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Identities in Shifting Educational Policy Contexts: The Consequences of Moving from Two Languages, One Community to English Only.

Green, Judith y Heras Monner Sans, Ana Inés.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Identities in Shifting Educational Policy Contexts: The Consequences of Moving from Two Languages, One Community to English Only

JUDITH GREEN AND ANA INÉS HERAS

With contributions from

MARIA LUCIA CASTANHEIRA, BETH YEAGER, AND CAROL DIXON

Recently, researchers have begun to examine the experience of reform from the point of view of those most directly affected by changes in reform initiatives. McNeil and Coppola (2006), for example, argue that policies are generally developed far from those they are designed to govern and that the organization or people for whom a policy was written are usually not part of the decision-making process. They argue that:

[r]esearch on policy impact needs to capture the voices of those affected not just because they are recipients of the policy, but because they may have insights unavailable to the formal policy process; the power differential favors the policy makers, while the actual knowledge differential may favor the professionals and families being affected. Framing the research around what the policy is doing to or for children and their education immediately takes the researcher out of the input-output mode and often beyond the assumptions embedded in the policy. (p. 683)

In this chapter, we build on these arguments to explore the impact of changes in policies on the opportunities for learning (Tuyay, Jennings, & Dixon, 1995) and on the potentials for identity constructions (e.g., Holland & Cole, 1995; Holland, Lachoite, Skinner, & Cain, 1998; Castanheira, Green, Dixon, & Yeager, 2007) in fifth grade classes between 1993 and 2000 taught by a teacher (Beth) in two different reform initiatives. The first reform context focuses on the period 1993–1998, where Bilingual Instruction was officially

sanctioned; the second period, 1998–2000, focuses on a reform context in which the district-wide and statewide policy actions led to a change to English Only. To explore the impact of these changes on opportunities for learning and potential identities afforded to students, we created a unique data set consisting of class records constructed in a reform period officially supporting Bilingual Instruction (1993, 1996, and 1997), and a changing reform period supporting a move to English Only (1998; 2000). The anchor for this contrastive analysis was a TESOL Newsletter written by the teacher (Yeager, 1999a).

Design of the Case Studies: The Construction of Telling Cases

We present a new analysis of archived records (1993–2000) through a double case-study approach, designed to make visible the impact of changes in reform initiatives and policies (Case Study 1) on conditions shaping the opportunities for learning and for identity formulation inside of the classroom (Case Study 2). By holding the classroom and grade level constant across years (1993–2000), we examined patterns of practice constructed by the teacher with students that constituted the opportunities for learning and for constructing local, situated identities within and across times and events for each year. Then by contrasting each year systematically in a pair-wise contrast across years, we were able to examine the impact of the shifting policy initiatives on teacher and students alike. As the telling cases (Mitchell, 1984) will demonstrate, by using the observed shift in 1998 from Bilingual Instruction to English Only as an anchor, we were able to engage in a process of mapping the inter-play, and histories, of what occurred inside and outside of the classroom.

The Teacher and Her Classes

The selection of Beth's classes for the two case studies was purposeful on multiple levels. First, her classes constitute a multiyear ethnographic archive of life in fifth grade that crosses two major reform initiatives between 1993 and 2000. Second, Beth was a nationally recognized fellow of the Carnegie Foundation's Academy for the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning, a fellow of the South Coast Writing Project, and a published teacher ethnographer (e.g., Yeager, 1999a; 1999b, 2003; Yeager & Green, 2008; Yeager, Green, & Castanheira, 2009). Third, she was, and still is, a partner in ethnography, one who engaged her students in ethnographic work in, and of, their classroom (Yeager, Floriani, & Green, 1998). Furthermore, between 2001 and 2003, she engaged in her own (re)analysis of the 1996 school year for her dissertation in order to explore how students constructed academic identities (Yeager, 2003).

Her work as a teacher-researcher and researcher-teacher (Yeager, 2003) added depth to the analysis of what was present in 1993, 1996, and 1997, and what shifted in 1998 and 2000, as a result of policy changes in multiple areas of the social, school and political systems. Furthermore, her work, and that of her colleagues in a Teacher Research Community funded by The Spencer Foundation (1996–1998) that was part of the archive, was instrumental in uncovering a broad range of shifting policy vectors that converged to limit what she (and they) were able to afford students in 1998 and beyond. These vectors will be presented later in this chapter and draw on an earlier analysis of policy impact published in the *Bilingual Research Journal* (Dixon, Green, Yeager, Baker, & Franquiz, 2000; Dixon & Green, 2009) as part of a series of reports on the impact of the implementation of the English Only initiative.

The Archive

The ethnographic archive between 1993 and 2000 included a broad range of records for each year: videos, field-notes, student work, teacher plans, documents sent home, documents for teachers, and other artifacts, collected by university-based ethnographers, in collaboration with Beth and her students. In 1998, given the demands on students and Beth for a new way of communicating and writing in classrooms (i.e., the use of English Only in public spaces), the ethnographic team in consultation with Beth decided to withdraw from the classroom, but to continue analysis and support for Beth's work with her students. Beth elected to continue to engage students in work as ethnographers (Yeager, Floriani, & Green, 1998), which included making video records of life in their classroom (Dixon & Green, 2009).

The existence of this extensive data-set enabled us to trace intertextually (Bloome, 1992; Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993) and intercontextually (Floriani, 1993; Heras, 1993) related events that members of the class marked in their talk as academically significant. The identification of intertextual and intercontextual ties across particular sequences of events formed the basis for examining how particular content (texts), actions and practices (contextual information, i.e., ways of constructing texts) formed consequential progressions; the intertextually and intercontextually tied events also provided a systematic approach to uncovering historical roots and routes of events.¹ Ties, therefore, were visible in what members socially accomplished in and through what they proposed to each other, recognized and acknowledged in their interactions, and signaled as academically and socially significant for present and

¹ For references on this approach, see Durán & Szymanski, 1995; Putney, Green, Dixon, Durán, & Yeager, 2000; Baker, Green & Skukauskaite, 2008; Castanheira, Green & Yeager, 2009; Dixon, Green & Brandts, 2005.

future work (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993). These cycles of analysis represent the iterative and recursive processes central to ethnography as a non-linear system (Agar, 2004, 2006).

Telling Cases as Analytic Constructions

The approach to case study construction is one grounded in ethnographic research, and differs in scale and focus from other forms of case study (e.g., Borman, Clarke, Cotner, & Lee, 2006; Yin, 2006). Mitchell (1984) contrasts telling cases with illustrative, representative and typical cases, arguing that in ethnographic research:

[c]ase studies are the detailed presentation of ethnographic data relating to some sequence of events from which the analyst seeks to make some theoretical inference. The events themselves may relate to any level of social organization: a whole society, some section of a community, a family or an individual. What distinguishes case studies from more general ethnographic reportage is the detail and particularity of the account. Each case study is a description of a specific configuration of events in which some distinctive set of actors have been involved in some defined situation at some particular point of time. (p. 222)

Building on Mitchell, we explored two particular configurations of events, each with distinctive sets of actors in particular situations at particular points in time, and traced the changes in policies, the historical roots and routes leading to these policy changes, and the consequences of these policy changes for the teacher and the students. Thus, the telling cases in this chapter make visible relatively unexamined, yet theoretically important, factors that supported and constrained what was possible for the teacher to construct with her linguistically and culturally diverse students in different reform contexts. In this way, we examine what happened to the opportunities for learning and identity construction of teacher and students, when policies changed from support for Bilingual Instruction to support for English Only.

Through these analyses, we also demonstrate why a nonlinear process, that is, an abductive logic of inquiry (Agar, 2004, 2006), was necessary to support a multilayered, multifaceted approach to identifying the dynamic processes across levels of social, school, and political systems and their consequences for teachers and students. As part of the description of the processes, we demonstrate the ways in which triangulating data, theory, method, and/or perspectives (Corsaro, 1981) enabled us to identify unanticipated rich points (Agar, 1994, 2004) that then served as a basis for tracing the historical roots and routes of particular educational reforms and policies. In this way, we present the abductive logic of inquiry central to Interactional Ethnography,

the particular approach to ethnography developed by members of the Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group in the last four decades².

Constructing Telling Cases of Unanticipated Consequences: Ethnography, Identities, and Opportunities for Learning

We begin this section by presenting the perspective guiding our analysis of the telling cases, grounded in anthropological theories of culture and discourse analysis theories of language-in-use, that frame our study of everyday life in classrooms and of social systems as (re)constructed by participants in and through their moment-by-moment as well as over time interactions in particular social settings. From this perspective, cultural patterns are not a given but a construction by local actors, developed in social fields as they create patterned ways of perceiving, believing, acting, and evaluating everyday life.³ Central to this argument is the relationship between language and culture. Agar (1994) captures succinctly this relationship when he argues that the concept of “culture,” like the concept of “language,” has to change:

The two concepts have to change *together*. Language, in all its varieties, in all the ways it appears in everyday life, builds a world of meanings. When you run into different meanings, when you become aware of your own and work to build a bridge to the others, “culture” is what you’re up to. Language fills the spaces between us with sound; culture forges the human connection through them. Culture is in language, and language is loaded with culture. (p.33)

Bakhtin (1986) provides insights into how this language and cultural work becomes part of the repertoires for action of individuals-within-social-groups and the group itself:

We assimilate forms of language only in forms of utterances and in conjunction with these forms. The forms of language and the typical forms of utterances, that is speech [written] genres, enter our experience and our consciousness together, and in close connections with another....These genres are so diverse because they differ depending on the situation, social position, and personal interrelations of participants in the communication. These genres have high, strictly official, respectful forms as well as familiar ones. And there are forms with varying degrees of familiarity, as well as intimate forms (which differ from familiar ones). (78–79)

² See Castanheira, Crawford, Green & Dixon, 2001; Dixon, et al., 2000; Green & Bloome, 1997; Green & Dixon, 1993; Green & Wallat, 1981; Rex, 2006; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; b.

³ For references on this approach, see Bloome, Carter, Otto Christian & Shuart-Faris, 2004; Erickson, 1986; Candela, Rockwell & Coll, 2004; Green & Dixon, 1993; Green, Dixon, & Zaharlick, 2003; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1992a; b.

His argument about the diversity of genres and the situated and interpersonal nature of those genres in relationships to particular positions was central to the present analysis. Discourse-in-use (oral or written), viewed in this way, brings with it a range of circumstances that give rise to both the genres and the content of what is being proposed through it, since, following Bahktin once again:

Any understanding of live speech, a live utterance, is inherently responsive, although the degree of this activity varies extremely. Any understanding is imbued with response and necessarily elicits it in one form or another: the listener becomes the speaker. A passive understanding of the meaning of perceived speech is only an abstract aspect of the actual whole of actively responsive understanding, which is then actualized in a subsequent response that is actually articulated. Of course, an utterance is not always followed immediately by an articulated response. An actively responsive understanding of what is heard (a command, for example) can be directly realized in action (the execution of an order or command that has been understood and accepted for execution), or it can remain for the time being, a silent responsive understanding (certain speech genres are intended for this kind of responsive understanding, for example, lyrical genres), but this is, so to speak, responsive understanding with a delayed reaction. Sooner or later what is heard and actively understood will find its response in the subsequent speech or behavior of the listener. In most cases, genres of complex cultural communication are intended precisely for this kind of actively responsive understanding with delayed action. Everything that we have said here also pertains to written and read speech, with the appropriate adjustments and additions. (p. 68-69)

Drawing on the chain of reasoning created by these theoretical arguments, we constructed an approach to the study of the impact of policies on the opportunities for learning and for identity construction in Beth's classes across the different reform initiatives because it provided a basis for conceptualizing language and culture as dynamic and interdependent processes. It also laid a foundation for our approach to the ways in which policies beyond the classroom door supported in one case (Bilingual Instruction) and limited in a second case (English Only) the material resources (Gee & Green, 1998) available to teacher and students.

We combined this chain of reasoning with Geertz's (1983) argument that people construct local knowledge, and Edwards and Mercer's (1987) argument that participants construct common knowledge to explore further how the loss of particular language resources constrained what members were able to construct together as academic content and as identities (e.g., Castanheira et al., 2007) in the classroom under the English Only reform initiative. These arguments framed the contrastive analysis of patterns and forms of language use, whether in discourse(s) amongst teacher and students, or inscribed in the documents related to the different policies. This analysis involved examining who used (spoke or wrote) what language, when and where, for what purpose, under what conditions, with whom, in what ways,

and with what outcome or consequence. Through this level of analysis we identified missing opportunities and their consequences for learning as well as identity formulation.

To frame this argument further, we drew on work by Lima (1995), who, building on Vygotsky and Brazilian pedagogical thought, argued that:

We have two dimensions of development [and by implication, learning]: one that resides in the individual and the other in the collectivity. Both are interdependent and create each other. Historically created possibilities of cultural development are themselves transformed by the processes through which individuals acquire the cultural tools that are or become available in their context. (447-448)

From this argument, linguistic and cultural practices, learning and development, and individual and collective are all in a reflexive relationship. Both the individual and the collective are therefore interdependent and the capacity of one depends on, and contributes to, the capacity of the other. This conceptualization of individual-collective relationship lays a foundation for exploring how changes in language use for a particular group of students, for example, English Language Learners (ELL), also resulted in changes in material resources for the group; that is, for all students and the teacher. This chain of reasoning, therefore, led us to examine unanticipated losses for the collective as well as the teacher and individual groups of students.

Theory-Method Relationships: A Conceptual Argument

In this section, we make transparent concepts that grounded our multifaceted study of discourse-in-use (oral and written), and how these concepts led to the need for analyses at multiple levels of scales (time, space, actors). Four conceptual arguments frame this movement across levels of analysis: intertextuality, rich points, frame clashes, and logics at play. Each of these framed a particular level of analysis, and taken together formed a web that enabled us to examine the roots and routes of particular policies or moments of challenge to Beth, students, and community. Although there is a rich body of literature on intertextuality as links between texts, recent arguments by Bloome (1992) and his colleagues (Bloome & Bailey, 1992; Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Bloome et al., 2004) who propose a dynamic and agentive view of intertextuality as a social accomplishment of people as they engage in events of everyday life were central to our analysis. From this perspective, the construction of intertextual ties between present, past, and future texts (oral, written, and visual) was more than an analytical method; it was part of a dynamic process in which participants propose, recognize, and acknowledge ties between texts that were socially significant to events constructed by particular groups of actors in particular social fields. This view of inter-

textuality framed our approach to identifying pathways visible in the choices of words, and histories inscribed in the oral and written texts of participants. From this perspective, intertextual relationships were visible within a developing event or text and historical times were potentially available to participants and ethno-graphers alike.

To this argument, we added the concept of frame clashes (Gumperz, 1986; Mehan, 1979; Tannen, 1979) as a basis for identifying anchor points for examining historical circumstances surrounding, and/or leading to, policy shifts at different points in time in the history of a group or system. The combination of these concepts pointed to the need to uncover the actors who contributed to the policy changes. Building on Agar (1994), we viewed such *rich points* as places where *culture happens*. That is, at such points, differences in understanding, interpretation, and/or meanings became marked, or visible to participants (including the ethnographer). By examining patterns of action and meaning construction around such point, we identified the pathways leading to policy changes. From this perspective, moments of frame clash served as anchors for analysis of historical antecedents of the event or the changing circumstances leading to the [present] condition (See Figure 1). By analyzing frame clashes and tracing their historical roots/routes, we were able to identify a range of changing policies that converged to create the challenges Beth inscribed as she planned for students in 1998, the year in which a shift from Bilingual Instruction to English Only occurred in her school (Dixon et al., 2000).

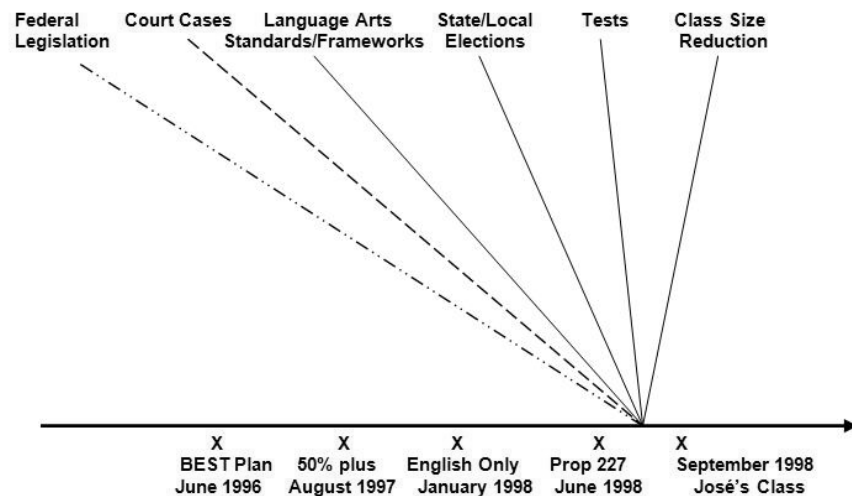


Figure 1. From bilingual education to english only in less than two years: The converging forces of policy actions.

Although *frame clashes* have not been associated with the study of the impact of policy changes in the past, the importance of considering them is visible in the work of Burin and Heras (2001, 2008; Heras Monner Sans, Burin, & Córdova, 2008). Rather than view them as personal clashes in interpretation, their research focuses on the dynamic interplay between actors at different levels of systems in nonschool contexts. In studying political and economic policies and their impact on community-based organizations, they found that actors in different sets of systems (social fields) were guided by diverse logics and that these logics may or may not be congruent, and that at times, these logics are frankly contradictory. Thus their work points to the need to view actors within their systems of social life and to examine what happens when different *logics are at play*. Their work points to the need to explore how logics across groups in different policy levels are consistent with, or differ from, the logic of others seeking to promote, or take up, the changes (see also Goertz, 2006, and Sutton & Levinson, 2001, on studying policy implementation and policy as practice, respectively).

By adding the concept of the *interplay of logics* for different actors or groups of actors to our orienting framework, we enhanced our ability to examine the factors that supported and constrained how policies proposed by particular actors, or groups of actors, were (or were not) taken up within and across social fields surrounding Beth's classes (see Palmer & García, 2000 for articles that make a visible differential take up of English Only across school districts in California). Through this approach, we identified the complex range of actors within and across particular systems (e.g., school district, state and national governance bodies, law courts, among others). This approach also enabled us to examine closely the positions, and positionings of different actors (Heras, 1993) in the reform process, and through this process, their identities or identity potentials.

The orienting framework of this study (Green, Dixon, & Zaharlick, 2003) did not predict what we would find but rather guided how we approached each analysis, thus enabling us to hold the theory constant, while allowing actors, actions, events, texts, and other social dimensions to vary. By holding the theory constant, we were able to identify intertextually tied records in the ethnographic archive for particular analyses, to identify possible rich points for analysis, and to locate pathways to follow for historical analysis. As will become visible in the discussion of different analyses that follow, when necessary, we added additional theories to our framework that we did not know were needed at the outset of the study (Heap, 1995). In contrast to this orienting framework, explanatory theories were added post analysis to explain the patterns we uncovered through this multifaceted, nonlinear approach.

Schools as Open Systems: Exploring the Historical Roots of Policy Changes

Given our focus on exploring actors within social systems, we added one additional set of conceptual arguments to our orienting framework that of conceptualizing schools as *open systems* (Sagastizábal & Heras, 2005). This conceptualization led us to examine relationships among actors, their actions, the resources and products used, and/or produced, within systems and how changes in policies led to changes in resources that supported or constrained what teachers in the classroom, and therefore students, had available to use. In turn, this chain of reasoning led us to consider how historical changes in a system led to the (re)formulation of what counted as valued or appropriate educational processes within as well as across interconnected systems. The ethnographic studies presented in this section make visible pathways within a system that had an impact on decisions, beliefs, and actions of actors from the classroom outward, across layers of school systems as well as interconnected systems.

The first set of studies focus on work by Barr & Dreeben (1983), who explored *how schools work*. Barr (1987) a literacy educator, and Dreeben, a sociologist of education, combined efforts to examine how policies (e.g., decisions) and other resources were created and used by actors across levels of a school system. By tracing decisions across levels of school systems, they found that at each level of a school system, people, time, and resources were brought together to construct particular products (e.g., decisions, materials), and that the products of one level of a system became resources for other levels. Drawing on this work, Barr (1987) traced the developing curriculum in a high school English class. Her analysis across the year made visible the applicability of this conceptual model to studies of literacy instruction in classrooms. Her analysis examined how the study of intertextual relationships across texts, actors, and events made visible the ways in which each text, read/written at one point in time, served as a resource for the construction and interpretation of subsequent texts. Her analysis demonstrated why an historical analysis across times and events within a classroom was necessary to uncover how small changes had anticipated, and at times, unanticipated outcomes for students in Beth's classrooms (Dixon et al., 2000). Work by Barr (1987) and Barr and Dreeben (1983), therefore, demonstrated that policies are not made by a single actor, or set of actors at one point in a system, and simply implemented by other actors at different points in the system. Rather, their work demonstrated that policies are (re)constructed through dynamic and interconnected processes and practices produced by different actors within and across times, events, and levels of a system or social fields.

The view of schools as dynamic systems is supported by longitudinal ethnographic studies that traced the changing dynamics and history of reform in particular schools. These studies demonstrate how a school can serve as an anchor for uncovering unexpected consequences of particular changes in policies and how these changes are related to changes in actors, which in turn, result in changes in policies.

These studies also make visible how decisions in levels of a system beyond the classroom or school-district levels shape, and are shaped by, texts and actions of actors constructed in other systems (e.g., political and teacher education). The first set of ethnographic studies we discuss are ones undertaken by Smith and colleagues (Smith & Geoffrey, 1968; Smith, Kleine, Prunty & Dwyer, 1986; Smith, Prunty, Dwyer, & Kleine, 1987). These researchers followed the history of an educational innovation in a single school across a 15-year period and four changes in administration. They traced how the orientation and philosophy of the school transformed in relationship to changes in superintendents, who in turn, appointed principals to this school.

By examining the complex social histories of actors within the school and district, and what they as leaders supported as valued instructional approaches, Smith and his colleagues traced the transformation of one school from a student-centered philosophy to a more traditional philosophy across four changes in superintendents.

Their analysis shows how local philosophies were forms of identity for the local school, and how shifts in philosophical identities result from changes in school leaders over long periods of time; thus, demonstrating that changes in a school's approach may be realized without explicit reform movements. By tracing the history/histories of one school, they made visible how transformations in the logics guiding a particular school, at a particular point in time, were related to changes in leadership within the system (see also, Chrispeels, 1997). This series of longitudinal ethnographic studies made visible the necessity of exploring the consequences of transformations in philosophy across times, actors, and leadership at multiple levels of scale.

Converging on this body of work is a 16-year study by Anderson-Levitt (2002) in France. This study made visible how historical analysis from the classroom outward to the larger school systems at the local and national levels provides a basis for examining sources of influence on particular actors (i.e., teachers) within classrooms and schools. Anderson-Levitt traced historical changes within a national context (e.g., the ministry level in France) as well as within local schools to build a grounded explanation of why younger teachers took up a particular strategy (small-group work) that was resisted by older teachers as not being a French way of teaching, a perspective she found was supported by parents. By tracing both historical contexts of policy formulation

and local practices and beliefs about practice of an intergenerational group of teachers, she uncovered differences across generations of teachers related to the use of whole class and multigroup instruction. Through her historical analysis of policies and the practices promoted by ministers of education and teacher educators at particular points in time, she located an often unexamined source of influence on teacher actions—changes at macro system levels that defined valued practices that shaped a teacher’s professional beliefs and actions.

Anderson-Levitt’s work demonstrated the need to go beyond the local school or even city to consider national directions and changes in political movements within a state or national context. What her work also uncovered was the copresence of different logics as well as clashes in the logics at play in particular instances. Thus, this work, combined with work by Burin and Heras, and work by Sagastizábal and Heras, already cited, points to the need to examine convergent and competing logics at play in different social fields across different levels of systems and at points of interconnections of systems (see also, Alexander, 2001; Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1991). These studies converge on two interrelated arguments: *policy decisions are the work of particular social actors, in particular social fields, at particular times; and changes, and at times, transformations, in policies related to particular value systems, shape, and their impact is shaped by, actions of particular actors in the ways that they take up (or not) the proposed policy.* These studies also made visible how policies in one social field were interdependent of policies in other systems or social fields across historical periods of time.

In the telling cases that follow we draw on the framework presented in the previous sections to guide analysis of the actions and actors beyond the classroom door (Telling Case 1) that converged in 1998 to (re)formulate the possibilities for Beth and her linguistically and culturally diverse students. After uncovering actions related to the frame clashes inscribed by Beth in her TESOL Newsletter column, we explore how these actions supported and constrained the resources available to Beth and her students in two different reform movements, that is, Bilingual Instruction (1993–1998) and English Only (1998 and 2000) (Telling Case 2).

Telling Case 1: Impact of Policy Changes on Educational Opportunities and Identities

In Telling Case 1, our goal was to uncover the range of actors and policy activity that constituted pathways leading to the observed policy shifts, and to examine who initiated and supported these changes in wider social and political social fields. This telling case is guided by McNeil & Coppola’s (2006)

call for exploring the voices of those whose lives are the most affected by the policies. By using the TESOL Newsletter column as an anchor for the analyses in this case, we bring forward Beth's voice as a committed professional, and by extension, through her action, the voices of students. By focusing on actors who were part of different policy initiatives, we also bring to the fore a broad range of actors directly involved in policy decisions or in support of the policy changes. This analysis, like ones presented previously, involved a nonlinear chain of reasoning, given the need to uncover historical pathways leading to particular policies and frame clashes that Beth inscribed in her TESOL Newsletter in 1998.

To achieve this goal in a way that provided a coherent text representing this nonlinear process, in Telling Case 1 we adapted a research practice Elliott Mishler (1984) called interruption analysis. Mishler used this approach to interrupt the traditional linear analysis of doctor-patient interactions in order to extract the story of illness that a patient was proposing. By extracting the story from the question and answer form of the dialogue, he was able to hear, transcribe, and read the patient's story of the illness as a whole, leading him to argue that the interpretation of diagnosis arrived at by the doctor did not consider the entire story, and thus led to misdiagnosis. In our analysis of the TESOL column, we adapted Mishler's approach to analyze the pathways leading to the challenges Beth inscribed in her writing. By selecting an identified moment of challenge, a frame clash, we created a point of interruption (a rich point) that served as a beginning point for uncovering pathways and layers of history of reform(s) and policy actions leading to the particular moment of reform action Beth inscribed in her narrative. This process created a sort of *flashback*, a process often used in movies to unfold or fill in (backfill) information and actions of intertextually tied events that were precursors to the rich point.

This analytical process provided a systematic approach to exploring the impact of past actions, historical processes tied to current policies. Once the information was identified through this flashback or tracing process, we returned to the original rich point and removed the pause (Heap, 1992). We then continued analyzing the TESOL text until we identified a new frame clash, which then led to the development of a new rich point, and an iterative process that involved uncovering the pathways leading to, and following from, this rich point. This iterative and recursive process enabled us to identify who contributed to, and took part in, the political activity leading to changing policies and reform initiatives represented in the challenges and tensions Beth inscribed in her column. By examining the identities of different actors who helped to create, or contributed to, new policies and reform initiatives, we make visible a complex web of policy actors, official and other, who were instrumental in supporting, and in some instances, in constraining the

opportunities for learning and identity formulation for Beth and her students in 1998. Through the exploration of histories embedded in her words (cf., Bakhtin, 1986), we bring to the fore historical and current circumstances surrounding the change in reform initiatives visible in 1998, thus creating a telling case within the ongoing ethnographic work in classrooms.

Rich Point 1: Beth's Column for the TESOL Newsletter (1998)

As indicated previously, in 1998 Beth Yeager was invited to write a column on how she was preparing for the new school year in the face of the shift to English Only from more than a decade of Bilingual Instruction. The column was first written in August 1998, prior to the first day of school, and was entitled "First Day." Since publication did not actually appear as intended but was delayed until winter of 1999, the editors asked Beth if she wanted to write a new column or update the column. Rather than rewriting the column, she elected to add a new introductory section that preceded and introduced the original column. Her decision was based on the fact that she felt that her description of the preparation for the first day of school made visible the impact of the shift from Bilingual Instruction to English Only. We begin the analysis of the column with the opening paragraph that Beth added to the introductory section.

Our goal in starting with the opening paragraph was to identify how she inscribed her world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and to locate potential frame clashes that we could turn into rich points to anchor analyses of historical pathways leading to moments of shifting policies:

When I was asked to write this column, it was August and school in my district hadn't begun. Like teachers in bilingual classrooms all over California, I was going through the painful process of coming to terms with life after Unz (and, in our case in Santa Barbara, of life after the decision to eliminate—destroy?—the bilingual education program in 1998–99 was made by our Board of Education before voters had marked their ballots for Proposition 227). I wasn't being very successful and having to write about what this school year might look like seemed almost impossible. The time I spent sitting in front of a blank computer screen seemed interminable. I didn't have any more of a clue about how to start this article than I had about how I was going to start my school year.

In this statement, Beth made visible a range of changing conditions and challenges (potential rich points) that she was facing personally and professionally related to creating opportunities for students who would be entering her class. In this segment, she inscribed a series of times and actors who made decisions to eliminate Bilingual Instruction: life after Unz and School

Board members' decisions before the vote on a state-level initiative (Proposition 227). In grouping these periods, she proposed an interconnected set of social fields, each with a particular history that shaped actions that we will show were consequential for her and her students.

In following her lead, we viewed these references to two sources of policy (Unz and the School Board) as rich points, and at each point we engaged in a process of backward mapping (Dixon, Green, & Brandts, 2005; Baker & Green, 2007; Baker, Green, & Skukauskaite, 2008) to uncover historical roots (pathways) of the Unz referendum. After uncovering the pathway to Unz, we returned to Beth's column and continued analysis until we came to the point in her text in which she argued that the Board of Education in her district sought to *eliminate–destroy?–the bilingual education program in 1998–before voters had marked their ballots for Proposition 227*. At this point, we then interrupted the analysis of her TESOL Newsletter once again, and engaged in a new process of backward mapping the pathways leading to and following from the actions of the Board of Education between 1996 and 1998. Through these analyses, each of which involved a chain of abductive reasoning as we will demonstrate, we were able to identify a complex web of actors, positions available to actors, and layers of actions (agency) that were historically significant to the chain of policy actions that made possible Proposition 227 and the move to English Only.

Interruption Analysis 1: Uncovering the Pathways to Unz

As indicated above, Beth inscribed in the first paragraph a period of time she calls the phrase *life after Unz*. In referring to her present condition for teaching as *life after Unz*, Beth constructed an identity to a particular social field as well as for the person who initiated the construction of this field, Ron Unz (an identifiable political figure). This phrase enabled us to identify the boundaries of the periods of time that were shifting for Beth. The period of "Unz" was bound on one end by a political process in which Unz and his supporters (an official identity) created a political movement leading to Proposition 227, and on the other end by the statewide vote and subsequent law enacted by the State Legislature (an official identity of an elected policy group). Within this time frame, Unz and his supporters were required by state policies to locate sufficient registered voters (an official identity), who could be convinced to sign the petition for Proposition 227 (an identity for a referendum) that was known as English for the Children (identity of recipients of the policy action).

This referendum was designed to shift California's education approach from one supporting Bilingual Instruction to one mandating English Only in the schools (Palmer & García, 2000). Thus, the phrase *life after Unz* is a period

of time; Unz is an *identity* for a political movement and an identity for an individual actor within a particular political world, the state of California. Identity as used in this analysis is situated in particular roles and relationships available to, constructed by, and/or taken up by people in interconnecting systems. Identities viewed in this way also resulted from the agency of particular actors. From this perspective, identities were not attributed to individuals in fixed ways and identities can be attributed to organizations, initiatives, and to groups of actors within particular social systems. Therefore, in tracing the roots of Unz's initiative, we began by asking what made this initiative possible.

Having identified the boundaries of the Unz period, we then proceeded to examine the roots of the initiative process as well as the routes leading to this particular initiative, Proposition 227. The exploration of identities related to *life after Unz* led us to question how it was possible for a citizen of California to initiate a potential revision to the state constitution or to state law. Therefore, the rich point, created by Beth in framing this period of challenge for her planning of the first day, led to an exploration of the history of Propositions in California and the identities for actors participating in the construction of this state-level policy. Questions guiding this analysis included: *What gives a citizen of California the right to initiate a law through the proposition process, and what does this process require?* This analysis made visible multiple identities, embedded in a series of roles and relationships, framed by a developing set of norms and expectations associated with, or resulting from, particular actions that constitute the *rights of citizens*. Analysis of identities, viewed in this way, involved exploration, not only of the actions and events inscribed in Beth's column but also of those inscribed in intertextually tied records of the past, and of conceptualizations of actors and possible actions inscribed in legal texts. From this perspective, we add to work on identities as multiple, as being constructed in each event or social field, and as historical (Holland & Cole, 1995; Holland et al., 1998) as well as to studies of personhood as inscribed in texts, including legal texts (Egan-Robertson, 1998; Merchant & Willis, 2000).

Pathway 1: Roots of the Proposition Process Uncovered

Analysis of the California Government website (<http://www.CA.gov>) took us to a description of the history of the proposition process that led to passing of a constitutional amendment that insured the right of voters (an official identity) to initiate propositions:

In a special election held on October 10, 1911, California became the 10th state to adopt the initiative process. That year, Governor Hiram Johnson began his term by promising to give citizens a tool they could use to adopt laws and constitutional amendments without the support of the Governor or the Legislature. The new Legislature put a package of constitutional amendments on the ballot that placed

more control of California politics directly into the hands of the people. This package included the ability to recall elected officials, the right to repeal laws by referendum, and the ability to enact state laws by initiative. The initiative is the power of the people of California to propose statutes and amendments to the California Constitution. (Cal. Const., art. II, Section 8(a))

What is important to note in this inscription of the history of propositions is that the action by Governor Johnson and the Legislature involved constitutional changes, not just the passing of laws. These changes were approved by more than two-third of the legislature and initiated a series of rights for citizens of California (an official identity).

In tracing the roots of what Beth called *Unz*, we located the onset of historical roots that served to create a pathway for citizens to take action in shaping the way the state created particular types of policies. Given the history of use of these pathways, the existence of 226 other propositions prior to the Unz initiative, we viewed this history as creating an *environmental or policy press* that Beth, and other educators and people in the state, experienced in September 1998 (Dixon et al, 2000). The initiative for English Only, or rather English for the Children (the public relations identity for Proposition 227), therefore, was part of an historical process where individual citizens were able to initiate and qualify an initiative for a referendum process that registered voters (an official identity) in California (and 10 other states) could then vote to accept or reject. This right afforded California citizens with a potential identity, that is, policymakers.

Pathway 2: Who Counts as a Voter and Who Voted to Support Proposition 227

To understand more fully the extent of the press that this process created for change in 1998, we interrupted the analysis of the roots of the referendum process to initiate a new pathway, one that took us forward from 1911 to 1998 and the time of the vote on the referendum. This analysis examined the numbers and types of actors who were required to participate in the election, or had the right to participate in the election as well as the time requirements for qualifying a proposition. This information was found in the handbook for creating initiatives that is on the California Government website (http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/elections_h.htm). The period designated is *131 days before the next statewide election*. Thus, in examining the time required for propositions, we were able to identify the potential boundaries of a local social field, that is, the time frame within which the discourse about English Only was officially discussed in public venues surrounding the school within the state. Given that the qualifying date is 131 days prior to the election in June,

1998, we found that the initial boundary had to be expanded to include the period of recruiting signatures on the petition that would insure placement of the referendum on the ballot. Thus, the time frame surrounding the discourse about English Only, prior to the vote, was greater than the 131 days required and included the period during which Unz and his supporters obtained the required signatures. To explore how this qualifying process worked, and who participated, we examined the handbook on propositions further. This analysis located another source of environmental or policy press—the number of registered California voters (another identity) who were required to sign a petition to endorse the proposition. The handbook states that:

Petitions proposing initiative statutes must be signed by registered voters. The number of signatures must be equal to at least 5% of the total votes cast for Governor at the last gubernatorial election (Cal. Const., art. II, Section 8(b); Section 9035). The total number of signatures required for initiative statutes is 433,971 [for the 1998 election].

Given the number of voters required to sign as designated in the State's Constitution, we saw this petition as representing more than Unz and his supporters' perspectives and goals; it also potentially represented the beliefs and values of those California voters who signed the petition. Viewed in this way, the role of signer of the petition was an official identity and a locally constructed identity based on the agency of individual voters.

Having located the criteria for qualifying a proposition, we then interrupted that analysis to explore who participated in the election as well as who had the right to participate but did not. Given the requirement of 5 percent of those voting for governor in the last election as the number required, we had to examine the data on the CA government website on the number of people voting in the previous election. This analysis led us to uncover not only the number required by a series of issues related to this process and a range of possible identities for people who were citizens (a political identity) of California (potentially more than 6,000,000 eligible voters). When we examined the number of people who voted for the proposition by identity, a telling case within the larger interruption analysis was constructed.

The initiative was passed by 67 percent of those voting in the election, but this figure, as indicated previously, was not 67 percent of all eligible voters (a political identity). When we examined the numbers of those registered, and those eligible to vote, we gained new insights into who constituted the "majority" (a collective political identity) passing this initiative. Only 42.49 percent of registered voters chose to participate in the election (another identity and an act of agency). This state-of-affairs meant that only 20.05 percent of all eligible voters supported Unz. Thus these figures showed that although two-third of those voting supported English Only, this vote does not represent the *will of "the" people*, a phrase often used in politics. People in this

instance referred to only those voting, a small segment of the 6 million people eligible to vote.

This line of analysis led us to ask a range of questions: *Who takes up what rights? Who cannot take up these sets of rights, given that they are not afforded, or do not seek, the citizen identity? What are the consequences of these actions? For whom, where? And, what is the relative weight that a proportion of voters assume, even if it cannot be said that it represents the will of the people?* In this section, therefore, we uncovered a range of actors and identities associated with the referendum process. We also uncovered an often invisible role afforded to citizens, the role of policymaker (an identity) in relation to Unz (an inscribed political position). Thus, although one person initiated this movement (a collective identity) and financed it (a political identity), the passage of this initiative was the result of a broad range of actors both in the face-to-face spaces of 1998 and the historical contexts copresent in the referendum process as a constitutional right. These discourses and actions around this process can be seen as creating, what Gee (1990) calls, Big D Discourses. The constitutional nature of the right to referendums meant that this law had the press of a large segment of the voting populations, not just the Legislature, who had to ratify this referendum. Thus, the reform press created by this referendum brought multiple actors' beliefs and actions as well as multiple histories to bear on Beth and her decisions for action in 1998.

Pathway 3: From the Local to National Policies

At this point in examining historical processes at the state level, we once again saw a need to interrupt the analysis of the state-level policies in order to examine legal actions at the federal level that were copresent with this state sanctioned process. We used Beth's name for students as bilingual and her concern for silent students of the past as anchors (rich points) to trace a process that predated the Unz initiative. Given that Beth was a bilingual teacher (an identity she inscribed for herself and others), we decided to trace actions by the Supreme Court (a political identity for a group that is the judicial arm of the federal government in the US and is in charge of making decisions that acquire the level of jurisprudence). The legal decisions of this body affirmed students' rights to language support in schools and led to the creation of Bilingual Instruction program, the initiative that was being challenged by Unz. Federal legislation, and court rulings along a national pathway, became a new rich point within the initial point of interruption. Therefore, to examine the federal support for the Bilingual Instruction program offered by Beth's district, we traced the roots to a series of policy initiatives at the federal level that constituted a policy press for the schools in California prior to the Unz initiative.

Although there are other areas of Federal legislation involved in Civil Rights legislation (e.g., *Oliver L. Brown et al. vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954*), in this chapter we focus on the Supreme Court Case, *Lau versus Nichols (1974)* that set in motion legal rights for US citizen (an identity) to language support in educational settings at the national level. We include this policy initiative for two reasons. First, like Unz, this initiative was rooted in actions taken by citizens of California, members of the Chinese-American community (a linguistic, binational political and social identity). Second, as stated above, this initiative afforded students in California (an official identity) with the right to language support for learning in the public schools accepting federal monies.

In a landmark Supreme Court case, citizens of California within the Chinese-American community began a process that involved these citizens, represented by Lau, in a series of legal processes at different levels of the legal system in the federal courts (a legal identity). Through a series of appeals (an identity attributed to a legal process) of decisions of lower courts (an identity for particular part of the legal system), the supporters of this case were able to have their case (a legal identity) presented in an oral argument by lawyers who have the right to present cases before the Supreme Court (particular legal identities). The Education.gov website provides a full text of the Supreme Court decision and inscribes a range of actors who contributed to the decision.⁴ The *Syllabus* of *Lau et al. versus Nichols et al.* states:

The failure of the San Francisco school system to provide English language instruction to approximately 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who do not speak English, or to provide them with other adequate instructional procedures, denies them a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and thus violates 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bans discrimination based “on the ground of race, color, or national origin,” in “any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance,” and the implementing regulations of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare⁵. (pp. 565–5695)

By including *Lau et al. versus Nichols et al.* in the analysis of the history of initiatives in California, we made visible multiple histories and intersecting and interconnecting systems that constitute the circumstances surrounding the Unz referendum. Additionally, this historical analysis uncovered a broad

⁴ (<http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/ell/lau.html>) (No. 72-6520, Supreme Course of the United States, 414 U.S. 563, December 10, 1973, Argued, January 21, 1974, Decided.)

⁵ Douglas, J., delivered the opinion of the Court, in which Brennan, Marshall, Powell, and Rehnquist, J.J. joined. Stewart, J., filed an opinion concurring in the result, in which Burger, C. J., and Blackmun, J., joined, post, p. 569. White, J., concurred in the result. Blackmun, J., filed an opinion concurring in the result, in which Burger, C. J., joined, post, p. 571.

range of actors, in particular social fields that participated in the processes constituting key vectors of policy action. Through this analysis, we also identified multiple potential identities for actors associated with actions in particular social fields and how these identities were often constructed by people who took up the opportunities to participate by law.

This all-too-brief set of analyses of complex historical actions, and the changes that they supported, made visible why it was not possible to focus solely on the Unz initiative to understand the impact of the transformation to English Only on Beth and her students. As inscribed by Beth, this shift was embedded in historical movements that included the history of civil and human right issues (related to immigration, citizenship, forms of education, and rights to education (See e.g., VanSledright, 2008). Her tensions, therefore, were historical and her use of the term *destroy* in her column inscribed a larger grounding, as we uncovered in this section. Although a discussion of these movements is beyond the scope of this paper, what is important to note is Beth's awareness of the competing systems and the tensions that she faced given her position as a teacher as well as a professional committed to providing access to all of her students. In her TESOL column, Beth presented this tension to the reader as a challenge of how to address competing logics and political actions while meeting her commitments to her students and her legal requirements as a teacher.

Rich Point 2: The Decisions of the Local School Board

Once we identified the series of state and federal legal actions that converged to create a policy press on Beth as a bilingual teacher, in what was becoming a monolingual district, we returned to Beth's column to explore the next rich point identified previously in the Newsletter column—the decisions made by the *local Board of Education* (an elected body and a political identity) that Beth argued occurred *before a vote was taken*. This rich point led to a new pathway for analysis and a new question: What changes were made by the school board and who initiated these changes? This question led to a (re)analysis of the records related to the local Board of Education's actions beginning in 1998. This analysis showed that the five elected members of the school board voted unanimously to eliminate Bilingual Education six months prior to the statewide vote on Proposition 227. In describing these actions, Beth used two different terms to represent the impact of these decisions, *eliminate–destroy*? These terms suggested a new pathway, one that examined what was in place at the district level and what changed, in what ways, initiated by whom for what purposes, under what conditions, with what outcome or consequence for Beth and her students.

In this section, we use this new rich point to explore the local social fields, their actors, and the ways in which their decisions not only raised a challenge for Beth but also challenged her identity as a bilingual teacher, who had, over an extended period of time (29 years), created a particular kind of world in, and identity for, her classes (e.g., Castanheira, 2004; Castanheira et al., 2007; Castanheira, et al., 2009; Yeager, 2003; Yeager, et al., 2009). Given the need to understand these sources of change in terms of their contributions to the impact on Beth's identity and the identity of her class, we elected to interrupt our analysis of what she inscribed in her column in order to examine a chain of actions in the school district that led to the closure of Bilingual Instruction in her district and that removed particular resources that were previously available for Beth to use with her students. This analysis is important, given that some districts within California took up this law differentially, and continued to afford students language support (Palmer & García, 2000). Through this analysis, we make visible how local constraints were put in place between 1996 and 1998, prior to the referendum on English for the Children.

Interruption Analysis 2: School Board Actions, Multiple Years, Multiple Policy Changes

We begin the analysis of the changes between 1996 and 1998 by focusing on the change in policymakers at the district level. This analysis uses the composition of the school board resulting from elections between 1996 and 1998 and actions related to these changes. Analysis of the ethnographic records related to the school board actions showed that in 1998, the five elected members of the school board (a political identity), voted unanimously to eliminate bilingual instruction, even in the face of opposition by teachers, parents, community members, and other community activists. The analysis is represented in Figure 2, which provides a map of changes at the district level related to the move to English Only over a four-year period, 1996–2000. This figure was constructed from records and information in our archive. In constructing the text of Board actions between 1998–1996, we examined the relationship between official resources afforded to Beth through the school district policymakers and how students in the district were officially and unofficially named—a form of *inscribed personhood* as indicated previously. As indicated in Figure 1, through mapping the decisions of the board from 1998 backward to the period of board elections when Bilingual Instruction was sanctioned as the approach (1996), we identified changes across a four-year period. Using this period as an anchor, we identified decisions made in each school year by different configurations of actors in particular social fields: at the community level with the election of school board members, and within

the school board in different areas of work. This analysis led to the identification of two periods of shifting decisions, one from 1996–1997 with the change in composition of the elected members of the school board, and a second period of such changes in 1999, with election of new members of the school board. What is significant is that these elections shifted the political configuration of the five-member school board, which created the possibility for changes in policy, resources, supported activity, and educational approach.

Policies Actions Identified	1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999	1999-2000
School Board Election	3 new members elected	→	Re-elected 1 (of 2) school board members and elected 2 new members	→
School Board Decisions Bilingual Education & Language of Instruction Revised Bilingual Education Plan (BEST) English Learner Plan English Only	June 1996	August 1997 January 1998		→
Textbook adoption		Recommendations by Committee Open Court Macmillan		→
K-2 English K-2 Spanish			No Spanish readers	→
Grade 3 Grades 4-6		Macmillan Macmillan	→	Open Court chosen
Packard Foundation Grant for Open Court Coaches				→
Test selection	Iowa Test of Basic Skills/SABE	STAR 9 English Only		→
Class size reduction (tied to selection of Phonics-based readers)	K-2	K-3		→
Decisions at José's School				
Textbooks adopted		Open Court Macmillan		→
K-2 English K-2 Spanish			No Spanish readers	→
Grade 3 Grades 4-5		Macmillan Macmillan	Open Court Open Court	→
Open Court Coaches (Funded by Private Foundation)			K-5	→

Figure 2. Policy actions at the local district and school level.

The change between 1996 and 1997 shifted the composition from one supporting a Bilingual Instructional approach to one supporting English Only approach. Analysis of data to construct Figure 2 made visible the range of decisions taken by different actors across a variety of social fields, each with a particular responsibility for action and decision making. The areas of action identified included, but were not limited to, elections, curriculum decisions, statewide assessments (tests), and personnel (e.g., the use of non-district personnel—the Packard Foundation). Through this analysis, we identified a range of actions and actors, not a single policy or group of actors, who were instrumental in eliminating the official and public identities of bilingual speakers (a public as well as classroom identity) by the local board. As we will demonstrate the school board’s actions also eliminated the possibilities of the public display of being multilingual beings in the local schools for all students, not just those who were officially identified as bilingual speakers (Heras, 1998; Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1995; Yeager et al., 2009).

Analysis of the School Board's actions made visible the presence of multiple policy presses that converged to narrow the opportunities for teaching and for resource use for Beth and other teachers in bilingual schools in her district (Dixon et al., 2000). The first area, or what we called policy vector, in which we identified changes was the vector of elections and the intersection with areas of oversight by the school board. As indicated in the area of Bilingual Instruction in Figure 2, in 1996 the existing five members of the School Board, including three new members had appointed committees to work on revising the Bilingual Instruction Program in the district. In 1997, they added a committee to develop an English Learner Plan. In 1997, they also had a committee that recommended textbooks for adoption, a process that had been in place in the district and California for several decades. These recommendations included Spanish-language versions of the Macmillan reading textbooks.

However, when we examined what remained in place and what changed following the election in 1998 of two new board members, we identified a shift in the policy logic by the (re)constituted board. An analysis of the bilingual education committees showed that these committees were disbanded. So were the committee to review textbooks that included parents, teachers, and administrators. In 1998, after the Board election, the Board removed the Spanish textbooks that had been officially approved, thus eliminating a resource that had been available for teacher use with ELL. In 1999, the Board also replaced the Macmillan reading series at all grade levels with *Open Court*, a more phonics oriented and scripted reading program. Given that the advisory committee on textbooks and curriculum had been disbanded, there were no internal committees, or cross-group committees to object.

These changes were accompanied by a mandate at the beginning of the school year in 1998 to remove all Spanish from public spaces, making the use of Spanish books, even as supplementary texts, difficult for teachers and students alike, given the local interpretation of the statewide referendum. Thus, local actions, which preceded the vote on Proposition 227 converged on Beth in Fall 1998, creating a web of (re)formulations of what counted as education in the local schools and district. The actions of the School Board represented in Figure 2, make visible changing beliefs, values, logics, and resources tied to changing Board composition. These actions, therefore, (re)formulated what counted as reading as well as what language students and teacher could use to read or teach reading. One impact of this aspect of the policy changes was that these changes (re)formulated who could be viewed as a competent reader in the face of the elimination of the Spanish readers. In this change, those who were competent readers of Spanish (performance-based identities) became viewed as *beginning readers* of English, a consequence identified previously by Moll and Diaz (1987) in an earlier study.

The shift in values is further supported by the School Board's decision to bring in coaches (an identity assumed by local teachers) to insure that the teachers were following the script in the textbooks as prescribed and were using English as the language of instruction. What is significant about the use of coaches is that they were funded by a private foundation (a political identity) that sought to make certain that phonics and basic skills in English, as inscribed in the textbook series, were implemented. The changing values in this district is further confirmed when the question of whether other districts in California accepted the offer of the coaches tied to the changing textbooks. As with the take up of Proposition 227, these policies (the use of coaches) potentials were not taken up by other districts, including neighboring ones.

Although this picture is a partial representation of the range of changes and actions beyond the classroom door at the local level, the analysis of the chains of action represented in Figure 2 demonstrated that the movement to English Only was not a simple mandate but was one supported by the elimination of resources and levels of participation in the decision-making process at the district as well as state levels. These changes, in turn, led to a change in what counted as the teaching of reading, as the public display of reading knowledge, and in the instructional program available to teacher, and in turn, students. One unanticipated consequence of the School Board's actions was the elimination of the designation of bilingual reader for all students (e.g., identities as Spanish Readers for English-dominant students), not just second language learners (e.g., English Readers for Spanish-dominant students).

The significance of this policy change was also visible at the school level. In Beth's school, prior to 1998, all students learned a second language, and were able to learn their heritage language, while also acquiring a new language. The school had developed programs in English as a Second Language (ESL), Spanish as a Second Language (SSL), and Spanish for Native Spanish Speakers (SNS). In this way, the school supported the acquisition, development, and identities of native language and second (or third) language learners (Castanheira et al., 2007). With the changes to English Only, these identities as language learners and readers were eliminated for English-dominant and bilingual students (whose native as well as nonnative language(s) were being developed previously). Furthermore, at no time did the policymakers at the district and school board level take into consideration what actually occurred in Beth's, and by implication others', classrooms, or what was lost for all students. In the next section, we explore how these policies and resources decided beyond the classroom door had an impact on what was possible inside of Beth's classroom, as a telling case.

Telling Case 2: The Impact of Policy Changes on Opportunities for Learning

We return to an analysis of the TESOL column to explore additional areas of tension Beth inscribed in her column: *what will this first day be like and how will I address both the legal requirements and what I know, as a bilingual teacher, is necessary to do on the first day?* In stating this, she captures a dual challenge, her commitment to being, and education as, a bilingual teacher, and her legal responsibilities as a teacher and a public employee. These tensions are ones that address the external supports and constraints and how she saw these entering her classroom. In framing this, she identified multiple sources of influence on the opportunities she is able to develop with students. As the following excerpt makes visible, the shift from bilingual instruction to English only has led to a series of uncertainties that faced her in August of 1998 in preparing for the first day:

This is the day we begin to construct together the community of learners we'll have for the rest of the year, the day I begin to frame and build with the students what life in this classroom is going to look and *sound* like, what will "count" as learning, whose voices will count, what will be important, what we will value. So I sit and re-read Evelyn's and Joaquin's words, hoping they'll somehow give me a clue as to how I'm going to do this framing, because I know that this first day, this year, will be different. Actually, I've been avoiding thoughts about the nitty-gritty of what I'm going to do without bilingual instruction this year, it's been too demoralizing, but now I think that if I can figure out that first day, I'll be able to get to the next day and the week after that, because, no matter what, my kids are coming through the door.

She framed her concern for *what life in her classroom will look and sound like, what will "count" as learning, and whose voices will count*. She then asked three questions: *what will be important, how will we begin building our community on the first day, given the elimination of a language resource, and what will we value?* In inscribing "we" she inscribed others in this decision. She also inscribed a loss she and her students were facing, *what I'm going to do without bilingual instruction this year*. In talking about the loss in this way, she made visible that the loss of instructional opportunities for her is also a loss for her students. In this way, she made visible her understanding of the relationship between teaching and learning as a collective construction, initiated by her but then constructed collectively—thus "we" in the phrase, *what we will value in the community of learners that they will begin to construct together*. In framing the challenge in this way, she made visible another rich point, the beginning of community building on the first day. Thus Beth framed a pathway that we used in our analysis of the history of community building between 1991 and 1998 (e.g., Floriani, 1993; Castanheira et al., 2007; Yeager et al., 2009). In this analysis

we contrast what she called the *nitty-gritty* work she did with students in periods with *bilingual instruction* with what was possible in English Only.

Pathway 1: On Community Building and the First Day of School

Having identified the need to examine the *nitty-gritty of community building*, we decided to interrupt the narrative analysis once again to review past work on the first day across years, and to construct a contrastive analysis of the *nitty-gritty* of community building in 1993, the first day that Beth taught fifth grade, and 1998, the first day of teaching without bilingual instruction as a resource. These two first days, we argue are comparable, in that they are first moments of a changing instructional group. Through the contrastive analysis of instructional and community building practices in these two time periods, we identified areas of common practices and areas of difference that we will demonstrate had an impact on the opportunities for learning that Beth was able to construct with her students, and thus on the construction of potential identities.

Table 1 provides a map of the first day of school in 1993 and the contrast with 1998.⁶ In this table, we (re)presented the literate practices, the language used and the organizational patterns constructed on the two first days of school in 1993 and 1998. Analysis of the similarities and differences in the two first days showed that in 1993, the teacher, using multiple languages, was able to construct a series of actions that became literate practices on the first day as the students worked with her to actively develop the events and discourse of that day. On the first day in 1998, the topics remained the same but the ways in which they were initiated differed.

As indicated in Table 1, in 1993 Beth used both languages in a fluid way to create a view of what counts as the *language of the classroom* (Lin, 1993). On the first day of school in 1993, given the composition of her class, she used three languages, one her native language (English), one that she spoke as a second-language learner who was able to read write and speak in this language

⁶ The map is a (re)presentation of activity on the first morning, using present continuous verbs. This form of mapping (Green & Meyer, 1991; Green & Wallat, 1981) is designed to capture the moment-by-moment actions that teacher and students construct as they work together to develop the events of classroom life. Viewed in this way, the ebb and flow of activity forms a basis for identifying the events constructed. By using present continuous verbs and the objects of these verbs, we were able to identify the literate actions and the practices that members constructed and used with each other within and across the events of the first day of school.

Table 1. Events and practices of the first day of school by language available 1993-1998

Phases/Sub-phases in Classroom Activity	1993-PATTERNS Literate and Social Practices		Language(s)		1998-PATTERNS POST 227 Literate and Social Practices		Patterns of Organization & Interaction 1993 and 1998
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998	
Developing Collective							
Beginning of collective	* selecting name cards	E/S	E		* selecting name cards		* individual
* forming table groups	* choosing where to sit in table groups	E/S			* choosing where to sit in table groups		* individual
	* drawing on name cards	S/E	E		• drawing on name cards		* individual in whole group
	* talking with table group members	S/E	E		• talking with table group members		* individual in table group
	* introducing chime as signal	E/S			* introducing chime as signal		* whole group
	* explaining active listening	E/S			* roles of adults		* whole group
* establishing roles and relationships, norms and expectations	* introducing adults in community	E/S	E		* talking about studying own class		* whole group
	• student teacher BCLAD	S/E			* defining prior self		* individual in whole group
	• teacher aide SSL	E/S	E		* defining Tower member		* whole group
	• university ethnographers Bilingual	E/S			* defining school member		* whole group
	* introducing ethnography as community practice	E/S					
	* discussing life in prior communities	S/E	E/S				
* Name Game activity	* defining ways of living in Tower community	E/S	E				
	* explaining insider knowledge as member of McKinley community	E/S	E				
	* defining self	S/E/V					

Continued on next page.

Table 3 (Continued)

	* introducing self to table group	S/E	E	* providing description of self	* individual in table group
	* introducing self to whole group	E/V/S	E	* introducing descriptive self	* individual in table group
Developing Inquiry as Resource	* defining mathematicians	S/E		* defining student	* individual in whole group
Watermelon Project	* introducing how to use learning logs	E/S	E	* Mathematicians	
* utilizing Learning logs	* explaining tradition of watermelons	S/E	E/S	* introducing Learning Logs	* whole group
	* formulating questions as part of investigation	E/S	E	* listening to teacher narrative	* whole group
	* asking particular question to be answered	S/E	E	* writing question in Learning Logs	* individual in whole group
* transitioning to problem	* making a guess	E/S	E/S	* defining question as problem to be solved	* whole group
	* making an estimate, collecting data	S/E	E	* making entry in Learning Logs	* individual in whole group
	* revising the estimate from data collection	E/S	E/S	* making entry in Learning Logs	* individual in table group
	* explicating the process used so far	S/E	E	* making entry in Learning Logs	* individual in table group
				* making entry in Learning Logs	* individual in table group
				* copying chart on white board	* individual in whole group

(Spanish), and one she had learned phrases in (Vietnamese). The use of the three languages signaled to students that language(s) of all members, not just specific groups, would be a resource for this developing community. In attempting Vietnamese on the first day, within this event in which languages were introduced, she demonstrated a new identity, risk taker who tried a new language to include the other in the developing community.

Analysis of actions required of, and available to, all students in this class made visible a common set of demands or expectations in 1993—all students (and the teacher, teacher-aide, student-teacher, and university-based ethnographers) were expected to learn the languages of the others to work and participate in the community across languages. The interweaving of multiple languages provided opportunities for learning of English and Spanish as well as awareness of Vietnamese. In this way, Beth created a form of language immersion for all students. She also used code-switching, providing bilingual students with a model of a discourse practice that they could use to help others at their table group. Additionally, after observing students working together for three days, Beth (re)configured table groups to include bilingual, English-dominant, Spanish-dominant speakers, native bilingual speakers, and bilingual speakers of different levels. Finally, given the presence of a Vietnamese-speaking student, she created ways of including her in the class, even though Beth did not speak Vietnamese. To provide help for this student, Beth gave the student's Aunt, who spoke English, an overview of the day so that the student had a map in her mind of what was happening. She also obtained a tutor for the student from the local community college who spoke and read Vietnamese and located books in English and Vietnamese as well as Spanish and English to support students in reading a common text in their own language, thus creating a common opportunity for learning across the languages. The model of language use in 1993, therefore, was one of second (or third) language learning for all students, and one in which multiple languages were a resource for learning and for identity construction (Santa Barbara Classroom Discourse Group, 1995).

Further analysis of the patterns of language used on the first day in 1993 and 1998 represented in Table 1 made visible a range of differences in what could be proposed to students in and through the languages used in 1998. A contrastive analysis of the phases and subphases of activity made visible a common set and sequence of events and subevents constructed by the teacher and the class members. However, when the patterns of social and literate practices constructed were examined, a pattern of difference was identified. Although the topics were similar, the fact that the teacher could use English and Spanish in 1993 permitted students to respond in the language of their choice. Students were also given permission to record their thoughts and ideas in the language of their choice. However, in 1998, this pattern was no longer

possible. While the teacher introduced a few key words in Spanish across the events (e.g., *comunidad, investigar, un diario de aprendizaje*), the dominant language of the first morning was English and the teacher used what is referred to as *sheltered English* instructional practices to help students gain access to the academic content she was introducing and engaging them in. This process enabled her to present common topics across years but not to present them in common ways. One notable exception to the common practices, given the shift to English Only, was the fact that students were required to write in English to record their estimates and to copy what was on the board into their learning logs. The latter strategy was not used in 1993, given that students were able to record information in the language of their choice. We will explore the impact of this state of affairs further in the next section.

Pathway 2: Triangulation, Contrastive Analysis, and Impact of Practices Across Five Years

As indicated in Table 1, there were common activities/events but not common discourse processes or practices. There were common organizational patterns, but who could speak with whom about what in what ways differed. However, in Table 1, we only contrasted two years. To examine further the stability of these actions and their consequences for student learning, we undertook one additional contrastive analysis, an analysis focusing on the practices and actions constructed in and through the moment-by-moment interactions in the classroom for the first three weeks of school. This contrastive analysis of practices identified across five years, three during the Bilingual Instruction reform initiative (1993, 1996, 1997) and two for English Only (1998, 2000), is presented in Table 2.

As represented in Table 2, with three exceptions, the practices constructed and used in the first three weeks of school were similar across the five years. That is, each year the teacher introduced to, and constructed with, students a common range of literate and social practices, with three notable exceptions.

The three notable exceptions to this pattern were associated with language and were: the choice of language to talk and to write in, and the use of writing to record student thinking about the processes in which they had engaged. These differences raised questions about how changes in policies also had an impact on the identities of participants as members of a multilingual community and on their potential identities as speakers of one or more languages. These latter issues are rarely raised in the dialogues on the achievement gap or on how to support opportunities for learning academic content for one group of students. As the analysis in Table 1 made visible, all students in 1993

had access to learning other languages, to use languages for learning, and to a common set of social and academic opportunities for learning.

Table 2. Actions and Practices Observed on the First Day of School 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998 and 2000

Actions	9-9 1993	9-11 1996	9-4 1997	9-9 1998	9-8 2000
Observing	x	x	x	x	x
Using two languages	x	x	x		x
Writing in language of choice	x	x	x		
Introducing & defining roles	x	x	x	x	x
Collecting data	x	x	x	x	x
Interpreting data	x	x	x	x	x
Comparing data	x	x	x	x	x
Working in pairs	x	x	x	x	x
Working in groups	x	x	x	x	x
Explaining/practicing new processes	x	x	x	x	x
Defining terms	x	x	x	x	x
Asking questions	x	x	x	x	x
Reporting to class	x	x	x	x	x
Participating as member of audience	x	x	x	x	x
"Writing to think"	x	x	x		
Learning logs	x	x	x	x	x
Revising thinking	x	x	x	x	x
Defining what things mean		x	x	x	x
Negotiating group answer	x	x	x	x	x
Supporting ideas with evidence	x	x	x	x	x
Sharing opinions & ideas	x	x	x	x	x

The contrast between what was possible in the Bilingual Language period (1993–1997) and what was possible in 1998, made visible lost opportunities for all members of the class, given that English-dominant students no longer had the opportunities for language learning, for particular types of social relationships, and for constructing a multilingual community. The removal of languages other than English in instructional events, therefore, meant that English speakers and bilingual students as well as Spanish-dominant speakers no longer had the opportunity to see themselves as becoming multilingual; nor were they able to experience what a multilingual society was like and how in such a society they could use the differences in language as a resource for community building as well as academic access. Thus, what was lost in the shift were the opportunities for all students to see themselves as potential speakers of another language, as a learner of a second (or third) language, and

as a competent speaker of one or more languages. Additionally, the limited use of Spanish in 1998, in contrast to the more balanced and fluid use in instruction in 1993, signaled markedly different values for language at the community level, creating a privileged position for one language over the other in a school context.

Without the contrast across years, the differences in opportunities for all students would not have been visible. Additionally, by holding the actions and practices constant across the five years, we were also able to identify which practices were lost for particular groups of individuals across the two reform initiatives. The contrastive analysis across years showed that, while oral language choice returned in 2000, the choice of language(s) in which to write did not. The removal of the ability to write to think eliminated one key dimension of the inquiry oriented curriculum in Beth's class—the idea that your own thinking, written in your language of choice, when documented from the first-to-last day of the school year, becomes a textbook of your thinking and a way of seeing your own growth. The consequences of this loss for Spanish-dominant students can be seen in the final project for this class. In this project, students were asked to construct Showcase portfolios that provided evidence of their thinking, creativity, ability to work collaboratively in groups, to use evidence, among other dimensions of the inquiry process (Castanheira et al., 2009).

The move to English Only instruction, and the requirement that students write in English, therefore, ignored the type of curriculum that had been in place and the ways in which inquiry oriented curriculum involved the public use of multiple languages to support the content learning of all students. The loss of the practice of writing in the language of choice meant that some students had an incomplete record of the work they had done (e.g., Castanheira et al., 2007; Yeager, 1999a, 1999b; Yeager & Green, 2008), raising the question—how is it possible to write complex ideas in a language that you have just begun to learn? The consequences of this for the individual is captured in the following statement by a student in 1998, I used to know that, which referred to the fact that he knew the concept in Spanish but did not know it in English (Dixon et al., 2000).

The contrastive analysis presented in this section, therefore, demonstrated that the loss of opportunities for learning and for identity construction were ones faced by all students, by the teacher, and by the community that was being constructed. While the debate continues today about bilingual language instruction and its consequence for one group of students, the analysis in this section identified a missing element in this debate, the loss of opportunities for learning and for identity construction for all students. We argue that the shifting policies had an impact on all members of the community, not just those targeted by the English Only policy change.

The Need for an Abductive Logic of Reasoning: Ethnography as a Nonlinear System

One final outcome of this (re)analysis was made visible in this chapter, the need for a nonlinear ethnographic approach not only to data collection and analysis but also to presentation of the analyses. Agar (2006) argued that "[a]ny trajectory in the ethnographic space will run on the fuel of abduction" (para. 66). In this chapter, a process of abductive reasoning provided a foundation for exploring the interplay of policy decisions in systems beyond the classroom door that converged to transform and (re)formulate the educational approach in California, from one that officially sanctioned Bilingual Instruction to one that sanctioned English Only. By anchoring each analysis in a common rich point, the classes for a fifth-grade bilingual-teacher with whom we have engaged in a longitudinal ethnography, and by using her TESOL Newsletter column as an overall anchor for further analysis, we demonstrated the need for a multifaceted, multilayered, and multilevel system for uncovering the histories of actors and the consequences of differences in opportunities for learning.

By using abductive reasoning and a nonlinear process guided by this reasoning, contrastive analysis, and interruption analysis, we uncovered a series of unanticipated losses in opportunities for learning as well as identity construction of actors both inside and outside of the classroom. We also made visible a broad range of actors, who contributed a series of copresent and historically related policy changes that supported in one reform initiative particular instruction practices and languages, and constrained their use in a subsequent reform initiative. In this way, we explored, and developed grounded warrants about the consequences of anticipated and unanticipated actions on the opportunities for learning and identity construction of all students.

Still unexamined, and thus invisible are questions about how these shifts in opportunities shaped beyond the classroom door had impact on the academic knowledge base that these students needed for success across their careers in education. Before closing, however, one irony at the level of the larger community in the city, state, and nation needs to be acknowledged. At the local level of the city, all official documents related to the legal system and to schooling remained in English and Spanish (or other language) to provide access to the political, business, and social worlds. Therefore, in addition to exploring the impact on student careers, future work needs to examine the impact on access to other institutional contexts as well as to resources in the social world.

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