register later, after spaces in the popular program filled (Palmer, 2010).

State and federal policies create an additional layer of demands that can generate conflict within dual language programs. For example, de Jong and Bearse (2014) describe how teachers in a middle school dual language program strained to reconcile their dual language program requirements with state-level curricular mandates. Warhol & Mayer (2012) report that dual language was abandoned by one elementary school in Connecticut after school leaders found the

model incompatible with a state-mandated reform. A number of studies also reflect the tension between the dual language model and the demands of current high stakes accountability policies (Freeman, 1996; Menken, 2013; Mora et al., 2001; Warhol & Mayer, 2012). Mora, Wink, and Wink (2001) report that teachers in one district sacrificed instructional time in Spanish, a key feature of their dual language model, to accommodate more test preparation out of fear that their students would not score high enough on annual standardized assessments.

Conflicts over values and ideas. On the surface, widespread conflicts during the process of dual language policy implementation appear to be over resources, such as time and funding. However, underlying these disagreements are conflicts over ideas. During the implementation of dual language programs, literature shows that there is rarely consensus between decision-makers about the goals, values, and ideas underlying the program.

In a number of studies, researchers found that implementation stalled over differing interpretation of some of the core concepts of the program (Dorner, 2011; Forman, 2016; Palmer & Scanlan, 2009; Peña, 1998; Torres-Guzmán et al., 2005). In her study of a school district in Illinois, Dorner (2011) describes how differing interpretations of the meaning of “community” shaped the views of participants engaged in public debate over where to house a new dual language program. Similarly, Peña (1998) describes how disagreement between school staff and parents about how to define success for emergent bilingual students eroded trust and made it difficult for the two groups to collaborate. While school staff focused on boosting standardized test scores, parents viewed character development and improved academic behaviors as the goal for their children. In these cases, all of the actors supported the idea of the dual language program but disagreed about what those programs represented.

Conflicting beliefs about the value and social status of different languages and cultures also impede the implementation of dual language. For some students and families, Spanish-use carries a stigma that teachers and other school staff must overcome to ensure support for bilingual learning (Freeman, 2000). In her study of a dual language school in Colorado, Fitts (2006) found that English-use gained higher status than Spanish among students despite the school's assertion of the "equal-ness" of the two languages. Hernandez observed that the "ELL" label effectively segregated particular students within the dual language program at one elementary school. Palmer (2007) also notes how dual language staff in one elementary school positioned language-minority students as competent contributors to classroom discussion, contrasting with the prevailing rhetoric around the school that described non-English speaking students and families as disadvantaged and less capable of succeeding academically or behaviorally (Palmer, 2007). In each of these instances, well-meaning dual language staff struggled to confront cultural stereotypes amongst students and staff that affected their ability to position Spanish as an asset and Spanish-dominant students as learners with equal capacity.

In this review, I found that dual language implementation seems to break down at the micro-level when implementers encounter conflicts over resources and values. While teachers manage to implement academic elements of the program, studies suggest that these conflicts threaten the program's ability to fully put into place the program components connected to educational equity for bilingual and emergent bilingual students. While studies imply that negotiating conflicts is an inevitable part of dual language implementation, they do not explore the micro-political processes in depth.

Additionally, current studies primarily examine the implementation of dual language by classroom teachers, who are overwhelmed by systemic constraints and seem unable to overcome

the multitude of challenges. I argue that leaders at different levels of the system might be able to influence these conditions and allow for teachers to implement more fully in ways that promote equity. For example, Paciotto and Delany-Barrman (2001) recount how a group of teacher-leaders in rural Illinois established a dual language immersion program to support a new population of Latinx students despite fear and resistance from some of the town's predominantly White residents. The article briefly mentions the intervention and advocacy of a newly-hired district-level bilingual education director, naming it as the "turning point" in the struggle to firmly establish the new program within the community (Paciotto & Delany-Barrman, 2001, 234).

This study, as well as others (de Jong & Howard, 2009; Dorner, 2011; Palmer, 2007, 2010, Weise 2004), provides a small glimpse into the roles of leaders in influencing the policies, school structures, and instructional practices that create challenges for implementers. However, existing studies fail to fully explain how the responses of school and district leaders mitigate or exacerbate these conflicts. Studies rarely depict the decisions or actions of principals, central office staff, teacher leaders, or community members in conflict situation around dual language. Since these choices and actions influence the outcomes of dual language programs, it is imperative to better understand the influence of leaders and leadership.

Leaders Navigating Equity Policy Implementation

How do leaders navigate contested terrain to successfully implement equity-focused policies? Since there is little evidence within current dual language-focused literature, I searched for literature concerning other types of equity policy implementation, in order to explain how, if at all, leaders navigate conflicts over resources and ideas in these contexts. I selected empirical studies that document the actions and decisions of a variety of individual leaders, including

school board members, superintendents, district administrators, program directors, coaches, human resources staff, principals, and teachers, in the context of implementing, rather than designing or adopting, equity policies. I define equity policies broadly to include programs, formal policies, or practices that aim to improve teaching and learning for historically marginalized groups of students. The studies collected for this review depict implementation policies aimed at a range of equity-related goals, including de-tracking schools and district-wide special programs, combatting disproportionate enrollment of students of color in Special Education Services, improving academic supports for ELL-qualified students and low-income students of color, and addressing racial disparities in discipline.

In reviewing this literature, I found similar themes to those I identified within the literature on dual language implementation. Namely, scholars observed that leaders implementing equity policies often encounter conflicts over resources and over meaning and that these disputes tend to result in policy compromise or failure. Building on the conclusions of other equity-policy implementation scholars, I argue that leaders seem to be ill-equipped with the political moves they need to successfully navigate these contentious situations. However, there are some rare instances of successful implementation to draw upon. I identify four types of moves depicted in the literature that leaders use to move equity-policy implementation forward through conflict: making concessions, framing, leading a learning process, and making mandates. I contend that researchers might gain insight into equity-policy implementation by focusing more directly on the successful use of these moves.

Patterns of implementation failure. Much like the dual language-specific implementation literature, I found a clear trend in this group of studies showing that implementation leaders encounter resource and values-based conflicts. For instance, a common

finding in this literature is that resource re-distribution called for in equity policies often prompts antagonistic arguments between school leaders and privileged groups of parents. In Turner and Spain's (2016) comparative case study, conflicts came up when one district proposed cutting funds from gifted programs and reallocating the funding to address the needs of lower performing students. The mostly White, middle class parents of children in the gifted program raised vociferous objections. Rorrer (2006) describes a similar situation in which district leaders clashed with a group of affluent parents over the decision to direct funds toward support for low-performing students rather than toward smaller class sizes.

Other studies highlight disagreements over the meaning of equity policies. Studies by Holme, Diem, and Welton (2014) and Turner (2015) depict instances of educators struggling to reconcile conflicting ideas about the meaning of "diversity" in their district contexts. For some educators in these two studies, "diverse" students of color were a problem to be fixed with new instructional practices, while for others, increasing student diversity suggested the need for a shift in teachers' deficit views of students. In their study of de-tracking, Oakes and Lipton (2002) note that parents and teachers disagreed over what constituted a "quality education." Educators defined a quality education by rigorous curriculum and instructional practice that met student needs, whereas affluent parents defined quality relative to the educational opportunities provided to disadvantaged students. Often conflicts over resources and values are interconnected, such as in Wells and Serna's (1996) study of de-tracking efforts in multiple secondary schools. These authors report that educators' and parents' opposing ideas about which students were "deserving" hampered educators' efforts to increase access to higher-level courses for low-income students of color.

This set of equity-policy studies also mirrors the dual language literature in their findings that leaders seem unable to overcome conflicts to ensure full implementation of equity policies. These studies offer a plethora of examples of school and district leaders who concede to demands from resistant teachers, principals, parents and community members to either weaken or do away with equity policies. For instance, Oakes, Wells, Jones, and Datnow (1997) recount how one resistant teacher mobilized parents to lobby members of the school board to quash an “intersession class” that offered extra support for struggling students. Pressure from White, affluent, “elite” parents led to equity-policy repeals in studies by Holme and colleagues (2014), Turner and Spain (2016), and Oakes and Lipton (2002). Opposition from teachers and principals derailed equity efforts in both Trujillo’s (2012) and DeMatthews and Mawhinney’s (2013) studies. In each of these examples, political moves by opponents prompted leaders to abandon or weaken plans for implementation.

Based on the number of failures documented in these studies, this literature presents evidence that educators tend to lack the tools to fight through conflicts to support equity policies. Oakes and Lipton (2002) argue this point, saying “Most reform leaders are unprepared to deconstruct the hidden ideologies driving their opposition; neither do they have the skills and dispositions to cultivate countervailing support for their efforts” (395). But this is not true in all cases. Studies do portray rare instances in which educators overcome resistance to implement equity policies. In reviewing this literature, I classified these moves into four categories: making concessions, framing, leading a learning process, and making mandates. I elaborate on each of these categories below.

Making Concessions. To implement equity policies in the face of opposition, some leaders depicted in the literature brokered agreements by making concessions, offering compromises, or

reconfiguring some policy elements in ways that satisfy the concerns of opponents. These moves seemed targeted at making the policy more agreeable for resistant actors. For instance, Turner and Spain (2016) describe how administrators in one district gave in to parents' who objected to de-tracking efforts by maintaining their gifted program but worked toward greater equity by expanding access to high-track classes. The administrators convinced parents to go along with the compromise by adopting parents' own discourse about individualization. Wells and Serna (1996) contend that some leaders overcome resistance by offering incentives that make compromise palatable. The authors describe how educators leveraged rich art or music programs or offered parents access to the best teachers to secure their participation in de-tracked classes.

Framing. When leaders frame the issues, they rally others around a compelling explanation of the problem and the best course of action to solve it. In this collection of studies, some leaders explained equity issues in such a way as to align the interests of disputing parties. Turner (2015) described how two districts in her study marketed dual language programs meant to serve the needs of emergent bilingual students to White communities as advantageous in helping their own children prepare for a globally connected future. In a similar example, Diem and her colleagues (2014) describe how district leaders focused their policy messages directed at White, affluent communities on issues of student achievement, de-emphasizing justifications based on diversity. Halverson and Plecki (2015) credit district leaders' positive framing of both equity policies and students of color as instrumental in convincing White communities to participate in implementation. They argue, "What appears... critical to the success of the equity-focused policy initiatives within this district was a positive social construction of both the targets of the policy, but also of the policy initiatives themselves," (60).

Leading a Learning Process. Of those articles that mentioned implementation successes, a large proportion described leaders facilitating some kind of process designed to engage others in meaningful discussion of the equity issues at hand. In a number of cases, these discussions centered on student data as a tool for reflection and learning. For example, Park, Daly, and Guerra (2012) describe how central office leaders used data highlighting inequitable access to college-preparatory classes to raise questions and direct teacher goal setting. Irby (2018) depicts teacher professional development sessions in which school leaders created opportunities for teachers to make sense of racial disproportionality data as a first step in shifting teachers' beliefs related to racially-biased discipline practices. Oakes, Wells, Jones, and Datnow (1997) describe an example in which teachers engaged parents in a process of gathering data from classroom observations to inform their planning conversations about de-tracking.

In addition to a focus on data, the learning conversations depicted in this literature tend to involve direct conversation about equity and reflection on teaching and leadership practice. In one example reported by Bal, Sullivan, and Harper (2013), district leaders engaged in a profound inquiry and reflection process to better understand disproportionate enrollments in special education services. This team of leaders looked beyond structural fixes and approached this contentious issue as a problem of core instruction, leading them to focus on student engagement and culturally responsive pedagogies. Staff members at a school described by Achinstein (2002) created discussion norms and structures to surface and address conflicts around diversity and teaching practices for serving students of color. Achinstein (2002) reports that the school's administrators viewed conflict as productive for growth and learning and encouraged teachers to raise critical issues in public spaces. These authors and others (i.e. Halverson & Plecki, 2015; Irby, 2018; Park et al., 2012; Rorrer, 2006) affirm that well-facilitated learning opportunities can

shift how teachers, parents, and others consider equity issues and mediate their responses to equity-policy implementation.

Making Mandates. Some leaders use their positional authority to ensure that equity policies are implemented, regardless of opposition from parents, teachers, or other challengers. In their study, Castagno and Hausman (2017) observe that decision-making structures that ensured democratic participation at the school level sometimes acted as barriers to implementing equity policies because neither school leaders nor central office leaders took responsibility. The researchers observed that equity-policy implementation in one district finally moved forward when a lawsuit brought by the Office of Civil Rights forced district leaders to comply. In Trujillo's (2012) study, an assistant superintendent used her positional authority to mandate new policies that promoted rigor and equity, despite resistance from teachers. Holme and her colleagues (2014) report that a court-ordered shift in school-board elections ushered in greater representation for communities of color on the local school board. "Elite" parents' complaints did not sway the new board members, who mandated more equitable distribution of resources across the district. Castagno and Hausman (2017) argue that implementing equity policy may demand a shift away from democratic decision-making. They contend that achieving equity-aims "... may require the letting-go of popularly valued shared forms of educational governance in districts and schools where inequity still prevails," (Castagno & Hausman, 2017, 99).

Summary

Existing research suggests that dual language immersion is a promising model for meeting the linguistic, academic, and social needs of bilingual, emergent bilingual, and ELL students in American public schools. However, studies of individual dual language programs show that persistent challenges hamper implementation efforts, potentially interfering with the

ability of programs to fully reach their potential to improve educational opportunities. I argue that re-conceptualizing these challenges as interpersonal conflicts highlights the important roles that leaders might play in navigating these conflicts in support of full implementation. Currently, existing studies provide little insight into how school and district leaders to respond to conflict or how their responses enable or constrain dual language programs in their goal of transforming students' educational experiences.

Studies of other equity-focused educational improvement initiatives indicate that there are a variety of ways leaders navigate conflict; some of which support organizational improvement efforts, while many hinder efforts and maintain the status quo. This literature suggests that there may be actions that leaders can take to successfully navigate conflict in ways that support dual language immersion programs to realize their equity and academic achievement aims for bilingual students. Implementing dual language policies likely requires leaders to manage conflicts by influencing the ideas and values that underlie implementation decisions.

As shown in these studies, a lens that illuminates political actions highlights leadership strategies for influencing ideas in service of resolving conflict. A similar political perspective on leadership of dual language implementation could productively address a gap in the current dual language literature. A study directly focusing on the actions and interactions of leaders managing the conflicts that emerge around dual language policy implementation would add this crucial piece of knowledge and inform the actions of leaders in the field.

Chapter 4:

Theoretical Framework Based on Micro-politics and Strategic Action Fields

To understand how leaders influence the process of implementation by negotiating conflict, I draw on theories of micro-politics (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Bardach, 1977; Malen, 2006; Stone, 1997) and Strategic Action Fields (Fligstein, 1997, 2001; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). Micro-political theories help me to conceptualize conflicts as opportunities for actors to shape a particular policy's meaning, while Strategic Action Fields (SAF) highlights conflict-negotiation as a social process that leads to collective action. Both theories highlight the importance of actors' strategic leadership moves during the conflict-navigation process in shaping the group's shared understanding of its implementation work.

In the following section, I elaborate a conceptual framework that synthesizes concepts from SAF and micro-politics. First, I describe policy implementation within a field and explain the importance of building agreements in shaping implementation outcomes. I argue that successful implementation should be considered across a continuum of depth over time. I then explain how actors' leadership moves during conflict episodes influence the depth of the agreement and outline the contextual conditions likely to influence actors' negotiations. Finally, I present a set of research question that reflect these perspectives toward inquiry into dual language implementation leadership.

Policy Implementation with a Field

According to scholarship on implementation politics, implementation centrally involves policy actors from different arenas working within and external to a given organization to secure resources and other support for implementation (Bardach, 1977). Decisions about policy

implementation take place within a field, which is an arena where actors interact to determine the groups' collective implementation actions (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Malen, 2006; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). Membership within the field is not fixed; individual actors with a stake in the particular policy enter the field with the purpose of influencing implementation (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011).

In line with scholars who advocate institutional and distributed perspectives toward leadership, such as Spillane, Halverson and Diamond (2004) and Ogawa and Bossert (1995), I consider each of the individuals who interacts to influence implementation within a field to be a leader because, regardless of their formal roles or titles, they are each involved in leadership activity. Spillane and his colleagues (2004) define leadership activity as "constituted in the interaction of multiple leaders (and followers) using particular tools and artifacts around particular leadership tasks," (16). In the case of dual language, teachers, principals, central office staff members, families and community members might all participate in implementation as a leader. Any and all of the individuals who interact within the field participate in leadership activities through their collective work to determine how to implement the policy. The actors engage in leadership practice when they negotiate with one another within the particular field to determine the group's collective (Spillane, et al., 2004). This study seeks to understand the particular leadership practices that lead to successful support for equity-policy implementation.

Individual actors in a field strive to shape implementation by controlling the logic that guides the field's collective actions. Behind every policy enacted within a field, there are different, equally plausible, ways of understanding the policy problem, the people affected by a given policy, how they are affected, and what is at stake (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Stone, 1997). Fields are not monolithic; rather they consist of individuals with diverse interpretations of

the policy problem and the correct course of action for implementation. Individuals or groups of actors put forward a particular logic connecting the policy design elements to the desired outcomes and the means to achieve it (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Malen & Cochran, 2008). These logics of action are built upon understandings of the populations the policy is meant to impact and reflect that group's level of power, as well as positive or negative stereotypes about that group (Schneider & Ingram, 1993; Stone, 1997). The social construction of policy populations is significant for dual language programs because the portrayal of the student populations influences the logics of action that guide teachers' actions toward students. For example, Pimentel (2011) describes how the same Spanish-dominant student who was portrayed as "at-risk" and in need of intervention services in a bilingual pre-school was viewed as gifted in his dual language kindergarten classroom. Educators who view emergent bilingual students through a deficit orientation are likely to problematize students' language use and advocate for implementation actions that prioritize remediation and English development for these students, rather than supporting bilingual identities and biliteracy development.

For the group to take act on a given policy, the actors must coalesce around a shared logic of action that allows each to participate in the group (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Pfeffer, 1981). I refer to actors' consent to participate in collective action toward a common goal as an agreement (see Figure 1, below). In the case of dual language implementation at school sites, agreements are made by the individual teachers, administrators, or other school staff that constitute the field. Because of the interconnected activities required by each of the actions in order to implement a dual language program, implementation would be impossible without agreement to participate from all of the teachers and school-level administrators.

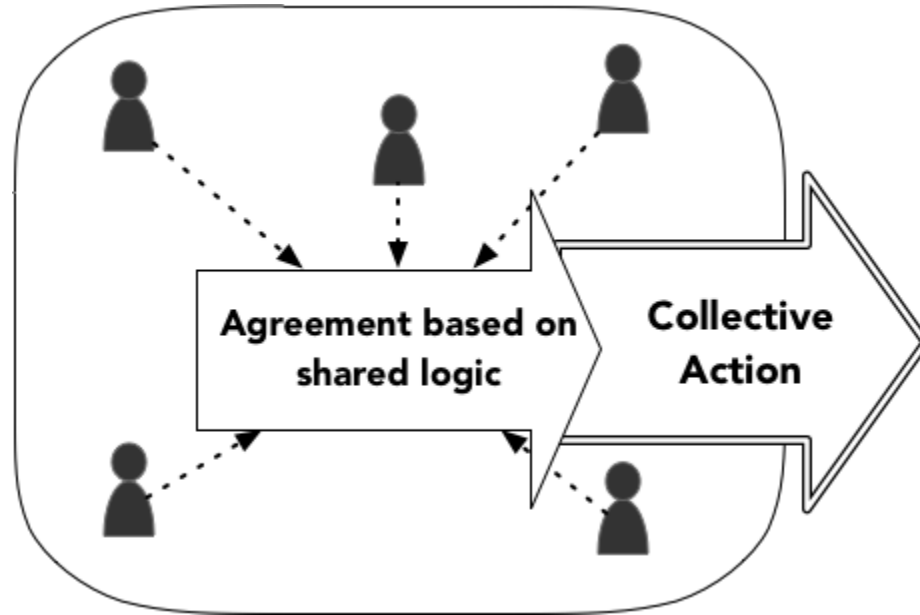


Figure 1. Implementation within a field

Past studies of politics of policy implementation deem an implementation effort to be successful if the group acts to enact the policy. Based on this view, successful dual language implementation entails actors forming an agreement that enables collective action to implement the policy. While I agree that establishing an agreement is the first step on successful implementation, I argue for a more nuanced look into the quality of that agreement formed and cultivated by the actors to facilitate implementation. Bacharach and Mundell (1993) take up a similar idea in their examination of micro-political actions interests groups. The authors differentiate between coalitions based on the alignment between actors' "ideological" and "policy" level logics (439). According to the authors, actors easily form coalitions when they share logics about the problem at hand and best solution (ideological level) and specific implementation actions (policy level). Bacharach and Mundell (1993) suggest that when actors' logics align at one level, but not the other, they are forced to negotiate and compromise to form coalitions. For example, actors in a field might find that they agree at the ideology level on the

problem and solution but encounter conflict at the policy level over how to implement.

Conversely, they may agree on appropriate implementation actions at the policy level without coming to a consensus about the nature of the problem at the ideological level. According to Bacharach and Mundell (1993), actors who disagree both at the ideological and policy level will encounter significant conflicts and may fail to form a coalition, resulting in the inability to implement.

My notion of an implementation agreement between actors differs from Bacharach and Mundell's (1993) conception of a coalition in two key ways. First, while Bacharach and Mundell's (1993) explanation of ideological and policy alignment differentiates between coalitions at the point of formation, the authors do not describe how these differences influence ongoing implementation processes. Scholar such as Malen (2006) and Bardach (1977) argue that implementation unfolds over time and involves continually re-negotiating previous decisions. This means that implementation outcomes depend not only on whether actors' can align logics to form an agreement, but also on their ability to maintain and deepen alignment over the course of implementation. Secondly, in the context of dual language implementation, I am concerned with individual actors, rather than interest groups. In this case, each of the actors in the field must consent to participate in order for implementation to occur within the school or grade level team. This differs from conceptions of coalitions in which some actors may choose to join or not. Despite these differences, I argue that the ideological and policy level distinctions highlighted by Bacharach and Mundell (1993) provide a useful conceptual model for understanding the qualitative differences between implementation agreements. Therefore, I draw upon the notion of policy and ideological alignment as a means of differentiating the depth of agreement within successful implementation fields.

At the other end of the spectrum, I consider an agreement to be “shallow” when actors agree to specific implementation actions but experience a misalignment of logics at the ideology level. Considering dual language policy, actors may agree to a particular set of program-implementation steps without a shared vision of the purpose of dual language in providing opportunities for emergent bilingual students. I hypothesize that a shallow agreement with persistent ideological misalignment will yield a limited number of collective actions before emergent disagreements force actors to return to negotiations (See Figure 4). To be clear, shallow agreements still result in successful implementation, but actors will be forced to navigate numerous conflicts along the way.

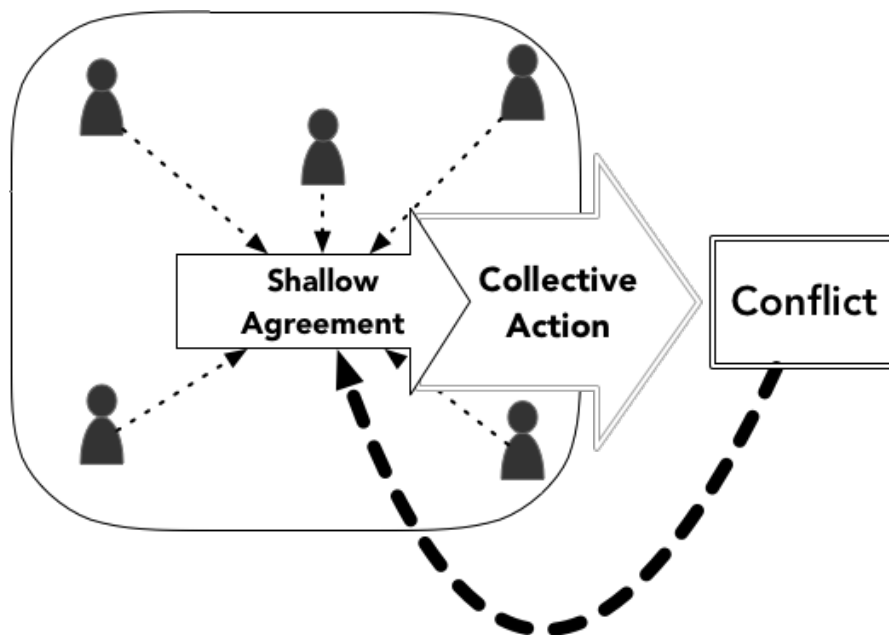


Figure 4. Shallow Agreement within a field

Between the two extremes on the continuum are agreements in which implementers align on either the policy or ideological levels, but not both. For example, actors might share a broad set of values about dual language as a means of promoting equity but disagree on the best immediate implementation actions. While this type of agreement is not yet deep, ideological

alignment amongst the actors suggests that the group may be able to reach compromise on implementation action. I conjecture that this type of agreement has potential to become a deep agreement through actors' ongoing negotiations.

Understanding successful implementation along a continuum highlights the importance of actors' ability to both form agreements that enable implementation and their capacity to navigate continuing negotiations. This view of implementation suggests that individuals' actions and interactions to engage misalignments in ideological or policy logics may influence the depth of the agreement over time. In the next section, I explore how actors' leadership moves within conflict episodes might shape agreement depth.

Conflicts Episodes and Strategic Leadership Moves

As they make implementation decisions, actors run into disagreements with one another over ideological or policy logics, resulting in what Fligstein (1997, 2011) calls an "episodes of contention." These conflict episodes range from routine clashes between individuals or groups vying for advantage to large-scale disruptions that throw the agreement's ability to work together into question (Goldstone & Useem, 2012). Conflicts within the field occur when actors experience a shared sense of uncertainty about the logics and power relations governing the field. Individuals and groups take advantage of the momentary flux to mobilize resources in support of a particular perspective (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). In the midst of uncertainty, actors attempt to re-establish a shared logic of action, either by reinforcing the existing guiding principles, or by bringing in new ideas. The conflict episode is over when actors settle on either the status quo or a new logic to guide the field (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011). Conflict episodes are significant in determining the course of implementation because they present opportunities for leaders to cement or disrupt a particular logic of action (Moulton &

Sandfort, 2017). In the case of dual language, conflicts present opportunities for actors to either shift the dominant logic to promote equity for emergent bilingual students or reinforce existing conditions to ensure continued support.

To influence and enable collective action in the face of conflict, individual actors make strategic leadership moves to establish unity and mobilize the field around a shared logic of action (See Figure 5). Conflict-negotiation moves, sometimes called “influence strategies” (Bardach, 1977; Pfeffer, 1981) or “strategic actions” (Fligstein, 1997, 2001, 2011) aim to increase the power of an actor or groups of actors. These moves define, legitimize, and represent problems and populations of people in order to advance a specific interpretation of the policy in question (Pfeffer, 1981; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Schneider & Ingram, 1993; Stone, 1997). These interactional moves to influence the group’s collective actions represent leadership activities, which Ogawa and Bossert (1995) describe as “the basic building block of organizational leadership,” (236).

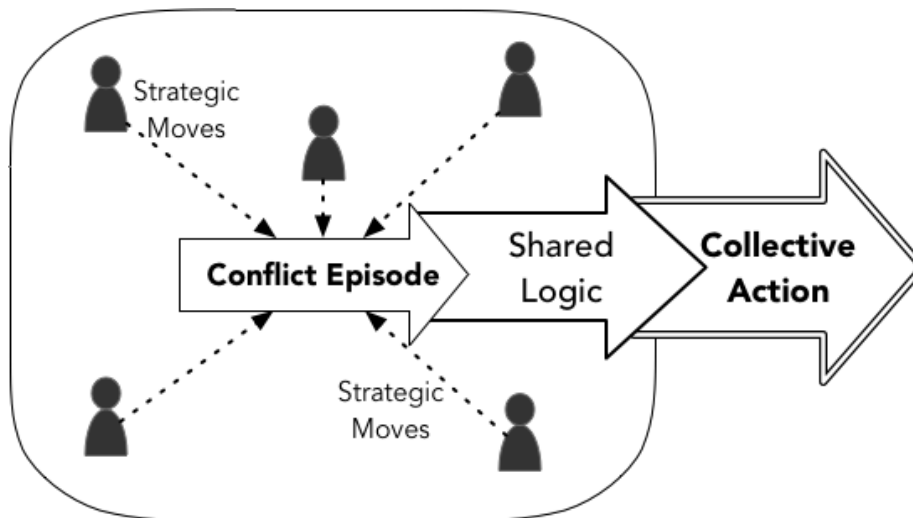


Figure 5. Strategic leadership moves and conflict episodes shape implementation within a field

Micro-politics literature describes a wide variety of tactics leaders use to shape the policy implementation process. Some moves are overt and easily observable. For example, activities

such as lobbying, making rules, or giving orders are visible, direct attempts by actors to influence decisions (Fligstein, 2001; Malen, 2006, Stone, 1997). Within a conflict episode, leaders might use observable tactics when arguing publicly in favor of particular view in an effort to persuade others of its validity (Pfeffer, 1981). In another demonstration of overt moves, leaders may rely on positional authority to mandate collective actions in line with their preferences (Fligstein, 1997, 2001). There are also covert strategies which Malen (2006) and Stone (1997) suggest are more common. Rather than obviously advocating for a particular position, leaders employ less-observable means to gain advantage during conflict negotiations. Some examples of covert moves include: controlling the premises of decisions-making, redefining problems or issues, regulating participation, controlling information, fixing decisions, or setting the agenda (Fligstein, 1997, 2001; Malen, 2006).

Framing is a move frequently used by leaders during conflict episodes to mobilize consensus in the field around a particular way of understanding the issues under debate. Framing is the ongoing process of composing an interpretation and expressing it to others (Benford & Snow, 2000). During conflicts, actors frame or re-frame contested issues to create alignment with their opponents (Fligstein, 2001; Snow, Rochford, Worden, Benford, 1986). Actors may also frame ideas to expand or restrict who engages in the conflict episode (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). For example, an actor who finds a given policy in conflict with his or her interests may try to reframe the problem so that others in the field no longer view the policy as a logical solution (Malen, 2006; Marshall & Scribner, 1991; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994).

Actors choose their moves strategically because winning conflict episodes may allow them to control the logics that guides the field's collective actions related to a specific policy. Choosing a leadership move that will result in an agreement behind a particular logic requires

what Fligstein (1997, 2001, 2011) calls “social skill.” Fligstein (1997) describes social skill as the “ability to motivate cooperation in other actors by providing those actors with common meaning and identities in which actions can be undertaken and justified,” (398). Social skill includes the ability to accurately assess other actors’ interests and gauge the power dynamics affecting the field in order to choose moves that will persuade others to cooperate (Fligstein, 1997, 2001; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). In the following section, I outline the relevant contextual elements that actors navigate as they strive to build agreements behind equity policy implementation.

Contextual Influences

To determine which leadership moves will be most useful in building agreement behind a particular logic of action, socially skilled actors consider the complex factors that comprise the implementation context. Spillane and colleagues (2004) suggest that elements of the context, including tools, organizational structures, and language, are elements of leadership practice that shape how leaders approach their work.

Within the field, individuals consider what they know about the other actors to encourage participation. For example, actors bring a variety of different, sometimes competing, interests into implementation negotiations. Interests refers to the dispositions, preferences, and ideas that shape people’s perceptions of problems and their solutions and legitimize specific actions (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Malen, 2006). Interests may be material in nature, conferring private, individual economic or social benefits (Malen, 2006; Thomas, 1992). On the other hand, interests can also be normative or ideological, based on an individual’s conceptions of public good or the proper thing to do. While recognizing the interests of each individual is central to understanding their actions and motivations, a leader’s interests in a given moment are context-

dependent (Malen, 2006; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017; Stone, 1997). People are members of multiple groups, are affected by a number of policies at once, and may change their preferences based on how their choices are framed and by whom. Put another way, an individual actor redefines or negotiates their interests based on relationships with others in the field.

An individual's approach to promoting or protecting their interests during conflict episodes is likely to be shaped by power (Malen, 2006; Ogawa & Bossert, 1995; Stone, 1997; Thomas, 1992). An individual's power varies depending on their relationship with other actors and can come from multiple sources based on the resources at their disposal (Malen, 2006; Pfeffer, 1981; Stone, 1997). According to Ogawa and Bossert (1995) leaders draw upon their traits as resources in their attempts to exert influence. Moulton and Sandfort (2017) suggest that authority, in particular, drives power negotiations between actors in a field. A leader's authority confers power to decide, but authority is typically dispersed, shared, negotiated, distributed across the network of roles, and contested within the field (Ogawa & Bossert, 1995; Stone, 1997). Leaders may draw on competing sources of authority and, depending on the context, one source of authority might confer greater influence than another (Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). For instance, the institutional context may confer authority to some actors over others based on perceived legitimacy from professional expertise or reputation. In the context of dual language programs, school and school system norms typically advantage teachers, administrators, and parents from White, middle-class backgrounds over parents of color from immigrant, non-English speaking communities (e.g. Peña, 1998; Valdés, 1997). In addition, actors may derive power and authority from access to and control of information, legal mandates, formal positions, social connections, or group membership (Malen, 2006; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017; Pfeffer, 1981; Stone, 1997).

Actors are also enabled or constrained in their capacity to promote a particular logic by their position within the field vis-à-vis other actors. Some actors dominate the group and wield large amounts of influence. Fligstein (1997, 2011) refers to these individuals as incumbents. Incumbents generally have greater access to resources and the rules of the field tend to legitimize their views and their authority. In the context of schools and school systems, incumbents are likely to be leaders in authority positions, such as principals and central office leaders. White, middle-class, and otherwise privileged parents and community-members may also be incumbents. In contrast, those individuals and groups with less influence are described as challengers (Fligstein, 1997). Challengers generally conform to the rules of the field but hold alternative views of the policy in question and seek to change the direction of implementation (Fligstein, 2013; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011). In the debates about dual language immersion programs, challengers tend to be teachers, as well as families and community members who are people of color, lower income, or non-English speaking. In complex fields, there may be multiple challengers advocating for different perspectives, as well as factions amongst incumbents. Actors may also play the role of neutral bystanders (Goldstone & Useem, 2012). Position within the field is significant because incumbent actors are likely to advocate for maintaining the status quo while challengers are apt to work in favor of a different set of collective actions.

For actors looking to implement equity policy, a clear understanding of how power flows through the field is essential in considering how to build sufficiently strong agreements and gain leverage to counter resistance. Fligstein (1997) argues that some fields are highly structured, meaning that there are clear incumbents and challengers focused on either maintaining the current logic of action or changing the status quo. When these positions within the field are well-

established, the field generally has a hierarchical structure (Fligstein, 2013). In other fields, power relationships between actors are less formed. Fligstein (1997) notes that these fields lack a clearly-defined structure and suggests that actors in unstructured fields will likely attempt to unite the group around an initial agreement.

In addition to the internal relationships that influence the field, external conditions also affect a leader's ability to build and maintain agreement around a particular logic. Any one implementation field is situated within a complex web of other fields. Policy implementation takes place in a frontline field, in which street-level bureaucrats act to determine outcomes (Moulton & Sandfort, 2017; Weatherly & Lipsky, 1970). In the case of dual language programs, the frontline field consists of the teachers who decide how to implement programs at the classroom level with students. Frontline fields are nested within larger organizational and policy fields, which set rules and direct resources to frontline implementers (Bardach, 1977; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Goldstone & Useem, 2012; Malen, 2006). Within the organizational field, actors convey ideas from the larger policy field to the frontline, providing guidance and emphasizing accountability. In this case, the organizational field is the individual school in which the teachers at the frontline work. The policy field, represented by the school district in this instance, consists of the institutional networks between organizations through which resources and understandings flow. This nested structure allows for individual actors to move between fields during implementation (Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). For example, school principals generally work at the organizational level, but may step into the frontline field to resolve a specific conflict or put their authority behind a particular logic.

In addition to nested relationships with broader fields, a field may also connect to other frontline fields. Within a single organization, there may be numerous fields charged with

implementing different initiatives. For example, staff at a single school may be implementing multiple instructional improvement efforts simultaneously, potentially creating competition between fields for financial resources or the time and attention of actors. These fields depend on each other for resources, linking them and giving them the ability to impact each other (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). These external connections to other fields can make it easier or more difficult for an actor to influence the dominant logic guiding the group's collective actions. Changes in the political, cultural, and material resources coming from a proximate field can create a shock that de-stabilizes a given field, throwing the existing norms and relationships into question (Fligstein, 2013; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011).

Socially skilled actors are likely to draw resources from proximate fields strategically, using these connections to either solidify the existing logic of action or shake up the current order with the intention of establishing a new logic of action. New or unstable fields tend to be relatively malleable because there is not yet established logics to guide actors (Fligstein, 2013). In less stable fields, leaders may be able to build new connections with others to form unexpected agreements. In these cases when the logics and hierarchies are undefined, individual actors have the opportunity gain advantages in negotiation by establishing relationships of influence among actors and setting norms for interaction (Fligstein, 1997). On the other hand, it is harder for actors to shift implementation in more established, stable fields because they must work to counter existing rules and relationships. Unstable fields are more easily disrupted by changes from other fields, whereas stable fields are more likely to weather disturbances to continue with collective action under the same logic of action. In more stable and structured fields, individual actors work through established rules and relationships rather than attempting to shape the field to their advantage (Fligstein, 1997).

The figure below (Figure 6) shows how conflict negotiations between actors take place within nested fields and involve actors with different levels of power. Socially skilled actors take these contextual conditions into account when making strategic leadership moves during conflict episodes to influence the group's shared understanding of the policy problem and the course of action to solve it.

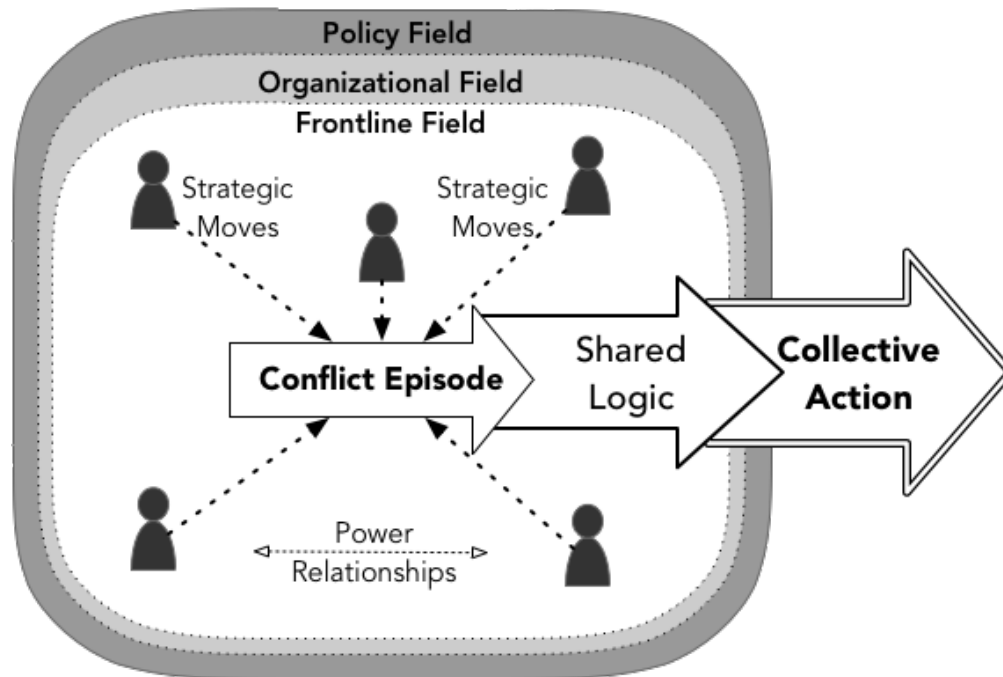


Figure 6. Contextual influences on implementation within a field

Implications for the Study of Dual Language Implementation

Past studies of dual language immersion policy implementation have drawn on Critical Theory to highlight issues of power and inequity (See Freeman, 2000; Kelly, 2016; Palmer & Scanlon, 2009; Rubinstein-Avila, 2002, among others). These studies highlight conflicts over values and ideology but are less directly focused on how leaders act to navigate these issues to further the goals of combatting bias and transforming school and classroom practices. Building on the foundation set by these prior studies of dual language policy implementation, I affirm the importance of a critical perspective on policy implementation. I use concepts from micro-

political theories to observe how actors use their relative power and authority to influence implementation. These theories suggest that actors shape implementation by furthering particular logics of action. The theory of Strategic Action Fields conceptualizes implementation actions as taking place within a socio-culturally mediated arena. SAF suggests that actors' motivations are constantly being negotiation relative to the local context and that their actions reflect institutional norms as well as individual agency.

Through a lens of SAF and micro-politics, I argue that dual language implementation can productively be viewed as the outcome of successful leadership garnering agreement to participate. This perspective might yield new insight into dual language implementation by focusing on how actors interact to form and maintain agreements. Using a theoretical framework derived from micro-politics and SAF, I examine how individual actors navigate conflicts by acting strategically within their particular context to influence shared meaning about a policy. I ask the following research questions: 1) How do actors form and maintain agreements in support of dual language program implementation? 2) How do actors' leadership moves to navigate conflicts influence dual language program implementation processes and outcomes?

Chapter 5:

Research Design & Methods

This dissertation study is based on the idea that leaders' actions and interactions create conditions for teachers to establish and maintain dual language immersion classrooms that equitably serve bilingual and emergent bilingual youth (Spillane et al., 2004). Accordingly, I conducted a qualitative comparative case study to examine leadership in conflict situations and to investigate how leaders' interactions shape dual language immersion policy implementation. In the following chapter, I explain my rationale for choosing a qualitative case-study methodology and outline my sampling criteria for research sites and participants. I conclude with an explanation of my methods for data collection and analysis.

Rationale for Study Design

This study investigated policy implementers' understandings and actions within a particular context. Qualitative research provided the appropriate methods for developing a deep understanding of this dynamic context over time (Glesne, 2011; Merriam, 2009). Specifically, this study aimed to generate potentially generalizable theories about how individual leaders navigated conflict to implement equity-focused policies. Rather than making causal claims about populations of dual language educators and their students, this dissertation contributes to theories about the micro-politics of implementation, in particular concerning bilingual education and equity-focused policies.

This study pursued knowledge about equity-focused leadership actions by examining the case of one school district. Based on ideas from SAF, the school district represents the policy field. This broad policy field is the source of the dual language policy, the resources to support implementation, and the institutional context. Restricting my study to the dual language program

in one district enabled me to hold this policy field constant, narrowing in on the influence of leaders working in the organizational and frontline fields.

The study took advantage of a comparative case study design by collecting and analyzing data drawn from two schools within the single district, representing two sub-cases within the larger case (See Figure 7). Using my SAF theoretical framework, I identify individual schools as making up the organizational field, while smaller teams of teachers, support staff and administrators are the frontline implementers. This comparative case-study design allowed me to foreground the frontline fields in order to highlight the differences produced by the interpersonal negotiations of these different groups of leaders working under the same policy.

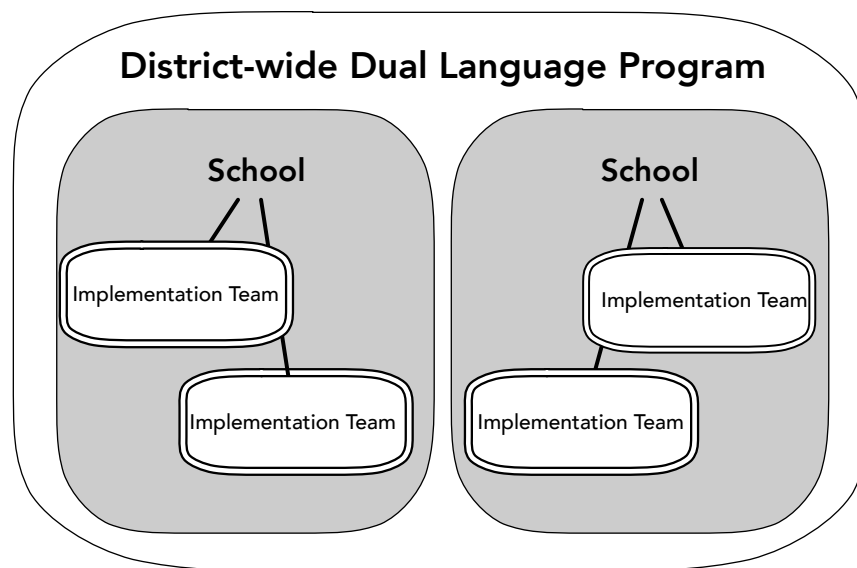


Figure 7. Comparative sub-cases within a single district case study

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis of this study was the *conflict episode*. A conflict episode began when a particular event or problem disrupted the field, throwing into question the collective course of action, and ended once the field had settled on a common understanding that allowed for collective action to resume (See Figure 8; Fligstein & McAdams, 2011). The series of

interactions that made up conflict episodes presented rich opportunities for me to observe leaders acting in moments of uncertainty to influence implementation in support of bilingual and emergent bilingual students. Conflict episodes defined the boundaries of a single conflict with precision and provided me with the ability to trace how the circumstances at the school and leaders' actions affected the policy's implementation.

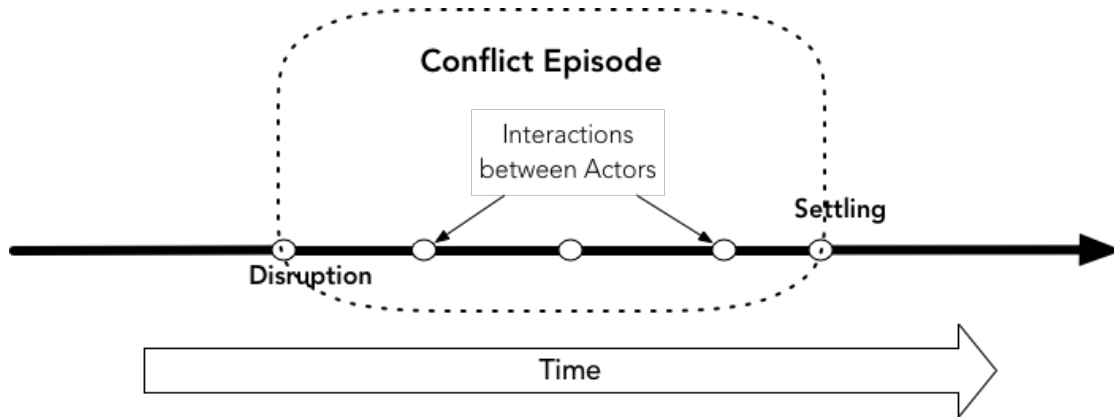


Figure 8. Conflict episode

Sampling conflict episodes required me to gather and connect data from multiple levels of the system over time. Since conflict episode can involve actors interacting across frontline, organizational and policy fields, my study utilized a nested design, allowing me to examine multiple “layers” that exist within the single case (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009). Once actors became aware of a disturbance, signaling the beginning of the conflict episode, there were a series of interaction during which actors tried out various strategic actions before the field settled on a shared understanding of their course of action (Fligstein, 2011). To capture the rise and fall of individual conflict episodes that occurred during implementation, I gathered data over a span of multiple months.

Site Sampling

Given my interest in leaders' conflict-negotiation actions with the goal of improving educational opportunity for emergent bilingual students, I purposefully selected both district and school sites to yield rich data (Patton, 2015; Miles, Huberman, Saldaña, 2014).

Ridgetop Public Schools. Ridgetop Public Schools is a medium-sized district, serving approximately 20,000 students in 30 schools, and is located in a suburban area of the Puget Sound region in Washington State. The district serves a racially, socio-economically, and linguistically diverse student population. Latinx students represent the largest racial group at around 40% of the total student population, with significant numbers of White (20%), Black (15%), and Asian (14%) students, and smaller pockets of students who identify as Multi-racial, Pacific Islander and Native American. Ridgetop students speak over 90 languages, the most common being English, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Somali. Approximately 25% of Ridgetop students are classified as English Language Learners, and about 65% qualify for free or reduced-priced meals.

Ridgetop was an ideal site for the study because the local context was conducive to the success of dual language. Ridgetop represents a case of a district in which leaders endeavor to implement an equity policy under supportive conditions. For example, the surrounding community largely celebrates its cultural and linguistic diversity. During the process of strategic planning four years prior to the study, parents, students, teachers, and community members established "Bilingualism and Bi-literacy" as a top priority for the district. The school board and district senior leadership embraced this emphasis on multi-culturalism by enacting formal dual language policies that reflected a commitment to serving bilingual, emergent bilingual, and ELL students. Ridgetop operates dual language immersion programs in multiple elementary and

secondary schools and was in the process of planning expansion to additional schools during the data collection period. This explicit commitment to linguistic pluralism signals system-level support for equity-focused dual language programs.

Ridgetop's school-level dual language programs are coordinated at the central office by the Language Learning Department. Ridgetop's Language Learning Department (LLD) is well-resourced compared to neighboring districts and has historically played an active role in directing ELL and dual language programs. In addition to staffing a handful of teachers on special assignment as central office-based ELL and Language Learning Specialists, the LLD partially funds dual language coordinators at each school. In the past, the LLD has pushed for greater opportunity for language-minoritized students through a series of top-down mandates. For instance, seven years prior to the data collection period, the LLD required schools to eliminate segregated "newcomer" classrooms for ELL students and directed wide-spread professional development on ELL instructional strategies to support general education teachers in serving ELL students. The LLD also mandated that schools expand their dual language programs to serve all students, rather than operating "school-within-a-school" dual language strands. This top-down dual language coordination by the district central office differs from depictions in past studies of largely school-directed dual language programs (i.e. Fitts, 2006; Freeman, 2000; Paciotto & Delany-Barmann, 2011).

The Biliteracy Policy. Before the start of data collection in the summer of 2016, Ridgetop's LLD, led by Director Kimberly, announced a new policy establishing a "50:50" or "biliteracy" model. Under this new model, all dual language students would spend half the day with an English-speaking teacher delivering English literacy and math instruction, and half the day with a Spanish-speaking teacher covering Spanish literacy, science, and social studies.

Second through sixth-grade classrooms were already operating under a similar model, but the biliteracy model was a new approach for the primary grades.

This biliteracy policy created a stir amongst kindergarten and first grade teachers because it required significant changes to planning and instructional routines. Under the prior model, each teacher theoretically delivered literacy instruction to a group of students in their dominant language. For example, the Spanish-speaking teacher delivered literacy instruction to students who identified Spanish as their home language. Teachers operated relatively independently from one another, even though they traded students with a partner-teacher for part of the school day. In contrast, the new model's pacing guide combined the reading and writing content that had previously been delivered in a 90-minute block in one language into two 60-minute reading or writing blocks split between the English and Spanish partner-teachers. The pacing guide delineated specific times when the reading or writing content switched from one language and teacher to the other within the unit, requiring teachers to carefully align their planning, instruction, and pacing to ensure that students received coherent and equitable learning opportunities across languages and classrooms. Additionally, the biliteracy model grouped students heterogeneously in mixed-language classes, so that teachers now faced the challenge of developing literacy and content lessons for students with a wide range of proficiencies in the language of instruction. While English-speaking teachers had experience developing differentiated lessons to serve the large numbers of ELL-classified students with home languages such as Somali, Vietnamese, Punjabi, or Amharic on the "English-dominant" side, this linguistic diversity was new for Spanish-speaking teachers.

Horizon and Manzanita Elementary Schools. I selected two school sites that shared a common policy field, but differed at the micro level, in the frontline fields. By selecting two

school sites within the same district for variation, I was able to narrowly focus on differences in the outcomes of implementation based on the actors and local circumstances, since the sites operated under the same policies and received similar resources, including finances and personnel support, from the school district.

Horizon Elementary school housed Ridgetop's oldest dual language program. The program started ten years ago with its first kindergarten class and has grown to now include all grades. Horizon's first dual language teacher, Yessenia, still worked at the school as one of the Spanish-language kindergarten teachers and was an informal program leader. The school's principal, Karen, had been at Horizon for six years at the time of the study and the teaching staff was relatively stable. Danielle, the assistant principal, was in her second year at the school, and brought considerable expertise in dual language based on her doctoral studies and international teaching experience.

Horizon was initially chosen as the district's first dual language site because of a large population of Spanish speakers, but in recent years the racial and linguistic make-up of the student population had diversified. Latinx students still made up about half of the student population at Horizon, while Asian students constituted around 20%, followed by White students at around 10%, and students who identify as Black making up roughly 9%. Of Horizon's 690 students, 43% qualified as English Language Learners and over 80% qualified for free or reduced-price lunch at the time of the study.

Manzanita Elementary was a similarly diverse school. At the time of the study, Manzanita's student population was 54% Latinx, 22% Black, 6% Pacific Islander, 6% Asian, 6% White, and 4% multi-racial. The total student population was 695 students, of whom 53% qualified as English Language Learners and 83% qualified for free or reduced-price lunch. While

Horizon's students mostly came from well-established immigrant communities, Manzanita's students were more recent immigrants and experienced greater levels of transience.

In contrast to Horizon's well-established and stable program, Manzanita's newer dual language program was still finding its way. Manzanita's program started four years ago, meaning that the initial student cohort was in third grade at the time of the study. Manzanita served a large population of Somali immigrant families who expressed initial skepticism and resistance to their children's participation in a Spanish-English dual language program. As a growing program, teachers also experienced flux as the program rolled up to the next grade each year, shifting two teaching positions per year from English to Spanish. The principal, Kerri, was in her first year as an administrator when the study commenced and led a relatively new and inexperienced faculty. First grade partner teachers Alicia and Claudia were considered veterans, having taught in the program for 3 years.

Participants

At both Horizon and Manzanita, I chose participants who were active in implementation in the kindergarten and first grade teams. I selected these teams because they were the target of the biliteracy policy and would be affected by the new structures and practices required by the policy. Within these teams, I chose participants based on their involvement in conflict episodes at each school. Many diverse actors have the ability to influence the process of implementation (Bardach, 1977; Malen, 2006). Therefore, I used an emergent participant selection process to sample any leaders, regardless of their formal positions, who took steps to influence implementation during conflict episodes. Any actor who meaningfully took part in the process of decision-making around implementation of the dual language immersion program within the frontline field was relevant to my study because their leadership actions contributed to the

collective actions of the field. These actors included teachers, instructional coaches, principals, and central office personnel. My sample of actors did not include all of the teachers on each grade-level team because some teachers did not participate in conflict episodes or take specific leadership actions to influence implementation.

Since the implementation actors were not all immediately clear to me at the start of the study and changed across different conflict episodes, I used snowball sampling, asking participants to identify other implementers who they viewed as influential to the process or with whom they had interacted around implementation decisions (Patton, 2015). I began my data collection activities with formal leaders, including central office staff and school principals, because actors with positional authority are likely to wield power and shape conflict episodes (Malen and Cochran, 2008; Pfeffer, 1981). These actors named other active participants. I stopped adding new participants when I no longer heard new names from already-selected implementers and had included all of the actors I observed participating in conflict episodes. The table below presents information on the key actors from each site whose participation most clearly influenced the trajectory of implementation in each field.

Table 2. Key implementation actors at each site

Site	Name	Role	Demographics
Ridgetop Central Office	Kimberly	Director, Language Learning	White; English-Spanish bilingual; 9 years in Ridgetop as principal and central office administrator; experience as dual language teacher, consultant and university professor
	Jocelyn	Spanish Specialist	White; English-Spanish bilingual; 4 years in Ridgetop as central office specialist; experience as dual language teacher
	Roxanne	ELL Specialist	White; English monolingual; 19 years in Ridgetop as teacher and central office specialist
Horizon	Karen	Principal	White; English monolingual; 10 years in Ridgetop as a principal

	Danielle	Assistant Principal	White; English-Spanish bilingual; 2 years in Ridgetop as assistant principal, experience as a dual language and international teacher and principal
	Taryn	1 st Grade Teacher (English)	White; English-Spanish bilingual; 3 years in Ridgetop as teacher
	Yesenia	Kindergarten Teacher (Spanish)	Latinx; Spanish-English bilingual; 11 years in Ridgetop as teacher
Manzanita	Kerri	Principal	Mixed-race; English monolingual; 12 years in Ridgetop as teacher and reading coach, first year as principal
	Alicia	1 st Grade Teacher (English)	Asian; English monolingual; 3 years in Ridgetop as teacher, two years in another district
	Claudia	1 st Grade Teacher (Spanish)	Latinx; Spanish-English bilingual; 3 years in Ridgetop as teacher
	Sara	Kindergarten Teacher (Spanish)	Latinx; Spanish-English bilingual; 12 years in Ridgetop as teacher

I did not gather and analyze data on actors with only a peripheral connection to the implementation process. I limited the number of participants in the study to those regularly interacting to make decisions at the school level. For example, school board members and senior district leaders influenced implementation through their policies and communications, but I did not include them in the study because they did not actively participate in the school-level negotiations around implementation. Instead, I considered policies and communications from these actors to be elements of the context that constrained or enabled the strategic actions of the more central actors. Similarly, past studies of dual language implementation have included parents, community members and others as implementation actors. These actors were not present in the implementation fields that I observed for this study and are therefore not included as participants.

Data Collection

To trace leadership through the school organizations, I used data collection strategies that allowed me to record micro-level of interactions over time. My year-long design permitted me to gather in-depth information at various stages of the implementation process as teachers and administrators built and expanded their programs. I collected data for my study over the course of the 2016-2017 school year. I began with initial interviews and observations at the beginning of the school year in September and continued to collect data through the end of the school year in June to capture reflection and planning for the following year. Documenting the year-long course of implementation enabled me to view how conflict episodes, as well as actors' strategies for dealing with them, evolved throughout the various phases of implementation.

I used interviews, observations, and artifacts as my main data sources. Observations allowed me to directly see leadership activity during conflict episodes between implementation actors. Interviews provided data on individual leaders' perceptions and motivations as they took action to influence the field. Pairing observational data with information from interviews illuminated how each actor's logics and interpretations of the situation prompted their actions, allowing me to triangulate across multiple sources as I developed my analysis (Glesne, 2011). Artifacts, such as emails and posters created during planning meetings, provided an additional record of actions and interactions within the field.

Observations. I used observations to capture events, actions, interactions, and participants' verbal and physical reactions during conflict episodes (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Because I sought to understand how leadership influences dual language policy implementation, I observed and gathered data on leadership practices in the form of interactions between actors primarily at formal and informal meetings (Ogawa & Bossert, 1995; Patton, 2015). These events

included, among others, walk-throughs by district and school administrators, problem solving sessions between teachers and administrators, teacher planning meetings, and Dual Language Coordinator meetings, and informal conversation over lunch or after school. In these environments, I sat to the side or in a location in which I was out of the way of interactions but maintained a clear view of the proceedings. I quietly took detailed, low-inference field notes on a laptop. During the study, I observed 21 separate events, totaling over 35 hours of observations.

My observations yielded data documenting the interaction between actors that formed patterns of influence and comprised leadership activity (Bardach, 1977; Pfeffer, 1981, Spillane et al., 2004). Aided by audio-recording, I captured language illustrating how leaders framed problems, populations, and solutions (Benford & Snow, 2000; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994; Schneider & Ingram, 1993; Stone, 1997). In addition to documenting the content of discussions, my notes captured who spoke, for how long, and to whom. I also took note of non-verbal information. For example, I noted how actors arranged seating at a meeting. This type of information provided insight into the unspoken, but collectively understood, rules that structure the field and guide participants' actions (Fligstein, 1997). During audio-recorded sessions, I used my field notes to record the time of significant moments of discussion and later located these specific sections to selectively transcribe. In some instances, I returned to transcribe audio months after the original recording date when initial rounds of data analysis highlighted the importance of interactions that I had not initially identified as significant. Using audio recordings helped me to capture language accurately in settings in which multiple participants spoke quickly.

Interviews. I conducted 40 interviews with 20 individual implementers. In my initial round of interviews, I used a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions to

gather background information on each participant's relevant history, interests, resources and framing of the dual language immersion policy and the developing implementation plans (See Appendix A; Patton, 2015; Spradley, 1979). This information showed how each individual interpreted the goals of the policy, the implementation process, and their role within the process. It also clarified the logic of action that guided that particular leader, as well as their position within the field (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993; Malen, 2006; Moulton & Sandfort, 2017). Interviews also yielded data about the policy, organizational, and frontline fields in which the policy is being implemented. For example, actors described their perceptions of how decisions were made about the dual language program and how the program came to be. This information illustrated each actor's understanding of the history, structures, and norms that guided each field. Each initial interview took between 45 and 75 minutes. In addition to taking notes, I recorded and fully transcribed each interview.

I used a shorter, less formal interview protocol to focus on each actor's understanding of the ongoing conflict negotiation and decision-making process (See Appendix B). Utilizing a "check-in" style interview protocol in these 20-40 minute sessions, my questions focused on specific conflict episodes (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011; Thomas, 1992). I asked about the interviewee's perceptions of the events, understanding of current challenges and conflicts, and plans for further action. I conducted interview check-ins following planning meetings so that I could track each participant's reflections on recent interactions and conflicts. This also gave me the opportunity to ask about exchanges between implementers that I was not able to observe, such as unplanned interactions that took place in informal settings.

Toward the end of the data collection period, I engaged key implementers in a member check process (See Appendix C for the Member Check protocol). During member checks, I

shared a brief summary of the theoretical concepts guiding my analysis as well as initial analyses of their participation in one conflict episode. This process served two purposes. First, these discussions provided an opportunity for participants to assess my descriptions of events for accuracy. Second, the discussion prompted participants to talk more about particular conflicts and their own responses. In this way, the member check operated like a cognitive interview to generate additional data (Patton, 2015). Given the sensitive nature of the data I collected, I felt that maintaining a transparent process and providing feedback opportunities on early findings would bolster my study participants' trust in me, my research process, and my findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

At the conclusions of the data collection period, I again performed formal semi-structured interviews with key participants. These interviews revisited the interviewee's understandings of the policy and the overall implementation process. This final interview allowed me to note changes in each actor's logics as a result of participating in the implementation process. It enabled me to capture participants' reflections on the effectiveness of their strategic actions in relation to the dual language implementation outcomes. I fully transcribed these interviews.

Artifacts. I collected 37 separate artifacts documenting contextual conditions, interactions, and collective decisions. I used school and district documents to develop my understanding of the organizational conditions in which the implementation of dual language policy took place. For example, newsletters from the central office framed the new bi-literacy policy and provided information about teachers' opportunities for support. I took photographs of the charts and feedback forms completed by teachers as evidence of the how teachers reacted to the new policy and the influence strategies they used in response. These artifacts provided

language samples that illustrated the prevailing logics of action guiding implementers (Bacharach & Mundell, 1993).

Artifacts also help me to chronicle interactions that I was not able to observe. For example, emails provided by participants served as a written record of actor's influence strategies, including their framing of problems and solutions and their strategic use of authority during implementation conflicts. These documents also help me triangulate across sources to gain a more accurate picture of events that I was not able to directly witness.

Data Analysis

I began analysis of my data concurrent with the data collection process. To aid in the process of managing and analyzing my data, I used Atlas.ti qualitative analysis software. I also established a practice of regular, ongoing memo writing to explore emerging trends and to create an account of my methods and decisions regarding the study to establish an audit trail (Merriam, 2009). These processes helped familiarize me with my data to begin to notice patterns and themes. Maintaining a regular routine of memo-writing and discussion with colleagues helped me build reflection and self-awareness into each step of the process.

I completed a preliminary round of reading and coding of my field notes and interview transcripts to both organize the data for later analytical coding and to reveal themes that informed further data collection. I started with a set of descriptive categories and codes to initially arrange, classify, and make sense of my data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). For example, when coding field notes, I described who was participating, marking excerpts with individuals' names. I also labeled the school and grade level team associated with the interaction. These codes allowed me to filter and access data later, but also revealed trends in participation, as well as gaps in data collection that I later addressed. In one case, it became clear after my

initial coding that I did not have sufficient interview data from teachers to understand their logics and moves. This insight prompted me to pursue interviews with particular teachers at both school sites. During these initial passes, I also coded the level of the field (frontline, organizational, or policy) and the topic under debate. I continued with descriptive coding as I collected new data so that all of my data was sortable through these initial codes.

The bulk of my data analysis focused on understanding conflict episodes to draw conclusions about how actors navigated these interactions and how they contributed to agreement formation and development. In this second round of coding, I used analytic codes and sub-codes derived from my political and SAF framework to clarify the moves used by particular leader within single conflict episodes (See Appendix D for Coding Schemes). To do this, I coded the leadership moves used by each actor. For example, I noted instances of framing, in which an actor attempted to shape the field's collective understanding of the problem at hand and the proposed solution.

After coding, I created memos characterizing each episode to explain how these leadership moves lead to that particular conflict's outcome. Leadership moves sometimes involved multiple actors working together to influence the field's collective action as a faction within the larger field. Moves often built upon each other and on counter-moves performed by opposing actors. Leaders used multiple moves at once, layering moves upon each other, or made moves that might fit into multiple categories. Even within the same category, leadership moves often took slightly different forms when used by different actors for particular purposes. I noted these insights in ongoing memos and refined my coding scheme accordingly. This process of examining multiple sources of data to characterize a single episode of interaction highlighted disconfirming data and supported triangulation across participants and data sources. I

subsequently created memos linking the discrete conflict episodes into a coherent trajectory of implementation for each field. I included a data matrix to summarize the key actors, their logics of action, their main influence strategies, and the events that drove implementation for each field. Next, I drew from across multiple episodes and reduced the data into a concise description of the actions that shaped that field's trajectory of implementation. This process allowed me to identify turning points in each field's implementation trajectory and illustrate how leaders' strategic actions over time and across multiple conflict episodes steered the field toward the eventual implementation outcome.

Positionality and Limitations

A study focused on implementation conflicts presents particular data collection challenges. Discussions of politics in the workplace can feel risky for participants. They may feel uncomfortable discussing conflicts with colleagues or reluctant to share opinions that contradict the policies and practices advocated by their supervisors. Moreover, conflict episodes can be difficult to overserve since they tend to happen during informal conversation or during unplanned interactions. I benefited from my position as a former district employee in approaching these data collection difficulties in Ridgetop schools. While I did not work directly with any of the study participants during my previous tenure as a central-office based ELL specialist, my first-hand knowledge of the district and remaining collegial relationships likely helped me quickly earn participants' trust. My insider status may have allowed me to record participants' candid impressions when an outsider to the setting may have had difficulty in convincing participants to share their ideas and opinions. When I did not have easy access to information or entry into interaction spaces on multiple occasions, I was able to draw upon my connections with former colleagues to enable my data collection efforts. Ultimately, I was

surprised by the willingness of the study participants to talk frankly and allow me to observe interactions around sensitive topics.

Even with these advantages, capturing conflict negotiations in progress proved difficult. While I had planned to draw on observations as my primary data source, I found that significant conflicts sometimes happened at times and locations when I was unable to observe them. For example, a number of conflict episodes occurred at events in which actors assembled to discuss other topics. For instance, disagreements about the biliteracy policy cropped up at a training about reading instructional strategies. For those episodes when I was not present to observe conflict negotiations, I triangulated data about the events gathered from the accounts of multiple participants during subsequent interviews.

While my position as a former district insider might have helped me access formal educational spaces, I suspect that my language skills limited my capacity to gather data in other spaces. While I have some Spanish-language proficiency, I am far from fluent and certainly don't have sufficient skill to grasp nuance, as required for a sophisticated data analysis. On a number of occasions, I observed informal conversations in Spanish, but recorded field notes in English. It is probable that I missed details during these interactions. I also conducted all of my interviews in English. An interviewer with greater comfort in Spanish might have enabled Spanish-dominant participants to express their ideas in their dominant language, yielding richer data and establishing greater levels of trust with participants.

My theoretical lens and methodological choices afforded me useful insight the leadership moves made by my actors during conflict but did not highlight all of the important dynamics at play during dual language implementation at Horizon and Manzanita. Micro-politics and SAF directed my attention to the logics and moves that shaped the conflicts that occurred between

actors. However, these theories did not address the equity issues that did not emerge as conflicts. For example, none of the study participants raised concerns about the lack of student, parent, or community representation in decision-making about the biliteracy policy, therefore the issue wasn't a main theme in the study. A different theoretical lens might have explored the power structures that allowed certain problems to be taken up while others remained unacknowledged.

Chapter 6:

Implementation Agreements across Four Frontline Fields

In all four of the frontline fields I examined in this study, teachers, principals, and central office leaders agreed to implement the biliteracy policy and took steps to plan for and implement the biliteracy model in classrooms and schools. However, the process of implementation proceeded differently in each field, resulting in variation in the depth of the agreements formed by the actors in each field. In this chapter, I portray the path of implementation and describe the depth of agreements achieved by each of the four frontline fields in the study. For each field, I begin by describing the implementation context, then briefly outline the major conflict episodes that lead to the eventual implementation outcome.

Manzanita's Kindergarten Implementation Trajectory

The kindergarten team at Manzanita began formal implementation negotiations in the spring of 2017. Negotiations played out during at least three conflict episodes in March, April, and May. The May meeting represented a turning point as the challengers reluctantly agreed to support the biliteracy policy by participating in specific implementation actions. In this case, principal Kerri's leadership moves forged an agreement in spite of strong resistance. However, because the agreements did not rest on a common understanding of the underlying problems that the biliteracy policy aimed to address, I consider this agreement shallow. Below, I recount how teacher Sara, principal Kerri, and central office leaders, Jocelyn and Kimberly, interacted within the three conflict episodes in ways that led to the shallow agreement, as outlined in Figure 9.

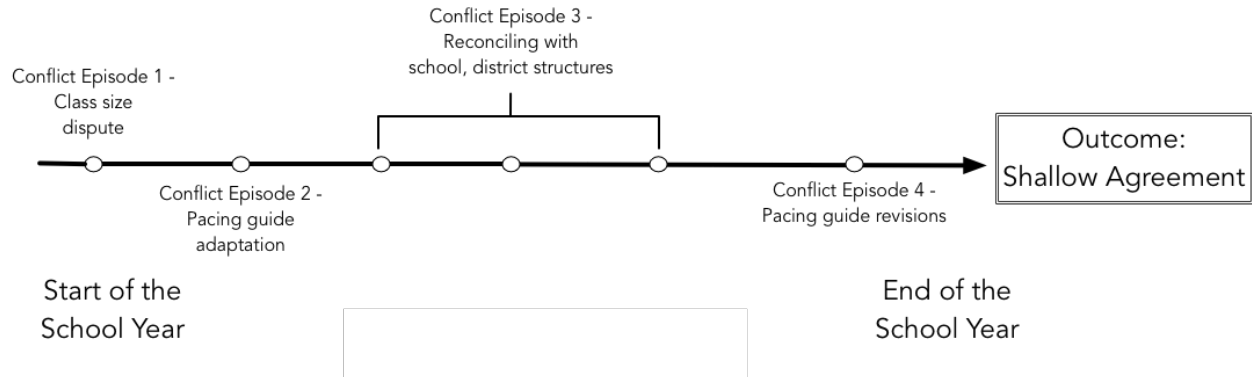


Figure 9: Biliteracy implementation in Manzanita's kindergarten during the 2016 – 2017 school year.

First Conflict Episode. The kindergarten team's first major conflict episode occurred in March of 2017 when Manzanita's principal, Kerri, scheduled a meeting with the team's four teachers to announce the imminent implementation of the biliteracy policy. In an interview, Kerri described the meeting's purpose as giving the teachers official notice of the policy change, saying,

[I'll tell them,] "Here's a meeting that we're going to be having [with LLD Director Kimberly]. I want you to be thinking about it and any questions that you might have as far as, what are your concerns? What are your questions?" (Interview, February 2017)

However, at the actual meeting, two teachers responded to Kerri's news by announcing their intention to resist the policy change. As Kerri recounted the conflict,

I had one teacher in that meeting say, "Then I'm going to resign." I've had... one English and a Spanish teacher at the kindergarten level, submit resignations. (Interview, March 2017)

Teachers' resistance to implementing the policy came from their concerns both about the policy's logic and about its implementation. Sara, a Spanish-speaking kindergarten teacher, disagreed with the biliteracy approach because she disagreed with the policy's fundamental

premise that instruction in both languages developed the existing assets of emerging bilingual students. Instead, she supported an approach that developed literacy in one language first. Having observed the policy's implementation in Manzanita's first grade classrooms, Sara described her disagreement with the model, stating

The first grade [teachers are] trying to teach them to read and write in Spanish when they have not learned to read and write in any language at all... I do believe that [the right way to] learn to read and write, no matter what language you are in, is to only learn it once... (Interview, January 2017).

While Sara disagreed with the policy's ideology, other teachers resisted implementing the policy because of the changes it would require. Kerri explained that one teacher may have reacted negatively to the policy because she was a temporary teacher from Spain and wanted to return home, but that the other "is just having challenges finding passion for dual [immersion]," (Interview, March 2017). In fact, following the meeting, two of the four kindergarten teachers chose to resign. While the teachers stayed in their positions until the end of the school year, they did participate in further discussion of the biliteracy policy.

Second Conflict Episode. The team's second documented conflict episode occurred in April 2017 and concerned whether and how kindergarten teacher Sara would participate in planning for the biliteracy policy's roll-out. This episode represented a turning point in the course of implementation because the negotiations ended with an agreement to take specific steps toward implementation.

In February, Kerri, Manzanita's principal, reached out to central office Spanish specialist Jocelyn to ask that she create an opportunity for teachers to learn about the rationale behind the policy. Jocelyn reported that Kerri requested that she speak to the teachers as a peer about the

policy's benefits. After her conversation with Kerri, Jocelyn designed a full-day session in which she planned to introduce the policy's reasoning and address the kindergarten teachers' fears.

Jocelyn said,

One thing that I know is going to work with this biliteracy [implementation] is that we are going to come in with a support for the Manzanita team... We have already planned [a training] pull-out day in May... [Teachers will do a classroom] observation for a little while, then they get group planning time to think about next year's schedule. (Interview, March 2017)

While kindergarten teacher Gabi did participate in the training, her partner-teacher Sara called in sick and did not attend school or the training. According to Jocelyn, that same evening, Sara attended a district-wide public information session about the district's planned dual language program expansion hosted at Vista Peak Elementary and spoke out about her concerns with the biliteracy model. Jocelyn recounted,

I, one-on-one, talked to her right on the side after her whole-group shout. I said, "It really would have been nice to have you there today [at the training]. So many of the things you talked about [just now at the evening event] were really well-addressed..." (Interview, May 2017).

According to Jocelyn, Sara responded by indicating her dis-satisfaction with the large-group format and asked for a personalized training at Manzanita. Jocelyn continued,

And I said, "If that's what you need, let's set up a meeting. I'm happy to come over and differentiate for you... Let's talk about the shift to fifty-fifty biliteracy." ... And she said, "Yeah that'd be awesome. That'd be great. Let's do that." (Interview, May 2017)

This in-person interaction between Jocelyn and Sara triggered an email exchange in which the two leaders debated the implementation decision-making process. First, Jocelyn emailed Sara to confirm the agreement to move forward with a biliteracy planning meeting. However, Sara's email response raised new concerns. Sara wrote,

So, are you guys coming to my school? ...I don't want to have a "one-to-one" discussion. Sorry, I don't mean to be rude, but the idea is discussions are richer if more than one [person participates]. (Artifact, April 2017)

Jocelyn pushed back against Sara's attempt to change the number of participants in her reply. She said,

So, basically, she asked for a team of like 12 people.... And then I told her I was confused and kind of went through what I thought I heard [from her at the earlier event]. I said please. I was more firm in saying, "Please let us know if you would like to take us up on this opportunity to meet your needs that you requested after the professional learning that you were unable to attend, unfortunately." (Interview, May 2017)

Sara then indicated that she wanted to include teachers more fully not just in the training but in decision-making about the policy. Sara wrote, "I don't want to have a discussion just for me. I want to have [paraprofessional] assistants, Gabi, and maybe the two teachers from first grade that can show us the data across grades," (Artifact, April 2017).

After four emails passed between Jocelyn and Sara, Manzanita's principal, Kerri, who had been copied on the e-mails, directed Sara to cooperate with Jocelyn. Kerri affirmed the importance of the biliteracy training and directed Sara meet with Jocelyn (Artifact, April 2017). The conflict episode came to a close when Sara agreed to meet with Jocelyn and Kerri set the

date of the meeting. This agreement to between the actors to come together in a meeting to discuss implementation represented the initial agreement about implementation.

Third Conflict Episode. A third conflict episode resulted in the kindergarten teachers agreeing to put the biliteracy model into place starting in the fall of 2017. However, Sara and others continued to voice various concerns, which suggested lingering disagreement with the policy's underlying philosophy.

This episode concerned how the team would proceed with implementation and began in May of 2017. Teachers Sara and Gabi, central office staff members Jocelyn and Kimberly, principal Kerri and a handful of other Manzanita staff members met in a Manzanita classroom. In an interview a few days after the meeting, Jocelyn described the events,

There were a good 15 plus people in the room at Manzanita... Kerri facilitated the meeting... We actually got the whole group, anyone in the room, to list any questions or concerns that they have so that we could then target, besides the rationale [for the policy], is there anything else you're worried about? Because get it on the table and we are happy to address. Sara voiced [concerns] and a couple other people voiced [questions]...

(Interview, May 2017)

According to Jocelyn, the meeting resulted in a tentative settlement to move forward with implementation. She recalled the meeting's outcome,

So, it turned out nicely. Then at the end Kerri said, "Sara, do you have more questions, more concerns that we need to follow up on a different time? Yeah. Or did your questions get answered?" [Sara said,] "Yeah, some got answered. I still have concerns." And that's how it ended. (Interview, May 2017)

Agreement Outcome. After this final major conflict episode, Sara took a number of steps toward implementing the biliteracy policy, demonstrating her participation in the agreement. However, her ongoing expressions of concerns about the policy suggested she only tenuously supported implementation, leaving the agreement shallow. For instance, Sara attended a “job-alike” meeting to discuss implementation plans with kindergarten teachers from around the district. At the session, I observed Sara interact with Yessenia, a fellow Spanish-language kindergarten teacher with biliteracy implementation experience. In one exchange, Sara sought help with her participation in implementation but still expressed her lingering reservations.

Yessenia: Sara, what are you thinking here? [Sara] is ready for the challenge! She is always ready for the challenge.

Sara: I will be honest with you. I have no idea what I am going to do here [with implementation]. (Observation, May 2017)

Sara went on to speak with Yessenia in Spanish and asked her to meet to collaborate on unit and lesson plans over the summer. Yessenia stated her willingness and the two teachers agreed to focus on reading instruction. But at the conclusion of the discussion, Sara articulated frustration, saying, “I wish we knew what we can and can’t do. What permissions [to design and adapt curriculum] will we have under biliteracy?” (Observation, May 2017).

In another example of Sara’s compliance with the agreement, shortly after the job-alike meeting, Sara collaborated with other teachers to revise the district’s kindergarten biliteracy pacing guide. In the meeting, Sara worked with another teacher to create weekly schedules that included each of the biliteracy model’s components. At the conclusion of the meeting, Sara shared the documents with the group and communicated her satisfaction with the documents as well as with the participation of teachers in the process,

This will be useful to support new teachers. It is a generic guide for the district. It fits the new requirements. A next step is that we need to revise this a little bit. There were only two views reflected here. It's just an example. I think you all should look at this.

(Observation, May 2017)

In sum, actors in Manzanita's kindergarten team disagreed about whether or not the model was ideal for developing bilingual students' literacy and about the decision-making process, but eventually settled into an agreement that allowed the field to move forward with implementation. Jocelyn, Kerri, and Kimberly succeeded in overcoming resistance from Sara and the other teachers in the sense that Sara began to participate by planning for policy implementation the following year. However, Sara did not appear to share the view of the biliteracy policy as the logical solution to Manzanita's instructional challenges. The outstanding misalignments between leaders suggests that the agreement remained shallow and that actors will likely encounter further implementation conflicts moving forward.

Manzanita First Grade Implementation Trajectory

Despite early doubts, the first grade teachers at Manzanita agreed to take the necessary actions to implement biliteracy components in their classrooms at the beginning of the 2016-2017 school year. As depicted in Figure 10 (below), actors negotiated both how to move forward with implementation and the underlying reasons for implementing the biliteracy policy through five main conflict episodes during the year. In this field, the actors made the shift from a shallow agreement toward a deep agreement behind support for the biliteracy approach. Manzanita's first grade team represents a case in which leaders were able to build on alignment around discrete implementation actions toward greater ideological alignment over time.

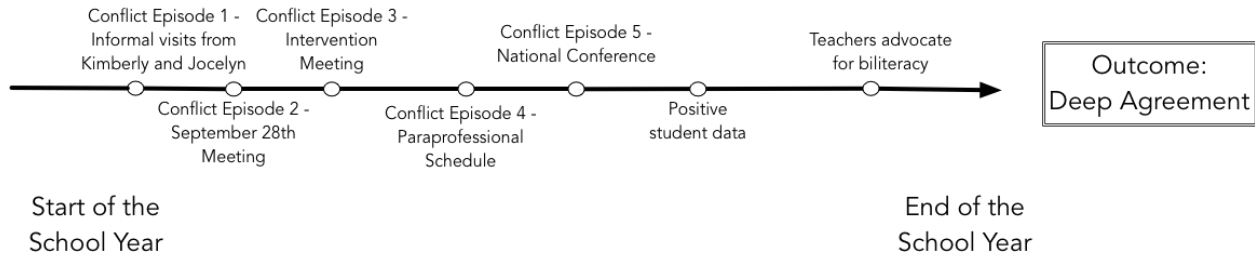


Figure 10. Biliteracy implementation in Manzanita’s first grade field during the 2016 – 2017 school year

First Conflict Episode. Early in September, both LLD Director Kimberly and Spanish specialist Jocelyn reached out to Manzanita’s first grade team to confirm that teachers were implementing the policy, but the teachers took the opportunity to raise concerns about how to implement particular aspects of the policy. On September 21st, Kimberly made an informal visit to Manzanita’s first grade classrooms, then talked with teachers during their lunch break. In the lunchroom, Kimberly spoke to first grade teacher Claudia in Spanish about the need for teachers to adjust the district’s literacy curriculum to fit the biliteracy model, particularly to account for the differences of the Spanish-language classrooms. Transitioning their conversation to English once all of the teachers arrived, Claudia stressed the teachers’ difficulty in differentiating the curriculum. She gave examples to illustrate the range of Spanish proficiencies of students in her class, from Spanish-only students to newcomer students whose dominant language was neither Spanish nor English. Claudia also highlighted teachers’ struggle to adapt program materials and to set appropriate expectations for all of their students considering these new program changes. Other teachers raised concerns about inadequate time with Spanish-speaking paras and the need for assistance in setting up interventions for struggling students. Kimberly assured the teachers that she and Jocelyn would return to help them think through these problems (Observation, September 2016).

Central office Spanish Specialist Jocelyn reported that she took similar action during the first week of the new school year by contacting teachers via email to assess their progress and provide encouragement. Jocelyn reported,

I reached out to them and said, Hey, how's first grade going? And they were like, we have big problems here. So, that's when I went in and we did a process to hash out what are the problems. Let's categorize them. Then we can think about the support we can have throughout the year. (Interview, November 2016)

Jocelyn expressed the feeling that the meeting with teachers ended in shared agreement about how to approach implementation.

Second Conflict Episode. During the second conflict episode, the first grade team negotiated around conflicts over particular implementation actions. Despite Jocelyn and Kimberly's early actions, the first grade teachers continued to voice concerns about their difficulties with the implementing model. On September 28th, the first-grade team met formally to problem-solve together. The four Manzanita teachers attended, along with Kimberly and Jocelyn from the district LLD, school principal Kerri, and ELL Coordinator Sherri. Kimberly opened the meeting by acknowledging teachers' concerns and setting the goal of coordinating supports for teachers' implementation efforts,

We're here for you to figure out what supports we and Kerri and Sherri can provide you to make sure this feels doable because we know right now it feels like it's not. It feels very hard. So, what I would love to do with you, first of all, is hear what you think are the most pressing needs. And it sounds like it's mostly around literacy. Is that right? Can we kind of narrow it down to just the literacy times of the day? And then, during those

literacy blocks, what are some of the things that are feeling really difficult so that we can figure out what kind of support we can provide. (Observation, September 2016)

In response to Kimberly's questions, teachers expressed worries about designing reading instruction to appropriately serve the wide range of skill levels of their bilingual students. Alicia described the problem,

... We need to see how really to do the [interventions with struggling students] because that is how we really push our instruction, through our guided reading groups. I need help with the phonics because they are so low. I'm not used to kindergarten phonics and really building that good base for them. So, I need help with that. (Observation, September 2016)

Throughout the meeting, Kimberly and Jocelyn responded to teachers' concerns with offers of support aimed at addressing each particular implementation conflict. For example, Kimberly spoke to Alicia's request for assistance in designing interventions with the suggestion, "You might be doing a guided reading group, but you're going to spend a little time on a book and you're going to spend a bunch of time on word work kind of stuff to really boost their phonics skills," (Observation, September 2016). Later, Kimberly suggested that Jocelyn collaborate with the teachers to design interventions specific to the team's struggling students. Additionally, Jocelyn offered to help the teachers obtain inexpensive texts for beginning readers in both English and Spanish, as well as secure funds to photocopy mini-books that children could take home for extra reading practice (Observation, September 2016).

At the conclusion of the September 28th meeting, the teachers reiterated their agreement to move forward with implementation with ongoing support and assistance from Jocelyn. After

Kimberly's offers of advice and partnership, Alicia expressed her willingness to persist despite difficulties with implementation. She said,

What I'm realizing I really need is to break down the lessons. I have been looking at these lessons for the last few years with a different lens. And this is a different program now and we haven't been trained to look at it in a different lens. That's why we are having so much difficulty and we don't know what to expect. (Observation, September 2016)

Despite the strong commitment of the actors to collaborate with one another to solve implementation problems, I continue to classify this agreement as shallow because they had yet to agree on the nature of the problem.

Third Conflict Episode. In this conflict episode, the actors again negotiated around a particular set of policy implementation actions, namely reading interventions. The conflict was about how to put this particular element into practice at the classroom level. The group successfully reached a consensus and resolved this conflict. This interaction may have strengthened trust and collegiality between these actors, but it did not deepen the agreement since the actors remained at odds over the policy problem.

In keeping with the agreement made during the September 28th meeting, Jocelyn and her ELL Specialist colleague Roxanne returned to work with the first grade team to create a model for student interventions. While the teachers initially argued that the model did not allow sufficient time for interventions, the group collaborated to design a new interventions structure. Jocelyn described the meeting,

Roxanne and I overviewed what our stance was on what the district recommendations were on interventions. And we had them pull out some of their kids' [data] and talk about

individual kids as much as we could. They rolled with that and... now they're doing some small reading groups. (Interview, November 2016)

Alicia corroborated this account,

And so, [Roxanne and Jocelyn] came in and were like, "Oh, you don't have to pull everyone [for intervention]. You're supposed to pull from their dominant language," but I was like, "We can't leave these kids [out], even though their dominant language is Spanish." So, they gave us a couple models of how we can do reading groups, and then we kind of tweaked it to what we felt would fit. (Interview, December 2016)

Fourth Conflict Episode. In October, the first grade team experienced yet another conflict over particular implementation actions. This fourth episode began when teachers expressed dissatisfaction over the allocation of Spanish-speaking paraprofessionals' time and brought their grievance to their school administrators, who determined paraprofessional schedule. First grade teacher Maryann described the issue, "The problem was, we needed more Spanish help... We got some support [from a bilingual paraprofessional], and then it wasn't enough... Because of this big switch in literacy, first grade needed more support maybe than some of the other grades..." (Interview, February 2017). The first grade team argued that the paraprofessionals' schedules should be altered to provide more time with the first grade classrooms to support students and teachers in the difficult shift to biliteracy.

First grade teacher Claudia lobbied her principal to gain more time with the school's Spanish-speaking paraprofessional. Claudia described her efforts to persuade Kerri to revise the paraprofessionals' schedules,

And since [Kerri] knew that [biliteracy] was kind of new for us and we showed the data, we said, "Look at this. This is good, this is going good, this is going good, this is going

good. But this? No way these kids are going to be making any improvement because we can't work with them daily, unless we have support from a para[professional]."

(Interview, June 2017)

Kerri ultimately granted the teachers' request for more time with a bilingual paraprofessional.

She said,

They said it would be very helpful to have more support, so we could do either that small-group instruction on our own or have a bilingual tutor be doing that. I went back with my office manager. We arranged [for more tutor support]. (Interview, November 2016)

Like the previous episode, the actors negotiated this conflict relatively quickly and easily.

Fifth Conflict Episode. A number of actors pointed to first grade teachers Alicia and Claudia's trip to a national dual language conference in New Mexico with their principal, Kerri, in November of 2016 as the turning point in deepening the agreement around the biliteracy model. I classify this set of events surrounding the conference as a conflict episode because during the trip Kerri engaged Alicia and Claudia in discussions that challenged their preference for their previous instructional model as opposed to the biliteracy model.

At the conference, Principal Kerri, and teachers Claudia and Alicia, heard from speakers who promoted biliteracy as "best practice" in dual language instruction. Each day, Kerri and the teachers met to discuss their ideas and impressions. Kerri framed these sessions as opportunities for the team to consider how they would bring these ideas back to Manzanita to employ during implementation. Kerri said, "The most valuable part was... just really getting together as a team and saying, what did you learn today? ...and you know they're like, 'We need this,' and 'We need this,' and you know, 'We need to do this,'" (Interview, February 2017). Alicia affirmed that

the discussion around the conference prompted her to revise her conceptions of biliteracy implementation, saying,

I don't think anything really changed for us until we went to a [dual language] conference and we saw how other schools were doing it all around the country, and ...these schools were having some of the same struggles and doing the same things we were doing.

(Interview, December 2016)

The negotiations between Kerri and the teachers at the conference differed from actors' previous interactions because they addressed the policy's underlying ideas rather than specific implementation actions. Kerri facilitated a discussion process in which the team learned together. Based on their growing alignment around both why the team should implement the biliteracy policy and how to do it, I classify this agreement as deepening. After returning from the conference, principal Kerri established a formal leadership team. Kerri described how she launched the group, recalling, "Just last week, upon returning, I sent out an email and got a good chunk of K-3 teachers... responded... I would love... to really build the culture of our school as a dual language school," (Interview, November 2016).

Agreement Outcome. As the teachers continued to implement the policy, students' positive results boosted their confidence in the biliteracy model. Alicia reported that teachers became increasingly comfortable with the process of changing their instruction to conform with the biliteracy policy. She remarked, "[We] realized some things that we can do differently and really ... It was just ... We realized that the expectations need to be high, but they also need to be different..." (Interview, December 2016). According to Kerri, Manzanita's principal, positive student data calmed teachers' fears about the effectiveness of the model,

They're finally seeing their students progressing and feeling better about it. Their biggest concern was that [students are] not growing like they've grown in years past, that they need [literacy instruction] in English or a home language base. Then they're like, "Well wait a minute, our kids are actually growing." (Interview, February 2017)

Confirming Kerri's analysis of the teachers' growing trust in the model, Claudia and Alicia reported that their concerns dissipated over the course of the year as they observed their students' gains in literacy. The following excerpt from a June 2017 interview illustrates Claudia's changed stance, "... I like to see the progress. I love it because I know, Wow! I can't believe these kids are bilingual by now," (Interview, June 2017).

By May of 2017, the first-grade teachers had not only deepened their instruction consistent with the model but advocated for the biliteracy policy in a meeting with Manzanita's kindergarten team. Jocelyn described the first grade teachers' actions during the meeting,

...There were first grade teachers that were experienced from this year, who did the old model versus the new model. And they actually had really nice anecdotes and conversations to explain what they were surprised about with the shift... At first, they were really upset. They felt like no one was making progress. It was ridiculous. It was harder and they're like it's still harder. It's still much harder to differentiate for all learners instead of just our like segregated populations, as expected. But they said, the difference is that they are making progress in language. Way more than we would have expected. And now we're seeing it and there are gains that are happening when we didn't even teach it because it was taught in the other classroom. And all of a sudden, they we're seeing it. So that's really surprising. That was nice to hear from them. (Interview, May 2017)

To summarize, the first grade team at Manzanita proceeded to put the biliteracy policy into place at the beginning of the 2017-2017 school year despite teachers' misgivings about the rationale for the policy. Put differently, the agreement between the actors in the field was shallow, based on agreement to act, but without shared understanding of the policy problem. The agreement deepened over time as the teachers successfully navigated implementation conflicts and eventually embraced the model. Based on my conceptual framework, I had not anticipated that any of the cases would demonstrate a move along the continuum from agreement based on implementation actions toward deep alignment since this type of agreement required actors to reshape how others understood the policy problem and solution, rather than just compromising around a particular set of plans. Yet, in this case, it seems that Kimberly, Jocelyn, and Kerri navigated interactions in the field in such a way as to persuade challengers Alicia and Claudia to view the policy and the problem it sought to address from their perspective.

Horizon's Kindergarten Implementation Trajectory

The Horizon kindergarten team was a case in which leaders leveraged a convergence of interests to broker agreement behind a policy. In this instance, Horizon's kindergarten team established an agreement around biliteracy implementation early in the 2016 – 2017 school year despite the fact that implementation was not scheduled to begin until the following year. The teachers disagreed with the policy's approach to literacy development but agreed to implement the policy as a compromise to solve a dispute with their school administrators about disproportionate class sizes. As implementation progressed across the school year, the actors navigated ongoing conflicts over how to implement the components of the policy alongside other district requirements. The agreement endured through the series of conflict episodes, but

ultimately remained shallow because teachers' incompatible understanding of the problem produced persistent doubts about the model (see Figure 11, below).

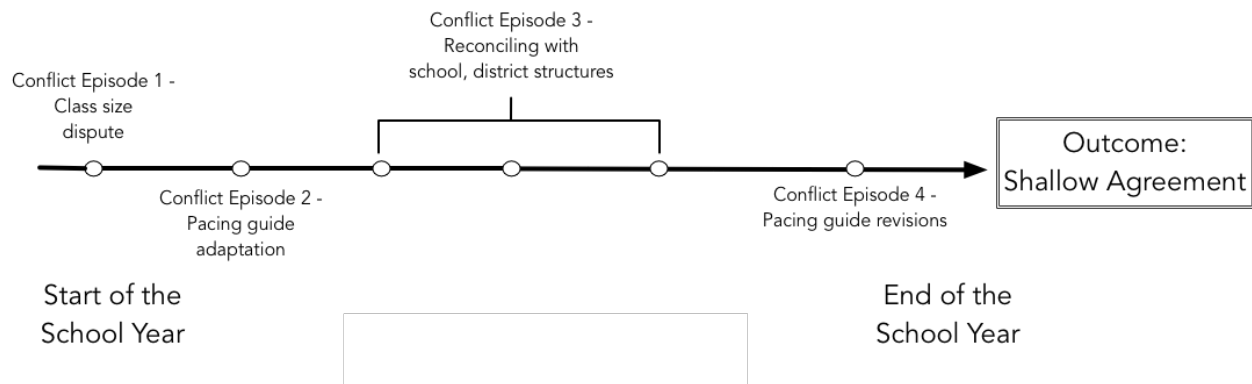


Figure 11. Biliteracy implementation in Horizon's kindergarten field during the 2016 – 2017 school year

First Conflict Episode. Horizon's kindergarten team began the 2016-2017 school year in the midst of a pressing conflict about how to deal with shifts in enrollment. While the program served roughly the same number of students total, a larger proportion of the students identified as English-dominant than in past years when numbers of English and Spanish-dominant students were roughly equal. Under the model that the kindergarten team had used for the past nine years, teachers grouped students by language into different classes, resulting in two larger English classes and two smaller Spanish ones. Their dual language model directed students to switch between teachers for 90 minutes of content learning in the opposite language, but the English-language teachers still bore the burden of more students for most of the day.

To deal with this imbalance, kindergarten teachers Donna and Yessenia suggested that teachers should receive extra compensation commensurate with the amount of time they spent with large classes. Their administrators disagreed. According to principal Karen, "...Teachers were starting to talk like, 'Oh, well, I should get extra service [compensation] because I'm over

my class [size] load.' It doesn't work like that. It's all day that you get that paid, not for a 90-minute session..." (Interview, June 2017).

According to Yessenia, the intractability of this conflict led her to consider biliteracy because this model would evenly distribute the students across the classrooms. Yessenia viewed the biliteracy model as a potential resolution to the ongoing conflict but described the planned timeline as a barrier.

[Kimberly] mentioned that this year [the biliteracy model] was going to be implemented in first grade and then next year was going to be kindergarten for sure.... It was coming. And [our current model] was not going to facilitate those numbers to Spanish and English, so we knew the solution was coming, but we felt that it was not coming soon enough.

(Interview, February 2017)

Shortly before the start of the school year in August 2016, Yessenia reached out to her administrators and put forward the idea of transitioning to the biliteracy policy a year early. She recalled,

That was like two days before school started. We said, "Can we do [the biliteracy model] now?" And the principal just looked at us like, "Are you serious?" We had an emergency meeting. So, in the summer, I was not prepared. It was more like, this is the best for our kids and for us instead of having 27 [students] in one class... So, it was finding the solution to our problem. (Interview, October 2016)

Despite the lack of time to plan for implementation, Yessenia considered the biliteracy policy preferable to unequal class sizes. With the approval of school administrators Karen, Danielle, and central office leader Kimberly, the team decided to implement the biliteracy model immediately.

This accord between the teachers and administrators represented a shallow agreement. The team came together to implement the policy, but their agreement was based on a common interest in a particular course of action, rather than a shared understanding of the problem. In fact, despite her initial advocacy for the biliteracy model, Yessenia disagreed with the model's biliteracy approach. She expressed concerns about her ability to maintain her focus on creating equitable classroom experiences for her traditionally-marginalized Latinx students while she delivered Spanish literacy instruction to a linguistically-heterogeneous group of students. She said, "I feel like I'm sacrificing some of the Spanish speakers because now I have the English speakers' needs to meet," (Interview, October 2016). Yessenia's desire to emphasize Spanish instruction for Latinx students put her at ideological odds with the proponents of the biliteracy model, mainly the administrators.

Second Conflict Episode. Following the decision to implement the biliteracy policy for the 2016-2017 school year, the kindergarten team experienced an initial conflict about how to implement the new model in their classrooms. This conflict focused on teachers' disagreements with how the district's biliteracy pacing guide directed implementation of the model in their classrooms.

Yessenia reported that the kindergarten team used the district-provided pacing guide to steer their daily decisions about biliteracy implementation at the beginning of the year. Yessenia recalled that Spanish Specialist Jocelyn quickly developed plans to direct the teachers' in putting the instructional components of the policy in place, providing the team with a complete pacing guide for the year modeled after the existing first grade plans. Yessenia described the documents further,

Jocelyn just helped us look at the district expectations for the units, based on how first grade did it in the summer. We knew it was a draft. We knew it was not perfect. We knew we just had to do it. (Interview, December 2016)

As the team used the pacing guide to restructure lessons and classroom routines, teachers encountered conflicts between the directions in the pacing guide and their ideas about proper kindergarten dual language instruction. The pacing guide divided up a particular literacy unit into reading and writing lessons, then assigned one teacher to teach half of the reading lessons while the other teacher simultaneously taught half of the writing lessons. After approximately three weeks, the pacing guide directed the teachers to switch so that students completed the second half of their reading or writing lessons in the other language with the other teacher. Yessenia and Donna found the pacing guide's three week windows inadequate. Yessenia said, "... We were looking at the pacing guide, and it seems like the switching [of content between languages] was too often, based on the suggestions from the district," (Interview, December 2016).

To resolve this conflict, the teachers suggested modifying the pacing guide. Yessenia recalled,

I spoke to [central office specialist] Roxanne... and said, "Okay, we do need support to find the time to collaborate, and to sit down and look at the curriculum, look at the basic guide, and make it better." (Interview, December 2016)

Yessenia stated that trying the model in practice allowed the team to understand how the pacing guide needed to be modified. She argued, "Now, having a better idea, better vision, and now getting to know the kids and how they're doing, we have a better idea of what it might look like," (Interview, December 2016). In December 2016, the teachers requested support to complete a revision process. Yessenia continued, "... Right now we're looking into options of how to find

time to really sit together and make the pacing guide better for us, for our students,” (Interview, December 2016).

As in past instances, the Manzanita first grade teachers and central office staff negotiated and resolved their conflict over particular instructional decisions without discussing deeper disagreements about the model. The actors continued to implement the policy based on a shallow agreement.

Third Conflict Episode. Despite their attempts to adapt the model to fit their circumstances early in the school year, the kindergarten team continued to encounter conflicts in their attempts to implement the biliteracy pacing guide. I consider this series of small disturbances stretching between January and March of 2017 to be part of a single prolonged episode in which the actors negotiated district policies designed for general education teachers that conflicted with the needs of bilingual classrooms.

First, in January the teachers ran into difficulties reconciling their biliteracy model with the district’s testing and reporting mandates. The district required all kindergarten teachers, including those working in dual language, to assess students’ literacy and mathematics growth and to report on progress through the district’s online platform within a designated time period. According to Yessenia, these reporting windows were incompatible with the team’s biliteracy instruction, leading teachers to deviate from the district’s requirements. Yessenia reported on the teachers’ decision not to comply with reporting timelines,

We communicated that [decision] to the principal, and then sometimes she communicated that to the LLD, or to the right person in the literacy department or the math department... We kept getting emails [from district departments, saying], “We're still waiting for your samples.” And we just cc'd them, “Oh, just a reminder, we'll get there.” ... I think there was

one time we got three reminders for some writing samples that the district wanted for a specific unit... We've got to send them, and we haven't had time to meet to look at the different levels and agree on which ones to send... (Interview, June 2017)

In February, the kindergarten teachers notified their supervisor, assistant principal Danielle, about their struggles to align the biliteracy model with the district-adopted balanced literacy instructional model. Danielle reported that the teachers requested a meeting to discuss their difficulties adapting balanced literacy classroom structures. From Danielle's perspective, the teachers' intense frustrations over the conflicts between the pacing guide and balanced literacy classroom structures came as a shock. She stated,

... I'm really surprised from Kindergarten because Yessenia and Donna are doing a very effective job. I understand the change of structure and the challenges and they're going to reflect and they're going to want to think back about that, but to say that balanced literacy obviously isn't working is a pretty [strong statement] ... (Interview, March 2017)

After hearing the teachers' expressions of doubt about their ability to implement the two policies simultaneously, Danielle scheduled a meeting to address their concerns. Danielle conveyed the hope that the team might be able to negotiate a compromise that would allow the teachers to continue to implement both the biliteracy policy with the balanced literacy model. She said, "When I think back, I knew it was new for them and they jumped in really without having thought it through ... If something's not working, what things can we do right now?"

On March 7, 2017, Danielle facilitated a meeting to address the emerging conflicts identified by teachers as challenging their biliteracy implementation efforts. English-language teacher Donna represented the kindergarten teachers at the meeting. Central office leaders Kimberly, Jocelyn, and Natalie, and first grade teacher Taryn also participated. After Danielle

opened the meeting, teachers Donna and Taryn identified the district's balanced literacy model, assessment schedule, and report card system as three barriers to their implementation efforts (Observation, March 2017). Jocelyn quickly clarified that the district planned to introduce a new report card format in the coming weeks, resolving teachers' concerns about that issue. Both Donna and Taryn described a similar concern around the district's assessment calendar: these district-wide structures were designed for a mono-lingual approach and simply did not allow enough time for twice the content in a dual language model. Danielle, Kimberly, and Jocelyn responded to the teachers' concerns with clarifying questions.

During the March 7th meeting, the actors reached a shared understanding that teachers would continue to implement the biliteracy policy by making strategic adaptations. As the meeting drew to a close, Danielle pledged her continued assistance for teachers' implementation efforts, stating, "... So, we need to figure out when you all need support so that we can think about what makes sense for this year and what we need to save for next year," (Observation, March 2017). The conflict episode mirrors previous episode in that the actors relied on collegial collaboration to resolve conflicts over discrete implementation steps. Again, the team members found common ground around next steps without discussing their broader ideological disagreements around the biliteracy approach. The agreement between the actors remained shallow because they maintained different interpretations of how best to serve the learning needs of bilingual and emergent bilingual students in Horizon's dual language program.

Fourth Conflict Episode. In a final conflict episode in May of 2017, kindergarten teacher Yessenia argued with other teachers to ensure that her team's perspective informed the kindergarten pacing guide revisions. Prior to the scheduled pacing guide revisions, Yessenia described a conversation with Donna, her partner teacher, about their approach to advocating for

particular changes based on the team's experiences with the pacing guide during the 2016-2017 school year,

When I went to the meeting for the pacing guide, I was thinking what my partner teacher told me before, too... She wanted to make sure her voice was heard through me. She did send an email to Jocelyn prior to the meeting.... She was like, "I'm going to email Jocelyn just to make sure she knows what my concerns are. And what worked for me and what didn't." (Interview, June 2017)

During the revisions meeting, Yessenia engaged with six other kindergarten teachers from around the district in sometimes-contentious debates about how to structure the biliteracy pacing guide. Yessenia strongly advocated for increasing the time each teacher worked with students before switching language groups. She said, "The main thing we thought was [less] switching with the students... We agreed as a team... For us, that worked best," (Interview, June 2017). However, other teachers vehemently disagreed and argued that teachers should have the freedom to switch as often as they deemed necessary. In one such exchange of these two views, Yessenia and her colleague, Dorothea, presented their year-long pacing guide that specified substantial periods with a single group of students. The following exchange ensued:

Teacher 1: I did not like that one. I do not agree with that one.

Dorothea: Can I tell you about it, or are you not willing to listen?

Teacher 1: I'm making a different suggestion.

Yessenia: Ok, I'm listening. (Observation, May 2017)

After the teacher explained her objection, Yessenia and Dorothea continued their presentation. By the end of the meeting, the group had decided to take up most of Yessenia's suggestions for the district-wide pacing guide. According to Jocelyn, who facilitated most of the session,

“Yessenia, we knew, with her experience, obviously she should have the eyes on the pacing guide to make the actual final decisions,” (Interview, June 2017). Yessenia described her next steps by saying, “And then, when I came back from the meeting, I told the [Horizon] team, ‘Okay, this is what it is’... And they were pretty pleased with that,” (Interview, June 2017).

Agreement Outcome While the Horizon kindergarten team formed an agreement behind the biliteracy policy early in the school year, the agreement remained shallow over time because Yessenia expressed lingering doubts about the model’s approach to literacy instruction. In a June interview, she wondered if her students, and her own son who was experiencing the biliteracy model as a first grader, might have performed better had the group kept their previous dual language instructional model,

But, there was a sense of “what if...” ... I think it's just [difficult] knowing they didn't get the full kindergarten [experience] in Spanish literacy... Just like my son, it's really hard to say right now. Would he be reading higher in Spanish [under the previous model]?

(Interview, June 2017)

Despite the recurring conflicts, the actors continued to participate in the agreement. For instance, at the end of the year, challenger Yessenia’s comments implied that she intended to continue working under the biliteracy model the following year. Reflecting on her experience, she said, “Yeah, so there was a lot of things I didn't get to teach... That's what I keep telling myself. It's okay. We'll get this done. A couple of more years and hopefully I'll get it down,” (Interview, June 2017). Similarly, principal Karen expressed her satisfaction with the way that the team negotiated the conflicts that cropped up around, saying, “Kindergarten, I think, did a nice job of thinking about the implications of [a new model] and trying to adjust instruction,” (Interview, June 2017).

However, it remains to be seen how long the agreement between Horizon’s teachers and the school and district administrators might endure. The agreement formed around a solution that satisfied the interests of both the teachers and administrators. Yet, the continued mis-alignment of understandings between actors within the field about the nature of the problem and the best way to address it suggests that the group is likely to continue to encounter conflicts during implementation. How long will the agreement hold in the face of these lingering disagreements?

Horizon 1st Grade Implementation Trajectory

Horizon’s first grade team agreed to implement the new biliteracy policy in the autumn of 2016 but continued to struggle with implementation across the school year. Multiple meetings focused on negotiating agreements between the actors to deal with emergent implementation conflicts. By the spring of 2017, conflicts between teachers and administrators over how to implement biliteracy within the dual language classroom reached a critical point and the agreement neared collapse. Ultimately, administrators made concessions to the teachers, preserving the agreement and enabled the field to continue with implementation. Horizon’s first grade team represents a case in which leaders managed to preserve the shallow implementation agreement despite contentious conflict. Figure 12 (below) shows the course of implementation through the school year, showing that the agreement remained shallow based on minimal agreement between actors about specific implementation actions.

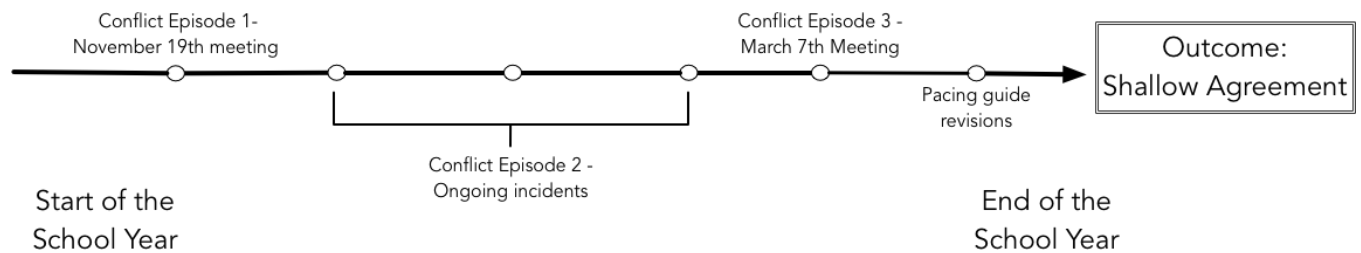


Figure 12. Biliteracy implementation in Horizon’s first grade field during the 2016 – 2017 school year

First Conflict Episode. The school year began with emerging implementation conflicts about both resources and how to put the biliteracy policy in place. The conflict began when teacher Taryn sent an email to her school administrators, Karen and Danielle, raising objection to the way that the biliteracy policy’s pacing guide organized the literacy curriculum. Taryn articulated these same concerns in an interview later, saying, “... The way that this program is set up, you are set up for failure because there's not enough minutes in the day to get everything in,” (Interview, February 2017.). She continued, “[There is] just a lot of stuff that I think is really important for primary [students that] we're not getting to because there's so much push to teach the curriculum, which is sad.”

On September 21st, central office leader Kimberly visited Horizon and met with Karen and Danielle, the school’s administrators, to respond to Taryn’s email. In this meeting, the administrators critiqued Taryn argument that teachers would be unable to cover as much content under the biliteracy policy,

Kimberly: With her email... I think the big thing to push is, we’re not changing our standards.

Karen: Uh hmn. [Communicating agreement with Kimberly’s comment]

Kimberly: What is first grade level, is first grade level.

Karen: That is what I said [to Taryn]. (Observation, September 2016)

The three administrators agreed on a stance toward the Taryn concerns and Kimberly discussed next steps for reassuring teachers and supporting implementation,

Kimberly: ... It's like, what do you believe? Do you believe that your students can do this? Do you believe that you can help them do this?

Danielle: And I think hearing that from you [would be a good idea] ...

Kimberly: And I think they believe that. They really do. But they're scared.... So, I'll respond to her email and look for a meeting time... I'll give them the pep talk and the "Rah rah, you can do this, and your students can do this. Let's set up some support for you so that you feel like you can do this."

The first-grade team then convened on November 19th to address teachers' implementation concerns. The team included all four first-grade teachers, Kimberly, Jocelyn, and Natalie from the district's LLD, assistant principal Danielle, and the school's literacy interventionist. During the meeting, Taryn argued that the teachers needed more resources, specifically bags to hold additional books, and the ability to modify the pacing guide to provide additional time to teach reading. Taryn argued, "The arrangement of the pacing guide means that you have so much logistical movement, with kids switching books in their book bags, that they are losing instructional time," (Observation, November 2016). She continued, "We would need to have a book bag for every kid in both languages."

Kimberly responded with suggestions about how to adapt the pacing guide to address Taryn's concerns about curriculum but did not address her resource concerns. Kimberly suggested that teachers streamline transitions and consider times within their existing schedules when they might incorporate literacy work,

I'm thinking about how to make this more integrated so that you are still thinking about reading even though you aren't formally working on it. Then you work with your partner

[teacher] to make sure you are doing that work informally across the classrooms... You have to find those opportunities. (Observation, November 2016)

The meeting concluded with little change to the original shallow status of the agreement since teachers seemed to leave the meeting as dissatisfied with the district's guidance as they started. The teachers continued to implement the biliteracy policy as articulated by the pacing guide but remained unhappy with the terms of the agreement. Taryn described her frustration with the team's inability reach a shared understanding regarding her concerns,

I don't feel like that [November] meeting got us anywhere... It's really stressful, and I was just hoping that Kimberly would understand that. You don't want to feel like you're being an ineffective teacher... No matter how much you work on your transitions and you save time everywhere you can. (Interview, November 2016)

Second Conflict Episode. The second conflict episode spanned the remainder of November and December and continued the debate between teachers and administrators over both resources and the appropriateness of the biliteracy pacing guide. After the previous conflict episode concluded with little change, central office leaders Kimberly and Jocelyn both reported multiple clashes with teachers over the role of the pacing guides in dictating teachers' instructional choices. On one side of the argument, Jocelyn argued that teachers could successfully implement the biliteracy model by thoughtfully adapting the pacing guide to their needs and communicated to teachers that the pacing guide was a support, not a mandate. In an interview, she said,

[Some guidance] is what [teachers] asked for, something to hold onto like that. But now, because they're holding onto it, they're like, "But we can't [make it fit]!" I say, "You can

change it!” ... We've had to have those conversations multiple times in various places - email and in person and in meetings. (Interview, January 2017)

Kimberley stated similar ideas, commenting.

... This kind of stuff comes up all the time... For a long time, I think what would happen is often [teachers] would just say, "Just tell me what to do. I want to know what to do, just tell me what to do." But then, if we tell them what to do often too directly, then they don't understand why they're doing it... We want them to get the deeper understanding of dual language practice... (Interview, November 2016.)

Other actors reported that conflicts over the pacing guide came up repeatedly in the first grade team's regular interactions. For example, in a December interview, assistant principal Danielle explained that teachers' struggles with the pacing guide came up in discussion of instructional practice. She stated, "One teacher is really hung up in logistics again. 'How many folders do I have? How do I manage this?'" (Interview, December 2016). Similarly, Taryn described her evaluation meetings with Danielle as opportunities to reiterate her concerns about the pacing guide. Taryn recalled, "I had talked to her about [difficulties with the biliteracy model] during my evaluation meeting. I was just like, 'I'm just having a hard time.' She'd come into my room to talk to me ... She's like, 'Okay, just you're fine. It's okay,'" (Interview, February 2017). In these instances, daily interactions became opportunities for the actors to advocate for their perspective on the pacing guide problems and solutions.

Taryn also continued to push for more resources. She argued, "There's not enough resources and it's ridiculous. It's really frustrating to be trying to implement something full school, schoolwide, but they're not willing to fully fund it in order for it to actually work," (Interview, February 2017). Spanish specialist Jocelyn reported that Taryn's continued push for

resources eventually yielded funding from her administrators. Jocelyn recalled, “I think that [Taryn’s] next step that she got out of [the November meeting] was she got Danielle and Karen to buy them book bags. So, they got \$200 worth of book bags,” (Interview, March 2017). On this occasion, challenger Taryn achieved some concessions in the form of extra resources from her administrators.

The smaller events that made up this conflict episode seemed to have little influence on the depth of the agreement guiding implementation in Horizon’s first grade field. With the exception of Taryn’s small win to secure new book bags for her classroom, the leaders’ stances toward the policy remained largely unchanged. The shallow agreement still rested on a shared logic about how to move forward with particular implementation actions.

Third Conflict Episode. The first grade team reached a turning point in their implementation of the biliteracy policy in March of 2017. In this conflict episode, teacher Taryn argued that the biliteracy policy was not viable within the current constraints of other district mandates and threatened to halt implementation. Administrators Kimberly and Danielle maintained the agreement by discussing their disagreement openly and agreeing to compromise with Taryn.

Central office-based Spanish Specialist Jocelyn reported that implementation conflicts flared up in early 2017 during an incident at a training. According to Jocelyn, Taryn and another teacher expressed their reluctance to implement reading structures in their classroom because of problems with the biliteracy model. Jocelyn recalled,

They were like "I don't think this is even feasible and I don't want to spend my time on this." They vented all of their frustration about first grade reading on [the facilitator]. And then [the facilitator] was the one who told us... (Interview, March 2017)

Danielle reported that she discovered this conversation through the meeting notes and called the group together to ensure that the teachers continued to implement both district-mandated instructional models, “The notes brought up, basically [that the teachers were] saying. ‘It’s not working to teach biliteracy and workshop in DL in kindergarten and first grade.’ That was what is initiating [the meeting.]” (Interview, March 2017)

On March 7th, the team met in a classroom at Horizon to address teacher’ concerns about the incompatibility of the biliteracy and balance literacy models. The meeting was attended by kindergarten teacher Donna, first grade teacher Taryn, central office staff members Natalie, Kimberly and Jocelyn, and assistant principal Danielle. Taryn stated her concern that the biliteracy pacing guide did not allow enough time for teachers to fit in all the elements called for in the balance literacy workshop model. She said, “The pacing guide is so tight. I feel terrible that I don’t get to read aloud to my student every day. But I’m not sure how to fit in word work, interventions, guided reading, shared reading, read-aloud. Everything,” (Observation, March 2017). Kimberly responded by probing, “I have some questions about time. What are the other pockets of the day that we might be able to pull together some time?” Kimberly, Donna, and Taryn discussed possible changes to daily schedules to find extra time. To conclude the meeting, Jocelyn and Kimberly informed the teachers about a planned process to revise the pacing guides and offered further implementation support. Responding to Taryn’s expressed concerns, Kimberly offered, “We’ve been thinking about the fact that there should be less in the pacing guide. Maybe we just shouldn’t do as much because the fact is that [students] are all language learners,” (Observation, March 2017).

The March 7th meeting maintained the shallow agreement within the first grade field at Horizon. At the end of the meeting, the actors affirmed their agreement to continue to participate

in biliteracy policy implementation and avoided Taryn's threatened withdrawal. The discussion focused exclusively on finding agreement about how to implement, rather than delving into the ideological rationale for the policy.

Agreement Outcome. After the March 7th meeting, Taryn and the other first grade teachers carried on with implementation of the biliteracy policy with relatively little resistance for the remainder of the school year. During the last week of May, Taryn participated in the day-long pacing guide revision session facilitated by Jocelyn. She worked with Annabelle, a first-grade teacher from Vista Peak, to revise the first-grade pacing guide documents. Jocelyn reported that the two teachers had contrasting ideas about the role of the pacing guide, but that they were able to collaborate to include both perspectives in the documents. Jocelyn described the team's work,

...One of them definitely thought it was a mandate to use and one of them thought, "This will say this, and me and my partner will do the other." ... They were able to come to a nice, even ground, it sounds like, by working together... I think they have a guide that matches what their teachers [at their schools] were looking for. (Interview, June 2016)

At the session's conclusion, Taryn reported her satisfaction with the revised documents, telling the assembled group of teachers, "We finished [re-writing] the pacing guide and we both feel really good about it," (Observation, May 2017). However, while working with Annabelle to create guidance documents, she also stated her intention to modify the documents for her own classroom the following year. In one exchange, Taryn joked with Annabelle, saying that it was likely that she would not even follow the pacing guide that she helped to create (Observation,

March 2017). While Taryn participated with Jocelyn and Kimberly to plan implementation through the pacing guide, this comment communicated her lingering disagreement the policy.

Summary

Each field I observed during the study dealt with conflicts at some point over in the school year, but actors managed to navigate these issues to maintain or deepen agreements that enabled implementation actions. The biliteracy policy was successfully implemented, or in the planning process, in each site by the end of the 2016-2017 school year. However, I argue that the differences in implementation at each field yielded agreements of varied quality.

First, in the Manzanita kindergarten field, Jocelyn, Kimberly and Kerri managed to convince Sara and her colleagues to join their agreement at the end of the year, only after navigating a series of contested interactions. Sara's expressions of doubt about the bilingual approach to literacy suggest that her participation may not be based on agreement with the policy's logic. This agreement is shallow, meaning that the actors aligned their logics around taking specific actions without a shared interpretation of the underlying problem and solution.

The Manzanita's first grade field is unique amongst the fields in the study because it deepened over the course of the school year. At the beginning of the year, the teachers participated in the agreement, but implementation was frequently stalled by teachers' concerns. As the year progressed, the actors successfully navigated conflicts through collaboration. By the end of the year, teachers aligned their ideas with those put forward by central office leaders Jocelyn and Kimberly. Alicia and Claudia shifted their stance and became advocates for the logic guiding the biliteracy policy by May of 2017. These actors agreed about which collective actions the group should take, as well as the underlying reasons for taking these particular actions.

The kindergarten teachers at Horizon joined Kerri, Jocelyn, and their administrators Danielle and Karen, in supporting biliteracy implementation a full year earlier than expected. The actors shared a common understanding that the pacing guides created by Jocelyn would guide implementation, but Yessenia's doubts about the ability of the biliteracy model to support her own son's Spanish-language development suggest that there may be unresolved conflicts over the reason for the policy. In other words, while the relationships between the individual actors seem to be strong, the agreement appears to be shallow.

The first grade team at Horizon worked through a string of conflicts about resources and the suitability of the pacing guide. Throughout the school year, Taryn repeatedly questioned the feasibility of the biliteracy model and threatened to withdraw her participation. Ultimately, Kimberly and Danielle convinced Taryn to support the revised pacing guide. The agreement persevered but remained shallow based on the lack of consensus around policy's purpose and rationale.

Chapter 7:

Leadership Moves for Navigating Conflict Episodes

In the previous chapter, I used my conceptual framework to outline how conflict episodes acted as links in a chain, ultimately leading to particular implementation outcomes in four different fields. I documented how individuals negotiated particular contextual conditions in their fields to exacerbate or mitigate conflicts and how each episode shaped the trajectory of policy implementation over time. These findings highlight the importance of each episode's contribution to the eventual implementation outcome.

Micro-political and SAF theories also suggest that conflict episodes consist of a string of leadership moves and counter-moves made by individual actors and that those moves influence how each conflict episode plays out, the extent to which leaders come together in an agreement to implement the policy, and, ultimately, the depth of that agreement. Previous studies of equity-policy implementation identified framing, mandating, leading learning processes, and making compromises as leadership moves that support successful implementation. In this chapter, I investigate these and other moves that actors used to successfully create and deepen implementation agreements behind the biliteracy policy. For each of the four fields, I identify one conflict episode that acted as a turning point in garnering support for the biliteracy policy and trace actors' leadership moves to shape the agreement.

Pivotal Conflict Episode in Manzanita's Kindergarten Implementation Trajectory

The trajectory of implementation in Manzanita's kindergarten field turned in late April 2017 at the conclusion of a conflict that took place between kindergarten teacher Sara, central office Spanish specialist Jocelyn, and principal Kerri. Sara initially unsettled the field by choosing not to attend an implementation meeting planned by Jocelyn, and instead aired her

concerns about the policy at a public meeting. In this episode, Sara sought to change the discussion venue from the central office to Manzanita and to expand decision-making to teachers. Jocelyn emphasized her own expertise and bolstered her alliance with principal Kerri in an effort to overcome Sara's resistance to discussing implementation. The field settled when Kerri used her position as Sara's supervisor to bring Sara to the table for negotiations. As shown in Figure 13 (below), in this conflict episode, Jocelyn and Sara's leadership moves to control the decision-making process were overwhelmed by Kerri's use of positional authority in favor of creating an implementation agreement.

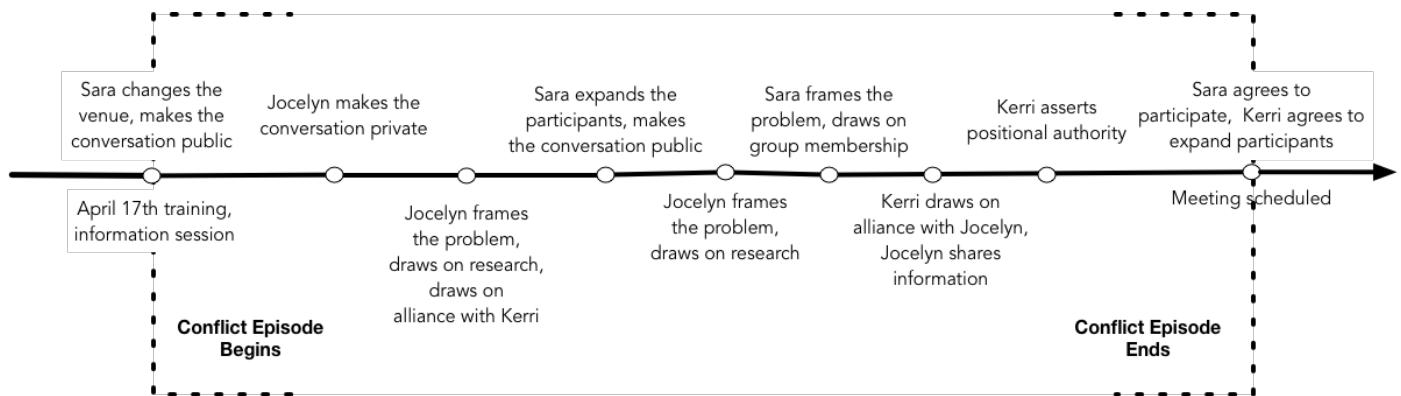


Figure 13. Actors' moves during of the pivotal conflict episode in the Manzanita kindergarten biliteracy implementation

Context for the Conflict. The Manzanita's kindergarten team first encountered the biliteracy policy within an uncertain environment. Kimberly, the district's LLD Director, described how the school staff were still adapting to the dual language model at the start of the 2016 academic year, saying, "... It's a fairly new program at that school and in some ways, it's almost like it just kind of fell in their laps," (Interview, January 2017). Other actors corroborated that Manzanita's staff members felt lingering distrust toward the district central office stemming from past top-down mandates. Referring to the new policy, Sherri, the school's ELL specialist, reported, "Yeah, because it felt like, 'Well this isn't anything we have influence over.' We are

employees and then this is the way we're treated. We are just implementing whatever they're [the central office is] telling us to implement," (Interview, October 2016).

In this context, the main implementation supporters and challengers fell into two clearly divided groups. The biliteracy policy's main backers were LLD Director Kimberly, central office Spanish Specialist Jocelyn, and Manzanita's principal, Kerri. These actors were also the incumbents in the field. While each of the four kindergarten teachers reported lack of support for the policy, Spanish-language teacher Sara acted as the main challenger. In a January 2017 interview, Sara described her objections to the policy, saying, "I am against [changing] kids in kindergarten to the [biliteracy] model. Kindergarten children should continue in the same model that we have... So, everybody apart [should] learn how to read and write in one specific language," (Interview, January 2017).

Other actors likewise reported hearing strong statements of disagreement and resistance from each of the kindergarten teachers. For example, Manzanita's principal, Kerri, recounted an informal conversation with a kindergarten teacher,

I had another teacher say to me, "Kids need a foundation in their home language first before we start teaching them another language. How are we supposed to teach them literacy skills in two languages without giving them a foundation? They need a foundation, so if kindergarten rolls down to be biliteracy like the first-grade model and the upcoming models, I'm out of here." (Interview, November 2016)

Sherri, the school's ELL Coordinator, reported,

I hate to speak for them, except I know kindergarten is pretty unhappy... I hear, "I don't really agree with this form of dual language." I get the sense that a couple people are just going to leave. Or people ...are saying, "Well, I'm so late in my career, I'm not going to

leave." If the policy came down to kindergarten, I don't think they would do it. I think they would just not do it. I think they'll just either quit or they won't do it. (Interview, January 2017)

Moves within the Conflict Episode. The pivotal conflict episode involved a fight to influence whether and how Manzanita's kindergarten team would come together to make decisions about biliteracy policy implementation. The conflict episode began when Sara moved to change the venue and format of the implementation discussion. On April 17th, Sara took a sick day and attended neither school nor Spanish specialist Jocelyn's day-long training at the central office for kindergarten teachers preparing to implement the biliteracy policy. However, Sara did appear at a public information session that same evening at Vista Peak Elementary organized by the LLD to inform the public about future expansion of the district's dual language program to new school sites. Jocelyn was also present at this evening meeting and reported that Sara voiced her concerns about the biliteracy model during the public question and answer period. Jocelyn described what Sara said in the public forum:

... [she] spat off about her being angry [about the policy]. [She said] that she has no idea why we're changing to bi-literacy, and that in kinder[garten] there's no support, and that, you know, "I need to have conversations and learn about this stuff and I'll be fully on board," ... (Interview, May 2017)

Rather than engaging in a relatively-private conversation in a small group setting as Jocelyn had arranged for at the training, Sara opted for a public discussion. Sara's actions on April 17th unsettled the team's implicit agreement to work together to run the dual language program at Manzanita. Sara's choice to avoid Jocelyn's scheduled discussion called into question her willingness to participate in implementation.

At the conclusion of the event, Jocelyn moved to bring the conversation back into a more private sphere. Jocelyn approached Sara for a one-on-one talk after the conclusion of the event and suggested that she sought a private conversation to avoid exacerbating the conflict. She said, “I cannot say that [in the] whole group because I don't want to battle with that particular person....” (Interview, May 2017). In their conversation, Jocelyn address Sara’s concerns about missing information, arguing that Sara had chosen not to take opportunities the learn about the policy. Jocelyn recounted the conversation, “I said, ‘Sara, you didn't attend any of the trainings that we've had for kindergarten this year,’ ... And then she said, ‘Well, I just don't like whole group things. That’s why I prefer to meet just one-on-one....’” (Interview, May 2017). Jocelyn conceded to Sara’s preference by offering individualized support in exchange for Sara’s participation. Jocelyn recalled that their conversation ended in agreement,

... I said, “If that's what you need, let’s set up a [one-on-one] meeting. I'm happy to come over and differentiate for you,” ... And we talked about maybe [reviewing] some of things we talked about in this [April 17th] meeting and she said, “Yeah, that'd be awesome. That'd be great.” (Interview, May 2017)

At the conclusion of their interaction at the public event on April 17th, Jocelyn’s perceived that she and Sara had resolved their conflict with an agreement about the next steps in the implementation process.

Over the next two days, Jocelyn and Sara negotiated over email about the implementation process. In these interactions, both teacher Sara and central office specialist Jocelyn made moves and counter-moves that framed the problem and asserted their own authority. For example, the morning following their in-person exchange, Jocelyn sent Sara an email that framed the

immediate problem as Sara's lack of knowledge about the policy and portrayed the meeting's purpose as facilitating Sara's learning. In the email, Jocelyn wrote,

I am following up from our conversation last night at the input meeting of your request for us (Roxanne & I) to meet with you about the biliteracy transition since you weren't able to attend yesterday's day of learning with other K[indergarten] teachers... Our goal will be to help you learn about the current research that tells us about our students, their development, and the shifts that are in place in our district and across the country.

(Artifact, April 2017)

In the text, Jocelyn referenced her knowledge of research, a move that conferred authority based on expertise. Additionally, Jocelyn also included Kerri, Sara's principal, on the email communication. Jocelyn reported, "The next day [after the interaction] I sent her an email and I cc'd her principal, as per protocol. And with that type an issue, I really wanted to [make sure her principal knew]," (Interview, May 2017). Jocelyn portrayed the move to involve Kerri as standard procedure, but by sharing information about the incident, Jocelyn expanded the participants in the conversation to include an additional ally. Kerri's partnership increased Jocelyn's potential power in negotiation with Sara based on Kerri's position as Sara's supervisor.

Less than twenty-four hours later, Sara answered Jocelyn's email with a request to expand the participants in the discussion. In her response, Sara confirmed her request for Jocelyn and her central office colleague Roxanne to come to Manzanita but asked that the meeting be opened to other teachers (Artifact, April 2017). Jocelyn recalled the content of the email, "She said, 'No, I don't want to meet one-on-one. There needs to be more people in that conversation than just me. I need all the kindergarten teachers. I need para[professional]s in there.'"

(Interview, May 2017). With this move, Sara again sought to make the conversation more public

by increasing the number of participants. Sara also directed her email response to Jocelyn, leaving her principal, Kerri, out of communications. Including teachers and removing Kerri from the discussion would have given Sara more allies in her negotiations with Jocelyn.

Jocelyn responded quickly to Sara's email by reinforcing her interpretation of the problem and offering expertise and support as the logical solution. Jocelyn countered Sara's request, "No, all other teachers attended who were invited to the Monday all-day planning & discussion on our transition to biliteracy. Our goal now is to catch you up on the research and purpose of this transition..." (Artifact, April 2017). Jocelyn framed her own participation as providing expertise. Her email continued, "Please let us know if you would like to take up this opportunity to learn about the program's biliteracy shifts to support our students," (Artifact, April 2017). Reiterating themes from her first email, Jocelyn again referenced research and offered support for Sara's learning. She also added Kerri, Manzanita's principal, back onto the email exchange, a move that communicated that the principal's position authority backed Jocelyn.

In her final email response, Sara's reframed the problem, criticizing the lack of teacher involvement in decision-making about the biliteracy policy. In the email, Sara questioned the process by which the biliteracy policy had been enacted, saying, "The way things have been done in the past in term of decision-making from the district has led me to believe that teachers' input is not so important. And discussions are happening 'after the fact.'" (Artifact, April 2017). Sara rejected Jocelyn's interpretation of the goal as facilitating Sara's learning and argued for an alternative aim of including teachers' perspectives in decision-making. She wrote,

I am pretty sure that concerns are there from the teachers' point of view regarding these changes. I am also pretty sure that we teachers always do the job that is required at the end.

We always find ways to make it work. Remember, we teachers are the ones who are doing the job. (Artifact, April 2017).

In this text, Sara drew authority from first-hand knowledge as member of the policy's targeted group. She argued that, as the people most affected by the policy, teachers should have more meaningful participation in how or whether the policy is implemented.

After Sara's email, Kerri used her authority to support Jocelyn. Jocelyn recalled, "Kerri, her principal, cc'd in all of this, called here and said 'What is going on? What is she oddly upset about?' We talked it through... and [ELL Specialist] Roxanne gave her the rundown of what was going on," (Interview, May 2017). In this exchange Jocelyn and her colleague Roxanne fortified the alliance with Kerri through information-sharing. After the phone conversation, Kerri sent the following email response:

Sara, I'm confused about your request; please come check in with me. You missed the day of learning that was scheduled for all K[indergarten] teachers from Manzanita and Vista Peak on Monday. It is my understanding that Jocelyn and Roxanne are accommodating you from that [training] that you missed... If you are looking for a meeting other than the makeup PD session that was held on Monday, I can help set that up with the proper folks from Central Office! Thanks, Kerri. (Artifact, April 2017)

In this email, Kerri expressed support for Jocelyn's interpretation of the events and urged Sara to participate in the discussion. As Sara's supervisor, Kerri's positional authority conferred influence and this email effectively settled the debate between Jocelyn and Sara in Jocelyn's favor.

Influence of Actors' Moves. After Kerri's email, the team set up a meeting to discuss biliteracy implementation. Culminating in Kerri's intervention, Jocelyn's moves during the

conflict episode succeeded in bringing Sara to the table for the implementation discussion. However, Sara's actions during the exchange with Jocelyn moved the meeting to Manzanita, rather than the central office venue of the original April 17th training. Sara also succeeded in expanding the meeting participants. Jocelyn commented, "We never met with Sara one-on-one and Kerri did set up a meeting with the larger group," (Interview, May 2017).

Ultimately, this conflict episode was a turning point in the larger biliteracy implementation trajectory for Manzanita's kindergarten team because the interactions between Jocelyn, Sara, and Kerri resulted in an agreement to engage in collaboration around implementation. The alliance between Spanish specialist Jocelyn and principal Kerri brought Sara to the negotiating table and enabled the actors to reach an initial agreement behind the biliteracy policy in the subsequent meeting. While Sara's moves within this conflict episode allowed her to change the venue of the discussion to her school and expand the number of participants to include teachers and paraprofessionals, Jocelyn and Kerri achieved their aim of moving forward with implementation plans.

Pivotal Conflict Episode in Manzanita's First Grade Implementation Trajectory

The turning point in Manzanita's first grade implementation trajectory began with a conflict over resources. However, principal Kerri's moves to provide resources and build an alliance with teachers Claudia and Alicia by resulted in agreement to form a leadership team to guide biliteracy implementation at Manzanita (See Figure 14). The following section elaborates on the progression of moves and counter-moves that shifted this agreement between actors from a shallow alignment toward a deep agreement in support of the biliteracy policy.

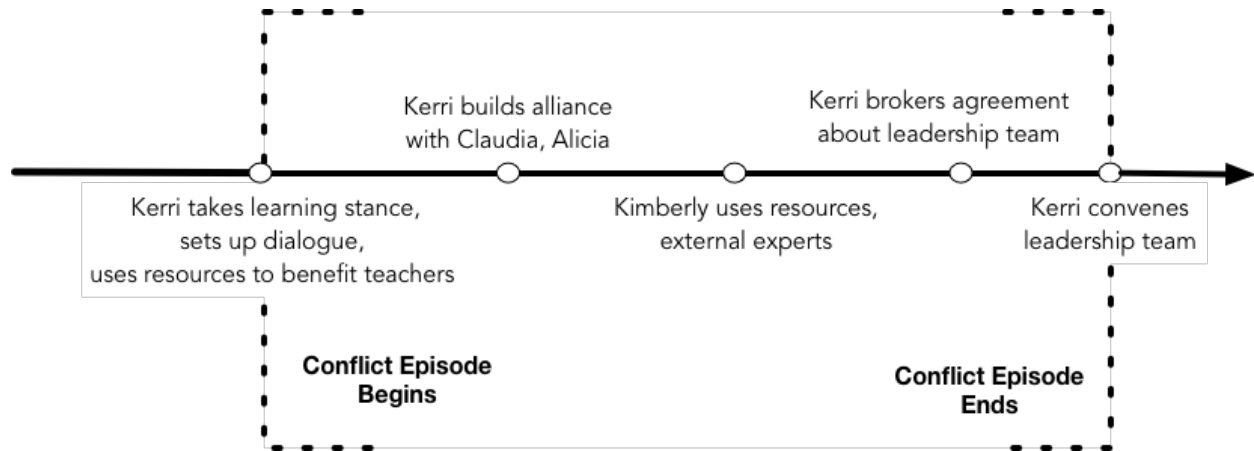


Figure 14. Actors' moves during the pivotal conflict episode in Manzanita first grade biliteracy implementation

Context for the Conflict. The Manzanita's first grade field had a relatively flat structure, meaning that the power difference between the challengers and incumbents was comparatively small. Kimberly's position as a central office administrator gave her the power to enact the biliteracy policy as a mandate. In addition to her positional authority, Kimberly's expertise in dual language conferred authority amongst teachers. Manzanita's principal, Kerri, also had positional authority within the field but lacked expertise since she was new to her role, to Manzanita, and to working with dual language. While Manzanita teachers generally respected Kimberly's expertise, teachers Alicia and Claudia typically held sway over first grade team decisions as the longest-tenured dual language teachers in the school. Describing her leadership of the team, Claudia stated,

[The other teachers] rely on us... Basically, when we're making decisions we let them know, and it's up to them if they want to do it or not. We don't say, "You need to do it." It's up to them. In general, they always decide kind of the same anyway. (Interview, January 2017)

Kimberly affirmed these teachers' influence, referring to Claudia, in particular, as "a really strong lead," (Interview, November 2016). The even distribution of power within the first grade field indicated that no single actor would be likely to dominate implementation decisions.

Moves within the Conflict Episode. Kerri, Manzanita's principal, addressed conflicts with the first grade teachers by attempting to establishing collegial dialogue. During the previous conflict episode when teachers lobbied for increased time with paraprofessionals, Kerri used the meeting as an opportunity to demonstrate a reasoned and thoughtful approach to teachers. She commented,

In that meeting, I heard, "We need more support. This is the shift in biliteracy. Our kids aren't prepared. They're not growing." I heard that loud and clear... In response to that, I met with the team. What I didn't want to do is say, "I'm going to throw a para[professional] your way." I didn't want to do that. (Interview, November 2016)

Kerri took a listening and learning stance toward the teachers' concerns, then used the resources at her disposal to fulfil their request. In a later interview, she said, "I don't want people to think that I have any type of agenda. I'm really breaking through [to create] a culture of trust here," (Interview, February 2017).

Kerri suggested that an upcoming national dual language conference in November of 2016 presented an opportunity to build on her success in the paraprofessional support meeting to further develop positive professional relationships with the two teacher leaders. Considering her choice of Alicia and Claudia to attend the conference, Kerri said, "Rather strategically, I brought two of those teachers with me to the conference..." (Interview, November 2016). Kerri hoped that the conference would be a learning opportunity that would increase teachers' comfort with the biliteracy policy. Kerri commented,

When you're unclear on [the purpose behind the biliteracy shift], you get a lot of teachers who are really unhappy. They don't know what it is, why it is that they're doing what they're doing. ...It does feel like something that has been done to schools rather than something that schools are doing. (Interview, November 2016)

Supporting the teachers to attend the conference also represented a strategic leadership move by Kimberly, the district's LLD Director. Kimberly mobilized resources to provide funds for Kerri and the Manzanita teachers to attend the conference. Kimberly also leverages the dual language experts at the conference to convince the teachers of the biliteracy model's legitimacy. According to Kerri, this persuasive move by Kimberly was successful. She commented, "Two of those teachers that went with me to the conference got really excited about a different perspective," (Interview, February 2017). Kimberly agreed that hearing from experts shifted the teachers' conceptions about biliteracy. Kimberly said,

They came back with the biliteracy [approach] very much validated and the folks at Manzanita, who were not on board, got on board a lot more. Especially the first grade team that was really resistant, they came back in a very different place. I think it was really helpful for them to hear national experts. (Interview, January 2017)

Alicia confirmed that attending the conference changed how she viewed the biliteracy model and gave her new ideas about how to implement successfully. She reported, "We got to talk, to see a lot of [presentation], and get resources from [the presenters] ... I think it was just kind of reassuring that we were doing the right thing," (Interview, December 2016).

At the conference, principal Kerri engaged the teachers in discussion and reflection. Building on teachers' newly-developed understanding and appreciation of biliteracy instruction, Kerri described how their discussion led to the idea of a school-level leadership team to direct

implementation efforts. She said, "... Sort of organically from that conversation is when they said, we need more of a school-wide vision and we need people that are coming together to meet about it. It's like, yeah!... We need a vision! Yes," (Interview, February 2017). Through this discussion, Kerri negotiated an agreement with teachers Claudia and Alicia to participate in a leadership team to support Manzanita's dual language staff with biliteracy implementation. Teacher Claudia echoed her principal's account that the groups' discussions built their consensus. Claudia recounted, "We went to the conference and we learned really good things and it was really inspirational. 'OK,' we said, 'We need to have a team,'" (Interview, February 2017).

Influence of Actors' Moves. Kerri created the leadership team with the goal of building a shared logic of action to guide school-wide dual language program implementation. In a later interview, Kerri commented on the need for a common interpretation of the rationale behind dual language implementation. She said, "One of the things that people said in the first meeting was... or to get the leadership team going was ... we don't know where we're going. We don't have this identity," (Interview, March 2017). Similarly, Claudia identified the leadership team as a venue in which teachers and administrators could negotiate to develop a shared understanding to guide implementation,

So, basically, it's kind of helping each other building and just kind of take action with things that we know that don't work for us. Kind of advocate for the dual language program. We would like to be one of the best ones and I know that there's so many things that we need to improve. We need to work on it. But I think that even if it's difficult - maybe we don't agree with everything the district says that we need to do - we are

working really hard. Kindergarten, first grade, second grade, third grade. We are moving those kids along to where they need to be. (Interview, February 2017)

The leadership team became a crucial point of alignment between the teachers and their principal to facilitate ongoing implementation discussions.

Kerri's leadership moves during this episode opened up discussion of the biliteracy policy's underlying premises. Her efforts to establish a productive dialogue and demonstrate a learning stance during the paraprofessional meeting with teachers Alicia and Claudia set the conditions for her to use the conference as an opportunity for deeper discussion. At the conference, Kerri moved the discussion past negotiations about the group's next implementation steps toward conversation about the biliteracy policy's ideological stance around fostering bilingualism. Kerri's agreement with the teachers to create a leadership team aligned the actors around both the biliteracy model as the preferred approach to serving bilingual and emerging bilingual first graders and around the team's next steps for supporting implementation of the model school-wide.

Pivotal Conflict Episode in Horizon's Kindergarten Implementation Trajectory

A key conflict episode at the very beginning of the year set the stage for the Horizon kindergarten team's implementation efforts in the 2016-2017 school year. The actors reached an impasse in their implementation negotiations due to a conflict about class size when kindergarten teacher Yessenia leveraged her relationships to gather information. Yessenia made a proposal to implement the biliteracy policy a year early and found a solution that aligned the interests of both teachers and administrators in the field, as depicted in Figure 15 (below). This agreement allowed implementation to proceed by forming a shallow agreement within the field.

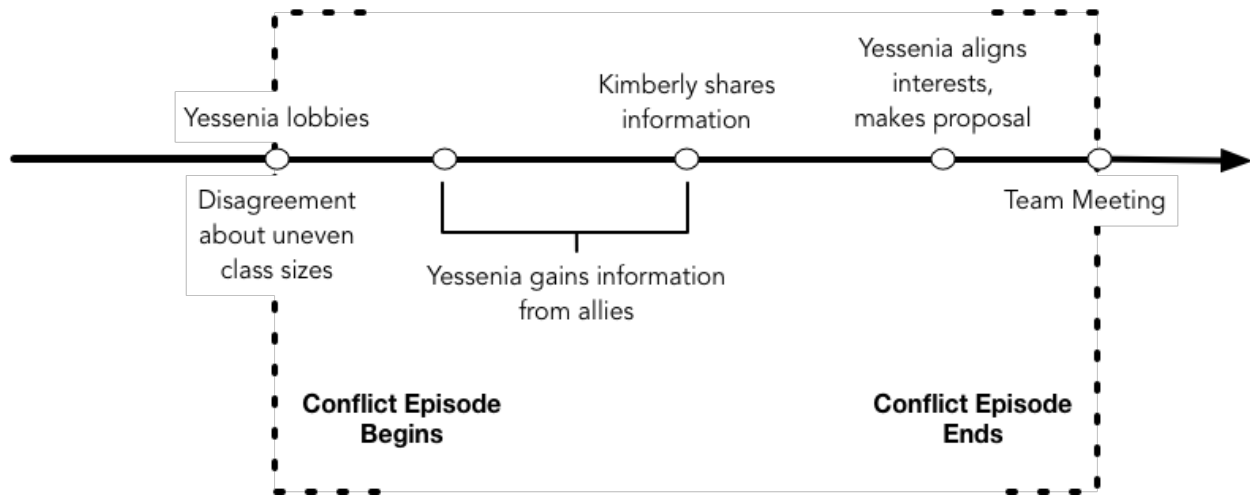


Figure 15. Actors' moves during the pivotal conflict episode in the Horizon kindergarten biliteracy implementation

Context for the Conflict. The kindergarten team at Horizon approached the 2016-2017 school year expecting to continue to implement their dual language program under the same model used since the program's inception nine years prior. While administrators and teachers did not plan implement the biliteracy policy in the kindergarten classrooms that year, the actors took opposing stances regarding the ideas about literacy advanced by the policy. School administrators Karen and Danielle and central office leaders Kimberly and Jocelyn played the role of incumbents in the field because their understanding of bilingual literacy development was reflected in the district's biliteracy policy.

On the opposing side, kindergarten teacher Yessenia acted as the field's most vocal challenger. Yessenia expressed doubts about the model's approach to developing literacy in both Spanish and English simultaneously. She described her concerns about the model both as a teacher and the parent of a Horizon first grade student,

As a teacher, I see how the kids who do better in Spanish literacy transfer the skills faster in English. They do better when they go to second and third grade.... For my son... I still feel

like he's not ready to start transferring those skills because he is still not a strong reader in his native language.... My concern was not the English, it was that he still needs more [Spanish]. (Interview, October 2016)

Yessenia said she feared that the shift would negatively shape her son's ability to develop a strong Spanish literacy foundation. While Yessenia had less positional authority than the administrators and central office staff, she drew upon expertise and experience as the founding dual language teacher within the district. Through her nine-year tenure in the district, Yessenia developed extensive knowledge about the district's organizational structures and had strong working relationships with dual language staff at schools and the central office LLD. She drew upon her knowledge, expertise, and relationships as resources during conflict negotiations.

Moves within the Conflict Episode. Before the start of the school year in August 2016, a lingering conflict over uneven class sizes unsettled the kindergarten field at Horizon. According to Yessenia, a Spanish-language teacher, the actors disagreed over how to deal with uneven number of English and Spanish-dominant students. Yessenia lobbied her school administrators to address this problem by compensating the English-language teachers for the inequitable work-load. Danielle, Horizon's Assistant Principal, rejected the idea of that she could provide extra compensation. She reported, "Teachers said, 'Am I getting paid overload, because the English side is a much harder number?' ... No, you're not going to get paid overload, because these are the numbers. We can't do it. It's just district policy," (Interview, December 2016).

This conflict left the actors unsure about how to proceed with implementation under their dual language model. Yessenia described the stalemate, saying, "We brought up the concerns to everybody and [Danielle and Karen] were like, 'Nope. That's what it is, so it is what it is,' ... [We were starting the year] thinking the numbers were going to be uneven," (Interview, October

2016). She commented that the situation seemed untenable to teachers, “[We were] just looking at the numbers and we kept checking with the secretary because she put [new students] into my language [class] ... I kept telling them, “I cannot do this to [my partner teacher] anymore.” (Interview, February 2017).

Yessenia took action to gather information from her allies outside of the field. For example, Yessenia gained access to information about the new biliteracy policy through her fellow Spanish-language teacher Dulce. As a member of the first grade team, Dulce learned about the new policy from the district’s LLD Director, Kimberly, earlier in the summer of 2016. In an February interview, Yessenia described how both their collegial and personal relationships prompted Dulce to pass on the news,

Dulce and I have worked together for eight years. And my son was in kindergarten, so she knew my son was going to be in first grade. We have talked about [him being in her class] before. ... [She told me about the policy] because my students went to her and then just because we had that relationship. So, she’s like, “Have you heard?” (Interview, February 2017)

In a similar move to obtain information from an ally, Yessenia gathered further details about the planned policy roll-out from LLD Director Kimberly. According to Yessenia, she pulled Kimberly aside during a summer visit to Horizon to discuss her concerns about the new policy based on her previous conversation with Dulce. She reported:

[When] she did come, she said, “I heard that you know.” I said yes, because we all know each other.... And I said, “I am worried,” so that she could explain it to me. [She said], “This is what they will do in other schools.” And I said, “This is my worry,” and she listened to me [and responded], “You’re right. Yes, it’s going to be painful. [Students] are

not going to have the same growth that you are used to seeing. However, we are looking at the long term.” [I told her,] “I know, I know its long term.” (Interview, February 2017)

Yessenia also reported that, through this conversation, she learned about Kimberly’s yet-unannounced plan to implement the new policy for kindergarten the following year. Yessenia explained, “... The first grade was not even official until the summer. She said, yes, we’re going to go ahead and do it and then the following year is going to be kindergarten,” (Interview, February 2017). Sharing restricted information about the policy with Yessenia also represents a strategic move by Kimberly to cement the alliance.

Yessenia used the information she gained from her allies as a resource to negotiate an agreement with actors in Horizon’s kindergarten field. Yessenia presented the biliteracy model to the kindergarten team as a solution that appealed to each actors’ different interests. For instance, Yessenia’s argued that a transition to biliteracy represented a favorable decrease in her partner teacher Donna’s class size. Yessenia recounted the conversation with her co-teacher, Donna, about the policy switch, “We were just talking about the [uneven] numbers and, how can we do this? ...I was just like, ‘Can we just do mixed groups?’ ... Donna was like, ‘Are you sure? Am I hearing what I think I’m hearing?’” (Interview, February 2017).

Yessenia’s proposal to adopt the biliteracy model also appealed to school administrators Danielle and Karen and central office leader Kimberly, who favored the move to biliteracy instruction. Assistant principal Danielle communicated her satisfaction with the way the conflict over class size distribution played out, saying, “I guess, [teachers] already hearing [the policy] was coming in the future and knowing that ahead of time [convinced them to switch early] ... That’s awesome because they made the decision this year,” (Interview, December 2016).

Yessenia next sought out authorization from central office leader Kimberly. She described the discussion,

[Danielle] talked to Kimberly and then we set up a meeting (I think within 24 hours) with Kimberly. She said, “If this is something you feel you want to do, this is what it’s going to look like. Let me know.” She gave us the run-down of what it might look like for us and we were able to ask a few questions. We still had time to say, “No we’re not ready,” but we were all like, “That makes sense.” (Interview, February 2017)

According to Yessenia, the meeting with Kimberly finalized the kindergarten team’s agreement to switch to the biliteracy model, effectively resolving the previous conflict over class sizes.

Influence of Actors’ Moves. Yessenia’s actions to align the interest of both the teachers and administrators were key to enabling the team to form an agreement behind the biliteracy policy. Central office leader Kimberly described Yessenia’s unexpected suggestion as paving the way for the group’s ongoing work to proceed. She remarked,

There was the surprising Horizon K team suddenly saying, “Well, can we just do it now?” three days before the school started and us saying, “Sure, let’s do it.” That was kind of a shocker... I thought that was going to be a hold-out team and it wound up being just the opposite, so that’s amazing. My hat is off to Yessenia because she was the leader in that work and I thought that she was really going to struggle with it. I didn’t think she was going to be on board with it. (Interview, June 2017)

Kimberly viewed Yessenia’s leadership as bringing the team into agreement about how to move forward with implementation.

Yessenia was uniquely positioned with the necessary resources to negotiate an agreement in this instance. Her connections among the Ridgetop dual language community allowed

Yessenia to gain access to information that may not have been available to other actors within the field. The group’s standing agreement to implement dual language under the previous model protected Yessenia’s interests in that it ensured small class sizes. Without a mandate from the central office, school administrators Karen and Danielle showed no intention of pushing for an imminent change in the model. In this case, Yessenia had the authority to disregard her own interests, making concessions to her partner teacher that enabled the group to move forward with implementation.

Pivotal Conflict Episode in Horizon’s First Grade Implementation Trajectory

A conflict that emerged during a reading training proved to be a turning point for Horizon’s first grade team. Previously, actors’ disagreements over the appropriateness and feasibility of the biliteracy policy for first grade instruction endangered their shallow agreement. As illustrated in Figure 16 (below), in this episode, framing and threats by first grade teacher Taryn prompted a meeting in which central office leaders Jocelyn and Kimberly and assistant principal Danielle offered concessions and support. These leadership moves did little to increase actor’s agreement with the policy’s rationale, but these actions did affirm actors’ commitment to collective action to implement the policy.

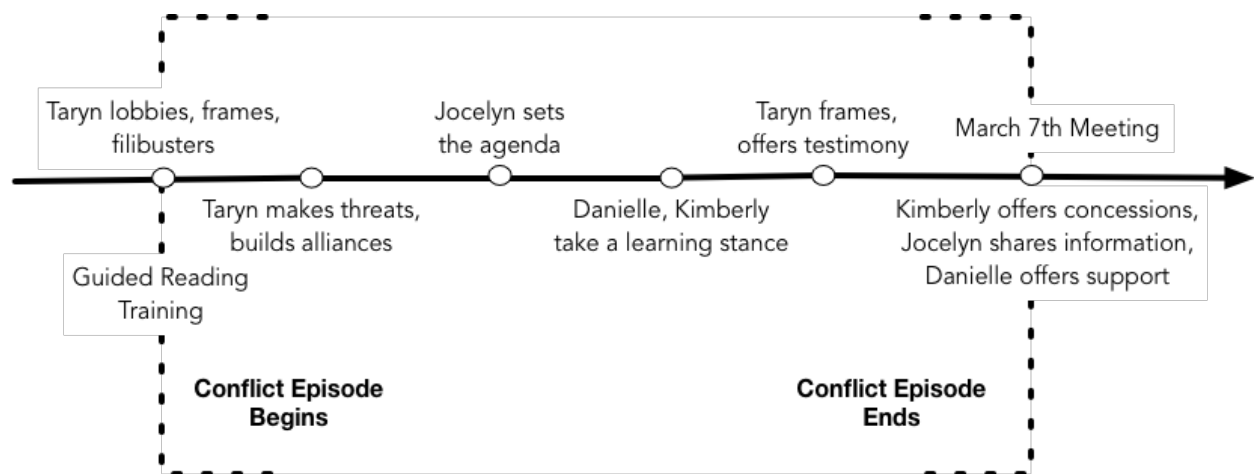


Figure 16. Actors' moves during the pivotal conflict episode in the Horizon first grade biliteracy implementation.

Context for the Conflict. The Horizon kindergarten team approached implementation of the biliteracy policy in the fall of 2016 with the reluctant participation of all of the actors. District LLD Director Kimberly and Spanish Specialist Jocelyn allied themselves with principal Karen and assistant principal Danielle to push for policy implementation. These actors were the incumbents in the field. Teachers held far less power relative to their administrators due to their lack of both positional authority and expertise. While one teacher brought some years of experience to the team, others were new, and all were struggling to develop their craft. In a September meeting, Karen and Danielle portrayed to Kimberly how teachers' evaluation experiences might be exacerbating their concerns about the biliteracy policy,

Danielle: Taryn didn't make her goal last year. Just so you know where she is coming from. So, she's a little bit freaked....

Karen: And Dulce is feeling the pressure because we've had more intentional conversations with her [about improving her instruction] in the past two years than she has had before.

Kimberly: Yeah. And some of those are necessary. Yeah.

Karen: And those are scary. And now we have the student growth goal looming over all of them. So, she's scared. And Katie and Mariko are so new that they are just feeding into this fear. (Observation, September 2016)

Despite teachers' distinct power disadvantage vis-à-vis their supervisors, teacher Taryn took a strong stance against the policy as the field's main challenger. Jocelyn described Taryn as a formidable influence, saying, "Taryn... is super driven and motivated... [We found out] how full

of a voice she was for that entire team. She held a powerful, pretty negative voice...” (Interview, March 2017). Taryn used her strong voice within to field to register opposition to the biliteracy policy.

In addition to the power differences between actors, interpersonal conflicts colored actors’ interactions around implementation. For example, English-language teacher Taryn and her Spanish-language teaching partner Dulce struggled to collaborate around implementation decisions. Taryn described the situation, “There's been a lot of stuff going on this year with my teaching partner that has been really difficult,” (Interview, February 2017). She continued, “You can't just go to somebody and [tell them how to run their classroom] even though you want to, but you can't set up their classroom systems for them,” (Interview, February 2017). This tension between teachers interfered with their ability to organize support for shared interests. Similarly, central office leaders Jocelyn and Kimberly navigated a difficult situation in which teachers tended to seek direct support for dual language-related problems, bypassing their school administrators. Taryn suggested that the teachers valued the expertise that the central office leaders provided, saying, “Jocelyn and Kimberly are seen as more of the experts on implementing the program,” (Interview, February 2017). However, Spanish Specialist Jocelyn interpreted this direct contact as undermining her efforts to build decision-making capacity at the school level.

...[Teachers] directly send an email to me or they directly send an email to Kimberly. That really should be a school-based conversation so that they're owning it within the school, not come directly to us because they don't think that their administrator is going to respond [favorably]... And so, they go over their administrator and... [Kimberly and I] have been pushing them back... (Interview, November 2016)

Jocelyn's description suggests that expectations and norms around support and partnership between the central office and the first grade teachers and administrators at Horizon remained unresolved.

Moves within the Conflict Episode. In January of 2017, a conflict between Horizon's first grade teachers and school and central office administrators created a disturbance in the field that halted implementation of the biliteracy policy. First grade teacher Taryn argued that high quality reading instruction was impossible under the model. She framed the biliteracy approach as the problem and lobbied for a different model that took into account their literacy instructional model's requirements. Taryn described her actions,

[Teachers] had been talking about it, and then we were doing an enhanced guided reading training with Natalie and Jocelyn. While we had them there, we were like, "This is not working. We don't have time for word work. We don't have time for this and we're losing an entire week of instruction every single time we switch [between languages]."

(Interview, February 2017)

With this move, Taryn effectively halted any implementation action within the field until her concerns were addressed by the full group. After Taryn's declaration, Natalie paused the discussion with the first grade team and the group focused instead on the second grade participants.

In response, Danielle convened the team to address Taryn's threat to stop participating. Jocelyn recalled, "[Teachers] reached out the Danielle and Karen and said, 'This is what we're concerned about. Can we bring all hands to a meeting?' So, they brought Kimberly and invited me," (Interview, March 2017).

With the meeting scheduled for March 7th, Taryn made moves to further her interests both by continuing to threaten the agreement and by building alliances with other actors. For example, Jocelyn described a conversation with Taryn that took place at a language development training. In this exchange, Taryn approached Jocelyn privately to explain her perspective on the issues. Jocelyn recalled,

...Taryn said to me, "Hey, I want to talk to you because I know that meeting is coming up.... There are just a lot of things going on." So, I said, "Does that mean you are expecting it to be a really negative meeting?" And she was just like, "Well... [Readers' and Writers'] Workshop is not working in dual language. And this is not working in dual language... There's not enough time for a lot of things and when do we do word study. And when do we do all of this? So, basically next year we are just going to do all [instructional] centers." (Interview, March 2017)

Jocelyn's description of the conversation indicates that Taryn threatened to abandon the biliteracy model in favor of a different approach. Jocelyn's went on to describe her negative response to Taryn's threat and Taryn's subsequent affirmation that she would continue to participate in the agreement,

I asked her, "So, in this meeting are you open to ideas? Or is this meeting just to talk about what's wrong, or are you ready for some ideas and next steps for what that could look like?" She was like, "No, no, that's what I want it to be."

Based on Jocelyn's description of this exchange, Taryn seems to be simultaneously threatening to withdraw from the agreement and reinforcing personal relationships through private conversation.

Taryn described another exchange in which she cultivated an alliance while also threatening the agreement. In a February interview, Taryn described a conversation with her assistant principal, Danielle. Taryn said,

I talked to my assistant principal a couple weeks ago and I just said, "I'm leaving unless I have this, this, this, and this next year." She's like, "Okay, we don't want to lose you," and agreed to everything that I'd asked for. (Interview, February 2017)

In this instance, Taryn described making explicit threats to leave, thereby disrupting the field's common implementation work. Taryn indicated that she brokered this deal in private, reinforcing the alliance with her administrator.

Like Taryn, Spanish specialist Jocelyn made strategic moves to prepare for the March 7th meeting. Jocelyn designed a meeting agenda intended to direct the discussion toward problem-solving action. She commented, "We already had a complaint session, so let's look at some ideas for the first grade and come up with some solutions," (Interview, March 2017). In particular, Jocelyn intended to build a discussion structure that would quickly move away from talk about the problem toward action steps,

... In that meeting, we are going to bring chart paper and markers and make a concrete structure... [We'll clarify] what we are trying to get out of this meeting in the next half an hour, because [discussion] can easily turn into a ramble for the majority of it, then we get nothing except frustration. (Interview, March 2017)

Jocelyn's focus on the meeting structure indicated her perception that the group could mitigate ongoing conflicts by coming to concrete agreement about its future implementation steps.

In contrast to Jocelyn's action-oriented approach, assistant principal Danielle adopted a listening and learning stance to the March 7th meeting. While Jocelyn hoped to move toward

immediate action, Danielle argued that the group's conflicts stemmed from lack of agreement about the essential issues. She said, "I think what the challenge is, there are layers of other challenges and so things get hung up on logistics and certain things, verses "Okay, what's the core problem?'," (Interview, March 2017). In an interview on March 6th, Danielle described her intention to shift tactics in preparation for a meeting with the first grade team scheduled for the following day, moving away from problem-solving toward surfacing deeper conflicts:

Yeah, [the new strategy] is to really get a better understanding of where the hang-ups are. The goal tomorrow is not to brainstorm and solve, but to figure out a structure to better problem-solve in the future. Because obviously in that first meeting, we didn't fully understand and if it's coming up back again in this cross-grade level meeting... (Interview, March 2017)

In keeping with Danielle's stated intentions, both Danielle and LLD Director Kimberly probed for teachers' ideas, rather than offering advice, during the meeting with the first grade team on March 7th. Danielle opened the meeting by stating the goal of gaining clarity. She said,

My understanding about this meeting is that we need a better understanding so that we aren't here to problem solve... I mean we can start to problem-solve, but more really to get a better understanding. After looking at those notes from the kindergarten- first grade team... I really just wanted to unpack those. (Observation, March 2017)

In the following exchange, both Kimberly and Danielle investigated teachers' concerns about how to build their schedules to accommodate the biliteracy model:

Kimberly: I have some questions about time. What are the other pockets of the day that we might be able to pull together some time? Your bilingual centers time...

Donna: We do 15 minutes for Language of the Day.

Danielle: Can we unpack what Language of the Day looks like in your classroom?

(Observation, March 2017)

In this excerpt, both Kimberly and Danielle attempt to dig more deeply into teachers' point of view on the problem before proposing solutions.

During the meeting, first grade teacher Taryn framed the biliteracy model as the problem and bolstered her argument with personal testimony. In response to Danielle and Kimberly's questions, Taryn described constraints imposed by the biliteracy model, illustrating her claims with anecdotes from her classroom experience. The following excerpt is typical of Taryn's moves during the meeting:

It's the time crunch of the pacing guide with the [district-mandated assessments]. The pacing guide keeps going and it takes a week to do the assessment... We have all of these days when we just can't teach. Like when we have the [state language assessments]. We have only a few kids because some are pulled out to finish the test. They don't take into account that we can't do anything normal because we only have these weird groups.

(Observation, March 2017)

In this example, Taryn problematized the pacing guide's lack of alignment with district-mandated assessments and testified as to how the problem affected her ability to work with students.

The March 7th meeting concluded with moves by the incumbent actors, Jocelyn, Kimberly, and Danielle, aimed at addressing Taryn's concerns and maintaining the agreement. LLD Director Kimberly made concessions to Taryn by suggesting that the pacing guide would be altered, in line with Taryn's suggestions, to ensure that teachers could fit in all the elements. She said,

The thing we are hearing, especially from primary [teachers], but really across the system is, “We don’t have enough time. We don’t have enough time. We don’t have enough time!” And I was just thinking, do we really need to do all [six] of these units? Should we really just be doing three or four? (Observation, March 2017)

Jocelyn followed Kimberly’s acknowledgement by sharing information with Taryn and Donna. She stated, “We have not communicated this publicly... but we are going to be doing a revision process for the biliteracy pacing guide with the lead teachers who volunteer. ...It won’t be until May, but we’ll be working on that,” (Observation, March 2017). This move to share information communicated Jocelyn’s partnership and trust by giving the Horizon teachers early access to information. Danielle’s moves to offer support sent a similar message of affirming the partnership with the teachers,

What would be the best supports for you all at this point? Is it partners? Is it in grade-level conversations? Is it about looking at scheduling and thinking about all the pieces?

Thinking both about supporting you now and for the future, when is it best for me to come and give you support? It has to come from you guys saying, “This is when we do support and thinking about this,” as opposed to us saying, “Let’s do this now” when you as a team aren’t there. (Observation, March 2017)

Each of these statements communicated the incumbent actors’ desire to accommodate of the teacher-challengers.

In this meeting, incumbents Kimberly and Jocelyn seemed to have preserved the first grade agreement by making small concessions to the challengers, namely Taryn. For instance, Kimberly and Jocelyn’s pacing guide revision announcement acknowledged Taryn’s assertion that the current documents needed significant adaptation. In particular, Kimberly’s statement

about the need to reduce the amount of content in the pacing guide communicated her alignment with Taryn's perspective. While these moves did little to deepen the agreement around a shared understanding of the policy's rationale, actors were able to agree to continue with implementation, preventing the teachers from abandoning the policy as Taryn had threatened to do during the training.

Influence of Actors' Moves. The concessions and support offered by Kimberly, Jocelyn, and Danielle seemed to shore up the partnership with the first grade teachers. While there were still implementation details to work out, the first grade team left the meeting on March 7th with a plan to proceed together. According to Kimberly,

Overall, I feel like, while there is conflict and there are challenges and things that are tricky, I feel like we were able to approach them in a way that has still left people feeling like we care. We're supportive. We're going to help. We're going to work together. We're going to problem-solve as a team. (Interview, June 2017.)

Kimberly credited the listening and learning approach with communicating to teachers a willingness to address their concerns within the existing agreement. Kimberly describes the group as "a team," indicating her satisfaction that the group emerged from their conflict with a shared commitment to collaborate around implementation.

Summary

In each of the four fields, actors' moves within a particular episode shifted the field further along the spectrum toward deeper implementation. The turning point for the kindergarten team at Manzanita represented the formation of a new agreement in support of the biliteracy policy. In this case, actors managed to create an agreement where there was none before through framing and making mandates. In the case of Manzanita's first grade field, the principal's

facilitation of meaningful discussion via a conference moved the field from a shallow to a deepening agreement aligned with biliteracy policy's rationale. Horizon's kindergarten team came together in support of implementation when one teacher used allies to gather information and align actors' competing interest. This initial alignment started implementation moving forward. On the far end of the continuum, the agreement amongst the first grade team at Horizon was threatening fall apart before the administrators made concessions and took a learning stance to solidify teachers' agreement to participate.

Chapter 8:**Implication for Research and Practice**

Current literature suggests that dual language immersion is a promising model for supporting bilingual and emergent bilingual students' academic growth and bilingual literacy development. These findings are encouraging for districts and schools seeking strategies to improve educational opportunities and outcome for this group of traditionally marginalized students. However, an educational leader turning to research literature for advice on how to realize the equity promise of dual language programs would mostly find information on various barriers to implementation, rather than strategies for how to lead implementation successfully. Studies show that conflicts tend to interfere with dual language educators' efforts to mitigate the systemic racism and oppression that continues to hinder bilingual and emergent bilingual students in educational settings. Reflecting a pattern of failure documented in studies of other equity policies, dual language studies portray leaders as unable to endure conflicts during implementation to ensure that programs transform social norms as well as instructional practices.

How can educational leaders implement dual language approaches in ways that support better educational outcomes and expand opportunities for emergent bilingual students? In this study, I set out to understand how leaders might navigate implementation conflicts in support of equity-focused dual language policies. I used a micro-political and SAF framework to conceptualize this leadership work as maintaining and deepening agreement between actors united in a common understanding of the policy problem and actions to address it. At Horizon and Manzanita elementary schools, I observed four groups of actors as they negotiated shared logics of action about how to implement Ridgetop Public Schools' new biliteracy policy. I documented leaders' actions within conflict episodes to influence the teams' collective actions

throughout the school year. In the following section, I summarize my findings and discuss their implications for research and practice.

Summary of Findings

Over the 2016 – 2017 school year, I observed the kindergarten and first grade-level teams at Horizon and Manzanita elementary schools as actors engaged in a series of negotiations while implementing the district’s new biliteracy policy. During each episode, individuals took strategic actions to shape implementation. I found that each of the four teams succeeded in implementing the new biliteracy policy by planning or making changes to instructional routines and practices. These collective actions indicate that the actors in each of the field agreed to participate in their respective agreements to implement the policy based on a particular logic of action. However, the depth of the agreement in each field differed.

At Manzanita, the kindergarten team began their implementation negotiations late in the school year and experienced three contentious conflict episodes. In this field, the teachers objected to the policy’s approach to literacy instruction and resisted participating in implementation. An email exchange in which teacher Sara and central office Spanish specialist Jocelyn framed the team’s goals differently became a turning point for the field. Manzanita’s principal, Kerri, used her authority to bring Sara into the negotiations, forming an agreement that allowed implementation to proceed. These debates resulted in actors’ agreement to participate in implementation actions but did not result in a shared interpretation of the policy problem. In this shallow agreement, lingering disagreement over the biliteracy approach suggests that the actors are likely to encounter ongoing implementation conflicts in the future.

Manzanita’s first grade team agreed to implement the biliteracy policy at the beginning of the year. However, teachers objected to the policy’s approach to bilingual literacy development,

leading to frequent ongoing conflicts over resources and over instructional practices in reading. A turning point occurred in November, when principal Kerri initiated a dialogue and learning process with teachers Alicia and Claudia. Kerri selected Alicia and Claudia to come with her to a national conference, where they heard experts speak in favor of the biliteracy approach. Through discussion with Kerri, the teachers came to embrace the biliteracy model. The outcome of this episode was a deep agreement based on alignment between the actors' interpretation of the policy problem and the appropriate implementation actions to solve it.

The pivotal moment for the kindergarten team at Horizon took place at the beginning of the school year with the initial agreement formation. With the actors at an impasse over a unequal distribution of students between classes, teacher Yessenia moved to gather information from her allies. She used this information to formulate a proposal that appealed to the interests of the different factions within the field. In keeping with Yessenia's proposal, the teachers and administrators at Horizon agreed to implement the biliteracy policy a year earlier than planned. While each actor agreed to put the policy in place, Yessenia and the other teachers held lingering doubts about the biliteracy approach, resulting in a shallow agreement. The team navigated through regular conflicts during the school year about the biliteracy pacing guide - a set of documents meant to guide implementation of biliteracy instruction.

Horizon's first grade team formed an agreement and proceeded to implement the biliteracy policy at the start of the school year. However, like their kindergarten counterparts, the first grade teachers objected to the instructional routines advocated by the biliteracy pacing guide. Conflicts between teachers and administrators emerged regularly until the early spring, when teacher Taryn threatened to withdraw her agreement to participate. In a turning point for

the field, compromises and concessions by administrators Danielle and Kimberly preserved the shallow agreement and enabled implementation for the remainder of the school year.

Implications for Research

This dissertation differs from past studies of dual language implementation in two significant ways, through its political lens and focus on leadership. While other scholars, such as Cervantes-Soon et al. (2017), have previously identified how dual language implementers have failed to address socio-cultural inequities affecting emergent bilingual and bilingual students, few have approached these challenges as issues that might be remedied through micro-political leadership action. My study's unique focus contributes to existing literature on equity-policy implementation leadership by rethinking leaders' interactions during the implementation process.

Theoretical Contributions. Past dual language implementation studies have primarily drawn on critical theory to explore issues of inequity in dual language programs. For example, Palmer and Scanlan (2009) use Latinx Critical Race Theory to investigate the interplay of race, language, and culture in marginalizing Latinx youth and communities through educational structures. Hernandez (2017) uses critical theory to problematize the racially and culturally mediated labeling system that shapes experiences of dual language students. Through this critical approach, existing studies have highlighted the systemic oppression of emergent bilingual students in dual language programs and have illuminated some of the mechanisms through which their marginalization occurs. However, these studies provide little evidence of how leaders might act to transform systems and mitigate unjust social forces. They can provide minimal explanation of how leaders support policies that create meaningful change for students and their teachers.

My theoretical framework, built from micro-politics and Strategic Action Fields theories, focuses directly on how leaders interact within their local contexts to ensure support of equity

policies. By conceptualizing implementation outcomes as agreements, I suggest that researchers can better understand how leaders strengthen support for equity-focused policies. This lens emphasizes leadership practice that maintains or changes the logics of action driving a field. This framework provides researchers a way to investigate how power shapes collective decision-making processes while also revealing individuals' agency in shaping eventual agreement outcomes.

My micro-political and SAF perspective acknowledges that a wide variety of actors might potentially influence implementation, regardless of their formal position. For instance, teachers wielded tremendous influence in this study's four fields. While they were not positioned as formal leaders, teachers Yessenia, Taryn, Alicia, Claudia, and Sara each marshaled their resources and acted strategically to shape implementation in their respective fields. They used different tactics but were each able to shift implementation processes and shape outcomes. With this study, I argue that recognizing the influence of teachers, families, and students working alongside administrators might create more equitable implementation processes, and ultimately more just outcomes.

Understanding implementation outcomes in terms of actors' ability to form and maintain agreements expands the definition of implementation success. For instance, in some fields, simply forming a shallow agreement in which all actors consent to participate represents success. For instance, Sara at Manzanita stridently objected to the biliteracy policy during the first two conflict episodes of the school year. The fact that Jocelyn and Kerri were able to convince Sara to engage in discussion and agree to implement biliteracy instructional practices in her classroom the following year indicates a successful outcome. Similarly, this approach to implementation highlights changes in agreements over time. As they negotiate in the context of conflict episodes,

actors may be able to find ways to create deeper alignment of values in addition to surface-level agreements about the next set of actions. This was the case with the first grade team at Manzanita, in which principal Kerri built a shared understanding of the biliteracy policy with teachers Claudia and Alicia across multiple conflict negotiations throughout the year. Further research might delve more deeply into how leaders form and maintain agreements under a variety of conditions. For example, under what conditions are agreements likely to deepen? And, what happens as these agreements change over time?

The moves depicted in this study serve as examples of actors' skillful use of influence strategies to build agreements behind equity policy implementation. Fligstein (1997) describes the savvy use of strategic actions as *social skill*, but the SAF literature provides few empirical examples of socially skilled actors influencing implementation outcome within frontline fields. The examples in this study portray this theoretical concept in practice. For example, I recorded how Horizon administrators Danielle and Kimberly took a learning and listening stance by asking questions and probing the understandings of other actors and how they made strategic concessions to secure first grade teacher Taryn's continued participation in implementation. Manzanita's principal, Kerri, used her authority tactically to force teacher Sara to engage in negotiations around implementation, thereby establishing an agreement to enable implementation in the kindergarten team. In these cases, small leadership actions shifted how actors in the field understood their work together and allowed for collective action to implement the policy.

Contributions to Dual Language Research. This study addresses a gap in current literature around the leadership of dual language immersion programs and policies. Current dual language implementation literature largely examines implementation issues amongst teachers. For instance, Palmer (2007, 2010), Fitts (2006), Hernandez (2017), and Freeman (2000) all

depict teachers' struggles and failures to combat social norms and policy pressures within their own schools and in communities that inhibit efforts to create more equitable dual language classrooms. These studies frame implementation as something that teachers try to do despite the challenges of unfriendly school and policy contexts. They provide little information about the leadership actions that shape implementation contexts and they rarely explore the roles of principals and other administrators. There are a small number of scholars who explicitly address dual language leadership toward equity. For example, DeMatthews and Izquierdo (2017) delineate steps that school leaders might take to promote social justice through dual language immersion policies. Menken (2017) reviewed the dual language literature through a leadership lens for her report aimed at practitioners. These articles urge leaders to build partnerships with families, boldly advocate for redistribution of resources in the face of conflict and build their own knowledge of bilingualism. Yet, even these leadership-focused writings provide minimal insight into the practices that leaders might use to accomplish these ambitious goals.

This dissertation study, on the other hand, focuses directly on the micro-level leadership practices that individual actors use to accomplish broader equity-focused goals. By documenting the moves that leaders made during particular interactions, the findings show *how* leaders navigate conflict to push for new understandings of biliteracy that lead to new teaching practices and routines.

Contributions to Equity-Policy Research. The leadership moves I documented across the four fields simultaneously affirm previous studies' findings and add nuance to what we know about leadership of equity initiatives. In my review of this literature, I found that leaders used four types of moves to successfully navigate conflicts while implementing equity policies: framing, mandating, leading learning processes, and making compromises. The leaders in my

study employed many such moves. For example, Spanish specialist Jocelyn and teacher Sara engaged in framing and counter-framing in their conflict over the process for determining how to implement biliteracy in Manzanita's kindergarten team. At the same school, principal Kerri led a learning process to deepen the agreement behind biliteracy with first grade teachers Alicia and Claudia.

While implementation actors used many of these previously-documented moves in negotiating through conflict episodes, the contextual differences between my study and previous literature reveal nuances and raise questions about the moves used by powerful incumbent and less-powerful challenger actors. In past studies, like those by Wells and Serna (1996) and Oakes and Lipton (2002), school teachers and administrators were positioned as challengers looking to change the status quo in opposition to "elite" parents and community members who acted as incumbents aiming to quash equity-policy efforts. In these previous cases, parents used power and authority to lobby school board members or administrators, who largely gave in to pressure and halted equity reforms. In contrast, the technical nature of the policy shift in my study meant that the actors in the field exclusively consisted of school personnel, rather than parents or community members who had little at stake and whose participation in the field was not required for implementation. My study also differs from past studies of equity-policy implementation in that it examined a shift in a long-running policy, rather than a policy being newly enacted. In this dissertation, incumbent school administrators were supporting the policy and were often at odds with teachers who acted as challengers. The unique context depicted in my study created power dynamics unlike those documented in previous studies, resulting in differences in leadership moves, which I outline in the subsequent paragraphs.

Compared to previous studies, I found that challengers and incumbents used particular moves differently. For example, Irby (2018) and Oakes and Linton (2002) describe leadership of a learning process as a tactic that principals used to shift teachers' interpretation of an equity problem in anticipation of policy implementation efforts. In these cases, principals were challengers using the process to disrupt the dominant status quo understanding in the field. In contrast, I observed incumbent actors successfully navigate conflicts by taking a learning and listening stance during interactions. This was not a move used by challengers in any of the episodes I documented. Principal Kerri used this move in her creation of the leadership team at Manzanita and director Kimberly and assistant principal Danielle applied this strategy during their negotiations with resistant first grade teachers at Horizon. Fligstein and McAdams (2011) suggest that incumbents typically strive to keep agreements together and support collective action based on current dominant logics. These covert moves may have helped incumbents stave off resistance because they gave challengers a sense of agency while convincing them to go along with established routines and norms.

In another reversal of trends from previous equity-policy studies, I observed challengers lobbying often and successfully, while incumbents never lobbied. These findings contradict findings from Turner and Spain (2016) and Wells and Serna (1996) who depict implementation efforts halted by effective lobbying campaigns by powerful parents. In my study, teachers Taryn, Claudia, and Yessenia each lobbied their school administrators for extra support to aid in implementation. SAF suggests that challengers are typically reliant on their agreement partners to address their concerns and they are predictably interested in shifting the agreement rather than maintaining it in its current form (Fligstein & McAdams, 2011). It is possible that lobbying

allowed challengers to gain enough leverage to shift implementation despite their lack of authority relative to incumbents.

The working and collaborative relationship between actors in my study also illuminated moves to draw on allies that had been minimally documented in previous studies of equity-policy implementation. I observed actors strategically bolstering particular relationships or drawing upon existing associations to advance a particular perspective. For example, kindergarten teacher Yessenia drew upon her prior relationships with both her Horizon colleague Dulce and central office leader Kimberly to gain access to information about the biliteracy policy. Similarly, first grade teacher Taryn sought to build connections with central office specialist Jocelyn and assistant principal Danielle through informal discussions. According to Pfeffer (1981), providing other actors with more information builds trust and bolsters alliances. Pfeffer suggests that actors use this strategy to make their interests the interests of powerful actors. For Taryn and Yessenia, information sharing seemed both to strengthen their relationships with other actors in the field and, in Yessenia's case, to yield useful information in return. In addition to the exchange of information between agreement partners, leadership moves that activated interpersonal connections seemed to draw in new actors. For example, Yessenia brought Kimberly into the negotiations to help resolve conflicts over the kindergarten team's program model. Micro-political and SAF theories suggest that these relationships are resources that actors can draw on during negotiation, providing them with more allies during negotiation.

The variations revealed in my analysis of leadership moves in support of equity implementation suggest a number of promising avenues for future research. I found that leaders used moves differently than observed in past studies, suggesting researchers might learn more by examining actors' use of strategic moves during equity policy implementation in other contexts.

For example, this study took a largely race- and gender-neutral approach to actors' interests. Yet, race, gender, and other social identity categories certainly shift how actors interact and use power to influence collective action within a group. How do these leadership moves change depending on the social identities of the actors in the field? Further research might compare the moves of leaders of color to those of their White colleagues. Research might also explore variations in the actors' relationship to the policy. For example, in this dissertation study, I followed implementation of a district-initiated policy. How might leadership activity and outcomes change when equity-policies are initiated in schools and are supported by challengers, rather than incumbents? Further studies under different contextual conditions would flesh out some of these initial findings concerning which moves work for whom and under what conditions.

Implications for Practice

This dissertation study is grounded in the needs of practitioners. In the introduction, I shared a story from Horizon's principal, Karen, about a conflict that arose over an assembly featuring a major league baseball player that spurred staff discussions about language access and fairness. This study's findings provide much-needed guidance for leaders facing similar challenges.

The findings reported in this study begin to add to a small but growing body of literature that aims to guide leaders in supporting the day to day implementation of dual language immersion programs. Currently, most literature and professional development for dual language leaders largely focuses on the technical aspects of creating new dual language programs, including hiring qualified teachers and creating school-wide structures that support bilingualism. Practitioner resources, such as the *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (2018), rarely differentiate leadership practices from general advice for teachers and other dual language

educators. Some researchers, such as DeMatthews and Izquierdo (2017) and Menken (2017) have begun to consider the ongoing work of leading dual language programs. This study adds to such efforts by reporting on the concrete moves leaders use in their implementation work over time. In particular, it illustrates how leaders encourage policy “buy-in” from teachers. With these findings, I argue that practitioners should consider how they build agreements in support of equity programs.

While leaders might use this perspective to consider successful implementation of any policy, I argue that the leadership moves highlighted in this study are particularly necessary for those implementing equity policies. By focusing on micro-level leadership moves, this study contributes to a growing body of literature that strives to support the development of equity-focused leadership by naming and describing justice-oriented leadership practices (e.g. Galloway & Ishimaru, 2017; Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, 2016). In particular, my findings add to the discussion by emphasizing the necessity of micro-political skills for leadership seeking to advance an equity agenda. Few scholars have explored the potential of micro-political leadership despite the clear need for practitioner guidance (for exceptions, see Ryan, 2010; Ryan & Higginbottom, 2016). Research provides clear evidence that leaders need tools to navigate likely conflicts over resources and values and direction for considering how they take up issues of bias as they strive to build agreements in support of equity-policy implementation.

Looking beyond dual language, this study presents rare depictions of leaders succeeding in supporting equity policy through conflict. With very few exceptions (See Turner and Spain, 2016; and Irby, 2018, for notable examples), most studies of equity policy implementation portray leaders’ failures. This study presents four examples in which leaders successfully navigated conflicts to support implementation. Rarer still, my findings illustrate a range of

successful outcomes. This range allows practitioners to begin to visualize the spectrum of implementation that they may achieve in their own contexts. Deep agreements that enable collective action over the long term are ideal but may be unlikely where resources are scarce, and leaders hold divergent values related to equity policies. But the examples of shallow agreements in Manzanita's kindergarten or Horizon's kindergarten or first grade may help leaders imagine how to begin. The example of the first grade team from Manzanita also may prove useful for leaders in considering how to create alignment and move from shallow to deep agreement. At the very least, these examples illustrate that leading through conflict can be accomplished.

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Appendix A Initial Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Introduction

- Thank you for participating
- Overview of the study – background, goals/questions
- Preview interview
 - o Purpose – understanding individual’s perspective
 - o Process, types of questions
- Reminders:
 - o Consent form
 - o Confidentiality
 - o Voluntary
- Ok with audio recording?
- Questions?

Section 1: Background

1. What is your role with the school/district?
 - ✓ *How did you come to be in this position?*
 - ✓ *If applicable: How did you come to be at the meeting?*
2. To what extent does your work involve dual language?
 - ✓ *Prior experience with DL?*
 - ✓ *Length of time involved?*
3. When people say “dual language,” they sometimes have different ideas in mind. Similarly, dual language programs look different in various districts and schools. How would you define a dual language program?
 - ✓ *Probe for an example that reflects the definition.*
 - ✓ *How widely shared this opinion is within the school, district?*
 - i. *What other opinions do you hear from staff, students, and community members?*
 - ii. *In the district, how typical is your definition reflected in the programs here? How do you know?*
 - ✓ *What is the goal of dual language?*
 - ✓ *Would you call it bilingual education? Why/why not?*
 - ✓ *Would you call it ELL services? Why/ why not?*

Section 2: Program Implementation

This set of questions are about how the DL program/s is/are implemented in the school. These questions are asking for your opinion or your understanding.

4. I’m trying to get an idea about the history of the DL program here. What is your sense of how the dual language program at the school came to be?
 - ✓ *Where did the idea come from?*

- ✓ *Who was involved?*
 - ✓ *What was happening around that time?*
 - ✓ *How did it get off the ground?*
 - ✓ *What were some of the important events that shaped the program after it started?*
 - ✓ *If appropriate: What was your role?*
5. Sometimes schools and districts start dual language programs, but they don't get off the ground or survive long term. What is your sense of why this program has been able to move forward?
- ✓ *What are some of the successes produced by the program?*
 - ✓ *What are some of the challenges that people faced?*
 - ✓ *Who has been involved?*
 - ✓ *What actions did people take?*
6. What can you tell me about how the DL program runs now?
- ✓ *Who is involved?*
 - ✓ *What are their roles?*
 - ✓ *Who supports the program?*
 - ✓ *How do people at the school access support?*
7. We know that dual language programs often run into lots of conflict. This is a normal part of putting dual language programs in place and the goal of my study is to understand how people productively work through conflicts during program implementation. What kinds of conflicts have come up around the dual language program here?
- ✓ *Probe for specific incidents.*
 - ✓ *What happened?*
 - ✓ *Who was involved?*
 - ✓ *About what? Sticking points?*
 - ✓ *How was it resolved?*
 - ✓ *What was your involvement?*
8. Based on these successes, challenges and conflicts, what do you think are the next steps for the DL program/s?
- ✓ *Instructionally?*
 - ✓ *Structurally?*
 - ✓ *Resources?*
 - ✓ *Training?*
 - ✓ *If appropriate, probe for reasons, justification.*
 - ✓ *How do you see yourself participating in these next steps, if at all?*

Closing

That was my last question for you. Thanks so much for your time and for sharing this information with me. It is very valuable!

9. Is there anything else that you think I should know before we finish?

I will be in touch with you soon about coming by to do some observations. As I get a chance to process all this information, I may also get in touch to follow-up and get more details.

Thanks again participating!

Appendix B

Ongoing Check-in Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Introduction

- Thank you for participating
 - Overview of the study – background, goals/questions,
 - Preview interview
 - o Purpose – understanding individual’s perspective
 - o Informal check-in style
 - Reminders:
 - o Confidentiality
 - o Voluntary
 - Ok with audio recording?
 - Questions?
1. Can you give me some background on the group that met?
 - ✓ *How often do you meet?*
 - ✓ *How often do issues about dual language come up?*
 - ✓ *Who usually attends meetings?*
 2. What came up in this most recent meeting?
 - ✓ *How did it get onto the agenda?*
 - ✓ *Why was the group talking about that particular topic?*
 - ✓ *Who participated in the discussion?*
 - ✓ *What happened?*
 - ✓ *Did the group come to a decision? Why or why not?*
 - ✓ *What did you think about the group’s decision? Why?*
 - ✓ *How typical was that conversation? Why or why not?*
 3. What will happen next?
 - ✓ *What are the next topics that the group will be discussing?*
 - ✓ *Who brought them up?*
 - ✓ *What are that reasons the group will talk about them now?*
 - ✓ *What are your next steps in terms of the work of this group?*
 - ✓ *Will other groups or people be involved? Why or why not?*

Closing

That was my last question for you. Thanks so much for your time and for sharing this information with me. It is very valuable!

4. Is there anything else that you think I should know before we finish?

I will be in touch with you soon about scheduling our next check-in and I will certainly see you at planning meetings. As I get a chance to process all this information, I may also get in touch to follow-up and get more details.

Thanks again participating!

Appendix C

Conflict Framework Member Check Interview Protocol

Introduction

- Thank you for participating
 - Preview member check interview protocol
 - o Purpose – Provide feedback on FW and its use
 - Present FW
 - Talk through an example
 - o Format – Informal feedback session
 - Reminders:
 - o Confidentiality
 - o Voluntary
 - Ok with audio recording?
 - Questions?
4. In my study, I'm arguing that it is productive to view the challenges that come up during implementation as conflicts because that means that leaders can take steps with colleagues to resolve them in ways that support the DL program. Of course, there are lots of other ways to view them. (*Explain components of framework.*)
 - ✓ *How is this FW similar or different from how you view your work?*
 - ✓ *What do you think about this perspective? What does it bring up for you?*
 5. In this framework, I have gathered data about strategic actions from observations. It is harder for me to see the other steps, which is why I rely on interviews. I'm going to give you a brief example that I have observed. (*Describe example. *Note that these steps often happen in split-second decisions.*)
 - ✓ *Does that sound accurate to you?*
 - ✓ *What did I miss?*
 - ✓ *What else can you tell me about how you considered your strategic actions in this case?*
 6. Can you think of other examples of strategic actions you have taken in response to dual language conflicts?
 - ✓ *What happened?*
 - ✓ *What prompted the actions?*
 - ✓ *How did you decide to act that way?*
 - ✓ *What were the outcomes?*
 7. Based on your work implementing dual language, how useful do you think this framework might be?
 - ✓ *How might you use it?*
 - ✓ *What is missing that might make this a more useful tool?*
5. Is there anything else that you think I should know before we finish?

Appendix D Coding Schemes

Descriptive codes

- Name
- Site
 - Manzanita
 - Horizon
 - Central Office
 - Other
- Instance of Conflict
- Content of the Conflict
 - Materials/resources
 - Staffing
 - Strand to Whole School
 - Bi-literacy
 - Decision-making – district vs. school
 - DL Coordinators
 - Interventions
 - Enrollment and attendance area/family choice
- Use of Influence Strategy
- Conception of Equity

Analytic Codes

- Authority
 - Legal
 - Expertise
 - Positional
 - Group membership/cultural
- Influence Strategies
 - Change venue
 - Agreement
 - Control information
 - Control participation
 - Data
 - External advocacy/pressure
 - External expert, research
 - Framing
 - Learning stance
 - Leave the arena
 - Lobbying
 - Mandate
 - Offer resources
 - Offer support
 - Personal testimony
 - Resist

- Set the agenda
- Use authority
- Field
 - Frontline_Horizon_1st Biliteracy
 - Frontline_Horizon_K Biliteracy
 - Frontline_Manzanita_1st Biliteracy
 - Frontline_Manzanita_K Biliteracy
 - Org_Horizon
 - Org_Manzanita
 - Policy_District_DL Program Expansion
 - Policy_District_DL Program Policy and Coordination
- Conflict Episode
 - Expansion_Board
 - Expansion_CO enrollment meeting
 - Expansion_Vista Peak
 - Expansion_School Meetings
 - H1_160921
 - H1_161119
 - H1_HK_170307
 - H1_HK_Beginning-of-the-Year_Biliteracy
 - H1_midyear jockeying
 - H1_Pacing guide revisions
 - HK_midyear jockeying
 - K_Job-alike_170519
 - K_Pacing Guide Revisions_170531
 - KPlanning_170417
 - M1_160921
 - M1_Beginning-of-the-year_Biliteracy
 - M1_Data
 - M1_Interventions_160928
 - M1_LaCosecha
 - M1_midyear jockeying
 - M1_MK_Leadership team
 - MK_Mandate meeting
 - MK_Mid-May meeting
 - MK_under the surface